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From *The Pilot*, Boston:

The merit of the American secular magazines is undoubted, and with a single exception every one of them having any consequence is well disposed towards the Church, but when one lays them aside and takes up the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* and begins to turn over its generous pages, it is with something of the same sensation with which one lets the church door close behind one and stands within a church. Without is a gay bustle, beauty, eager work, the hurried pursuit of a thousand attractive nothings, wonderful stories, lovely songs, promises of many a happy day; within are high thoughts, humble prayers, the echoes of countless majestic anthems, the emblems of promises, hopes, and everywhere pervasive, permeating, consoling and sustaining, the consciousness of a Divine presence. The secular magazines, in spite of all their merits, are but neighbors to the Catholic; with the *Quarterly* he is at home, and it is with a feeling of perfect content that he begins its perusal. The April number seems especially brilliant, but that is no novelty, for each one gives the impression of surpassing the last. * * * * *

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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC

QUARTERLY REVIEW

VOL. XIX.—JANUARY, 1894.—No. 73.

HARNACK'S DOGMATIC HISTORY.

SECOND ARTICLE.

THE thesis of this article is, in opposition to Harnack's theory, that there is an unbroken continuity and identity of the Ante-Nicene Christianity, confessedly Catholicism, with the Christianity of the Apostles received by them, pure and unaltered, from Jesus Christ as His Gospel. No breaks, no chasms between the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the preaching of apostles and evangelists; between *their* preaching and that of their successors in the second and third centuries, between A. D. 100 and A. D. 250. No gradual and imperceptible transformation of Christianity from its genuine evangelical form and species into an ecclesiastical doctrine and religion, *i.e.*, specific Catholicism. The Church is one, the faith is one, the order is one—from the final instructions of Jesus Christ to His Apostles, A. D. 30, to the close of the life and teaching of St. John, the last Apostle, A. D. 100, and from this date to the martyrdom of St. Cyprian, A. D. 258.

Let us here repeat a part of a quotation from Harnack, contained in our first article, which furnishes a convenient starting-point for the process of tracing back the Catholic Church and faith to their origin in Jesus Christ.

"If we compare the Church in the middle of the third century (A. D. 250) with the condition of Christianity 150 to 200 years earlier (between A. D. 50 and 100), we find that there is a religious community . . . . we find the same furnished with fixed forms of every kind. . . . . We find a church as a political commonwealth and institute of worship, a formulated faith, a theology . . . .

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a new revealed document, the New Testament, and Christian *priests.*"

This date is not taken as the epoch when the transformation took place and the constitution of the Church was remodelled. The Catholicism of the third century is contrasted with the Christianity of the life-time of St. John. The alteration is supposed to have taken place gradually from a beginning in the last half of the first century. The middle of the third is assumed as a period when the grand dogmatic and ecclesiastical outlines of Catholicism stand out so prominently and clearly, and the testimonies to doctrine and polity are so numerous and explicit that all plausible doubts and differences of opinion concerning the doctrinal and ecclesiastical constitution and character of Christianity are shut out.

We may fairly go back another century for a firm and indisputable position, much nearer the apostolic age, from which to carry on our polemic.

Dr. Fisher, an equally high authority with Dr. Harnack, says: "The Church stood forth, after the middle of the second century, as a distinct body. It claimed to be, in opposition to heretical and schismatical parties, the 'Catholic' Church. Membership in this one visible Church was believed to be necessary to salvation. Within the Church, and not beyond it, the Holy Spirit had his abode. The unity of the Church was secured and cemented by the episcopate—by the bishops viewed as the successors of the Apostles. The episcopate, like the apostolate, in which Peter was the centre of unity, was a unit. This idea is developed and insisted on by Cyprian, who was involved in hard contests with dissenting sects."[1]

The middle of the second century is the epoch of the close of the life of St. Polycarp (d. 155), of the beginning of the career of St. Irenæus (b. 120, 140; d. 202). Tertullian, also, belongs to the latter half of this century.

A period of 120 years, from A.D. 30 to 150, includes, therefore, apostolic and post-apostolic Catholic Christianity. That it is homogeneous all through, from Peter, Paul, and John to Polycarp and Irenæus, will be proved in the sequel. Our thesis, therefore, is reduced to this: that this apostolic, Catholic Christianity had its origin from Jesus Christ.

The only and sufficient postulate on which we will base our argument is the credibility of the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of St. Paul, as historical documents from which an authentic account of the life and teachings of Jesus

[1] *History of the Christian Church*, p. 57.

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Christ, of the faith of the primitive Church, and of the events which took place during the apostolic age, can be derived. All questions concerning the canon and inspiration of the New Testament can be left aside or postponed. All extant documents of the earliest ecclesiastical history can be made available to supplement and interpret the records of these books of the New Testament which have been specified above.

It is important to note distinctly at the outset that the contention is not primarily and principally concerning those elements of ancient Catholicism which have been eliminated from the Lutheran and Calvinistic Confessions. It goes much deeper into the inmost heart of Christianity, into that faith in the person of Jesus Christ which all believers in His true divinity agree in confessing as the essential centre of the Gospel. It is a contention against another Gospel, which is not another, which is a denial of the genuine Gospel, and fundamentally anti-Christian in its formal principles and its specific theory of the person and the religion of Christ. This has been fully proved in our first article. And as the endeavor of Dr. Harnack and his compeers is to undermine and destroy all historical basis of the authentic, apostolic, catholic faith in Jesus Christ, the refutation of his theory must proceed on historical lines in order to vindicate the beginning, progress, and consummation of the divine work of redemption as a fact, and as the grandest of all facts, in history. As a consequence of this vindication, all events going before and all following after the great central fact of the Incarnation are perceived in their due relation, the radii and the circumference of the great circle of human history.

The authority of the Gospels, Acts, and thirteen Epistles of St. Paul was universally acknowledged during the life-time of St. Irenæus and St. Polycarp. It has been vindicated so thoroughly and successfully by learned critics against the skeptical and destructive criticism of the German infidels, that it may be taken as a point gained and indisputable.

Apart from extrinsic evidences, the internal marks of the genuine and trustworthy character of these books are so clear and unmistakable that any line of criticism and argument to the contrary, if employed in other matters, would subvert all history, and make destructive work among the records and documents of secular literature.

The era of the beginnings of Christianity, including the history of its founder, of his Apostles, and of their successors, the contemporaries of St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp, is the most extraordinary of all human ages. The rise and progress of the Christian religion is a perfectly unique and singular event, manifesting the most

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stupendous and extensive consequences following from what appear to be most inadequate causes. It cannot be explained without bringing in a supernatural power to account for the founding of a society such as the Christian Church was in the year 150; composed of a multitude bound together in the strictest unity by a common faith and discipline, and presenting a spectacle of sanctity and heroic virtues, the like of which the world has never seen. The nature and history of this society must have been known and understood by its members, and especially by its rulers and teachers. In the first period of seventy years, from the mission of the Apostles to the death of the last survivor of the sacred college, the Church was composed of the disciples of Christ, of the disciples of the Apostles, and of the disciples of their first coadjutors and successors in the ministry. In the first generation of Christians, the memory of Jesus Christ was vivid, and their devotion was enthusiastic. It was preserved and intensified by the continual recital of the acts and sayings of the Saviour, of the events attending His crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension into Heaven. The acts and teachings of the Apostles and their associates made a similar impression on their contemporaries, and their personal characters evoked an ardent sentiment of veneration and love which enhanced the veneration paid to their official character and teaching authority. The tradition of faith and history was transmitted by the first to the second generation, and so down, from the first to the second century, and from the second to the third. St. John imbibed his doctrine from Jesus Christ, St. Polycarp from St. John, St. Irenæus from St. Polycarp; Irenæus and Tertullian, his contemporary, were the masters of St. Cyprian. These are instances and examples of ten thousand similar chains of connected links, which bound the Christians of the second century to their ancestors in the first. This society of the faithful knew what it had received, and its members were ready to die for their faith. Of course, then, they would rather die than to change it knowingly and wilfully, or to suffer it to be changed. They could not be deceived in regard to it, and their rulers and teachers who were like themselves, saints and martyrs, were incapable of making the attempt to tamper with the faith, to alter the gospel, or to change anything in the apostolic ordinances received by tradition. The gospels, the other universally received Scriptures of the New Testament, and the ecclesiastical writings which are recognized in the Church, are genuine, authentic, and give testimony to the universal and original faith of the apostolic church. Especially, in regard to the true character and mission of Jesus Christ, and to the nature of that kingdom of God which He founded on the earth. There is no break between the Apostles

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and their Master, or their disciples. The gospels, supplemented by the earlier chapters of the Acts, in their history and their records of the teaching of Christ and the Apostles, cover the whole ground from the birth of Christ to the end of the first century, and prove the unity and continuity of the faith, and the ecclesiastical unity of the community of the faithful. St. Matthew gives us the gospel which was preached to the Jewish Christians—St. Mark the gospel which St. Peter preached at Rome—St. Luke that which St. Paul preached to both Jews and Gentiles in many cities and countries—and St. John the gospel which he preached in Asia Minor. The universal faith of the Church during the first century which was handed down to the second, and to all succeeding ages, in respect to the Person of Jesus Christ, was the same which is contained in the evangelical history of His life, death, and resurrection. To these gospels we must look, in order to learn what and who Jesus Christ really was in His character, His work, and His Person. We learn this by learning what His own consciousness and knowledge of Himself is shown to have been, by the manifestation and affirmation which He made of His divinity in His miracles and teaching; His self-revelation in works and words. This revelation is in the gospels, which are a mirror reflecting the figure and lineaments of Jesus Christ in an image and an ideal form. It must truly represent the real and living object of our faith and worship. For it was impossible that the evangelists should imagine and invent such a character. The perfection and unparalleled excellence of this character on its human side is not only admitted, but eloquently portrayed by humanitarians and rationalists. It is involved in the essential idea of this human perfection, that the testimony of Jesus Christ to himself should be credible. He testifies to His own divinity, and therefore the truth of the Catholic dogma that He is God as well as man, is a necessary consequence from the admitted truth that He was a good man, and the best of men. Lacordaire has developed this argument in his own masterly manner in the series of Notre-Dame conferences, entitled, "Jesus Christ" Other Catholic authorities have imitated his example and both Dr. Liddon in England, and Dr. Fisher in America, have ranged themselves on the side of these champions, as valiant defenders of the central dogma of Catholic faith. Their line of reasoning is the same; from the super-eminent human sanctity of Jesus Christ to His divinity as proclaimed by Himself and confirmed by His miracles.

This is really the best, most conclusive and efficacious line of argument which can be taken, in refutation of every heresy concerning the Person of Jesus Christ, and in vindication of the Catholic faith. All other lines of argument can be made to run in the

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same direction with this one, and to converge toward the common centre, the Mystery of the Incarnation, which is the very essence of Christianity.

The one simple issue in the present contention is: Who was Jesus Christ in His own inner consciousness, as made known by His self-revelation in His life and doctrine?

It is not necessary to delay, in proving what Dr. Harnack admits in respect to the Gospel, as personified in Jesus Christ; and by Him communicated to His disciples. It does not appear, therefore, to be requisite to prove how untenable is the pure, humanitarian theory, which eliminates all superhuman elements from the character of Christ. Dr. Harnack's theory appears to require and include the recognition of qualities and endowments in Him which do not, indeed, denote the existence of a nature above and distinct from the human, but which elevate His human nature and person far above the level of all other men. He is represented as a saint and Son of God in a singular and unique sense; as the chief and model of all other saints and sons of God; as the "Messiah" and "Lord" of His people; the immediate object of their faith and trust, the guide and mediator through whom they attain to sonship in God, in whom they find a sure foundation for their hope of everlasting life, on condition of repentance and holy conduct. All this supposes a special and unique vocation from God, and an extraordinary endowment of the gifts, qualities, and powers, fitting their subject for the fulfilment of His sublime calling and office. To a superficial view, it may seem that this concession of a superhuman element in the character of Christ suffices to justify and verify the ascription to Him in the Gospel of the titles "Messiah," "Lord," and "Son of God," and that it gives an adequate significance to the title "Son of Man," which he frequently assumed, as denoting, namely, that the highest ideal of humanity was realized in His person. The theory seems to avoid the point-blank contradiction of the purely humanitarian heresy to the manifest claim which Jesus Christ made to a superhuman character, and the necessary consequence that He was not even a person of superior human excellence. Herein lies its advantage, its subtlety, and its special danger for superficial and uninstructed minds. It leaves them the appearance of a Gospel, and of a Saviour whom they may regard as in a vague sense, divine, and thus delude themselves with the belief that they are "evangelical Christians." It is, however, a mere delusion. This is not the Gospel and the Christ of the four Evangelists, but a spectre, the ghost of a dead faith.

The hypothesis ignores altogether the pre-existence of Christ to his human birth, and the miraculous, supernatural mode of this birth from the Virgin. The supernatural birth is affirmed in the

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Gospel, and the pre-existence of the Person who assumed humanity from the Virgin is repeatedly declared by Jesus Christ Himself.

The Arian heresy here steps in to represent the pre-existent Son of God as a second, inferior, created God, who is God in an improper sense, and in some obscure, unintelligible way made Himself man. This hypothesis pretends to satisfy the exigency of those declarations of pre-existence which are found in the Gospels. But, besides its manifold absurdities, it is contradicted by the claim which Jesus Christ made to a true and proper divinity, in which He was equal to the Father, and one with Him in essence.

Every theory which falls short of the Catholic faith is fatally shattered by the same blow which sends the pure humanitarian hypothesis to the bottom. The appearance of being out of range, by moving away from mere humanitarianism through a concession of some superhuman element in the character of Christ, is deceptive. The argument from His human sanctity to His divinity is a resistless projectile, which reaches and destroys the Arian heresy, after shattering every other which it meets on the way. Jesus Christ, as the greatest and best of men, must have known and declared the truth, and nothing but the truth, in regard to Himself. He did declare His own true and proper divinity, and this is therefore the truth. Otherwise, His declaration of His own divine personality and nature proceeded from either hallucination or a deliberate intention and effort to dupe and deceive mankind. Either one of these revolting suppositions deprives His character of all claim to our reverence.

Whatever He did teach about Himself must be true. That He claimed to be superhuman, in respect to some endowments, is easily proved by a short and simple process, and, in the present contention, is conceded. That He claimed to have a superhuman pre-existence is likewise easily proved by a somewhat longer process. That He claimed an eternal subsistence as one person in a divine Trinity, requires a longer range of argument, and admits of an indefinite amplification.

The argument can be, however, condensed and abbreviated, without being deprived of its conclusive force, and, in the present case, it must necessarily be compressed into the smallest possible compass.

To begin with the topic of pre-existence. The very title "Son of Man," so expressive of the true and perfect humanity of Jesus Christ, loses its chief significance if He is regarded as a mere man, the natural offspring of human parents. It implies that there is a peculiar and unique mode by which the person who bears it comes into the human race. There is a mystery, an incident, which

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reason, left to itself, would not expect, in the appearance of such a person on the earth, clothed with the figure of a man, and living a human life. The memory of the promise that one who was the offspring of Eve should come to crush the serpent's head, is awakened. The title suggests that some one has come from beyond the bounds of nature, from heaven, from God, to redeem mankind. The gospel history, derived undoubtedly from the Blessed Virgin Mary herself, and which no skeptical criticism can discredit, informs us that the Lord was conceived and born of a virgin, by the immediate power of God. This parthenogenesis is a subject of blasphemous sarcasm on the part of some German theological professors, but there is no argument in ridicule and mere assertion. Such a miraculous birth denotes the coming of a superhuman, and, even an Arian would admit, a superangelic being, whose herald, announcing his coming into the world, was an archangel.

The Lord declared unto Nicodemus: "No man hath ascended up to Heaven, but He that came down from Heaven, the Son of Man who is in Heaven."[1]

To His disciples, at the Last Supper, He said: "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world; again, I leave the world and go to the Father." And in His prayer to the Father: "Glorify thou me, O Father, with thyself, with the glory which I had, with thee, before the world was."[2]

It cannot be necessary to prove that the heavenly being whose pre-existence was before all time and the world, was really and truly man. It is not likely that any will fall back on the crude, Arian hypothesis. If it is admitted that Jesus Christ pre-existed in a celestial nature, which He united to a human nature when He was conceived by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin, it is much easier to admit the possibility of a Divine Person subsisting in two distinct natures, than to suppose such a union to exist between two created natures.

Moreover, Jesus Christ was the "Son of God" before He became the Son of man, in a unique sense, by a filiation which was natural, intrinsic, and the fundamental ratio of His relation to the Father, as a distinct person. The notion that His sonship was the same thing with His human sanctity, and that His supereminent relation to God as Father, was only His superiority in sanctity to other saints of God, cannot bear a moment's comparison with the texts of the gospel. He came forth from the Father, with whom He had glory before the world was, and He returned to the Father. God was always His Father, and He was, therefore, always His Son.

On the solemn occasion at Cæsarea Philippi, Jesus asked his

[1] St. John, iii., 13.

[2] *Ibid.* xvi., 28; xvii., 3.

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disciples, "Who say ye that I am?" Simon Peter answered and said: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God." And Jesus answered and said to him: "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in Heaven."[1]

Jesus Christ is not, therefore, a mere human prophet and inspired messenger of God, a saint through whom God reveals truth and works miracles. He teaches, and gives law and precept, exercises dominion over nature, raises up the sick and the dead to new life and health, lays down His own life, and re-assumes it by His resurrection, ascends into Heaven, and foretells His second coming in glory to judge the world, in his quality as the Son of the Eternal God the Father, equal to him, in the exercise of an omnipotent power, intrinsic in his nature in which he is one in essence with the Father. His divinity is implied in His whole history, from His conception to His ascension, which is miraculous all through, so that even Harnack and other extreme rationalists are obliged to confess that the elimination of the miraculous from the gospels destroys their whole texture.

The repeated affirmation of the priority of the Father to the Son, as the principle of origin whence His distinct personality is derived, in no way detracts from His essential equality. It is the Catholic Faith that in the one Godhead the Son proceeds from the Father by eternal generation, and the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son as one principle, by procession, in and through which the divine essence and substance is communicated from the fount of Deity in the Father. Moreover, as man, the Son is a creature of God, dependent and inferior, and his humanity is only a medium and instrument of divine power. There is a human mind and human will as well as a human body in the human nature of Christ, in which the Divine Person has subjected himself to divine law by becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. All the mystery, the wonder, the superhuman glory and beauty of the character and life of Jesus Christ is in the genuine, authentic ideal of a divine person who has thrown about him the robe of humanity, to walk on the earth among men as their fellow and also their Sovereign, whose dominion is founded in love more than in power.

Besides all the cumulative evidences from the gospels that Jesus Christ spake and acted as the Son of God, in the sense of a proper and divine filiation, there are clear and distinct affirmations from his mouth which can bear no other interpretation. In these passages the sublime truth, which is somewhat latent and implied in

[1] St. Matt., xvi, 15–17.

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His entire intellectual and moral manifestation of Himself in word and work, is explicitly set forth. Jesus Christ explicitly asserted His divinity to His friends, to the Jewish people in general, and to His declared enemies.

"Philip saith to Him: Lord, show us the Father, and it is enough for us. Jesus saith to him: So long a time have I been with you, and have ye not known me? Philip, he who seeth me, seeth the Father also. How sayest thou, Show us the Father. Do ye not believe that I am in the Father, and the Father is in me?"[1]

To the Jews our Lord asserted His possession of an operative power equal to that of the Father and identical with it, His equal right to the homage of men, and the oneness of His essence with the essence of the Father.

One occasion was the healing of a paralytic. Jesus had gone up to Jerusalem on some great festival, regarded by good authorities as the Passover. The Jews were irritated against Him because He healed on the Sabbath. "But Jesus answered them: My Father worketh until now, and I work. Hereupon therefore, the Jews sought the more to kill him; because he not only brake the Sabbath, but also called God his own Father, making himself equal to God. Then Jesus answered and said to them: Truly, truly, I say to you, the Son cannot do anything of himself, but what he seeth the Father do: for what things soever he doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner. For the Father loveth the Son and showeth him all things which himself doeth: and greater works than these will he show him, that ye may wonder. For as the Father raiseth up the dead and giveth life, so the Son also giveth life to whom he willeth. And the Father judgeth no one, but hath given all judgment to the Son, that all may honor the Son, as they honor the Father."[2]

Another occasion was at the Feast of the Dedication.

"And Jesus walked in the temple, in Solomon's porch. The Jews, therefore, came about him, and said to him: How long dost thou keep our minds in suspense? If thou art the Christ, tell us plainly. Jesus answered them: I speak to you and ye believe not. The works which I perform in the name of my Father, they bear testimony of me. But ye do not believe, because ye are not of my sheep; my sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me. And I give them life everlasting, and they shall not perish ever; and no man shall snatch them out of my hand. That which my Father hath given me is greater than all."[3]

This last clause is explained by St. Augustine to denote the communication of the divine essence by the eternal generation. "The

[1] St. John, xiv., 8–11. [2] St. John, v., 17–23. [3] St. John, x., 23–29.

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Father is God not from the Son: the Son is God from the Father: therefore the Father by the generation of the Son gave to him to be God, by generation he gave to him to be coeternal, by generation he gave to him to be equal. This is what is greater than all things."

The Lord proceeds to say: "And no one can snatch out of the hand of my Father. I and the Father are one." The force of the Greek numeral in the neuter gender ἕν, is lost in the English indefinite adjective "one." It is "one thing," *i.e.*, one nature, essence, substance. The reason given why no one can snatch the elect out of the hand of the Son, viz., that no one can snatch them out of the hand of the Father, implies that the Son has the same omnipotence with the Father. And this is because He is of one essence, is consubstantial with the Father.

The Jews attempted to stone Him to death "for blasphemy, and because that being a man, thou makest thyself God." Jesus did not repudiate their interpretation of His words. He vindicated His assertion from blasphemy by an illation, *a minori ad majus.* If judges could be called gods, much more could one whom the Father had specially sanctified be called "Son of God." He appealed to His divine works as the evidence that "the Father is in me, and I am in the Father." So far from understanding the plea of Jesus as equivalent to a repudiation of their charge that He made Himself God, they took it as a repetition of the same assertion: "And they sought therefore to take him, but he escaped out of their hands."

Again, when teaching in the temple, Jesus declared to the Jews that "Abraham your father rejoiced to see my day: he saw it and was glad." The meaning appears to be only that Abraham foresaw the day of the Messiah by a prophetic light. The Jews, however, suspected that He was intimating the coexistence of His day with the day of David, which would imply his eternal pre-existence. They asked Him, therefore, a question, intended to call forth a more explicit avowal of this pre-existence, viz., whether He, though He had as yet lived only a short human life, had nevertheless seen Abraham? They did, indeed, receive an explicit answer, the most remarkable and sublime of all the avowals of His divinity, made by Jesus Christ. "Truly, truly, I say to you, before Abraham was made, I AM."[1] On this passage I find no comment more worthy to be quoted than that of Dr. Liddon. "He claims pre-existence, indeed, but He does not merely claim pre-existence, He unveils a consciousness of eternal being. He speaks as One in whom time has no effect, and for whom it has no meaning. He is the I AM

[1] St. John, viii., 58.

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of ancient Israel; He knows no past, as He knows no future; He is unbeginning, unending Being; He is the eternal 'Now.' This is the plain sense of His language. . . . . Here, again, the Jews understood our Lord, and attempted to kill Him; while He, instead of explaining Himself in any sense which would have disarmed their anger, simply withdrew from the temple."[1]

Finally, Jesus Christ declared his divinity before the Sanhedrin, and was condemned to death on account of this declaration. "And the high priest said to him: I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou art the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus saith to him: Thou hast said it. But I say to you, hereafter ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the clouds of heaven. Then the high priest rent his garments, saying: He hath blasphemed: what further need have ye of witnesses? Behold now, ye have heard the blasphemy: what think ye? They answered and said: He is worthy of death."[2] This accusation of blasphemy implies the sense of the title, Son of God, which is identical with true and proper divinity. A very remarkable Jewish writer of our own day, M. Salvador, who vindicates the judgment and sentence of the Sanhedrin, does so on the ground that the real point at issue was the divinity of the Saviour. The members of the Sanhedrin stated this before Pilate. "We have a law, and by our law, He ought to die, because He made Himself the Son of God." "Not," says Salvador, "because He made Himself the Son of God, in that sense of the expression which was familiar to our language and to our prophets; but because he made Himself equal to God and truly God."[3] There was no alternative, except to worship Him, or to condemn Him to death. Jesus Christ accepted the issue. He submitted to death, and staked His right to worship and His cause upon His resurrection and His second coming. He was put to death, but He has been worshiped, and in part because of and by means of His death. He did rise from the dead and ascended into heaven, and therefore, we are certain that He will come again to judge the world.

The teaching of the Apostles is equivalent to the words of Christ himself, for it is an echo of His voice. It is enough to cite one, and that the most explicit and decisive testimony of all, the testimony of St. John.

"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. This was in the beginning with God. All things were made through Him, and without Him was made

[1] *Divinity of Jesus Christ*, pp. 187-88.

[2] St. Matt., xxvi., 63-66.

[3] *Jesus Christ*. ii., p. 204.

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nothing that was made. In Him was life, and the life was the light of men. . . . . And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us (and we saw His glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father), full of grace and truth."[1]

This is the Gospel of Christ, of the Evangelists and Apostles, and of the Catholic Church. It is the mystery of the Incarnation, "and confessedly great is the mystery of piety, which was manifested in the flesh, was justified in spirit, was seen by angels, was preached to the Gentiles, believed in the world, ascended in glory."[2]

This great mystery flows forth from the wider and deeper Mystery of the Blessed Trinity, which, with the Incarnation included, is the one principal object of Catholic faith.

The distinction of personality and unity of essence in the relation of the Son to the Father needs only to be extended to the Holy Spirit, to complete the Trinity. It is not necessary to enter into an elaborate exposition of this part of the dogma. Distinction and plurality of persons in the one divine essence being granted, there is no new mystery, no new difficulty involved, in the confession of the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Faith in the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity has always been accompanied by faith in the Third Person. The Macedonian heresy was only a sequel of Arianism. The dogma of the divinity of Jesus Christ has always been indissolubly joined to the dogma of the Trinity. It is enough to call to mind that the formation of the sacred humanity of Jesus Christ, and its sanctification, are referred to the Holy Spirit as the author of this masterpiece of divine wisdom and power, and that he is united under one name with the Father and the Son in the baptismal formula, to vindicate his claim to a distinct and equal personality in the Godhead, and his right to be worshiped, and glorified together with the Father and the Son.

The Catholic thesis as against Harnack and his compeers is in fact substantially proved, by showing that Jesus Christ declared His own divinity, revealed the mystery of the Incarnation, and sealed His testimony with His blood. This is made known to us by the witness of His disciples, especially of St. John, the last survivor of the Apostles. St. John at the close of the first century, proclaims this same sublime truth; which Jesus Christ proposed to His disciples, to the Jewish people, and to their rulers, demanding their faith under the penalty of eternal condemnation; as the faith of the apostolic church. The Gospel of Jesus Christ and the Gospel of the Apostles is therefore one and the same. It would be easy, although it would surely be superfluous to corroborate

[1] St. John I., 1–14, 14.

[2] St. Paul, Ep. Tim., iii., 16.

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this statement by the Epistles of St. Paul. A few years before his martyrdom he wrote from his prison to the Ephesians: "To me, the least of all saints, is this grace given, to preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ, and to enlighten all, what is the dispensation of the mystery hidden during ages in God —according to the eternal purpose which he formed in Christ Jesus our Lord."[1] It is impossible to any one reading the Acts and Epistles to doubt, that the gospel which St. Paul preached, was indentical with the gospel of St. John. All the extant records of the preaching of St. Peter and the other Apostles prove the unanimous consent of the entire apostolic college.

All the rubbish of hypothesis and pseudo-criticism heaped about the beginnings of apostolic and Catholic Christianity are swept away as soon as Jesus Christ is recognized as the Incarnate Son of God. All these conjectures take their rise from the humanitarian theory. That Jesus Christ, being God from eternity, became man, lived, died, rose again, and ascended into heaven, promising to come again in glory to judge the world—is evidence that the work he accomplished on the earth was equal in grandeur to His divine character. He was the creator of mankind, the author of all the religious institutions of the patriarchs, of Abraham and of Moses, which were only preparations and preambles of His gospel and His church. Being the author and the lord of life, His death could only have been a voluntary and temporary laying down of His corporeal life for the redemption of the world. As the Messiah of the Jews and the Gentiles, the world-religion and universal church founded by Him must correspond to His foregoing operation in human history, as the principal building to its portico. There is nothing which exhibits this correspondence in solidity, extent and perpetuity except Historical Christianity, *i.e.*, Catholicism, in its doctrine, its law, its worship and its hierarchical organization. The religion, the inchoate Catholic Church, which preceded, embodied in Judaism, endured for at least thirteen centuries from Moses, and has even survived from the destruction of the temple to the present time. If the Christianity of Christ and the Apostles, the genuine and pure Gospel, was so frail and slightly built that it could not last longer than from half a century to a century and a half from the close of the apostolic age, Jesus Christ did nothing worthy of the character which He claimed, of the predictions which He uttered, and His work was a failure. It is necessary, therefore, to the vindication of His divinity, to proclaim the continuity and unity of the Catholic Church of the persecution of Diocletian, of the triumph of Constantine, and of the

[1] iii., 8-11.

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Nicene Council; from Cyprian, Irenæus, Polycarp, Ignatius, the Apostles, and from Jesus Christ as its Founder.

The demand which Jesus Christ made with His own mouth on the homage of mankind as its King having been demonstrated, it remains only to show what were the principles of His kingdom as He proclaimed and announced it; to show that these principles are identical with those of Catholicism.

According to Dr. Harnack, the specific difference which determines the essential nature of Catholicism consists in the doctrine of the sacraments, of penance, of faith, and of authority in faith. All else is only a consequence. But if the faith proposed by infallible authority, in the Catholic sense, be taken alone as the essence of Catholicism, the doctrine of the sacraments and of penance follows as a consequence, just as much as the papacy and everything else defined by Catholic authority.

Now, Jesus Christ, as the Son of God, possessed infallible authority, and by it proposed all that He taught as revealed truth to the firm, undoubting assent of faith. At Cæsarea Philippi, when He demanded a confession of faith in Himself, and, on the confession made by Peter in the name of the rest, promised to build His church upon a rock which should defy all the assaults of hell, He evidently made of faith confessed on the authority of divine revelation the architectonic and consolidating foundation of His church.

The Catholic interpretation of this promise of the Lord to St. Peter, that Peter, namely, as prince of the apostles, in his perpetual office of vicegerent of Christ, living in his successors, enthroned in the supreme See of Rome, which he founded, should become the chief and fundamental base and principle of stability in the church; by no means excludes, rather it perfectly harmonizes with other references to Christ Himself, to faith, to the confession of the faith, to the office of the other apostles, and to the indefectible stability in faith of the universal society of Christian believers. Christ Himself is the primary source of all the stability imparted to the Church; He is its builder and its foundation. It is the faith of Peter and his confession of faith which makes him fit to receive the name and the quality of a rock. His confession is made in the name of all the apostles, of their successors as well as in his own name, in the name of the whole Church to the end of time. The Petrine character and stability are given to all the foundation stones, and to the entire structure erected upon them, the universal Church. The principle of stability is centred in Peter and his See, as the perpetual and supreme ruling power in the Church, by which it is preserved in unity and made impregnable against all assaults to the end of time.

The unity and stability of the Church, built by Jesus Christ upon

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an impregnable rock, are in their innermost and principal character unity and stability in faith and the confession of faith.

The Christian faith is founded on a divine revelation, which in its final and complete perfection was made through Jesus Christ. Infallibility was necessarily and intrinsically inherent in Him as the author of the revelation, on whose word it rests. But it was also necessary that that this infallibility should be communicated as a gift to St. Peter and the apostles. They were instructed by Jesus Christ Himself personally, not only as believers, but as teachers. The world in general does not receive directly and immediately from Jesus Christ His infallible doctrine. It is received immediately through the apostles, and it was only through them that it was proclaimed to the world. The Lord handed over His kingdom to the apostles; through their ministry idolatry was to be expelled from the Roman empire, the empire itself to be subjugated, false philosophy to be vanquished, the world to be regenerated, the universal church and the world-religion to be established. As supreme authority and infallibility were necessary attributes of the office of Messiah and Redeemer, and as Jesus Christ Himself did not remain on the earth to exercise this office in person, it was requisite that he should bring His supreme and infallible authority into contact with the world through an adequate medium. Accordingly, He gave to St. Peter and the apostles a share in His own divine mission, and commissioned them to continue and extend it through all nations to the ends of the earth, and through all ages to the end of time.

All Christians who believe in supernatural religion, in the true divinity of Jesus Christ, in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the inspired word of God, are bound to acknowledge the infallible authority of the Apostles, and they do acknowledge the same. It is through this authority that we receive the divine revelation, the Scriptures, the faith, and the knowledge of the way of salvation. Now, since Jesus Christ commissioned the Apostles to disciple and baptize all nations, and to teach them the observance of all His precepts, it is evident that their commission was not purely personal and transient. As the founder of a universal and perpetual religion, He was bound to provide for its stability and diffusion as His kingdom on the earth. As He committed it in charge to the apostolate, promising His own perpetual presence and supreme direction to His Church, He must have given an apostolic commission adequate to its purposes and commensurate to the extent and duration of the apostolic mission.

The teaching of the Apostles was the proximate and universal rule of faith. All who admit this must hold to what Harnack de-

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fines to be the specific difference of Catholicism, the principle of faith and authority in faith. The faith is that which the Apostles taught as received from Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit; the authority is His divine authority delegated to them as His ambassadors. This authority must have been made permanent and perpetual.

Protestants profess to believe that it was made permanent and perpetual by a written record, a collection of scriptures, of which they were the authors or the sponsors. The authority of the Apostles perseveres, and proposes the exclusive and sufficient rule of faith to the Church in all ages through the canonical books of the Bible, especially of the New Testament, which they have bequeathed, as the last will and testament of the Saviour, to all future generations of mankind.

Now, it is obvious that, on the hypothesis that Jesus Christ took this way of building His Church, His work was a signal failure. He built it, not on a rock, but on sand, and out of perishable materials. The edifice constructed by the Apostles, like the transient commission they are supposed to have received, was ephemeral. They all neglected, and in particular St. John—who survived to give the finishing touches to their work, and might be supposed to be specially responsible for instructing Polycarp, Ignatius, Clement, and other chief pastors in the first principles of Christianity—St. John, I say, neglected to inform the Christians of the post-apostolic age precisely how many and which writings constituted the canon of the New Testament.

Those who imagine an apostolic and primitive church after the Protestant ideal are obliged to confess that it disappeared in the second century. By the year 150 another church had succeeded to its place, which by the year 250 stands forth in such colossal proportions that no one who has any historic sense and knowledge can fail to perceive that the universal Christianity of that epoch is Catholicism. This is the Christianity which conquers under Constantine; which in the great councils vanquishes the heresies which arise as great monsters out of the abyss to contend with it; which broods over the waters of the incoming flood of barbarism and evokes a new world, the world of Christian civilization.

Now, if the Apostles were not the authors and founders under Christ of this historical Christianity, then it is a human invention which sprang up after the year 100, grew imperceptibly and rapidly until the year 325, developed and extended with gigantic strides during the next twelve centuries, has withstood the new assaults of the last 300 years, and assuredly is not at the present moment ready for the historian of its decline and fall.

Now, there is an exact parallel between the theory of those who

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deny the divine character of Jesus Christ and that of those who deny the divine origin and authority of the Catholic Church. The former theory is humanitarian. It represents Jesus Christ as a great and good man, around whose shoulders the inventive genius of the Christians of the second century threw a mantle of divinity. The second theory represents the Catholic Church as a human commonwealth which was transformed into a divine institution by the inventive genius of those who are considered to have been the creators of the new Christianity of Catholicism. Anti-Christians began by blaspheming Christ, but have changed their original blasphemy into a laudation of his human character. So, likewise, anti-Catholics began by denouncing the Catholic Church as something infernal, but now the best and ablest among them emphatically praise and glorify it as a grand and useful, even a morally necessary human institution. But the same argument which destroys the position of the former class is equally destructive of the position of the latter class. If Jesus Christ were a mere man, he could not have been either great or good, because he claimed to be God. If the Catholic Church were a human institution, it could not be intellectually and morally admirable, because it claimed divine origin and authority. The papacy, the episcopal hierarchy, the priesthood, the sacraments as efficacious means of sanctification, the infallible authority of the teaching Church, the entire ecclesiastical doctrine and order rejected by Protestants, were either of divine origin or gross and baneful impostures. The great prelates, the great doctors, the canonized martyrs and confessors of ancient Christianity, on the supposition that Catholicism was a colossal fraud, were either dupes and victims of a superstitious hallucination or the fraudulent authors of a fabulous system by which the Christian people were duped and deceived.

This latter supposition is too gross to find favor at the present time with believers in Christ and Christianity, or even with enlightened rationalists. It must be admitted that the great fathers and rulers of the Catholic Church were both sincere and intelligent. They believed that they were walking in the footsteps of Christ and the Apostles. They could not be deceived or deceivers. It was impossible that they should drift away unconsciously from the pure Christianity of the Apostles, or that they should deliberately combine together to alter it. It is an injury to Jesus Christ to suppose that He did not give to His religion and His Church a stable and permanent foundation, and fully instruct His Apostles by word of mouth and by the Holy Spirit how to carry out His intentions. They understood their commission perfectly, and must have carefully adopted efficacious means of instructing their associates and successors in the ministry how to continue the work which they

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had commenced. The universal horror excited by early heresies, and the commotion excited in the Church by controversies concerning the observance of Easter and the baptism of heretics, prove how deeply imbued were the minds of all Catholic Christians with the spirit of loyalty to the doctrines and ordinances of the Apostles; and how impossible it was that innovations should be introduced and become universal, either imperceptibly or by an open exercise of authority.

The Christianity of the sub-apostolic and post-apostolic age must be identical with that of the apostolic age.

It is conceded by all Christians that the infallible authority of the Apostles was the permanent and perpetual rule of faith, and that their constitution of the Church was of perpetual obligation.

In what manner the apostolic authority was to be perpetuated, we must learn historically by their own declarations and acts, supplemented by the practical and doctrinal interpretation of their successors. The discussion of apostolic declarations and acts, as recorded in the Scriptures of the New Testament, has been so frequently and exhaustively carried on by Catholic writers in recent times, that it may be here omitted. The writer of the present article has contributed his share to the discussion in this REVIEW (No. for April, 1892), and that former article may be referred to as filling the gap in the argument now in hand.

One thing is certain, *prima facie*, that the Apostles did not present to their disciples a book embodying a formal code of doctrine and legislation as their rule of faith and conduct. The rule of faith during the first century was in their living and teaching authority, to which the written documents, afterwards included in the canon of the New Testament, were subsidiary in so far as they were known and possessed by the faithful.

Neither did they formally bequeath such a book to the succeeding generation as a sole and sufficient rule of faith.

Had they done so, it would have been known, proclaimed, and universally accepted.

On the contrary, the second century recognized the Catholic Episcopate, under the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, as the continuation of the apostolate under the principality of St. Peter.

St. Irenæus is a competent and sufficient witness to this fact.

He was the disciple of St. Polycarp, who was the disciple of St. John. He resided for a time at Rome, visited the other principal Christian churches, became the Bishop of Lyons, and suffered martyrdom, A. D. 202. He represents Asia Minor and the West, as well as the East and Gaul; and his testimony stretches backward not only to the middle of the second century, but, through the chain connecting it with St. Polycarp and St. John, back to the beginning of the century and to the end of the first.

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St. Irenæus writes as follows:

"Therefore, the tradition of the Apostles, manifested in the whole world, can be seen in every church by all who wish to discover what the true doctrines are; and we can enumerate those who are instituted bishops in the churches by the Apostles, and their successors even to our own times, who have never known or taught anything like the madness which is vented by these persons (*i.e.*, Gnostic heretics). And certainly, if the Apostles had known recondite mysteries which they taught the perfect, separately and concealed from the rest of their disciples, they would with most special care have taught them to those men to whom they committed the churches; for they desired that these should be very perfect and irreprehensible in all things whom they left after them as their own successors, *delivering over to them their own place of magistracy*—from whose exemplary conduct great advantages would ensue; whereas their lapse from rectitude would be the cause of the utmost calamity. But since it would take too long to enumerate in a book like the present one, the succession of all the churches, by merely exhibiting the tradition of the greatest and most ancient Church, which is known to all, founded and constituted by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, at Rome, the tradition of faith received from the Apostles and proclaimed to all men, and which has come down even to us by the successions of the bishops—we bring to confusion all those who assemble in unauthorized meetings at their own pleasure for the sake of vainglory, or because they are blinded and misled by false opinions. For with this Church, on account of her more powerful principality, it is necessary that every church, *i. e.*, the faithful everywhere dispersed, should agree, in which church has always been preserved, by the faithful dispersed, that tradition which is from the Apostles. The blessed Apostles, having founded and instructed the Church, handed down the episcopate of the administration of the Church to Linus: and now Elentherius holds the episcopate in the twelfth place from the Apostles. By this same order, and by this same succession, both that tradition which is in the Church from the Apostles, and the preaching of the truth have come down to us. And this is a most full demonstration that it is one and the same life-giving faith which is preserved in the Church from the Apostles and handed down in truth."[1]

"The heavenly gift has been confided to the Church, as a principle of life to all her members. In her is accomplished all that operation of the Holy Spirit in which they have no part; who, instead of being in communion with the Church, exclude themselves from life by their bad doctrines and criminal conduct. For,

[1] *Against Heresies*, iii., sec. 3.

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where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God; and, where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church, and with her all grace."[1]

A Protestant divine, Zeigler, remarks:

"To the mind of Irenæus, it is the episcopate which sanctions the rule of faith, not *vice v.rsa.* With him, as with Cyprian, the highest ecclesiastical office is inseparable from orthodox doctrines. He makes the preservation of tradition, and the presence of the Holy Ghost with the Church dependent upon the bishops, who, in legitimate succession, represent the apostles; and this, manifestly, because he wants at any price to have a guarantee for the unity of the visible Church. This striving after unity appears, in the most striking way, in the passage where he passes, as if in a prophetic spirit, beyond himself, and anticipates the Papal Church of the future."[2]

No! he does not anticipate; he describes a present reality, and it is an evasive shift to call his plain statement prophetic.

This part of the subject has been more fully treated in an article on "The Hierarchy in the First Two Centuries," in this REVIEW (July, 1892), to which I refer the reader who desires more ample satisfaction.

The bishops of the closing first and opening second centuries, of whom St. Irenæus is the spokesman, understood fully what office the apostles had committed to them. Specimens of this numerous episcopate are Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp; and Irenæus is their faithful interpreter. It is impossible to overthrow the historical demonstration which is based on the testimony of Irenæus, supported by that of Ignatius and Tertullian, that St. Peter and the apostles transmitted the apostolate, with supreme teaching and ruling authority, to bishops as their successors.

It is evident, therefore, that the Catholic episcopate inherited the promises and gifts which Jesus Christ gave to the original Apostles, except in so far as these were, in their nature and scope, transient, and were fulfilled, once for all, in laying the foundations of the Church, a task which could not be done over again.

These promises and gifts were not given to the Apostles as individuals, to be completely exhausted in their lifetime. They were given to them as the beginners of a hierarchy, which was to last to the end of the world. The promises to St. Peter were made to the supreme pontificate which he was to establish in Rome, and transmit to his successors. The endowments of the apostolate were perennial. The mission of the apostles was a mission to make disciples, to teach and to govern through all nations and ages to the end of time. The Holy Spirit was promised first, and afterwards given, to be the spirit and soul of the Church, especially of

[1] *Ibid.*, Sec. 24.

[2] *Irenæus*, Bischof von Lyon, Berlin, 1871

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its hierarchy, to lead the authorized teachers, and the taught, into all truth, and to be a perennial source and fountain of grace. The infallibility of the Catholic Church is, therefore, implied, and virtually contained in the infallibility of the Apostles. From the Church we receive the canon of the New Testament and the assurance of its inspiration. We began with assuming the authenticity and credibility of certain parts of it as historical testimony. From this testimony, we have established the facts of the mission and divinity of Christ, the mission and supreme authority of the apostles, the divine origin and constitution of the Church. And from the infallible testimony of the Church we receive the very word of Christ, the Son of God, given personally and by the revelation and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, through the medium of apostolic scriptures and apostolic tradition. Thus the ultimate ground and motive of our faith is the veracity of God. Divine faith must rest on divine revelation; and since the revelation is not made to men in general, directly and individually, it must be proposed through a sufficient authority.

A sufficient and adequate authority must be one which God renders infallible. A lesser authority deserves and can justly exact only a human faith, the criterion of which lies in the individual reason. Withdraw from underneath the fabric of the Church its infallibility, and we are on the high road to become humanitarians and pure rationalists, *i.e.*, in ceasing to be Catholics we must cease to be Christians. Following this road will not bring us to solid and high ground, from which we can gain a clear and wide prospect, but into a swamp. Abandoning Christianity and Christ, we do not remove them from their place in history, but merely go away out of their sight and lose ourselves. They remain in the world, and they are inseparable. Christianity is the Catholic Church, which is the kingdom of Christ. Being a king, he must found a kingdom, commensurate with His own divine greatness. There is no such kingdom except the Catholic Church, and to deny that He is its founder is to deny that He did anything worthy of His divinity in the world. To break the continuity between Christ, the Apostles, historical Christianity, and the Catholic Church, is to falsify his promises and predictions, to rob him of his glory and divest him of his divinity. From belief in the divine Christ follows, logically and historically, belief in the apostolic and divine origin of Catholicism. Deny it, and the whole work of the Apostles is like a picture over which a wet sponge has been passed. It has no consistency and no intelligible meaning or distinct traits. Moreover, the character and life of Christ are reduced to an isolated chapter in history; they become an enigma which has received and can receive no rational solution. From Christ to the Catholic Church there is an *a priori* demonstration, concluding the

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nature of the effect from the nature of the cause. On the other hand, the Catholic Church is a most brilliant and convincing proof of the divinity of Christ by the demonstration *a posteriori* from the nature of the effect, to the nature of the cause.

The development of the Catholic Church during the first three centuries, the victory which it gained over Judaism, heathenism and heresy, its triumph under the banner of the Labarum, is a manifestation of the divine power of Jesus Christ. Likewise, the history of the Catholic Church from Constantine to Charlemagne, a second chapter almost equally momentous, is a signal demonstration that Christ was working in it with divine omnipotence. From that time to this, a period of eleven centuries, chapter has succeeded to chapter in this marvellous history, each one furnishing new evidence of the divine power of Jesus Christ and of the fulfillment of his prophetic words. The kingdom bears witness to the king, and the end is not yet.

There is nothing to obscure the testimony except the record which ecclesiastical history furnishes of the sins and delinquencies of men. The visible Church is not a society composed exclusively of the saints and the elect. Although divine, it is also very human. In many respects the kingdom of Christ presents an outward aspect similar to that of other empires in the world. Therefore many are scandalized. Yet, in reality, all the evidence furnished by the true history of the Church—that it would long ago have been dashed in pieces amid the storms of human passion, if it had been a purely human institution—must be added to the positive evidence that it is divine. It is a dark background which brings into clearer and brighter relief the presence and the power of God.

We have seen on one of our lakes a water-spout cross from one shore to the other, over the surface of a great wall of black cloud, like a beautiful white column of vapor. Like this is the passage of the pure and brilliant figure of Jesus Christ across human history. Not only across post-Christian, but also across pre-Christian history. For in His pre-existent state the Son of God was the light of the world, the Redeemer of mankind, the author of all the good which can be seen in human history from the creation of man to the incarnation. His kingdom began in Eden; it embraces all ages and all nations, although first perfectly and finally organized when He founded the Catholic Church. The testimony which His kingdom gives to His royal character and power is, therefore, not complete unless He is represented as the Alpha and Omega, the beginning as well as the end of all divine revelation.

Moreover, it is really ignorance or misrepresentation of Christian history which is the source of the impeachment of the Catholic Church, sustained by the citation of the records of this history. The dark pages of each chapter only are read and commented

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upon by the irreconcilable enemies of the Church; they are exaggerated and interpolated with falsehoods. Hence there is a widespread and popular historical romance which has usurped the place of true and authentic history.

The bright pages of history must be read, and each chapter be regarded as a whole, in connection with all the other chapters. From this high point of view; as from the Eiffel tower, Paris and the surrounding landscape is a vision of grandeur and beauty, all unsightly, mean and loathsome objects dwindled and lost to view in the general features of the magnificent prospect; Christianity and the Catholic Church are visible in their just perspective and proportions. As the world bears testimony to its Creator, so does the Catholic Church bear testimony to its divine author, Jesus Christ.

Lacordaire, in his own elevated plane of thought and eloquent language, has given, within the compass of a few sentences, an outline sketch of this prospect of the City of God and its surrounding domain of Historical Christianity.

"Christianity is the greatest phenomenon which has been naturalized in the world, the greatest intellectual phenomenon, the greatest moral phenomenon, the greatest social phenomenon—something unique, in a word, and, yet once more, something divine.

"But what is the primary cause of this phenomenon? Every phenomenon has a cause. Who, then, has made the Catholic Church? Who has founded that society which rules minds by certainty, regulates souls by the highest virtues, blesses the human race by the new elements it has given to civilization? Who has formed under a hierarchy spiritual and unarmed that body wherein conviction, holiness, unity, universality, stability and life form a tissue of superhuman and incontestable beauty? Who has designed and produced it? Is it time or chance? Is it the work of many, or of one alone? It is but one—yes, one alone—Jesus Christ. He is the artist! It is He who founded that Church whose ineffable architecture we have contemplated together."[1]

Here I close my contention, that the divine Christ, His Gospel, the inspired canonical books of the New Testament, apostolical Christianity, the Catholic hierarchy, Catholicism pure, simple and entire, are indissolubly bound together as one inseparable whole. Dr. Harnack, by making this thesis historically certain, has rendered a greater service to the Catholic cause than any harm likely to result from his rationalistic hypothesis. It is a great advantage to have the true issue made clear. On the one side it is Catholicism; on the other, some form of rationalism more or less tinctured with Christian elements.

AUGUSTINE F. HEWIT.

[1] *Jesus Christ*, Conf. 1, p. 10.

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UNIVERSITY COLLEGES: THEIR ORIGIN AND THEIR METHODS.

(CONCLUDED.)

VI.

1. Let us go behind this college life and note the guide books by which the masters were directed in their teachings. We are accustomed to consider pedagogy a modern science. But let us not be deceived. In those mediæval days there were wholesome studies of methods. Then as now, masters considered the ways and means by which best results might be reached. The manual of the thirteenth century most in vogue was a small work in seven chapters, known as "*De Disciplina Scholarium*,"[1] and attributed to Boëthius, but not written till the University of Paris had been fully established. The book is quoted by Roger Bacon in 1267.[2] The name of Boëthius rendered it popular and gave it a prescriptive standing that it might have never otherwise attained. Still there is a goodly share of sound advice running through its pages. The unknown author would have instruction continuous, uninterrupted, riveted in the brain by frequent repetition until the verses of the poets and the sentences of the philosophers find a fixed place in the memory. The master should not be content with the teaching of mere words, which makes sophists, nor with purely mental activity which develops the judgment and originates science, but he should also with both of these combine common usage that comes with habit. Science without practice is of small avail, whereas practice without science availeth greatly. The scholar should always be subject to the master, for only he who knows how to obey knows how to govern himself. This submission has a threefold character; attention in practice, docility of mind, and good will of the soul; the student should ever be attentive to listen, docile to understand, and ready to retain. It behooves the master to understand his scholars and direct each according to his talents: the obtuse mind to mechanics, the mediocre to politics, the acute to philosophy.[3] Further on, we are given the various qualifications of the master: He should be erudite, affable, strict, grave and reserved without being arrogant; he should be honest, truthful, just, prudent, faithful, constant, patient, and know well himself what he teaches others.[4] Masters and

[1] *Patrologia Latina*, vol. lxiv.

[2] In the *Opus Magus*.

[3] Caput v., col. 1233.

[4] Cap. vi, col. 1235. All these qualities are explained.

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scholars should constitute one family, and if the master is obliged to administer corporal punishment it must be with permission of the parent. In all that has been here transcribed very little can be improved upon after an experience of six centuries.

The Carmelite, William Whetely, made a careful study of this little volume, and according to its principles during five and twenty years directed the schools of Stamford, and under his efficient management Stamford grew to such prominence that it was considered a rival of Oxford and Cambridge. The historian of Stamford says of the Carmelite convent: "Certain it is this convent was as happy in the famous men it produced, as their schools and house itself were remarkable for the strictness of their discipline."[1] Whetely wrote an elaborate commentary upon the manual attributed to Boëthius, whence Leland calls him "Boëtianus." The commentary is still extant in manuscript in Pembroke College Library, Cambridge.[2]

2. A voice out of the same age, speaking to us from Brescia—the voice of a judge learned in the law. Albertan Albertani (circ. 1250) among some moral prosings discusses the subject of education with the practical sense of a man of affairs. In a tract titled *Of Speaking and of Silence—De Loquendi et Tacendi Modo*—the author lays down the requisites for study (cap. xi.). According to him there are three essentials that enter into the acquisition of knowledge; namely, doctrine, use and exercise, and practical application. The mind is afterwards aided by forcible thoughts on doctrine, which should be committed to memory; by constant reading; by writing, and by chewing and masticating the science that one learns. While studying one should overlook or despise no science, no written document; one should never feel ashamed to learn from any person who can give information, and finally one should not despise others because one has become familiar with some science.[3]

3. Another manual of pedagogy is the treatise *De Eruditione Principum*, from the pen of William Pèrault, who was contemporary with Thomas Aquinas. He died about 1275. For a long time his book was attributed to St. Thomas, and is still to be found in all the printed editions of his works.[4] Echard proved conclusively that the treatise belongs to Peraldus or Pérault.[5] The work is divi-

[1] Peck, *Academia Tertia Anglicana*, lib. viii, p. 44.

[2] See J. Bass Mullinger, *University of Cambridge*, pp. 637, 638.

[3] See an analysis of this little work by Vicenzo di Giovanni in *Nota* published at Palermo, 1874. A copy of the work itself is to be found in the Mazarin Library. See also Everardo Micheli, *Storia della Pedagogia Italiana*, pp. 79, 80.

[4] *Obusculum*, XXXVII, vol. xvi., Parma edition, 1865.

[5] *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, i., pp. 131–136. Paris. 1719.

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ded into seven books. The first is made up of moral reflections considered suitable to a young prince. It dwells upon the vanity of worldly riches, praise and glory, and the risks, miseries and responsibilities that accompany earthly power, and inculcates clemency, piety, wisdom and the other qualities becoming princely power and true nobility.[1] The second treats of the relations of the prince towards God and the Church. It dwells upon the faith, hope, charity and the fear of the Lord that should possess him. It lays stress on the rules and motives urging one to the love of God and of one's neighbor.[2] The third unfolds the care the prince should take of himself. While engaged and occupied with others it behooves him not to neglect his own interior life. He may possess all knowledge of men and things, but not knowing himself he would only be building upon a ruinous foundation. He is not wise whose wisdom does not extend to the attaining of his own salvation. In his every act he should inquire, "Is it lawful? is it expedient? is it proper?" He should frequently enter into himself and ask himself who he is, what he is, and what manner of life he leads. He proves himself stronger in overcoming himself than in conquering an army.[3] The fourth book treats of a prince's relations with others. It shows the misfortunes and temptations to which princes are exposed when surrounded by designing and corrupt men; it lays stress upon the necessity of wise counsellors, and having honest men at the head of affairs, of being above the acceptance of rewards, of doing justice by the poor and never coveting whatever may be theirs.[4]

The fifth book is the most important. It is composed of sixty-six chapters, and may be regarded as a complete treatise upon education. Peraldus lays down the elementary principle that parents owe it to their offspring as a primary duty, the lacking in which were inexcusable, to see that they are educated. This discipline is not merely one of words; it must also be a training by means of the whip. *Nec sufficit contra ista eruditio verborum, immo necessaria est etiam disciplina verberum.*[5] The child is taken from his tender years and his dispositions are studied and his habits are formed accordingly. The advantages of bearing the yoke of the Lord from the days of youth are clearly laid down. Five things are required on the part of the master; namely, that he be endowed with fair talent, that his life be upright and honorable, that he be possessed of knowledge accurately acquired and well digested before instructing others, that he be possessed of an eloquent manner of imparting information, and that he have experience as a

[1] *S. Thomæ Opera*, vol. xvi., p. 391–403.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 400–414.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 414–422.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 422–427.
[5] Lib. v., cap. i., p. 427.

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teacher. The instruction imparted by an experienced teacher has five qualities: it is plain and simple so as to reach the feeblest intelligence; it is imparted in the fewest possible words; it is useful; it is presented in such a variety of lights as to render it agreeable; and the subject-matter is neither too long drawn out nor too rapidly passed over. This is a valuable pedagogical chapter[1] upon the form and method of teaching. No less instructive is the succeeding chapter upon the qualifications of a good student.

The good student should be of good life. Pride, anger, envy, sloth, gluttony, love and hatred are all impediments in the way of learning. The good student endeavors to overcome every deadly vice. He prays much; for wisdom being a gift of God, he constantly beseeches the Divine Source for an abundance thereof. He brings humility to his studies, especially to all studies concerning Holy Writ. This humility leads him to that honest love of truth, possessing which he is not ashamed to confess ignorance when he does not know, and is ever ready and willing to learn. As he who receives from everybody becomes all the richer, so he who learns from everybody becomes all the wiser. The good student ever cherishes the fear of God in his heart. This fear, which is the beginning of wisdom, leads him to walk carefully in the right way, and guards him against error, presumption and negligence in study. He is meek, ever receiving instructions, especially the lessons of the sacred Scriptures with docility. He is diligent in his studies; for he who hastily passes over the words of a text, does not perceive all its meaning or appreciate all its beauty. Here the student is cautioned against that curiosity which would sacrifice the important for the trivial; against fickleness and instability in reading; against quarrelsome disputations and verbal hairsplittings.

The good student is methodical; where there is an absence of method, there may indeed be hard work, but there is very little progress. He is persevering in his studies; this is the essential condition of all advancement. Perseverance has been called the mother of the arts, negligence the step-mother of all learning. Another requisite, very essential for youths, is continued practice. The unused iron rusts. Hence the value of disputations amicably conducted; they polish and sharpen intellects. Furthermore, the good student impresses upon his memory whatever he reads; otherwise his labor would be in vain. What avails it that the dog catches the game, if forthwith he lets it go? Water easily receives impressions, but to no purpose, since it does not retain them. The

[1] Cap. ix., pp. 431–432.

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mind discovers wisdom, the memory preserves it. Intellectual slowness may be aided by assiduity, and defective memory improved by frequent repetitions and taking notes. The scholar should ever regard his teacher with esteem and respect and be towards him submissive and affectionate. Finally, he should be careful to thank and glorify God for the talents and the knowledge with which he has been favored.[1]

The remainder of the book is devoted to the discipline of youth as regards behavior, clothing, food and drink, marriage and virginity. The author dwells upon the temptations to which young men are exposed; the puerilities that they should avoid; the virtues that they should practice, especially patience, humility and obedience. He commends matrimony and speaks in glowing terms of the love and esteem that should mutually exist between husband and wife. But he pleads most earnestly for freedom of action among those young men who would lead a life of celibacy and serve God in a religious order. Several chapters are devoted to the education of daughters. They should not be allowed to gad about, should never be idle, and should devote themselves to study. They should be brought up chaste, humble, pious, meek and reserved, and their virtue carefully guarded. They should prize goodness and moral worth above physical beauty and consider the spiritual adornments of the soul superior to those that set forth the beauty of the body. The honor of widowhood is commented upon; the state of virginity is lauded and shown to be far above that of matrimony; its beauty is compared to the lily and its efficacy and special glory are extolled.[2]

Of the remaining books little need be said. The sixth is devoted to the relations of the prince to his subjects. The author begins by picturing the magnitude of the evil an impious prince can inflict upon his subjects, and the punishment he is liable to incur. Afterwards the blessings that accompany the reign of a good prince are eloquently depicted. The seventh and last book is devoted to the relations of the prince to his enemies, and to the various duties belonging to a military life. The only recognized avenues to honor and position in those days were the military and the clerical life. So it is here stated that "as in the body of the Church the clergy constitute the brain, so the military organization is the hand . . . . from the clergy it has direction and accordingly owes the clergy protection."[3] Here ends this remarkable treatise on education from the pen of William Pérault. Petit-Radel, after giving a very inadequate account of the book, says with truth: "We can praise the lucid style, the wise maxims, the

[1] *Ibid.*, Cap, x., pp. 433-434.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 427-466.
[3] Cap., iii., p. 472.

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noble and beautiful sentiments, the good order in details, that pervade the work."[1] The recognition of Pérault as a great educator and an eminent writer is a tardy act of justice.

4. Another Dominican who preserved the educational traditions of the Dominicans in his writings, and still more with his pupils in the school-room, was Fra Bartolommeo da San Concordio (1262–1347), of whom the Pisan chronicle speaks in terms of admiration as a teacher. The highest tribute the chronicle pays him is this: that while he stimulated genius he did not neglect youths of mediocre talent; that he was accessible to all; that he communicated what he had learned without distinction and without pretension; and so well did he succeed that the most unpolished minds went forth from his school so carefully instructed that their skill seemed to be natural and their efficiency to come from art. Besides conducting the studium of his convent, he established a school of oratory and poetry for the laity. In his *Ammaestramenti degli Antichi*, he gathered together about two thousand passages from one hundred and twenty different authors, and through the quotations he has interspersed his own beautiful and practical suggestions. There is little that is new in his method, but when treating of the natural dispositions of soul and body, of the actions that lead the way to virtue, of study and teaching, and of the mode of speaking, he says things that every student of pedagogy might read with profit.[2]

5. A volume breathing the spirit of St. Thomas, and written in the same key-note with that of Pérault is the "*De Regimine Principum*" of Egidius Romano of the Colonna family (1241–1316). Egidius, or Gilles, though an Augustinian, had sat at the feet of the Angelical Doctor for several years, following him from chair to chair. He afterwards became general of the Augustinians and Bishop of Bourges. Having been charged with the education of the Dauphin of France, who was afterwards known as Philip the Fair, he wrote this treatise on the education of a prince. The book was written before 1285. It is divided into three parts: the first treating of self government, or morals; the second of government of the family, or economics; and the third of civil government, or politics. The second part includes the subject of education. Felix Lajard pronounces it "a complete treatise on education, physical, intellectual, and moral, adapted to the different ages of the child from the cradle up."[3] Going over the same ground that Pérault cultivated, and going over it in the same spirit and accord-

[1] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, t. xix., p. 315. See *Bibliothek der Katholischen Pädagogik*, vol iii., p. 212. Also Von Ketteler, *Die Pflichten des Adels.*, Mainz, 1868.

[2] See Milanese, *Storia della Pedagogia*, vol. ii., p. 1491.

[3] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, t. xxx., p. 521.

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ing to the same principles, it naturally follows that the same ideas are enforced in the work of Gilles. The author begins by laying stress upon the care and prudence with which the parent should guide the steps of the child in the path of truth and virtue. He dwells upon the love between father and son, which love should be the principle of obedience on the part of the son. He afterwards speaks of the instruction that should be imparted. The first and most essential is everything pertaining to religion, then good habits and good manners, then correctness of speech, and finally science. He goes through the gamut of the Trivium and Quadrivium, and adds thereto as essential for the education of a prince, metaphysics, theology, politics and ethics. Nor must we conclude from this elaborate programme, that the truly learned author—*Doctor Fundatissimus* he was called in his own day—was an impracticable theorist. He discriminates. He says: "The sons of princes should know enough of theology to confirm them in their faith; they should know well the moral sciences in order to learn therefrom how to govern themselves and others. From certain sciences they should know all that is necessary for their moral development: from grammar, enough to understand the idioms in which the truths of religion and morality are taught; from rhetoric and dialectics, all that can render their intellects prompt to apprehend, and give them facility of expression; from music, whatever can aid good manners. For the other sciences a slight acquaintance is sufficient."[1]

The teacher should possess three essential qualities: he should be learned in the science of philosophy; he should know all matters that man can and ought to do, and he should be good and upright in his life. He should teach children how to speak, how to listen and how to see. Rules are laid down regarding eating and drinking and all the wants of the human body, and great caution is given concerning the avoidance of bad company. The author divides the educational period of life into three parts: first, from birth to the seventh year; second, from the seventh to the fourteenth year; third, from the age of fourteen upward. He then lays down, even to minute details, all that is requisite for the development of the body, the instruction of the mind and the education of the heart in each stage of growth. Above all, is it recommended that the teacher study the bent of the child's mind, and see that it follows that bent in a special manner. Herein Egidius agrees with the unknown author of the teacher's manual that had been attributed to Boëthius. From this principle it follows that those who have a taste for reading and study and science should

[1] *De Regimine Principum*, p. 310.

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be afforded every facility to pursue their studies, while those who have no inclination for books should be exercised in arms, that they also may be able to benefit their country. Finally, in the last chapter the author treats of the education of girls, and therein lays greater stress upon their being adorned with every virtue than upon their being learned in every science; he sets his face against dancing, public promenades and loitering on the porches; instead, he would have them simple and modest, always occupied, and gracious and becoming in their manners. This book was translated by Henri de Gauchi, at the request of Philip, for the benefit of his people, and it thus became popular at an early day.[1] Thomas Occleve embodied the chief portion of the work in his poem *The Governail of Princes.*

6. But it was not only Dominicans who gave us insight into the methods of teaching practised in those days. There were Franciscans who were not less alive to the wants of the day. Take Roger Bacon (1214–1292). He saw deeply and clearly into the reality of things and the value of systems. He distinguished between what was solid and substantial in the studies and teachings of his day and the varnish and veneering that were frequently substituted for real knowledge. He does not conceal his impatience when in presence of what he considers mere pretension. Throughout his writings he keeps up a constant fusilade against his contemporaries. He finds fault with the groundwork given to boys. He assures us that thousands of boys entered the Mendicant Orders unable to read their psalter or their Latin grammar, and that forthwith, without other preparation, they were set down to the study of theology.[2] And then, even in the study of theology, he found Peter Lombard held in greater esteem than the Sacred Scriptures.[3] Indeed, he was disgusted at seeing how men abandoned the study of theology for the more lucrative study of civil law. "Every first-rate man," he says, "having an aptitude for theology and philosophy, betakes himself to civil law, because he sees that civilians are honored by all prelates and princes."[4] This man may be ignorant of theology and canon law but he is held in higher esteem than the master of theology and sooner elected to ecclesiastical dignities.

Bacon had no sympathy with the roundabout methods by which, at great expense of money and time, a small modicum of knowledge was acquired. He avers that in one year he could teach a promising boy all that it takes the schools twenty years to impart. He discourages the study of light literature and considers the

[1] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, t. xxx., p. 531.
[2] *Opera Inedita*, pp 425, 426.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp 328, 329, 428.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 418.

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moral writings of Seneca and the Vulgate a better training for young men than the amatory poems of Ovid. He regards the method of teaching geometry as needlessly long and tedious.[1] He bewails the paucity of good mathematicians. He would apply experiment and mathematical calculations to physics. Natural science does not depend upon authority, but upon experiment as the only sure road to certainty. He advocates as the key to all knowledge the careful study of languages and of mathematics. Did men know the languages better there would be more precision in thought. Mathematics purges the intellectual vision and fits the learner for the acquirement of all knowledge, for mathematics is the connecting link between all the sciences.[2] Logic he does not consider so important; for we know it naturally, and even the uneducated syllogize.[3] He goes back to the workings of the human mind, and considers the obstacles that stand in the way of acquiring human knowledge. "In the way of acquiring truth," he says, "there are four stumbling blocks which impede all wisdom whatever and scarcely permit anybody to arrive at true wisdom. They are: the force of weak and unworthy authority, prolonged custom, ignorant popular opinion, and the hiding of one's ignorance by the semblance of knowledge."[4] Thus, out of the stray remarks running through the works of this great but too outspoken Franciscan might one construct a whole methodology far in advance of his day and generation.

7. Another eminent man who, for the instruction and edification of master and pupil, wrote in Latin verse a little treatise on school-life, was Bonvicino da Ripa. His is one of the most honored names in Milan. He had been set down as a Dominican,[5] and it had been surmised that he was a Franciscan; but he was neither; his monument tells us that he was a distinguished member of the Third Order of Humiliati.[6] In May, 1291, we find him assisting at a general chapter of his Order. The old chroniclers speak highly of him, as an eminent teacher in the Palatine school, in Legnano, where he erected a hospital, and in Milan In addition, he was the first to establish in Milan, and the surrounding district, the pious custom of recalling the memory of the Incarnation at the ringing of the bells, as his eulogist expresses it,[7] in the words of his epitaph: *qui primo fecit pulsari campanas ad Ave Maria Mediolani et in comitatu.* That same epitaph adds: *Dicatur Ave Maria pro anima ejus.*[8] Let us not forget the pious request. Bon-

[1] *Ibid.*, 54, 56.
[2] *Opus Tertium*, p. 37.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 102.
[4] *Opus Majus*, lib. i., p. 2.
[5] Echard et Quetif, *Script. Ord. Praed.*, t. i., p. 479.
[6] Argelati, *Biblictheca Scriptorum*, t. ii, p. 187.
[7] Sassi, *De Studiis Literariis Mediolanensium*, Milan, 1729, p. 94.
[8] Argelati, *loc. cit.*

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vicino was courteous, generous, devoted to the noble work of educating youth. Though he wrote Latin in a style that Sassi compliments, he was none the less an enthusiastic cultivator of the Italian, which he sought to polish, and in which he wrote, among other things in verse, a little book laying down the rules of courtesy and good behavior for children. These rules have been edited by Mr. Michael Rossetti, and published by the Early English Text Society.

Let us now glance at the poem *De Vita Scholastica*.[1] The pious author begins by stating that he would place in the hands of every student the keys by which in the pursuit of his studies he may best unlock the gate of wisdom. The edition of the poem from which the abstract is made, is subdivided under various headings. Now, the first key the author would place in the student's hands is the fear of the Lord. He lays stress upon an active faith which is based on this fear. "The devil believes, but he is wanting in this living faith." The poet next counsels the student so to control his thoughts and intentions that whatever he learns, shall be for the honor of God. It is the part of wisdom to be discreet in the use of the tongue. One should never slander; never deceive; never be vain; never boastful; never flattering; never false; never indulge in proud prating.[2]

The author next dwells upon the observance of humility and the avoidance of pride. He would have the student fly from jealousy; would have him grateful for favors, and forgiving of injuries; he would have him make all study subservient to the glory of God and the salvation of his soul. The poet here tells the legend of that Master Serlon of Paris, whose disciple took undue pleasure in sophisms, and undue pride in his power of logical disputation, and who, terrified at the apparition of this disciple damned for his vanity, and wearing a cloak of sophisms which crushes him to earth and consumes him, forthwith becomes converted and retires to a monastery, saying: "I leave frogs to their croaking, rooks to their cawing, and things of vanity to the vain, and henceforth I pursue that logic which fears not the Ergo of death."[3]

Another section of the poem exhorts the student to avoid luxury, and that vice of sodomy which was then prevalent among masters and students, and for which Dante placed his own teacher in hell. The student is counselled to be abstemious in eating and

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[1] *Fratris Bonvicini Mediolanensis Vita Scholastica*, Brixiæ, 1585.

[2] Lingua tibi non sit detractrix: subdola: vana: grandis: adulatrix: falsa: superba loquax. p. 3.

[3] "Linquo coax ranis: cras corvis: vanaque vanis;
Ad logicam pergo: quæ mortis non timet Ergo."

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drinking, and is cautioned against gluttony, the wearing of delicate clothing and sleeping in a bed that is too downy and comfortable; against games of chance; against frequent balls and dances; against avarice and cupidity; against extravagance in giving, the student knowing always to whom he gives. He should regulate his senses, and fix his thoughts upon heaven that they may become worthy of heaven and filled with goodness. Stress is laid upon avoiding bad company, upon being charitable towards all, especially one's companions; the duties to be performed morning and evening, the prayers to be said; upon making the sign of the cross when one eats or drinks; upon the love and reverence due to father and mother; upon prayer to the saints and the frequent hearing of Mass.

Nor does Bonvicino overlook the teacher's duties.[1] To be worthy of his position, the first thing the master should do "If he would control his pupils, is discreetly to correct his own defects." He is to avoid all vanity, and perfect himself in his studies. The master who is lacking in sound learning, is preparing to live dishonestly. He should be discreet in correcting, nor be easily overcome by anger. Where peace and discipline are united, there are studies properly conducted. Such is the substance of this rare book.[2]

8. We shall find summed up in the writings of Dante what was best in the educational methods of that day. Dante (1265–1321) was born and raised in a republic in which education was general. According to Villani, fully 12,000 children out of a population of 90,000 which Florence then contained, attended school. Of these, the large majority received only an elementary training; the girls, at an early age, learning from their mothers all the various household duties, and the boys apprenticed to the trades of their fathers who transmitted to them that skill which made Florence so famous. Seven hundred young men received the higher education. The very spirit of the arts was scholastic in Dante's day. You read the story in the oratory of Orsanmichele, in which each art with its masterpiece receives a crown; you read it in the chapters of Santa Maria Novella, in Gaddi's painting of the Trivium and Quadrivium; you read it in Giotto's sculpture of the same subject upon his marvellous campanile. Here was the atmosphere in which Dante's boyhood and early manhood were passed.

It is the mission of the poet to reflect in his work the predominant, all-pervading spirit and views of his age. Now, in his day the universities were the controlling element in thought, in art, in politics, moulding the thinkers and rulers of the age both in

[1] Incipit liber secundus de Regimine Magistrorum.

[2] The volume from which I took this sketch is in the Mazarin Library, Paris.

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Church and state. But Dante was a life-long student. He travelled from land to land and from school to school, and sat patiently and humbly at the feet of masters, imbibing whatever knowledge they could convey. He disputed in public. His bright eye and strong, sombre, reserved features attracted the attention of fellow-students as he wended his way, absorbed in his own thoughts, through the Rue du Fouarre, and entered the hall in which Sigier was holding forth.[1] Tradition has it that he was no less assiduous a frequenter of School Street in Oxford. He has left us no distinct treatise on education, but he who embodied all the science of his day, who was supreme in teaching so many other lessons, could not be silent in regard to pedagogy. From his writings a whole volume of rules and principles bearing upon education might be gleaned. In *Il Convito* he expresses himself fully on the different ages of human growth and development; speaks of obedience as an essential requisite for the child; after his father, he should obey his masters and his elders.[2] He should also be gentle and modest, reverent, and eager to acquire knowledge; reserved, never forward; repentant of his faults to the extent of overcoming them. As our soul in all its operations makes use of a bodily organ, it behooves us so to exercise the body that it grow in grace and aptness, and be well ordained and disposed in order that the soul may control it to the best advantage. Thus it is that a noble nature seeks to have a sound mind in a sound body.[3]

Dante is as faithful a disciple of St. Thomas Aquinas as is Gilles of Rome. He holds with the Angelical Doctor that the soul was made to know truth, to love and possess the good, and to enjoy the beautiful. The heart was created for the good. All indistinctly apprehend the good towards which the soul aspires and in which it would rest:

> "Each one confusedly a good conceives
> Wherein the mind may rest, and longeth for it;
> Therefore to overtake it each one strives."[4]

Elsewhere he beautifully likens the soul seeking the good to the traveller in a strange land going from door to door expecting that each house he enters will be the inn in which he is to take lodgings; even so does the soul turn its eyes now upon one thing, now upon another, and because its knowledge is limited and fragmentary, and it sees not things in their true light, it not infrequently accepts as a great good that which in reality is very small and insignificant.[5]

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[1] *Paradiso*, x., 136-138.
[2] Trattato, iv., cap. 24.
[3] *Ibid.*, cap. 25.
[4] *Purgatorio*, xvii, 127-129.
[5] *Il Convito*, tratt. iv., cap. 12.

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As the heart seeks the good, so does the intellect seek the true. The intellect was made for truth and rejoices in possession of the truth:

> "And thou shouldst know that they all have delight
> As much as their own vision penetrates
> The Truth, in which all intellect finds rest."[1]

So also does the soul rejoice in the contemplation of the beautiful. But, as there are different degrees of goodness, so are there different degrees of beauty. The spiritual beauty of religious dogma and doctrine, for instance, as explained in the science of theology—she who "betwixt truth and mind infuses light"[2]—and symbolized in Beatrice, is far above beauty that appeals to the senses, and so absorbs the soul that it turns aside from all earthly forms of the fair. Here is how the poet expresses this truth:

> "Then by the spirit that doth never leave
> Its amorous dalliance with my lady's looks,
> Back with redoubled ardor were mine eyes
> Led unto her: and from her radiant smiles,
> When as I turned me, pleasure so divine
> Did lighten on me, that whatever bait
> Of art or nature in the human flesh,
> Or in its limned resemblance, can combine
> Through greedy eyes to take the soul withal,
> Were to her beauty nothing."[3]

But man's senses and the faculties of his soul are developed for other purpose than that of self-gratification. Since he is made for society, and society requires various duties, various functions, various aptitudes in the arts and sciences and the diverse walks of life, then is it in the nature of things that there should be among men diversity of talents. This is the teaching of Aristotle:

> "Whence he again: 'Now say, would it be worse
> For men on earth were they not citizens?'
> 'Yes,' I replied; 'and here I ask no reason.'
> 'And can they be so, if below they live not
> Diversely unto offices diverse?
> No, if your master writeth well for you.'"[4]

Upon this principle, based upon the nature of man as a social being, Dante builds up the great pedagogical truth that natures should not be forced into grooves for which they are unfitted; that in the choosing of a state of life one's tastes and inclinations should be consulted; that it were unwise to compel one with a love for study and retirement to assume the career of arms, or one whose tastes are for outdoor life and industrial activity to confine himself to books. He would have him with a mechanical turn of mind de-

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[1] *Paradiso*, xxviii., 106–108.
[2] *Purgatorio*, vi., 46.
[3] *Paradiso*, xxvii., 88–97, Cary's tr.
[4] *Paradiso*, viii., 115–120.

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vote himself to a trade; him with a bent for science devote himself to scientific pursuits; him fond of books and reading devote him self to a life of letters, and so on with other talents and other callings. In this manner will the designs of Providence be best carried out and most good accomplished. To this effect spake Charles to the poet:

> "Evermore nature, if it fortune find
> Discordant to it, like each other seed
> Out of its region, maketh evil thrift,
> And if the world below would fix its mind
> On the foundation which is laid by nature,
> Pursuing that, 'twould have the people good.
> But you unto religion wrench aside
> Him who was born to gird him with sword,
> And make a king of him who is for sermons:
> Therefore your footsteps wander from the road."[1]

But the whole poem recognizes the necessity of education. Dante in his own person represents humanity. He is unable to extricate himself from the dark wood or to overcome the many obstacles that beset his way without the guidance of Virgil whom he calls his master—*tu se'lo mio maestro*[2]—and his pedagogue—*il dolce pedagogo*.[3] Even so, humanity cannot of itself get out of the wood of error and vice and ignorance and prejudice without the aid of a master who will guide it safely and reveal to it the knowledge of things in heaven and on earth. With the schoolboy and with humanity the road to progress and liberty is through a severe tutelage.

The Franciscans made the language of the people the vehicle of spiritual thought. Dante in a happy hour made that language the medium of the highest philosophical thought and fixed its structure as a classic form of expression for all time. From that memorable twelfth day of August, in the year 1373, when the citizens of Florence petitioned the governors of the Republic "to make provision for the choosing of a man learned, capable and well-versed in the doctrine of the 'Divina Commedia,' to read and explain the said poem every day not a holiday during the year," and the governors selected Boccacio, and Bologna, Pisa, Ravenna, Piacenza, and other cities, following the example of Florence, established chairs for the study of Dante—from that day Dante became the schoolmaster of Italy, keeping alive the fire of patriotism, accustoming the people to the sublimest truths sung in noblest verse, and through good and bad fortune ever keeping before the Italian mind such a high standard of thought that whoever was familiar with Dante was possessed of an education far more complete than that imparted by Homer to the Greeks of old. There

[1] *Ibid.*, 139–149. [2] *Inferno*, i., 85. [3] *Purgatorio*, xii., 3.

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were intervals when the study of Dante was neglected, still the nation owning such a classic might become extinct, but it could not continue to live and neglect the precious lessons contained in that priceless treasure. Dante is no longer the educator exclusively of Italy; he is fast becoming the schoolmaster of the most cultured among the other nations of Christendom. In taking leave of Dante we shall also take leave of college life and college methods as they existed when the college was still in touch with the university.

BROTHER AZARIAS.

BROTHER AZARIAS—THRENODY.

And Thou art dead! whose deeply-visioned eyes
  Knew how to win from every commonplace
Ideals softer than Italian skies;
    Finding therein to trace,
Beyond the caption of our dull surmise,
    Beauty and life and grace!

And Thou art gone! Thou mediæval soul,
  Rich in the Faith that lived, the Art that died:
Cleansing, Isaias-like, with glowing coal
    Thy lips from sin and pride,
To preach truths which, though clouds of darkness roll,
    Fair as the dawn abide!

And Thou art dead! and the heart-strings are stilled
  Trembling with melody—not jingling rhyme
The poet schemes at—but a music filled
    With echoing Space and Time,
Deep diapason chords great Thinkers build,
    Soul-mastering, sublime!

For Man was thine, with brain and heart and brawn;
  Nature was thine, with bird and flower and brook;
And Space, with glowing orbs and starry lawn;
    And Time, with well-writ book—
Thee from thy loves what fairer Love hath drawn
    With witchery of its look?

Ah! selfish questioning! Thy clearer eye
  Hath learned this visible Temple-veil to part:
Thine ear hath caught the subtler harmony
    Of a diviner Art!
Thy soul hath sought to hold communion high
    With Heaven's innest heart!

HUGH T. HENRY.

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ST. GREGORY THE GREAT AND ENGLAND.

THE year 540 saw Justinian gloriously reigning, having given to the world the immortal code that bears his name, having conquered Africa and shattered the power of the Goths in Italy. Important and far-reaching as were these events, there was one which took place in this year that, in the providence of God, was fraught with blessings equal to them. It was the birth of a child whose parents were noble, wealthy, and, better still, pious. His infant ears heard the salutary truths of religion from the lips of a saintly mother, and deeply did they sink into his heart to permeate his actions and make his infant life guileless and sweet as the smile of innocence. His early education was not only the best that the schools of his native city could give, but the best a father, whose attainments were considerable, could impart. He was a model pupil, for to great talents he added unwearied diligence. He soon became master of the learning of the age, especially rhetoric and philosophy. He became an adept in the civil and canon law. He was now the peer of any young man in the Byzantine empire in knowledge, rank, wealth, manly beauty, manly grace, and the superior of any in moral grandeur of character. A dazzling career was predicted for him. High and low, learning and beauty wove garlands for his brow. His fame had reached the Byzantine court, and there, despite the mists of oriental luxury and depravity, his merits won for him, at the age of thirty-four, the proud position of pretor and chief magistrate of the loved city of his birth. Had he been ambitious, worldly-minded, this exalted office, with all its splendor, with its gorgeous trabea, with all its power and honor, would have satisfied him; but from his childhood his heart was irrevocably bent on sublimer heights than those of earth. Heaven was the home of his thoughts, its sanctuaries his delight, its humble ministers his companions, whose sweet converse held him enraptured.

While still surrounded by all the glory and magnificence of office he hearkened to the voice of Christ: "If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell what thou hast, and give to the poor." The island of Sicily and the Cœlian hill evidence their fruit, and his retirement from the world soon after was a literal compliance with the further counsel of Our Saviour to the young man. The coarse garment of St. Benedict, which displaced the dazzling brilliancy of the trabea, was never worn more worthily. As he had been a

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model child, a model student and a model pretor, he was now a model monk. His austerities, his devotion to the study of the Holy Scriptures, his constant vigils by the sick bed of the poor, to whom his munificent charity had given shelter and comfort, edified his brethren and increased his zeal and humility.

Much as he was admired by Rome when he wielded the sceptre of Byzantine power and wore its jewelled livery, he was far more admired when, clad in the coarse habit of his order, he attended the wants and ministered to the comfort of beggars. Honor and reverence followed his footsteps wherever directed on charitable deeds. Wherever sin, poverty and oppression cast their baleful shadows, there his footsteps tended, and there was he to be found cheering, consoling and relieving. While yet a subordinate in the monastery, which in other days had been his palace, he wends his way on a mission of mercy to the Roman forum. Ah! what a sad and harrowing scene pierces his heart on reaching it. There were gathered from every clime slaves of either sex and of varying years, from advanced manhood and womanhood to the tender age of boyhood and girlhood. Accustomed as he was to such brutal scenes, their frequency did not lessen his indignation and loathing. On other occasions these were the only feelings he displayed, but on this his countenance lights up as his gaze falls and becomes riveted on fair and shining locks mantling shapely shoulders, complexions in which the red and white roses sweetly blend, eyes whose lustrous depths seem to mirror the spirit of the skies, and features and forms from which chisel and pencil derive inspiration. This poor monk, habituated as he was to self-control, was overcome by the enthusiasm which so much loveliness created. He had the eye of an artist and the soul of an angel, and both on this occasion asserted their supremacy. He would know whence they came, what their religion and the religion of their nation. His inquiries are answered. They are from Britain; they are pagans, and Britain is a pagan land. He does not satisfy himself with sighing over their condition and exclaiming: "What evil luck that the Prince of Darkness should possess beings with an aspect so radiant, and that the grace of these countenances should reflect a soul void of the inward grace." No, they must know, believe and practice the truths of Christianity. Voicing his thoughts, he says: "These Angles have the faces of angels, and they must become the brethren of the angels in heaven." And what he resolves to do for these beautiful captives, he resolves to cause to be done or to do, and at once, for their unhappy country. He prostrates himself before the Holy Father and beseeches him to send missionaries to rescue the land of his loved Angles from the darkness and shadow of death. None are to be found. He will

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go himself; he will be the martyr or the victor in the cause of its salvation. The Holy Father assents to the sacrifice, and fortified by his words of cheer and benediction, the poor monk, the enemy of slavery of what kind soever, accompanied by others of like spirit, secretly bids adieu to the home of his childhood, the glorious theatre of his temporal grandeur and spiritual triumph.

The news of his departure leaps from anguished lips until multitudes are stirred to action. Their benefactor, their model, their ornament must not be torn from them. They hurl themselves on the Holy Father, and he is borne down by their entreaties. The would-be missionary is amongst them once more, but the exultant swell of their hearts finds no response in his, dearly as he loves them. His thoughts are far away from his own sunny clime, far away by the glens and hills, the forests and marshes, the rivers and brooks of his beautiful Angles. His recall is indeed an affliction, but obedience—that great central bond of religion, that indispensable mark of monasticism—not only makes it tolerable, but sanctifies and ennobles it. He murmurs not; his vow forbids it, but his resolution to do, to dare, and, if needs be, to die, that Christ crucified shall be known in the country that now possesses his affections, his aspirations, his holy ambition, is unalterable.

The years roll on, and with them come honor and fame. Now we find him in the dazzling but corrupting court of Byzantium, confronting the great, the powerful, the crafty, and winning victories and encomiums from them; again, within the hallowed walls of St. Andrea, an exemplar of every monastic virtue and austerity; but, wherever found, "the still small voice" that first whispered its mission of benediction into his ravished ears in the Roman forum, is never stilled. It holds him, it has become his master, and we may well imagine him, asking, "How long, O Lord, how long will thy salvation be withheld from the country of the children of my affection?"

Not long. From out the carnival of plague a divine gleam illumines the horizon of the Church. Pelagius II. goes down in its ruthless march, and senate, and people, and clergy, are a unit in naming the successor of the fallen pontiff. Gregory is now the pilot of the bark of Peter, and though the winds and waves of passion rise around it, though the rocks of heresy and schism threaten it, though false lights and snares try to lure it, he stands calmly at the helm, his eye beaming with celestial intelligence, his heart aflame with divine love, and over wind and wave, and rocks, false lights and snares, his master hand and master mind guide it to victory and to glory. Matchless pilot! who never disregarded the signal of distress, no matter what thunders rolled, what lightnings flashed, what tempests raged; who never heard the cry of

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agony from the lips of the enslaved, no matter how strong the pirate craft, without attempting relief; who steered into every peril, at whatever cost, to bring solace, light, and freedom to suffering humanity; who ever followed law, virtue and truth, as a polar star; and who made the bark of Peter so seaworthy through centuries of darkness, storm, and blood, that the world has added Great, and the Church, Saint, to the name of Gregory. Happy Gregory! Glorious pilot of the bark of Peter! For, thee, the day of longing is past, and that of realization dawned. Light and life are now thine to bestow upon the land whose captive children elicited thy rapturous admiration, years ago, in the Roman forum.

We have thus lengthily dwelt on the early career of Gregory, because we think his life furnishes a key to the conduct of the missionaries he selected for the evangelization and civilization of England. His piety and humility, tolerance and liberality, varied and profound learning, experience in the world, and deep insight into human character, devotion to duty, and ability to adjust his course to circumstances where no principle was involved, his hatred of slavery, and pertinacity in the pursuit of an object, his superhuman capacity to see difficulties and to provide remedies—all these elements of greatness of soul and intellect were brought into prominent play in the conversion of England.

And, first in the monastery—over which he presided—a monastery which his heroic charity had dedicated to religion, and from which he selected the men who were to execute his long-cherished designs. Gregory was not like the great bulk who compose the monastic life. As a rule, they are marked out from infancy for their calling, and carefully guarded against all worldly influence, and taught to shun its experience as contamination. They are hot-house plants, assiduously shielded from every blighting blast, every scorching ray, every withering frost. As a rule, also, the men who embrace the monastic state late in life, are seldom untarnished by contact with the world. They bring dangerous habits and bitter memories into the cloister, where its inexperienced inmates soon learn their past, which the mantle of charity never entirely obscures, unless they find Pauls or Augustines, which is rarely the case.

To these rules Gregory was a gloriously brilliant exception. In every respect, his past was as stainless as the purest. There were no memories to impair his usefulness, or to counteract the ascendency of his magnificent abilities. Saint, scholar and sage, he was to the monastery from beginning to end. It was, therefore, eagerly predisposed to accept with profound reverence and with childlike docility his teaching.

If it be ordinarily true, that faithful pupils reflect the moral and

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intellectual qualities of the teachers, how much more so is it of the pupils who are bound by vow to hear and practice the lessons of one who is not only a teacher, but a superior, whom to disobey were a most grievous offence.

As a matter of fact, not only every obstacle was removed that could, in any way, obstruct his moulding them in his own image and likeness, but every facility was afforded him to that end. Nature and grace co-operated to make his efforts in this regard a remarkable success. His sentiments, ideas, and very spirit, which art has symbolized by a dove, were theirs, and theirs for a specific purpose. Whilst it is true that he exerted himself to form Anglo-Saxon youths for his long-cherished project, they were not to be leaders, but aiders in the work. More he did not look for, and this he abandoned. The men selected would adorn any age of the world. Even the acrimonious and bigoted Thierry admits that they were men of tried faith and solid learning.

Thus grandly tutored, they needed, in the work before them, every moral and intellectual element of its strength. The pagan inhabitants of Britain were unlike the branches of the Germanic race that settled on the Continent. They had no knowledge of Roman language, literature, or law, and no respect whatever for the Roman name. If the picture furnished by Tacitus, and so implicitly accepted by many who ought to know better, be a faithful likeness of any of the tribes or nations of that indomitable race, it certainly is no likeness of the Jutes, Angles and Saxons. No pleasing associations cluster around their memories, from the earliest accounts of them until after the coming of Augustine. Obscure and inconsiderable at first, they became, in the course of time, formidable, increasing in terror as they increased in strength. Murder, pillage, and piracy were the routine of their lives, which were brutally sensual and devoid almost of any ennobling element.

The Saxons, with their allies from the Skager Rack to the limits of France, from the Saale to the western frontier of Bohemia, ravaged like demons every coast upon which their ships touched. Those whom they spared from instant death were reduced to the most horrible species of slavery, or sacrificed, with a barbarity shocking and inhuman, on the altars of their monster gods. Courage, such as beasts have, they possessed; of courage in its better and nobler meaning they were entirely devoid. This beastly courage was their only title to virtue, if virtue it can be called, and its absence their only vice. Craft, skill and daring, which would be laudable when exercised in legitimate pursuits, they unquestionably had. It was, however, the craft, skill and daring of the burglar, the assassin and the ravisher. Its victories were victories

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such as fiends delight in. Life, liberty and property were its trophies, and wailing humanity its triumphal song. Magnanimity and compassion had no place in its texture. Self was its father and ferocity its support. The sentiment of personal liberty, of human individualism, for which say eloquent declaimers the world is indebted to the Germanic race, was, to use the phrase of Guizot, "mere selfishness in all its brutality; with all its unsociability." In their theology there was nothing that made life better. Their heaven was a heaven of gluttony and revolting cruelty; their hell a place of abstinence and quiet. Such were the Saxons as Rome knew them, and such they were, and such were the Jutes and Angles when, after years of war, they had established their language, institutions, laws and religion where Roman civilization had reigned in comparative triumph for centuries.

They were not improved by the conquest, if conquest it can be called—a conquest unique even in the history of their own race. The obstinate resistance which they met increased their ferocity and whetted their cruelty. Extermination or slavery was the fate of the poor Briton, and when he no longer furnished them means of vengeance or of profit, they turned on their own flesh and blood, as the incident of the Roman forum, to which we have already alluded, serves to show, and the slave markets of the time attest. Not a trace of British Christianity or of Roman civilization was to be found in the territory occupied by them. Paganism, brutal and abhorrent, governed a nature from which ages of warfare had eliminated almost every ennobling element.

That we are guilty of no injustice in this presentment, the following extract from Dr. Lingard's "Anglo-Saxon Church" will, we think, establish: "By the ancient writers," he says, "the Saxons are unanimously classed with the most barbarous of the nations which invaded and dismembered the Roman empire. Their valor was disgraced by its brutality. To the services they generally preferred the blood of their captives; and the man whose life they condescended to spare was taught to consider perpetual servitude as a gratuitous favor. Among themselves, a rude and imperfect system of legislation intrusted to private revenge the punishment of private injuries; and the ferocity of their passions continually multiplied these deadly and hereditary feuds. Avarice and the lust of sensual enjoyment had extinguished in their breasts some of the first feelings of nature. The savages of Africa may traffic with Europeans for the negroes whom they have seized by treachery or captured in open war; but the more savage conquerors of the Britons sold, without scruple, to the merchants of the continent, their countrymen, and even their own children. Their religion was accommodated to their manners, and their manners were per-

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petuated by their religion. In their theology they acknowledged no sin but cowardice and revered no virtue but courage. Their gods they appeased with the blood of human victims. Of a future life their notions were faint and wavering, and if the soul were fated to survive the body, to quaff ale out of the skulls of their enemies was to be the great reward of the virtuous; to lead a life of hunger and inactivity the endless punishment of the wicked.[1]

Lamentable and disheartening indeed as was the real condition of England, which Dr. Lingard has thus so moderately yet truthfully sketched, accounts of a most exaggerated character reached the missionaries on their journey and filled them with alarm. Nature for a time asserted itself over the teaching of Gregory, but its sway was of short duration. Had they not been overwhelmed by the horrible tales poured into their ears, they never would, knowing him as they did, have sought from him a release from what to flesh and blood seemed a hopeless mission. His life was an open book to them, and if it taught anything more impressively than another, it was, that a resolution once formed, in a matter of great moment, was never abandoned. With the real condition of England he was long acquainted, and therefore, the feverish stories which had caused his disciples to forget themselves could have no weight with him.

Admitting their truth, however, we believe that his command would still be forward, for his reliance was on God, though he neglected no human means in His cause. The perils complained of only enhanced the glory of the mission in his eyes, which nothing but its utter uselessness could cause him to relinquish, and utter uselessness could never be predicated of sacrifice. The blood of the martyrs had never been, and never would be, shed in vain. The objections are futile; the work must go on. "Forward," he writes to them, "in God's name! . . . . The more you have to suffer, the brighter will your glory be in eternity. May the grace of the Almighty protect you, and grant to me to behold the fruit of your labors in the eternal country; if I cannot share your toil, I shall none the less rejoice in the harvest, for God knows I lack not good will."

Had he been weak and vacillating, had not divine love entirely mastered him, had he not possessed an extraordinarily clear head and clean heart, the evangelization of England would have been then and there abandoned. However, difficulties only heighten his zeal. Henceforth he will be with them, and with them to the end, no matter what distractions, annoyances, and bitter crosses—and they were such as rarely fall to the lot of any man—weigh

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 33.

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on him, to cheer, to enlighten, to govern. Now he brings his distinguished character and distinguished services into play, and make them subserve the cause of England. The missionaries are furnished with letters not only to famed prelates but to crowned heads, who vie in doing them honor, more as a mark of esteem for Gregory than for any other motive. Their march through France to the coast partakes of the nature of a triumph. Queen Brunhild and her sons do everything to facilitate the work of heroic charity, which they have with a will worthy of their master resumed—a master who is at once their father, their abbot, and their pope. This triple bond is now to remain as indissoluble as the marriage tie, and it was well for England and the human race that it was so.

When they erected the standard of redemption in the isle of Thanet, where long ago the Roman Eagle was first given to the breeze of Britain, and, later, the bloody ensign of Saxon ferocity floated, a menace to civilization of what kind soever, they felt that they were not entire strangers in a strange land. The power of grand deeds and a grand name had preceded them, and the humble followers of Christ felt that Rome the Eternal, with its magnificent pontiff in whom every element of greatness centered, had a prestige, in one sense, equal to that of Rome the Imperial. And why not? Behold how equipped. With a government and organization perfect as divine and human wisdom could make it, with a legislation rooted in eternal justice, the embodiment of revelation, the perfection of reason and the wisdom of experience —with a priesthood from which no rank was excluded, but chiefly composed of the humbler classes, presenting a solidarity unique and admirable, an *esprit de corps* not of earth, trampling upon mammon, lust, and disobedience, the three most powerful forces in the destruction of man in the spiritual and temporal order, illustrating by its life the possibility and beauty of the opposite virtues, going wherever misery and sorrow needed solace, wherever injustice, whether robed in purple or skulking from outraged law, needed reproof, master of every art, profoundly versed in the learning of antiquity, moving and acting at the command of a judicious, learned, and saintly episcopate, its own choice, with a discipline and devotion worthy of the finest cohort of the finest days of the republic—with means for its work over which presided a pope who, from whatever point of view regarded, knew no superior among the rulers in church or state who preceded him. This organization thus perfect, Gregory and the forces which his genius had created were in the field against a barbarism that was odious to the continent, that had no bond save self and little law other than passion. The evils dreaded, and that caused the remonstrance

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from Provence, vanished as they calmly considered the situation. And as the star of Queen Bertha, the daughter of the King of Paris, and the granddaughter of St. Clotilda, illumined the horizon —a star which was long visible to Gregory—their joy and hope received an impetus which only complete disaster could check. This was not to be looked for, and they went to meet her husband chanting the canticles of mother Church in the grand strains of their father, their abbot, and their pope. The star of Bertha triumphed, and the peerless sagacity and devotion of Gregory was rewarded by the baptism of Ethelbert, than which, says Montalembert, "since the baptism of Constantine, and excepting that of Clovis, there had not been any event of greater moment in the annals of Christendom."[1] This baptism sealed the fate of paganism, and the light of Christianity dawned never more to be extinguished. Immortal Gregory! Sweet Bertha! Glorious Augustine! Grand trinity! Heaven's gleam is on your labors, and the brutal and obscene deities cower in your radiance as they flee to their native darkness.

The ecstatic rapture with which Gregory received from Laurence and Peter the news of the conversion of Ethelbert and the kingdom of Kent, as his letter to Augustine, to the patriarch of Alexandria and Queen Bertha manifest, was to be expected from one whose faculties and affections, tears and prayers, had ever been with England from the day that his eyes beheld her beautiful children in the Roman forum. From these letters we deem it necessary to make a few extracts, because they not only serve to establish his enthusiasm, gratitude, appreciation of zeal, perseverance, spirit, but profound policy, from a worldly point of view, in his dealings with the chosen instruments in the work of Christianization and civilization. To omit his tribute to Queen Bertha would be an act of ingratitude from which we shrink. Gregory and Bertha are inseparably associated, and, after God, theirs the glory. The one was the Moses, the other the Mary of England.

To Augustine he says: "Glory be to God in the highest, glory to that God who would not reign alone in heaven, whose death is our life, whose weakness is our strength, whose suffering cures our sufferings, whose love sends us to seek even in the island of Britain for brothers whom we knew not, whose goodness causes us to find those whom we sought for while yet we knew them not. Who can express the exultation of all faithful hearts now that the English nation, through the grace of God and thy brotherly labor, is illumined by the divine light, and tramples under foot the idols which it ignorantly worshiped in order that it may now bow down before the true God."

[1] *Monks of the West*, vol. ii., p. 156.

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"The bearer of your letters," he writes to the Patriarch of Alexandria, "found me sick, and leaves me sick. But God grants to me gladness of heart to temper the bitterness of my bodily sufferings. The flock of the Holy Church grows and multiplies; the spiritual harvest gathers in the heavenly garners. . . . . You announce to me the conversion of your heretics—the concord of your faithful people. . . . . I make you a return in kind, because I know you will rejoice in my joy, and that you have aided me with your prayers. Know, then, that the nation of the Angles, situated at the extremest *angle* of the world, had till now continued in idolatry, worshiping stocks and stones. God inspired me to send thither a monk of my monastery here, to preach the gospel to them. This monk, whom I caused to be ordained Bishop by the Frankish Bishops, has penetrated to this nation at the uttermost ends of the earth, and I have now received tidings of the happy success of his enterprise. He and his companions have wrought miracles that seem to come near those of the Apostles themselves, and more than 10,000 English have been baptized by them at one time."

His letter to Bertha is worthy of him, a fitting eulogy and zealous exhortation, in which the spirit of the skies and the wisdom of earth sweetly blend: "Our very dear sons, Laurence the priest, and Peter the monk, have rehearsed to me, on their arrival here, all that your majesty has done for our reverend brother and co-Bishop, Augustine—all the comfort and the charity that you have so liberally bestowed on him. We bless the Almighty, who has seen meet to reserve for you the conversion of the English nation. Even as He found in the glorious Helena, mother of the most pious Constantine, an instrument to win over the hearts of the Romans to the Christian faith, so, we feel assured, will His mercy, through your agency, work out the salvation of the English. Already, for a long time, it must have been your endeavor to turn, with the prudence of a true Christian, the heart of your husband towards the faith which you profess, for his own well being and that of his kingdom. Well instructed and pious as you are, this duty should not have been to you either tedious or difficult. If you have in any wise neglected it, you must redeem the lost time. Strengthen in the mind of your noble husband his devotion to the Christian faith; pour into his heart the love of God, inflame him with zeal for the complete conversion of his subjects, so that he may make an offering to Almighty God by your love and your devotion. I pray God that the completion of your work may make the angels in heaven feel the same joy which I already owe to you on earth."[1]

[1] Cited in *Monks of the West*, vol. ii, pp. 162, 163.

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The conquerors on the bloody field of battle have been such because of the respect, confidence and enthusiasm with which they fired and sustained the valor of their soldiers. The Hannibals, Alexanders and Cæsars owe their victories to this cause. Surely the general who neglects his soldiers, who will not applaud and reward merit, cannot expect that devotion by which alone battles are won. Now what is true of temporal warfare is to a certain extent true of spiritual warfare. The soldier of the Cross is human as well as the soldier of the State, and though he may be less so, so long as flesh and blood environ his spirit, so long will he need the kind word, the hearty grasp, and the "God bless you," which cost little and go far. This Gregory fully understood, as these letters abundantly attest, and to their judicious use much of his success is attributable.

But now a new era opens—an era requiring the display of the consummate abilities, great tact and wisdom which the world and the cloister had developed. Questions arise that not only require the spirit of the Apostle, but the genius of the jurist and the statesman. To say that Gregory was prepared for the emergency would be unnecessary after the sketch we have presented in the commencement. The Church had not only to be extended, but organized and directed, and society established on a Christian basis. For its extension, men and means were liberally furnished, and every influence invoked. Power, learning and the arts were called into requisition, a library founded, and a policy inaugurated that would shed lustre even on this century of enlightenment. No human aids were despised or neglected, if legitimate and clearly conducive to the result sought: namely, the present and future growth of Christ's kingdom. Bloodshed and cruelty must be avoided. Therefore the violence and force which so often disgraced the propagation of religion, where blind zeal wielded the rod of power, was unknown, and Ethelbert, though in a position to compel compliance, set an example which, for moderation and tolerance, has scarcely a parallel in the history of royal converts similarly situated. The course pursued is so fittingly portrayed in a letter written by a monk of Malmesbury to St. Boniface, one hundred and fifty years after the arrival of St. Augustine, and so evidences the continuing spirit of Gregory in the Anglo-Saxon Church, that we gladly cite it. "To overcome," he says, "the obstinacy of heathen savages—to fertilize the stony and barren soil of their hearts—pains must be taken not to insult or irritate them, but to set our doctrines before them with unfailing moderation and gentleness, so as to make them blush at their foolish superstitions without exasperating them."[1]

[1] *Monks of the West*, vol. ii., p. 601.

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To his keen conception of the essential and accidental, much good is owing. Few minds grasped their distinguishing difference so clearly, and few men would have the courage, under the circumstances in which he was placed, to act on the line of this difference. The occasions were numerous calling for the exercise of this faculty, and that its exercise was unerring and beneficial admits of no question.

There have been those who have assailed him, in envenomed phrase, for using the temples of the idols, and sanctioning the slaughter of oxen even for a legitimate purpose. We beg leave to differ with these spiritual Quixotes, and though we have no knowledge of theology, except such as was necessary in order to be permitted to make our first communion, we will risk the assertion that, all things considered, Gregory could not order the destruction of those temples without being guilty of sin. That there was anything wrong in dedicating them to the service of God, no amount of ingenious argumentation could make out even a plausible case. How the killing of oxen and the eating of them on occasions named could be reprehensible, is not apparent. What is apparent, however, is Gregory's magnificent insight into human nature, nice discernment of the adaptation of means to an end without the sacrifice of Catholic truth, and we heartily say with him: "It is impossible to change all at once the whole habits of the savage mind; a mountain is not climbed by leaps and bounds, but step by step."

The answer to the eleven questions which Augustine propounded to him, is a monument worthy of all the exalted qualities of heart and intellect which we have claimed for him, and subsequent ages have shown their appreciation of it, by making it the law for the guidance of missionaries in heathen lands. In it his liberality, charity and finely balanced judgment are especially conspicuous. Whatever he found good, its adaptation was counselled, no matter what its origin, or where practiced, so long as it did not encroach on the essential verities of Catholic doctrine. The question with him was, whether it would promote the honor and glory of God and the lasting foundation of His kingdom. This answered affirmatively, all prejudices were flung to the winds. In his decision the genius and habits of the people were taken into consideration. When criticized for introducing into the Church of Rome customs that prevailed at Constantinople, his reply is so beautiful for its humility, so valuable for its wisdom and so characteristic of his course in building and consolidating the Anglo-Saxon Church, that we joyfully present it to our readers. "I shall," he says, "be always ready to deter my subordinates from evil, but to imitate them in good, borrowing it from, it matters not what

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Church. He is but a fool who could make his primacy a reason for disdaining to learn whatever good can be learnt."[1] His regard for the dignity of the episcopal office, solicitude for the temporal independence of the clergy, humane concern for the relief of the poor, charity in dealing with sacrilegious robbers whom the civil law punished with great severity, his especial attention to the sanctity of the marriage-bed; all these and other subjects of equal weight, to which his answer relates are so well known that we will not dwell on them. Moreover, such details do not enter into the scope of this article, and to some of them prudery might object.

One of the grandest of the many grand traits of Gregory's character, and which deserves special mention, is his fidelity to the leader whom he had chosen to execute his commands. All renowned commanders in Church or State, whether from policy or principle, have exhibited this trait in a remarkable degree. The unhappy conflict that recently threatened the integrity, usefulness and glory of our republic furnishes an illustrious instance of this in the person of Ulysses S. Grant. He never deserted a general in whom he had reason to confide, and the dazzling exploits of the Shenandoah Valley, before which romance pales, and the happy outcome of the march from Atlanta to the sea are its golden harvest. Sheridan and Sherman are its laurels. To the one he gave full rein, to the other he brought a balm for wounds that ingratitude had inflicted—wounds that might have dwarfed the colossal stature upon which we gaze to day with wonder, admiration and pride, and which, to generations yet unborn, will stand out like a Pharos in the night of the past.

This trait, so productive of good results, was never exemplified to a greater extent than by Gregory, and it is but just to add, especially since slanderous pens have made free with Augustine's memory, that never was a more worthy object presented for its exercise. From the moment of his selection Gregory never ceased to aid, cheer and console him, and the obedience of Augustine was entire and absolute. When constituting him metropolitan over twelve bishoprics to be erected in the south, the same number in the north, he says in giving him jurisdiction over all the bishops of Britain that he does so "in order that they may learn by your word and by your life what they must believe, and how they must live, in order to fulfil their office and gain an inheritance in Heaven[2]"

What higher testimony of worth could be given? His letter to Ethelbert is more explicit, but not more forcible, for the authority

[1] Cited in *Monks of the West*, vol. ii., p. 170.

[2] *Monks of the West*, p. 166, vol. ii.

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conferred holds a language stronger than any combination of words. "You have with you," he says, "our very reverend brother bishop Augustine, trained according to the monastic rule, full of the knowledge of the Scriptures, abounding in good works in the sight of God. Hearken devoutly to him, and faithfully accomplish all that he tells you; for the more you listen to what he will tell you on the part of God, the more will God grant his prayers when he prays to Him on your behalf. Attach yourself, then, to him with all the strength of your mind, and all the fervor of faith; and second his efforts with all the force that God has given you."[1]

Notwithstanding this evidence, which is only a tithe of what could be adduced, the brilliant but erratic Thierry, a crabbed carper at Catholic practices, sees something that savors of jealousy in Gregory's letter to Augustine regarding the miracles that attended his preaching of the gospel, where no right-minded man could discern aught else than a fatherly solicitude for his spiritual welfare. The fears of Gregory were the fears of the Apostles, and his advice has the ring of the apostolic spirit as well as the authority of Him who inspired it. Thierry's innuendo is worthy of the cowardly ruffianism that could detect a political purpose in the work of England's evangelization—a ruffianism almost peculiar to French apostates, and for which, the glory they enthrone is disregarded that they may indulge its gratification. Self should have no place in history, and the Thierrys who cannot, or will not, crush it, had better devote their talents to some other pursuit.

In this connection we wish to notice another calumny which has an important bearing on the Anglo-Saxon church—a church noted for its love of learning, a calumny to which Hallam, whose works are generally read, has given currency, namely, that Gregory had contempt for literature and science. If the sketch we have given in the opening be correct—and there can be no doubt of its correctness—he was master of all the learning of the period. When did he develop an antipathy to his early training? There is no evidence that he ever did. On the contrary, to the last hour of his life he was as firm a believer in the power of all knowledge for good, as is to-day the erudite and eloquent rector of the Catholic University at Washington. While it is true that he condemned exclusive attention to profane literature, his utterances prove that he strongly favored its study. "The devils know well," he says, "that the knowledge of profane literature helps us to understand sacred literature. In dissuading from this study, they act as the

[1] *Monks of the West*, vol. ii., pp. 165, 166.

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Philistines did, when they interdicted the Israelites from making swords or lances, and obliged that nation to come to them for the sharpening of their axes and ploughshares."[1]

But was the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon church his only work? He was the founder of the Anglo-Saxon state also—a state whose institutions and laws have survived the ravages and butcheries of the Danes, the tyranny and robbery of the Normans, the degrading theories and diabolical practices of the Tudors, the mad arrogance and perverse obstinacy of the Stuarts and the hellish craft and iron hand of Cromwell. They are to be found wherever England's flag floats, and England's language is spoken. They are the germs of the glorious liberty which the starry banner symbolizes and protects, and will be perpetuated with it so long as honor, intelligence and sterling manhood prevail on American soil —the soil in whose bosom they were nourished into life when torn from their native bed, withering and dying.

We have said that Gregory was an adept in the civil law. Now when he conceived the design of the evangelization of England—a design thwarted by the affections of the Roman people, he never, for a single instant abandoned it. He constantly looked forward to the day when he should be in a position to accomplish it, and the knowledge of the civil law which he had, he imparted to those who would embark in his hazardous undertaking. That many of them were civilians of considerable skill is beyond doubt, and the code of laws known as the *Dooms* or *Judgments of Ethelbert* is mainly their work. In the organization of society on a Christian basis the training and guidance of Gregory are everywhere manifest, and if the Anglo-Saxon state reached that symmetry and perfection claimed for it, may we not assert that it was owing to the solid foundation laid?

On every subject pertaining to government Gregory had most comprehensive and most liberal views. He was far in advance of his time, especially on the subject of slavery—a subject of so much importance in the early ages that we will indulge in a seeming digression.

Slavery was the curse of the ancient world. It covered it like a deluge. Its victims were everywhere, no matter what the religious belief, no matter what the form of the government, no matter what the intellectual development. Groans and sighs were heard, fettered limbs and fettered souls were witnessed on Mount Moria and on Mount Sion, in the shadow of the Areopagus and the Roman Forum, by the gates of Thebes and the waters of Babylon. True, Jerusalem was the city of God, true, Athens was the city of all

[1] *Monks of the West*, vol. i., p. 393.

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that the world prizes most, art, science, literature, philosophy, wealth, valor, beauty; and Rome, sitting queenly on her seven hills, was the city of the world, was the world. Yet these cities thus blessed were cursed with the curse of curses, human slavery. Terrible and loathsome as we know it to have been in Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and English colonies, it was far less so than that which flourished, rotted, and ruined the ancient world. For it, there was no land of promise; its vision was forever circumscribed by the horizon of the desert, until the canticle of the angels was heard over the stable of Bethlehem of Juda proclaiming, "glory to God in the highest and peace on earth to men of good will." Though a profound tranquility reigned throughout the Roman world, and the temple of Janus was shut for the third time in seven hundred years, when this stupendous event occurred which brought down the choir of heaven—though Rome was in the zenith of its power, revelling in its spoils and trophies, glorying in its literature and arts, her eagles everywhere victorious, with no enemy to fear and no foe to dare, she presented an appalling spectacle to the philanthropist and moralist, a spectacle that only omnipotence could change.

And for this, as well as for opening the gates of heaven, which the sin of Adam had closed, did Omnipotence put on the garb of humanity, to be cradled in a manger, to work at the carpenter's bench, to go about among the poor and the lowly doing good, having not whereon to lay His head, to be mocked, scourged and crucified. With the poor, the oppressed, the afflicted His life was spent, and with their's it was identified. Their cause was His cause, their sorrows His sorrows. His manners, habits, associations, teaching and practice were a protest against the governing classes of the day. Intolerance found a rebuke in the words: "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of," addressed to His disciples when they besought Him to call down fire from heaven to consume a village of Samaria because it had shut its doors against Him. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, antagonized by caste and slavery, He emphasized by word and example. If the Sermon on the Mount teaches anything, it teaches this. He had a balm for every wound, a punishment for every wrong. In His sight all men were equal, and exact justice was required of all. Property in man was condemned. "Know the truth and the truth shall make you free," had a two-fold application. Slavery and truth are incompatible; truth and freedom are parent and child. Slavery is darkness, truth is light, and as the light chases darkness, so does truth chase slavery. "Love thy neighbor as thyself," "Whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you also to them" were commands alike to all, no mat-

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ter what their condition in life, no matter whether acting as natural or artificial persons—commands, the observance of which would make slavery an impossibility. States, kings and princes were to be responsible to Him, were to be governed by His law, which was to endure as long as time, perpetuated by the Church of which he constituted the fisherman, Peter, head—a Church with which He promised to abide until the consummation of the world. Well, indeed, has that Church battled to perform all the duties for which she was instituted, and notably well has she battled against the giant evil, slavery, that everywhere confronted her infant gaze—an evil so antagonistic to the spirit and teachings of her divine founder. The doctrines of St. Paul, as understood by her, triumphed over the degrading doctrines of Plato and Aristotle, and everywhere potent voices were heard proclaiming the dignity and rights of man. But of all the voices raised in this cause throughout centuries of darkness, none was more powerful, more enthusiastic, more persistent, more in consonance with the spirit and teaching of Christ, than that of Gregory. "Since the Redeemer and Creator of the world," he says, "made Himself Incarnate in the form of humanity in order to break the chain of our slavery by the grace of freedom, and to restore us to our pristine liberty, it is well and wise to restore the benefit of original liberty to men whom nature has made free and whom the laws of men have bowed under the yoke of servitude."[1] He was emphatically the champion of freedom, and Christian, Jew and Pagan were alike the recipients of his services. Heart, hand and voice were at the command of all the children of misfortune, without regard to creed or nationality. Had it been otherwise, he would have been unfit for the work of England's christianization and social organization. Great as was his hatred of slavery, the condition of England needed it—a condition, if possible, worse than disgraced any nation of the ancient world, and without the amelioration of which no permanent church or state could be formed. That his disciples shared his detestation of it we can readily believe, especially since its continuance, in its then condition, was incompatible with Christianity and a Christian state. That they had some of his enthusiasm for complete liberty can hardly be doubted, when all their relations with him are taken into consideration, and that to the seed sown by them its entire abolition in every form of its cursed existence, after centuries of contention, is owing.

The Anglo-Saxon state, in its best features, is the product of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and Gregory is the corner-stone of both. There was in him every element of moral and intellectual strength

[1] Epist. vi., 12.

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that the successful building of both required. The achievements and fame of both are his eulogy, and though they are only a small part of it—for other lands lay claim to him—no man could desire more. Happy the day for England and the human race that his footsteps tended to the Roman forum, where the loveliness of countenance and figure entranced his vision and inspired his soul with a noble, a heroic purpose. No incident in history has led to more glorious results, to more lasting conquests for God and humanity, and with them the name of Gregory must be forever associated.

MICHAEL HENNESSY.

THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE A.D. 250–312.

WHAT was the actual condition of the Christian Church when, early in the fourth century, the Edicts of Nicomedia were issued against her? The question is an extremely important one, for in the succeeding age imperial favor, subtlest heresies, multitudes of semi-Christians and decrease of charity gave quite another physiognomy to the Christian body. On the other hand, the sources of our information for the later period flow so fully that we cannot mistake the essential outlines of faith, discipline and organization, while there remain only fragmentary evidences for the heroic age of Christianity, over every one of which a jealous and interested criticism maintains the strictest watch. It is the intention of the writer to draw an outline of Christianity in those early ages, not precisely from the genetic point of view, but rather to present the religion of Christ as it must have seemed to an intelligent and impartial observer in the closing years of the third century—such, perhaps, as it may have appeared to the son of Constantius Chlorus while he travelled in the body-guard of the Illyrian Cæsar through Egypt and Syria, or hastened in memorable flight across the heart of the empire from Byzantium to York. The moment is a propitious one, for both within and without the Church certain lines of evolution had then reached their last term. The subtle, poisonous influence of the Orient, conveyed through a hundred forms of Docetism and Gnosticism, had been dissipated by the united and intelligent efforts of the Christian episcopate and the writings of learned Christians. The episcopate itself, now a mighty network, frequently co-ordinate with

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the municipal system of the empire, was fully conscious of its own nature and mission. An immense sympathy, wide as the world and supremely intense, pulsated throughout the whole body from the humblest *episcopi gentium* on the borders of Scythia or Arabia to the successor of the Fisherman. Conflict and contradiction had drawn out all the latent energies of the Christian system, and as the mind wanders over the contents of the Christian literature of the period, the thinker is astonished at seeing that all the domestic and mixed questions which will eventually convulse Christendom, and even yet disturb the peace of mankind, were in those dim days troubling the minds of our predecessors. Whoever will turn over the voluminous index of a book as remarkable as dangerous[1] may convince himself that within the first three centuries the Christian Church had been called on to face, at least in embryonic form, the most painful internal and external problems, and that she solved them with a firmness and accuracy that betray a rounded and plenary consciousness of her sublime mission and her supreme authority. Among the thousand scattered communities of Christians there was a strong sense of mutual fraternity, of solidary fellowship—the outcome of the common teachings and sufferings of ten generations. Never since then has there been so little jealousy, so little mutual distrust, so loving, frequent and intimate communication, ignoring all the local and transitory interests of earthly politics. Antioch and Alexandria recognized without demur the spiritual hegemony of Rome, and with maternal affection the latter sheltered in her bosom the multitudinous Christian visitors whom business or curiosity or piety led to the Golden Queen.[2]

On the other hand, the relations of the Roman state to Christianity, after much uncertainty and tergiversation, had at last reached a crucial point, when the opposing claims of Christ and Cæsar must be settled, either by peaceful means or by the dread

[1] Renan: *Les Origines du Christianisme.* 8 vols. Paris, 1891. On the Christian side there is, as yet, no such brilliant and comprehensive synthesis of a multitude of excellent monographs. But the *Origines Chrétiennes* of the learned Abbé Duchesne; the works of Professor Probst of Breslau, on doctrine, prayer, liturgy, the sacraments and discipline in the first three centuries; the *Histoire des Persécutions*, by Allard; the *Geschichte der Roemischen Kirche* by Hagemann; the *Hippolytus und Callistus* of Doellinger, contain valuable antidotes to the Renanesque virus. Priceless material is stored up in the *Bulletino di archeologia Cristiana* of De Rossi.

[2] Cf. Eusebius H. E., viii., 7. St. Athanasius: *On the Opinion of Dionysius*, c. 13. *De Synodis*, c. 43. Euseb. H. E, vii. 30; iv. 23; v. 24. Fresh light has been thrown on the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome by the discovery of the second century Epitaph of Abercius. See Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, SS. Ignatius and Polycarp, vol. i., pp. 493-501, and the *Catholic Times* of Philadelphia, April 29, 1893, p. 4: The *Inscription of Abercius.* The proofs of the Roman supremacy are gathered in the first volume of Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*, and illustrated by Hagemann in *Die Roemische Kirche* (Freiburg, 1864) and Schroedl, *Papstgeschichte* (Mainz, 1883.)

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and dangerous arbitrament of blood. Perhaps it was the clear sense of the finality of his act which made the politic son of Diocles hesitate so long on the eve of the combat, and exhaust every weaker makeshift before opening the last campaign of ethnicism against the sweet and humble law of Christ. It was surely this conviction which caused the warfare to be carried on against the Christians not as offending citizens of a common state, but as hostile belligerents.[1] The supreme hour had come for the death struggle between Christian monotheism and the motley polytheism of the Gentile world, between the principles of individual spiritual liberty of conscience and absolute civic omnipotence, between the City of God and the City of Man. The Roman State of the first century looked upon the Christians with a supercilious contempt, scarcely distinguishing them from the vile herd that congregated in the Jewries of the Suburra and the Trastevere. As the evil grew, and the sensual mongrel populations of the great cities began to suspect what Christianity meant, sedition and uproar so filled the empire that the governors were forced to intervene in the interests of public order, and usually, with a fine Roman arbitrariness, punished in the interest of peace the first visible cause, however innocent. But it was not alone the sensuous, soft life of the mob that Christianity threatened; the new religion was a constantly increasing peril for the old ethnic state based upon a vast and intricate system of idolatry, on which it had grown to universal supremacy, and for which it felt that clinging sympathy which exists between institutions that have grown up on the same soil, under the same influences and with the same scope. Between that state and Christianity there could be no alliance, and the lawyer's mind of Tertullian saw deeper into the true position than that of the scholarly apologist Melito.[2] So it came about in the third century that those in whom the true Roman consciousness was liveliest, and who clung with the most idolatrous passion to the invincible and eternal Majesty of the City, were firmly persuaded that the progress of the Christian idea meant the surrender of the old urban supremacy and the abdication of her secular glories before a mean and nameless multitude, obedient in every city to irresponsible heads, and actuated by ideals utterly strange, if not directly hostile to the ends of the Roman state. This ever-growing mass had in all large centres an *episcopus* and an *ecclesia*,

[1] "The divine martyrs throughout the world . . . . were dealt with no longer by common law, but attacked like enemies of war."—Eus. H. E., viii., 10.

[2] Sed et Caesares credidissent Christo si, aut Caesares non essent necessarii saeculo, aut si et *Christiani potuissent esse Caesares*, *Apologeticum*, c. 21. Compare the vague fear of Celsus that the Christians will ruin the state, *Origen adv. Celsum*, viii., 68, and Athenagoras, *Legatio*, ii., 3.

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and avoided the *capitolium* and the *fora.* It held, with a strange unanimity, doctrines most unintelligible to the Roman statesmen. Its teachings concerning the poor, celibacy, woman and slavery, affected the existing framework of society at a hundred points. The profound ineradicable devotion to their chiefs, whether dead or alive, excited the sombre jealousy of the emperor, who claimed for the Roman Majesty, in him incorporate, all the devotion and sympathy of every citizen.

Frequent invasion, successful insurrection, blighting pests, and rapid internal decay, added to the gravity of the situation, and we need not wonder that, in such a frame of mind, an otherwise good emperor like Decius, blind in his devotion to the tottering state, and urged on by the jealous philosophers and the interested temple-priesthoods, undertook the eradication of the hated sect. But he came too late to the task. The *pusillus grex* had been shielded for over two centuries from a systematic onslaught that, humanly speaking, might have utterly scattered it at an earlier date and Decius died, confessing that the cosmopolitan Christian association, with its centre beneath the shadow of the Palatine, was a graver danger to the empire than any change of dynasty.[1] Henceforward, Christianity is, in a sense, on a political level with the empire. In the long series of irregular successions and counter-revolutions that fill the period subsequent to the brave death of Decius, the only united body in the empire seems to be the Christians, and their influence is felt and accepted in opposing camps, in the stress of public misfortune, and even at the tribunal of Cæsar. Henceforth they fill the armies, and the highest offices of the empire are entrusted to them. They are in the councils of the Illyrian emperors, and the conversion of Cæsar is no longer looked on as impossible or improbable. The females of the imperial court are won over to a religion, of all others the most sympathetic and favorable to their sex. The very camps are redolent with an atmosphere of Christianity, and it is already in possession of the highest fruits of a perfect society among men—varied literature, native art and architecture, written legislation, representative assemblies, domestic annals, and an enlightened public opinion based on the ancient traditions and the historic evolution of the Christian world.[2]

It is at this period of transition, in the lull that follows the events of A. D. 250–251, and before the outbreak of the final hur-

[1] Cum multo patientius et tolerabilius audiret levari adversus se æmulum principem quam constitui Romæ Dei Sacerdotem. St. Cyprian, Ep. 55, 9 (ed. Hartel) p. 630).

[2] De Broglie, *L'Eglise et L'Etat au IVième siècle*, 6 vols., Paris, 1860-66, vol. i., c. i. Mason, *The Persecution of Diocletian*, Cambridge, 1876. Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantins* (2d ed.), Leipzig, 1880.

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ricane, that we desire to sketch the Christian society, its numbers, the causes of its rapid progress, its system of government, its bonds of unity, and its external life and action.

No domain of history has been scrutinized by more sharp eyes, or has been subjected to more diverse appreciations. No field of historical research counts to-day more patient, well-equipped scholars. For these reasons a summary retrospect of the true condition of Christianity at this time may interest the general reader, and awaken in him fresh sympathy for those great men who upbore its banner in the darkest hour of conflict, confiding only on the justice of their cause and the right arm of the Almighty—we mean the Dionysii, the Cornelii, the Sixti, the Cyprians, the Lucii, the Eusebii, the Fabiani, and however else may have been called the leaders of that glorious militia which lifted the walls of Sion amid the smoking carnage of battle and the horrid din of infernal opposition.

I.

(*a*) *In the West.*

The Number of the Christians.—The rapid spread of Christianity in the West is evident from the testimony of Tacitus, who speaks of a *multitudo ingens* as existing at Rome in the time of Nero.[1] It was thence that the faith was carried, at uncertain epochs of the first or second centuries, to Gaul, Africa, Spain, Britain, and the islands of the Mediterranean. The language of Tertullian, in his apologetic writings,[2] though somewhat rhetorical, must yet be substantially reliable, and his statement concerning the *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca Christo vero subdita*, is borne out by the well-known phrase of St. Irenæus anent the barbarian nations who had the law written in their hearts without ink or paper.[3]

We have no means of calculating exactly the proportion of the Western Christians to the pagan population at the close of the third century. The number of bishops would afford some clew if

[1] Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt, *Annales* xv., 44.

[2] Obsessam vociferantur civitatem: in agris, in castellis, in insulis Christianos; omnem sexum, ætatem, conditionem, etiam dignitatem transgredi ad hoc nomen quasi detrimento maerent. *Apologeticum*, c. 1. Hesterni sumus et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum: sola vobis relinquimus templa, c. 37.

[3] Cui ordinationi assentiunt multæ gentes barbarorum, eorum qui in Chri tum credunt, sine charta et atramento scriptam habentes per spiritum in cordibus salutem, et *veterem traditionem* custodientes. *Adv. haer.*, iii., 4, 2. Taking these words together with the reference of Tertullian to British Christians, it seems to us that there is much more than modern critics allow in the story of the conversion of the British king (chieftain?) Lucius in the latter half of the second century. See *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), vol i., pp. cii 59, 136, and the articles "LUCIUS" and "ELEUTHERIUS," in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

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it were known. The Acts of the pseudo Synod of Sinuessa, compiled toward the end of the fifth century, relate that in the year 303 there were three hundred Italian bishops gathered near that city to condemn the Roman bishop Marcellinus for his supposed fall.[1] If these acts represented any local traditions, the above number would indicate a large Christian population in Italy at this time. We have yet the episcopal lists of the Councils of Arles (314) and Nice (325), but in faulty condition. While the number of bishops present at the latter is usually put down at 318, the ancient authorities variously estimate the number at Arles from 33, surely too small for a synod called by St. Augustine *plenarium universæ ecclesiæ concilium*, to 600, too great a number for the united churches of Italy, Gaul, and Africa, to furnish at that time. About the year 250, the Roman Church counted nearly one hundred and fifty clerics, and supported from common funds fifteen hundred widows and orphans.[2] We learn from Eusebius, that at a Roman synod, in 251, there were present sixty bishops, and many more priests and deacons, while a Carthagenian synod of the same year, was visited by "very many bishops." St. Cyprian likewise informs us that, several years earlier a Numidian synod held in the *Lambesitana Colonia* counted ninety bishops among its members.[3]

The Roman Synod, of 313, in the affair of Donatus, counted among the judges fifteen Italian bishops, and three from Gaul, while Cæcilius and Donatus brought each ten African bishops with him.[4] We may imagine that these bishops did not represent any small or insignificant places, since as early as 343, the sixth canon of the council of Sardica forbade, as an abuse, the location of bishops in small sees, *ne vilescat nomen episcopi et auctoritas.* The *Liber Pontificalis* mentions forty-six episcopal ordinations at Rome, during six and a half years, in the very troublous and interrupted pontificates of Marcellus, Eusebius, and Miltiades.

The latter figures argue a very large Christian population at Rome before the persecutions of Diocletian began. Eusebius even tells us that Maxentius stopped the persecutions to please the people, and his famous words in the eighth book of his history on the extraordinary increase of the Christians must be taken to include the city of Rome, which had ever been the chief centre of Christian interests.[5]

A very large part of the Roman lower classes at this time may have been Christians, as they were able to fill the city with sedi-

[1] Hefele, *History of the Councils*, i., 143. Mansi, *Coll. Amplissima Conc.*, i., 1250.
[2] Eusebius, *Hist. Ecc.*, vi., 43. Letter of Cornelius of Rome to Fabius of Antioch.
[3] Euseb., *ibid.* Cyprian, ep. 59 (ed. Hartel).
[4] Optatus, *De Schismate Donatist*, lib. i.
[5] H. E. viii., cc. 1, 14.

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tion and uproar because of internal dissensions and disputed papal elections.[1] The inscriptions of the catacombs justify the inference that many of the middle classes had accepted the teachings of Christ, though but few of the Roman aristocracy had openly professed the faith. At the beginning of the fourth century the Roman Church had twenty-five titles or quasi-parishes for the purposes of baptism and penance, and some twenty cemeteries for the burial of the dead.[2] All this argues a large Christian element, and we cannot be far wrong in putting down the contemporary Christians of Rome at about one hundred thousand in a population variously estimated from eight hundred thousand to a million and a half.

There were certainly as many more in the rest of Italy. At this period Africa had about two hundred bishops,[3] and though the bishoprics of Spain were fewer, there was perhaps the same proportion of Christians in each province—about one hundred thousand, if we take the small scale of five hundred souls for each bishop of Africa. In Africa, the rapid spread of the Donatist heresy proves the great number of Christians early in the fourth century. In 330, the Donatists had two hundred and seventy bishops at a synod, *i.e.*, one for every Catholic diocese. The Spanish synod of Elvira (about 300) speaks as though Christians were to be found in every walk of life. There is in its utterances a consciousness of long-established authority. It speaks of the *copia puellarum* among the Christians, and the danger of marrying outside the faith. The insistence on the frequentation of the Mass might indicate a great increase in numbers, and consequent lukewarmness on the part of the faithful.[4]

The number of Christians in Gaul cannot have been very great at this time, and they were perhaps confined chiefly to the valley of the Rhone, the southern sea-coast, and the Roman stations on the Rhine. Sulpicius Severus, himself a Gallo Roman, tells us that Christianity was slow in penetrating into Gaul. "*Religione Dei serius trans Alpes suscepta.*" The similar testimony of Gregory of Tours is borne out by the inscriptions and the study of the ancient episcopal lists of Gaul.[5] There were bishops of Treves and Cologne

[1] In the famous case of the disputed election between Eusebius and Heraclius, the epitaph of St. Eusebius, recovered by De Rossi, tells us: "Hinc furor, hinc odium sequitur, discordia, lites, seditio, cædes, solvuntur foedera pacis," etc. See Northcote and Brownlow, *Roma Sotteranea*, I., p. 343.

[2] *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), i., 164. "Hic (Marcellus) . . . . . XXV. titulos in urbe Roma constituit, quasi dioeceses, propter baptismum et poenitentiam multorum qui convertebantur ex paganis, et propter sepulturas martyrum."

[3] Münter, *Primordia Ecclesiæ Africanæ*. Hafniæ, 1829, p. 24.

[4] Hefele, I., 145. In the *Mélanges Renier* the Abbé Duchesne has shown that this important synod was held about the year 300.

[5] See Duchesne, *Memoire sur l'origine des diocèses épiscopaux en Gaule*, Paris, 1890.

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at Arles (314), as well as three bishops from Britain, but a half-century later, the latter country had only three at the synod of Rimini (359). We hear of persecutions under Diocletian at St. Albans and Caerleon in Britain, but the scanty references to them do not justify us in supposing a considerable Christian population.

The Apostolic Churches of Greece and Macedonia seem to have held their own during the third century. We do not hear of any notable increase, but this may be owing to the gradual disappearance of Greek influences from Roman public life, as well as to the stubborn resistance of Hellenism on its own natal soil. It was only in the ninth century that paganism was eventually extirpated in the remote parts of the Peloponnesus.[1] The churches of Corinth and Byzantium were flourishing at the end of the second century, and Christianity had already been well established in many of the islands, as in Crete and Melos.

(*b*) *In the Orient.*

The diffusion of Christianity was naturally much greater in the Orient. It was long looked on as an eastern cult, scarcely distinguishable from Judaism. Its professors were usually from the east, where its first communities were established, and where it acquired its distinctive name. In the west the barbarian lands were an almost impassable barrier, but the entire east was the seat of ancient culture and refinement—precisely the field for a religion which appealed to all the higher and purer instincts of humanity. A letter of Pliny to Trajan early in the second century shows what astonishing progress the new religion had made in Bithynia and Pontus, and casts a strong light on the missions of Paul and Barnabas in Asia Minor.[2] Fifty years later, the magician, Alexander of Abonuteichos, found the same provinces full of atheists and Christians, and in the Easter controversy several bishops of this region took a notable part. In the latter half of the third century Gregory Thaumaturgus is said to have almost entirely converted the pagan population in certain parts of Pontus, and his *Epistola Canonica*, one of the earliest and most venerable documents of diocesan legislation, supposes many well established Christian communities. We learn from Philostorgius[4] that at this time the Goths captured many Christian ecclesiastics on the occasion of their inroads into Cappadocia and Galatia.

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[1] Constantine Porphyrogen. *De Adm. regni*, c. 50. For the details of the gradual extirpation of paganism after Constantine, see Schultze, *Der Untergang des Heidentums*. Jena, 1892.

[2] Pliny, Epp., Lib. X., 93.

[3] Lucian, *Pseudomantis*, c. 25.

[4] Philostorgius, H. E., ii., 15. Routh, Reliquiæ Sacræ, iii., p. 256.

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The cities of the western seaboard of Asia Minor, Ephesus, Smyrna, Tralles, Sardes, Rhodes and others, contained a very large Christian population. Already, in the middle of the third century the city of Apamæa in Phrygia[1] was thoroughly Christian, and used a Christian seal. The Acts of St. Pionius of Smyrna (middle of third century) reveal a city largely Christian, in which prejudice had nearly died out. The Apostolic activity of St. John, St. Paul, and of St. Timothy; the multitude of Jews who dwelt in these towns; the peculiar susceptibility to Christian influence of the numerous Greek artists who inhabited this region, contributed greatly to the increase of the Christians.

In the first three centuries we learn the names of only about thirty episcopal sees in this quarter; but that they were much more numerous is evident from the fact that about one hundred bishops of Asia Minor took part at the Council of Nice (325). It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that one-tenth of the twenty millions of Asia Minor were Christians at the beginning of the persecution of Diocletian.

The Christian population of Syria must have been proportionately as large as that of Asia Minor. It was the first land into which the Jewish proselytes penetrated; its cities, notably Damascus and Antioch, were filled with Jews. Here, too, a very large share of the early Christian literature arose. The early Syriac translation of the sacred books of the Christians (the Peschito), the compilation of such episcopal manuals as the Apostolic Constitution, and such romances as the Recognitions of Clement, the tireless activity of Pamphilus and his school of transcribers in copying the Scriptures—prove that there were many communities of wealthy and intelligent Christians. From the end of the first century Antioch was recognized by them as the head of all the churches of Syria, a position to which her size, situation and history fully entitled her. Syria was the highway of Christian missionaries going east or west or north, and the number of its seaports made it an excellent field for proselytism; on the other hand the coarse and sensuous character of its idolatry furnished the

[1] "Thenceforward (from A.D. 112) for three hundred years Phrygia was essentially a Christian land. There began the public profession of Christianity; there are found, from the third century, on monuments exposed to the public gaze, the terms *Chrestianos* or *Christianos;* there the formulas of epitaphs convey veiled references to Christian dogmas; there, from the days of Septimius Severus, great cities adopt biblical symbols for their coins, or rather adapt their old traditions to biblical narrations. A great number of the Christians of Ephesus and Rome came from Phrygia. The names most frequently met with on the monuments of Phrygia are the antique Christian names (Trophimus, Tychicus, Tryphenus, Papias, etc.), the names special to the apostolic times and of which the martyrologies are full."—Renan, *Origines du Christianisme*, iii, pp. 363-364.

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Christians the most tangible of arguments in favor of monotheism. The discoveries of M. De Vogüe in Northern and Central Syria have put it beyond a doubt that at the beginning of the fourth century there was a very large percentage of Christians of rank and wealth in the splendid capital of the Orient.[1] The small kingdoms of Osrhoene, Adiabene and Edessa were in great measure Christian at the end of the second century. In fact the first national conversion to Christianity that we know was that of the Abgars of Edessa, a line of kings whose Jewish sympathies go back more than a century earlier.[2]

The entire population of Palestine was much reduced in the early imperial period, and perhaps it did not amount to more than six hundred and fifty thousand. Among them there existed yet, and for many years after, the small church of the Nazarene Christians.[3] But the vast majority belonged to the Universal Church. The Jews preserved for a long time a peculiar autonomy, especially on their native soil. The Rabbinical schools nurtured the vague hope of a glorious temporal Messiah, and their patriarchs were clothed with a mixed temporal and spiritual power, which was so great in the time of Origen that the Jews pointed to it to show that the sceptre had not yet passed from Judah.[4] Still, from the beginning of the third century we notice that there is a kind of renaissance in Christian proselytism. The death of the Bishop Narcissus removed a venerable but aged administrator. Alexander, a Greek, who had come on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, succeeded him. He seems to have been a man of great literary activity, and the earliest public library of Christendom was his creation. There is reason to believe that from this time many pilgrims came yearly to Jerusalem, which some ancient Christians looked on as the centre of the earth. Their number may have been one of the reasons why the city arose about this time, even before the victory of Constantine, to a greater influence than it had enjoyed as a colony of Hadrian.[5]

The frequent and bloody persecutions of the Alexandrine Christians are clear evidence that they were numerous. The cosmopolitan character of the city, the Paris of antiquity, with its multitudinous traders and travellers from Britain to India, furthered the

[1] De Vogüe. *La Syrie Centrale, Architecture civile et religieuse, du I. au VII. siècle.* Paris, 1865.

[2] *Chronicon Edessenum* in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* of Assemani. For the many interesting questions connected with the origin of Christianity in these regions, see Tixeront, *Les Origines de l'Eglise d' Edesse*, Paris, 1888.

[3] St. Jerome, Ep. 74 (89) ad Augustinum.

[4] See Schuerer, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, vol. i., part ii., p. 276.

[5] Euseb., Hist. Ecc., vi., 8, 20; vi., 14, 19, 32.

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Christian proselytism in a city of philosophers, students and inquirers. We find here, from the latter half of the second century, a kind of Christian university, the famous catechetical school, which drew many pagans to its lectures. The history of the Arian heresy in its incipient stage shows a very large body of Christians at Alexandria early in the fourth century, where, at the same time, we hear of parishes (as at Rome), of hundreds of consecrated virgins, and similar indications of a flourishing community. The Egypto-Meletian schism is proof that the Coptic church was widespread throughout the Delta and along the Nile, and the same conviction results from the reading of the acts of the Coptic martyrs.

Early in the fourth century Alexander, of Alexandria, was able to gather a hundred bishops in the preliminary synod that condemned the teachings of Arius. Altogether it has been calculated that Egypt contained, in the time of Diocletian, about the same percentage of Christians as Asia Minor, *i.e.*, about one million, or the eighth part of the population. In this may rightly be included the long strip of Libyan territory and the Pentapolis. Ancient Christian catacombs have been discovered in the territory of Cyrenaica, which betray the presence of numerous Christians.[1]

Beyond the limits of the empire, Armenia, the first of the great kingdoms to accept Christianity as the religion of the state, was thoroughly Christian before the victory of Saxa Rubra (A.D. 312). The work of Gregory the Illuminator was then going on over the whole plateau of this vast border-land, where Roman and Parthian, Byzantine and Persian, fought so long and so fiercely for absolute dominion. Its sparse population of three millions lived in somewhat feudal relations with the great nobles and the king. The aristocracy must have become Christian at the same time, since we learn from Eusebius that Maximinus Daza made war against Armenia (312) for having embraced Christianity, and an ancient tradition says that Gregory ordained four hundred bishops before his death.[2]

Persia is the country to which the apocryphal but very ancient Acts of the Apostles Simon and Jude, Thomas and Matthew,

[1] Eusebius (H. E., viii., 8) speaks of "multitudes of Christian martyrs" in Egypt during the last persecution. One group condemned to the copper-mines of Palestine included seventy, and another one hundred and thirty men. The language and conduct of Dionysius of Alexandria, in the previous generation, show a very large Christian population, not only at Alexandria, but throughout the Delta of the Nile. On the catacombs of Egypt and Cyrenaica, see Kraus, *Real-Encyclopædie*, ii., 136.

[2] Agathangelos and Moses of Khorene (Langlois, *Historiens de l'Arménie*, Paris, 1867.) See also *Acta SS* Sept. viii, 295-413, and Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, vol. i. Eusebius (H. E, ix, 8) speaks of the whole Armenian people as being "Christians, and zealous in their piety toward the Deity."

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point as "the dark and bloody ground" of their apostolate. The Jews were there in larger numbers than elsewhere in the world outside of Judæa.[1] The border-lands of Mesopotamia and the small Syro-Greek kingdoms were filled with Christian communities, and Greek and Roman influences prevailed largely at the court of the last kings of the Parthian dynasty.[2] The great persecution begun by the new national dynasty of the Persians under Schapur (Sapor) II. reveals a sense of fear on the part of the Magians, and the number of the martyrs, variously calculated from sixteen to one hundred and ninety thousand, shows how the Christian faith had already honey-combed the Zoroastrian cult. John, a bishop of the Persian Church, assisted at the Council of Nice, and some years later the Persian Christians were numerous enough to induce Constantine to intercede for them with Schapur.[3]

In antiquity the limits of the territory known as Arabia were only vaguely known, and the success of the Roman arms was never complete enough to warrant the establishment of colonies. The nomadic manners of the Arabs or Saracens, and the fanatic Jewries on the border, were great obstacles to the spread of the Christian religion, yet we find about the middle of the third century "very many bishops" assembled at Bostra, a fortified Roman camp on the plateau of the Hauran, to try the case of the bishop Beryllus in presence of Origen. A Roman general, stationed in this neighborhood, sought the instruction of that great Christian teacher, as did Julia Mammæa, the mother of Alexander Severus. Finally, a contemporary Roman Emperor, Philip the Arab, came from the vicinity of Bostra, and we know by the testimony of Eusebius that he was commonly reputed a Christian. The doctrines of Judaism had long since made some progress among the tribes of the desert, as we learn from Sozomen, and they were the usual leverage for Christian proselytism. That the monks and ascetics who fled to these remote regions made deep impressions on the children of the desert, is evidenced by the strange story of Queen Mania and the solitary Moses.

Isolated Christian captives there were among the Saracens, as among the Goths, in the middle of the third century. Eusebius relates the tender charity and concern of the Roman See in

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[1] The statistics of the Jewish Diaspora in the early imperial period are collected in the above-cited work of Schuerer. On the apostolic missions in Persia, see Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, 4 vols.

[2] The origins of these national churches in the border lands of Rome and Persia are ably discussed in the above-cited work of Tixeront, and the polemic reply of the Abbé Martin.

[3] See Hefele, *History of the Councils*, vol. i., and Tillemont, *Mem. p. servir à l'hist. ecclésiastique*, vii., 76.

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regard to these unfortunates.[1] It is very probable that there were communities of Christians in the Malabar peninsula before the time of Constantine, and the history and teachings of Manes reveal the presence of Christianity on the outermost limits of Persia.[2]

Trade and war, travel and lettered curiosity, must have scattered a sporadic knowledge of its tenets in every part of the world which was in any way known to the peoples of Greco-Roman culture. It is literally true that *in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum.* The pages of Eusebius are full of the conviction that Christianity had already become numerically a huge power on the earth, with which henceforth all rulers must count. He quotes for us the Edict of Maximinus Daza in which he admits that "nearly all men" had deserted the service of the gods (H. E. ix., 9). He tells us of the incredible increase of Christianity in the days immediately preceding the persecution of Diocletian. He paints the public rejoicings in every city at the release of the martyrs and the great activity in church-building and works of benevolence consequent on the cessation of the persecution.[3] It is impossible to read these pages and not feel that what the genius of Melito of Sardes and Origen had foreseen, was now come to pass:[4] the empire had become Christian, in this sense, that the religion of Christ now stood out the only compact, united, vigorous and aggressive religious power in the empire. It had not yet the majority. The religious philosophies and the ethnic cults lasted on, but without hope, or cohesion, or balance, or distinct aim. The battle was won, and the division of the spoils might be left till the morrow.[5]

[1] Euseb., H. E., vi., 33, 21, 34. Sozomen, Hist. Ecc., vi., 38. "Why need I speak of the multitude that wandered in the deserts and mountains (of Arabia), and perished by hunger, and thirst, and cold, and sickness, and robbers, and wild beasts?" *Dionysius of Alexandria*, in Euseb., H E., vi., 42. The Roman Church redeemed many of these unfortunates from the captivity of the Saracens, Euseb., vii., 5.

[2] See "The Christians of St. Thomas," in *The Catholic Times* of Philadelphia, April 15, 1893, and the articles on MANES and MANICHAEANS, in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

[3] "How can any one describe those vast assemblies, and the multitude that crowded together in every city, and the famous gatherings in the house of prayer, on whose account, not being satisfied with the ancient buildings, they erected from the foundations large churches in all the cities."—Euseb., H. E., viii, 1.

[4] Melito boldly parallels the rapid spread of Christianity with the contemporary growth of the Roman name and power, and insinuates that they are related as cause and effect, Euseb., H. E., iv., 26; Otto, *Corpus Apologetarum*, ix., p. 412. The number and influence of the Christians in the Orient might easily justify the vague conviction of Origen that the religion of Christians would one day be mistress of the empire, "since it was daily winning a multitude of souls," *Adv. Celsum*, viii., 68 (Migne, P G., xi., 1620.) On the character and opinions of this very remarkable bishop of the second century, see *Melito von Sardes*, by C. Thomas, Osnabreck, 1893.

[5] The details of the gradual extirpation of Paganism are given in the rare and

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From the above or similar data, Gibbon reckons the Christian population of the empire before the conversion of Constantine at about five millions or one twentieth of the population; Keim, Zöckler and Chastel at about sixteen millions, while Schultze puts ten millions as the minimum figure in a population of about one hundred millions.[1] The Christians were surely more numerous than the Jews who numbered some four millions within the empire at this period; hence the figures of Gibbon must be looked on as too low, especially as the Orient alone would easily furnish, from modern calculations, a greater number.

(*c*) *Constituents of the Christian Society.*

The Christian society of the third century was made up of many elements. No doubt, the poor and the humble were in a great majority. But it would be as much of an error to think that slaves were very numerous in it, as to imagine that any large portion of the Roman aristocracy had accepted the teachings of Christ. The legal position of the former made it difficult and dangerous to practice a religion which their masters did not approve, and the public duties and ambitions of the latter found in Christianity a most embarrassing obstacle. In the higher classes, especially, the neglect of the Roman religion was less easily tolerated than in the motley multitude.

The bulk of the Christian population seems usually to have been made up of the middle classes—the free poor, the small tradesman or patron, artisans, workers in metal and marble, Greek and Oriental foreigners,[2] etc.

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costly work of Beugnot, *Histoire de la Dèstruction du Paganisme en Occident*, Paris, 1835, and Chastel, *Histoire de la Déstruction du Paganisme dans l'Empire d'Orient*, Paris, 1850. The works of M. Boissier, *La Fin du Paganisme*, Paris, 1891, and V. Schultze, *Der Untergang des griechisch-roemischen Heidentums*, Jena, 1887, are written from different view-points, but are both valuable.

[1] Schultze, op. cit., i., p. 22.

[2] See Allard, *Les Esclaves Chrètiens*, Paris, 1876. It is the impression which the Acts of the Martyrs, *e.g.*, those of St. Justin, and the complexion of the Roman Church before Constantine make upon us. The Acts of St. Pionius of Smyrna show a large and free Christian population in that city about A D. 250. And the wealth of the Roman Church came neither from slaves nor entirely from her noble members. On the percentage of the nobility in the primitive Church see the Bulletins of De Rossi, *s.v.* NOBILITAS, the work of Dom Guèranger, *Sainte Cècile et la Société Romaine aux deux premiers siècles* (3d ed.), Paris, 1890, and Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*. The Kings of Edessa were Christian from the end of the second century at least. Those of Armenia were converted a century later, and in the meantime the little Greek state of the Bosphorus (Crimea) had become largely Christian. It was commonly believed that the Emperor Philip the Arab and his family, were Christian, and such too, seem to have been Julia Mammaea, the distinguished mother of Alexander Severus, and Salonina the wife of Gallienus. The wife and daughter of Diocletian were Christians before the outbreak of the persecution. When "Cæsar's

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There was a great deal of travel in the early imperial epoch,[1] and every large church counted on its feast-days men of many nationalities within its walls. At Alexandria and Antioch, at Nicomedia and Trier the great offices of state were frequently filled by Christians. They had a splendid church at Nicomedia, built upon an elevation, and the Old Basilica at Antioch was not without a certain magnificence. St. Optatus of Milevi informs us that early in the fourth century they had over forty churches at Rome, and Eusebius tells us that before the last persecution there was a very great activity in church-building throughout the empire. The churches began already to possess the cemeteries in their own right, and they formed corporations, capable of holding property from the time of Gallienus. The little "house churches" had long since given way to a peculiarly Christian style, for the basilica form was not first adopted by the Christians after the downfall of paganism—it is considerably older, and some maintain that it is the product of Christian architectural progress in the third century, the outcome of a combination of "house-church," catacomb-chapel, and private domestic hall.[2] Yet, while it is clear that Christianity was very widespread in the last quarter of the third century, we must make due reservations; it was met with chiefly in the cities, much less in the open country; its votaries were far more numerous in the East than in the West; their public status was in a transition crisis from the primitive period when the powerful and contemptuous state scarcely distinguished them from the mob of Jews to the hour when the terrified administration recognized that the whole world was honeycombed with the new doctrines and the hour of final conflict was at hand. The latter point is very clear from the history of Paul of Samosata, and the opening reflections of Eusebius in the eighth book of his Church History, as well as from the Epitaph of Pope Eusebius and certain remarks of St. Cyprian in the golden booklet *De Lapsis*.

II.

Causes of the Rapid Spread of Christianity[3]—(*a*) *Proselytism.*—The words of Christ (Luke iv., 18, 19; ix., 2) could leave no doubt in the minds of the Apostles as to the chief means by which

household" did not escape, we need not wonder that many Caecilii, Valerii, Anicii, Glabriones, Annii, Probi, Bassi, Graecini and like families were won over to Christianity.

[1] See *Weltverkehr und Kirche in den drei ersten Jahrhunderten*, by Theo. Zahn, Hanover, 1877.

[2] See the article on BASILICAS in the *Encyclopædia* of Kraus.

[3] The writer takes for granted the co-operation of supernatural agencies, and the impossibility of explaining by natural causes alone the long and successful resistance, and the ultimate survival of Christianity.

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they were to found the kingdom of God in the hearts of men. It was by oral preaching, by personal appeal and instruction. They understood from the beginning that they were above all "ministers and captains" of the Word (Acts v., 12). The earliest Christian writers present the εὐαγγέλιον, the κήρυγμα, the public official proclamation of the history and the teachings of Jesus Christ as the ordinary means of propagating faith in Him. The earliest bits of Christian biography, the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, are usually styled preachings or circuits, and in the Christian literature of the first three centuries the inculcation of Christianity is called a teaching, a bearing of witness.[1] In the days of the first vivid enthusiasm the Christians saw many quasi inspired men, called prophets, who wandered up and down the world, filled with a holy zeal, discoursing with more than human eloquence, often rapt beyond themselves, omnipresent, tireless, aggressive, well fitted to introduce the leaven of truth into a timorous or hesitating community, and to confirm in the accepted faith the dubious and wavering. The generation of these ardent souls did not pass away with the apostolic times; they lived on into the second century. There are echoes of their missions in Papias, Polycarp, Ignatius and Hermas. "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" shows them yet active in the service of the Catholic Church,[2] and a valuable passage of Eusebius leads us to believe that they were still numerous in the middle of the second Christian century.[3] The Apostles left, indeed, a regularly constituted hierarchy,[4] but in the pioneer days of Christianity every convert was a preacher, devoured with the desire of compelling all men to enter the Kingdom of God ere the fatal hour of the Second Coming of the Son of Man.[5]

[1] Mark xvi., 15; II. Tim., iv., 17; Titus, i., 3. The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles are collected and examined in the great work of Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten.*

[2] See Funk *Opera Patrum Apostolicorum.* 2 vols., 8vo. Tuebingen, 1881.

[3] "For, indeed, most of the disciples of that time, animated by the divine word with a more ardent love for philosophy (*i.e.*, the perfect Christian life), had already fulfilled the commands of the Saviour and had distributed their goods to the needy. Then starting out upon long journeys, they performed the office of evangelists, being filled with the desire to preach Christ to those that had not yet heard the word of faith, and to deliver to them the divine gospels. And when they had only laid the foundations of the faith in foreign places, they appointed others as pastors, and entrusted them with the nurture of those that had recently been brought in, while they themselves went on again to other countries and nations with the grace and co-operation of God. For a great many wonderful works were done by them through the power of the divine Spirit, so that at the first hearing whole multitudes of men eagerly embraced the religion of the Creator of the Universe."—Euseb., H. E, vii., 38.

[4] Epistle of St. Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, c. 42, and the Epistles of St. Ignatius of Antioch. Cf. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers,* London, 1890.

[5] This is well expressed by St. Hilary of Poitiers: "Ut cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum et evangelizare et baptizare . . . . at ubi omnia loca circumplexa est ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores, et caetera officia in ecclesia sunt ordinata. Comm. in Ephes. 4.

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The duty of preaching rested chiefly upon the bishop,[1] and the pages of Eusebius show us that in the second and third centuries they were men of great eloquence and address, and extremely active in disseminating the Christian teachings. The Catholic Church counts to-day among her brightest glories such pioneer preachers and administrators of the divine *mandatum* as Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Melito of Sardes, Abircius Marcellus, Dionysius of Corinth and his namesake of Alexandria, Alexander of Jerusalem, Theophilus of Antioch, Apollinarius of Hierapolis, the Roman bishops Victor, Cornelius, Dionysius, and a host of others whose names and missionary work Eusebius either ignored or did not see fit to hand down. We see in Saint Justin a second century type of the Christian proselytizer, clothed in the coarse cloak of the philosopher, holding open school in the upper rooms of a friend's house, disputing with Cynics and Jews in the streets of Rome or the porticos of Ephesus—bland, insinuating, supple in argument, broken to all the dialectic exercise of the time, conciliating and adapting, explaining with fullest freedom the most holy *arcana* of the society, at once Jew, Greek and Roman, that he might gain all to Christ.[2] Not only the bishops, but the priests and deacons, had a special mission to teach and instruct, to guide the catechumens, to console the confessors and prepare them for martyrdom, to collect their last words, describe the scenes of their holy deaths, and form in the faith of Christ the new converts that every execution led into the church.[3]

Perhaps there is in all ecclesiastical history no more striking example of proselyting zeal than the great Origen. From his youth he burned to spread the law of Christ, and took up the public catechetical schools of Alexandria when they stood in grave peril of suppression or decay. He formed in this earliest of Christian seminaries the greatest Christians of the age; he attracted multitudes of pagans; by word and example he stirred up the sluggish depths of men's natures, and revealed to the astonished gaze of Christians and pagans the endless adaptability of the new religion to the most manifold relations of society, literature, civil government and human progress. He travelled many a weary mile across the sands of Arabia to convert a Roman general, and crossed the sea to expound Christianity to Julia Mammæa, the empress mother of the most noble and sympathetic of the pagan line of emperors. His predecessor, Pantaenus, had gone on a

[1] *Recognitions of Clement*, iii., 67. *Apostolic Constitutions*, ii., 26.

[2] Acts of the Martydom of St. Justin and his companions. Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum Sincera* (ed. Ratisbon 1859), p. 105. See his Apology and Dialogue with Trypho in Otto, *Corpus Apologetarum* (vols. i.–ii).

[3] Cruciate, torquete, damnate, alterite nos . . . . Plurics efficimur quoties metimur a vobis. Semen est sanguis martyrum, Tertullian, *Apologeticum*, c. 5.

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similar mission to India; in fact, the school of Alexandria was a centre of the most intelligent proselytism up to the time of Constantine. We could not ask for any better proof of it than the famous letter of Bishop Theonas of Alexandria to Lucian the Christian provost of the imperial chamberlains of Diocletian.[1]

But it was not only the church authorities who carried on the proselytism for Christ. All the faithful were soldiers of the Lord, and their life was looked on as a *militia*—an existence of defensive and offensive warfare.[2] The most frequent scene of these holy combats was the family. The influence of a converted mother or sister was enormous. The change in the female conduct, the suavity and devotion of their lives, the increasing tenderness and pity in their dealings with the slave, the poor and the unfortunate, the moral elevation and refinement of their whole being could not escape the notice of the other members of the family circle. We may gather from the pages of Tacitus the impression that the conversion of a woman like Pomponia Græcia made on Roman society.[3] That of Priscilla, Lucina, Cæcilia, the Flaviæ Domitillæ and the Aciliæ Glabriones could scarcely do less.

Yet, not unfrequently, the most bitter opposition came precisely from the family of the convert; it was so in the time of Tertullian, and somewhat later, Origen classes parents among the chief persecutors of the new religion.[4] The proselytism of the Christians is one of the chief objections that Celsus raises against the faith,

[1] See Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, iii., 439. It contains the proof that a great many of the chief officers of Diocletian's household were Christians, but its chief interest lies in the directions given for gradually turning the attention of the emperor to the Christian faith. "Ille tamen praecipuus inter vos erit et diligentissimus cui libros servandos princeps mandaverit . . . si igitur ex credentibus in Christum ad hoc ipsum officium advocari contingat, non spernat et ipse litteras seculares et gentilium ingenia, quae principem oblectant. Laudandi oratores . . . . laudandi historici . . . . Interdum et divinas scriptures laudari conabitur, ... laudabitur et interim evangelium, apostolusque (*i e.*, St. Paul). pro divinis oraculis: insurgere poterit Christi mentio, explicabitur paulatim ejus sola divinitas: omnia haec cum Christi adjutorio provenire possent."

[2] *Jesu Christo regi eterno milito*, says the martyr Marcellus to the judge. Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, etc. Maturus is called *generosissimus pugil Christi* in the Acts of the Martyrs of Vienne, *Militia Dei* sumus, Tert., *De Oratione*, c. 19. *Exhort ad Martyres*, c. 3. Compare II. Tim., ii., 3; I. Cor. ix., 24; I. Tim., i, 18; II. Cor, x., 3

[3] Longa huic Pomponiae aetas, et continua tristitia fuit, ... per quadraginta annos, non cultu nisi lugubri, non animo nisi moesto egit. Idque illi, imperitante Claudio impune, mox ad gloriam vertit. *Annales*, xiii., 32. Before this she had been traduced as *superstitionis externae rea*, and acquitted by the domestic council. This superstition was Christianity, the *exitiabilis superstitio* of Tacitus (Ann. xiv., 44), the *superstitio nova et malefica* of Suetonius (Nero 16), and the *superstitio prava et immodica* of Pliny (Epp. x., 96).

[4] Sed ad Christianos quod spectat, senatum Romanum, imperatores diversis temporibus, milites, populos, ipsos eorum qui crediderunt parentes, in eorum doctrinam conspirasse, *Contra Celsum*, i., 3.

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and in his replies Origen manifests much pride in the persistent devotion to Christ of poor and humble people of all nations and classes. He points out that many Christians gave themselves up entirely to missionary work.[1] And when the pagan philosopher insists that they are only the refuse of the population, the apologist does not take any pains to deny it, other than to point out that the Christians are not without some wealthy and noble members, especially among the female sex.[2]

This domestic apostolate was greatly furthered by the Christian slaves. The Acts of the Martyrs contain numerous evidences of the religious activity of slaves, and the lives of St. Gregory Nazienzen, St. Monica and St. Paulinus of Nola, offer evidence of their devotion and authority. We know that at one period they exercised much influence in the household of Septimius Severus, that the wet-nurse of his son Caracalla was a Christian,[3] and that a certain Christian, Proculus, probably a freedman, cured the emperor by the application of oil.

"Would that we could know," says M. Allard, "the secret of those domestic missions which so vexed the pagan soul of Celsus! We would stand by the loom of the weaver and hear some uncultured tongue expound the divine truths; we would see young working-girls gathered about some venerable toiler and listening to her encomia on the sweets of purity; we might even push aside the great doors of bronze, and lifting the heavy tapestries, see the child at the knee of a Christian nurse, the youth listening to his pedagogue, the master learning from the overseer of his property, the judge instructed by the martyr. What intimate confidings! What touching revelations! What sweetly-burning tears! We would see then the pure and divine side of that awful institution of slavery, of which history has shown us only the cruel and infamous reverse. One day it is a noble, rich, illustrious family that enters the Church; again, a young girl suddenly declares her intention of leading a life of virginity; on another occasion love and peace descend with the faith into a household where hitherto reigned a

[1] Inde liquet quod Christiani, quantum in se est, curent ut quo terrarum cunque sua doctrina spargatur quo fit ut quidam id sibi negotium desumpserint, ut non solum urbes, sed etiam vicos et villas obambularent, quo alios ad pium Dei cultum adducerent.—*Ibid.*, iii., 9.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii., 44, 55. In privatis ædibus videre est lanifices, sutores, fullones, imperitissimum quemque et rusticissimum coram senioribus . . . . nihil audere proloqui; ubi vero seorsum nacti fuerint pueros et mulierculas aeque ac ipsi imperitas, mira quædam disserunt, etc.—Cf. *ibid.*, i., 27, vi., 14, and *Peri Archon*, iv, 1, 2.

[3] Cruel as Caracalla was, there are several reasons for believing that he was favorable to the Christians: his early education, his aversion to sacrifices, his recalling of all those banished to the islands, his vexation at the punishment of his Christian playmate, the comparative peace of the faithful during his reign.—(Cf. CARACALLA in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.)

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horrid rivalry in vice; elsewhere a magistrate lays aside the trappings of office to live an humble and charitable life: all the while the world looks on and knows not the secret springs of such strange resolutions, but somewhere and always there is a poor slave who divides with the Lord a secret that causes his heart to overflow with heavenly gladness."[1]

(*b*) *Corporate Union of Christians.*—In spite of the most active proselytism, the Christian religion would have made but slow progress if its members had not established some system of frequent assembly, enabling them to meet regularly for mutual edification and consolation. That they did so is amply proved by the Acts of the Martyrs, the repressive imperial legislation, the literary remains, and the venerable monuments of the pre-Constantinian period. But how was it possible for such numerous bodies of men to meet in the midst of great cities, when the very name of the Christians was outlawed? From the time of Nero, Christianity was an illicit religion. *Non licet esse vos* was the watchword of heathen society, and might have been written over the door of every meeting-place of the Christians. To the traditional Roman statesman the Christian appeared as one who violated fundamental laws of the state. He introduced a foreign superstition and a new cult without the permission of the senate or the emperor. He was guilty of high treason by refusing even the simplest act of worship to the genius of perenduring Rome. He manifested an obstinacy against the sacred state, which was absolutely incomprehensible to the magistrates, when they only asked an outward compliance, and cared little or nothing for his intimate convictions. He belonged to a forbidden society, and actions for sacrilege and the practice of criminal magic could, in the opinion of Roman lawyers, be brought against him. In a word, he lived in a time when all the civil and religious elements of society were inextricably interwoven, and a new, exclusive, proselytizing, universal religion could not help offending at every step a civil order which was at once the outgrowth and solid proof of idolatry.[2] It is true that there

[1] Paul Allard, *Les Esclaves Chrétiens*, p. 300. An interesting verification of the above is furnished by the sarcophagus of Proxenes in the Villa Borghese at Rome. The original decoration and the epitaph are purely pagan, but one of his Christian freedmen, absent from Rome at the time of his death, has left us the secret of his conversion in the following mutilated words which he scratched on the tomb: PROSENES RECEPTUS AD DEUM . . . . REGREDIENS IN URBE SCRIPSIT AMPELIUS LIBERTUS. De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianæ Urbis Romæ*, vol. i., n. 5 (an. 217), p. 9.

[2] The legal position of Christianity in the early imperial period is the subject of an exhaustive study by the Christian epigraphist Le Blant: *Sur les bases juridiques des poursuites dirigées contre les Martyres*, in the proceedings of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, vol. ii, Paris, 1868, pp. 358–373. See also the article CHRISTENVERFOLGUNGEN in Kraus' *Real-Encyclopædie*, i., p. 215. According to Lactantius (Div. Inst., v., ii.), the great jurist Ulpian went so far as to codify the numerous laws directed against the Christians in a work entitled *De officio proconsulis.*

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were long periods of peace for the Christians under emperors like Commodus and Caracalla, Alexander Severus and Gallienus, and in the forty years preceding the last persecution the laws were on the statute-books, but were not enforced. Fanaticism was wearied and silent. The emperors discouraged or forbade pursuit of Christians, who, on the other hand, were becoming so numerous that nothing short of wholesale extermination could uproot the evil.

Nevertheless, there was a period especially during the second century when Christianity had not yet wearied its persecutors, and when the laws were regularly applied to work its eradication.[1] How did the vast network of Christian associations manage to exist during this latter period without being constantly broken up and forced to abandon the strong leverage which they had in their regular reunions on stated days and in fixed places? Much light has been thrown upon this question within the last half century by the researches of archæologists and illustrators of the civil law. In the ancient world scarcely any institution was dearer to the masses of the people than the right of association. While the democratic or republican spirit endured in Greece and Rome, this natural right was held sacred, and we have a multitude of epigraphic evidences to show that there existed a vast network of societies for every imaginable purpose—trade guilds, religious sodalities, confraternities, *collegia* for every grade and avocation among the bourgeois and the poor, while the Roman patriciate found in its traditions its wealth, its business, and political franchises, the consolation and strength that the poor sought in their association or college.[2] It was a result of the Greek's aversion to quiet family life, that he threw himself with ardor into external associations. Long before the coming of Christ, men united at Athens, Rhodes, and on the islands for purposes of business, or pleasure, to insure against loss by fire, and to honor some particular deity. The meetings were held in some retired garden, surrounded with porticos, and provided with a central altar of sacrifice. Dignitaries chosen by lot, and an elective president carried on the government of the little state, for such it was in many cases, the members being passionately attached to this second and artificial family. There was a common treasury, and mutual benevolence played a large share in the transactions of these curious forerunners of our modern social re-

[1] Cf. Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, pp. 53, 302, and Allard, *Hist. des persécutions pendant les deux premiers siècles*, i., 329–388.

[2] Mommsen, *De Collegiis et Sodaliciis Romanorum*, Kiliae, 1843. Boissier, *La Religion Romaine aux temps des Antonins*, Paris, 1884, vol. ii., p 238, *Les Classes Inférieures et les Associations populaires*. Doulcet, *Rapports de l'Église et de l'État aux trois premiers siècles*, Paris, 1883, pp. 152–164; Boissier *Promenades Archéologiques*, Paris, 1887 (*Rome et Pompéii*, p. 183.)

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unions. They were a kind of harmless freemasonry, in which were preserved some of the better traits of the old Hellenic life.[1] Whether the Romans adopted these associations from the Greeks, or formed them from natural inclination, they existed in great numbers in the period immediately before and after Christ. In the earlier times they had a religious character, but became eventually, in the last days of the republic the prey of political demagogues, and were thenceforward, under the dictators and the emperors of the first two Christian centuries, the object of much repressive legislation.[2] They were either completely forbidden, or allowed only with the greatest difficulty.

Whereas originally every trade and industry, every god indigenous or foreign, every nation or city or great family had its special body of associates bearing its name and serving its interests, the military rulers of the city allow henceforth only the very poorest and the most wretched to unite, and then only for purposes of mutual burial.[3] The men of antiquity held very dear a proper burial among their own, and scarcely anything is more touching than the pains which they took to secure it. The Cæsars, therefore, could not take from the poor man or the slave the only chance they had of obtaining decent sepulture, and the post-mortem honors of flowers, libations and anniversary banquets. They were permitted to combine for this purpose, and this is the origin of the famous *collegia tenuiorum* or the *collegia funeraticia*, which suggested to the outlawed members of the Christian religion a legal issue from their proscribed condition, or at least the securing of a legal right to meet publicly, under cover of attending to the business of a mutual burial association.

[1] Fouquet, *Des Associations religieuses chez les Grecs.*

[2] Trajan was so severe on the *collegia* that he would not allow the citizens of a Bithynian city to unite in forming a fire brigade, Pliny, Epp x., 93. It is worth noting, as an index of the profound democratic current in the Church that in every century she has encouraged the formation and protected the rights of a multitude of particular societies, confraternities, institutes, associations, guilds, sodalities, etc. The more absolute the sway and influence of Christianity, the deeper the respect of individual rights and the larger the freedom of the citizen. On this score the much maligned Middle Ages, with their rich and beneficent pullulation of private associations may challenge the golden days of the military despotism of the old and the new Cæsars, or the blighting and crushing bureaucracy of New Rome or modern Europe. See the eloquent admission of Renan, *Les Apôtres* (vol. ii. of *Les Origines du Christianisme*), p. 363:

"Nos grandes societés abstraites ne sont pas suffisantes pour repondre à tous les instincts de sociabilité qui sont dans l'homme. Laissez le mettre son coeur à quel que chose, chercher la consolation où il la trouve, se créer des frères, contracter des liens de coeur. Que la main froide de l état n' intervienne pas dans ce royaume de la liberté. La vie, la joie ne renaitront dans le monde que quand notre defiance contre les *collegia*, ce triste heritage du droit romain, aura disparu."

[3] See some remnants of the ancient legislation in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, xlvii., 22. *De collegiis et corporibus.*

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Such colleges had a constitution or *lex collegii*, a regular election of officers, a treasury or *arca communis*, a *schola* or place of meeting. They collected from each new member a fixed sum on entering, and at the death of a member a small tax was levied on the survivors. On the other hand, they looked about for rich friends and patrons, from whose gifts and legacies they might pay a fixed sum to all who attended the funeral, and offer to the *sociétaires* frequent anniversary feasts. They were supposed to meet monthly. They buried their dead, sometimes in *columbaria* or square chambers filled up on all four sides with small niches for the urns containing the ashes, sometimes in their own small cemeteries. Where the body was lost or irrecoverable, they gave an imaginary funeral (*funus imaginarium*). These humble associations furnished the needed framework for the public life of the Christians, who could not be ignorant of them, as thousands of their proselytes came from just such societies. The Christians desired very much to bury their dead apart, when possible, not only from the corporate affection they bore to one another, but because they did not burn the remains of their dead as did most pagans. Moreover, the gatherings of these societies were often large; they included both sexes, and men of all classes; there were many of them in the city, and in time the laws were so softened as to permit their meeting for religious purposes as often as they wished. Later on there sprang up beside them, tolerated societies of *Cultores Deorum*, or votaries of some particular god or goddess, and in the third century, during the relaxation of persecution, the latter societies became quite numerous. *A priori*, therefore, it is not improbable that the Christians could associate in this manner, the only legal outlet left to them, as far as we know.[1] That they actually did is insinuated by a text of Tertullian in the thirty-ninth chapter of his Apology. He is speaking precisely of licit and illicit asso-

[1] M. Gaston Boissier sums up satisfactorily the points of contact between the pagan and the Christian burial clubs: "Les ressemblances sont en effet très nombreuses entre les associations des deux cultes. Les Chrétiens possèdent aussi une caisse commune, alimenteé par les contributions des fidèles; chez eux aussi les contributions se payent tous les mois; ils n'ont par moins de souci de la sépulture de leurs morts, et l Église a du depenser une grande partie de ses revenue à construire ses immense cemetières. Des deux côtés le respect de la hiérarchie sociale se mêle à un grand esprit d'égalité; les morts de toute condition sont confondus dans les *columbaria* comme dans les catacombes. C'est le suffrage de tour qui nomme les chefs, et il va quelquefois chercher le plus humble pour le mettre à la première place. Au moment où de pauvres affranchis arrivent aux dignités des plus élevées des collèges, un ancien esclave, le banquier Calliste, s'asseoit sur la chaise de Pierre que devait occuper un Cornélius. Enfin, les repas communs ont autant d'importance dans les réunions des Chrétiens que dans les associations paiennes; l'Église célèbre dans tou es ses fêtes le festin fraternel des agapes, et, pour honorer des martyrs, les fidèles dinent sur leurs tombeax à l'anniversaire de leur mort."—*La Religion Romaine*, ii., p. 300.

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ciations, and is trying to prove that the Christians belong to the first category. "Our treasure," says he, "when we have one, is not made up of the large contributions of ambitious persons who seek honor; it is not by putting up our religion at auction that we increase our wealth. Each one brings monthly a modest contribution. He pays if he wishes to, and as he wishes, or rather, as he can; no one is compelled to give. The contributions are voluntary. We look upon that money as a pious fund which we do not spend in eating or drinking nor in indecent orgies. It helps to feed the poor and to bury them, to rear the orphans of both sexes, and to support the aged." When we compare these apposite words of Tertullian with one of the *textus classici* on the burial societies, we cannot help feeling that he is referring to a similar organization of the Christian body.[2] It is true that the Christians were not afraid to proclaim their numbers openly. Tertullian himself, in a famous passage already cited (*Apol.*, c. 37), vaunts their multitude, and the imperial police could not be ignorant of the frequent councils held in the latter quarter of the second century. But at the beginning of the third century the Church became the possessor of landed estates in the shape of cemeteries, once the property of individuals, but which a series of circumstances threw into her hands. Her increasing wealth demanded some secure title by which it might be protected from the unfaithful steward[2] as well as from the pagan informer or the apostate. This title was at hand in the character of a burial association, which form of reunion became extremely popular at this very juncture, and was extended by imperial rescript from Rome to the provinces. Such a privilege was of the highest importance for the propagation of Christianity. It gave the religion, in times of peace, a working legality, to say the least. It permitted public meetings, the excavation of catacombs, election of officers, mutual consultation, enrolment of nobles, women, foreigners, slaves, etc. Her wealthy members might easily assume the *rôle* of patrons that others of the same class played in the pagan corporations.

The regular distributions of the Church to the clergy, the widows, the poor and the strangers could easily be carried on at these semi-legal meetings, for the pagans were wont to give out special rations and even money on such occasions. It is worth noticing that

[1] Mandatis principalibus præcipitur præsidibus provinciarum ne patiantur esse collegia sodalicia, neve milites in castris collegia habeant. Sed permittitur tenuioribus stipem menstruam conferre dum tamen semel in mense coeant, ne sub prætextu hujus modi illicitum collegium coeat, quod non tantum in urbe sed et in Italia et in provinciis locum habere divus quoque Severus rescripsit.—*Digests*, XXXXVII., 22, 1.

[2] Nicostratum multorum criminum reum . . . . . *Ecclesiae deposita non modica* abstulisse. . . . . Spoliati ab illo pupilli, fraudatæ viduæ, *pecuniæ quoque ecclesiæ* denegatæ.—*St. Cyprian, Epp.* 50-52 (ed. Hartel.)

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the *Liber Pontificalis* attributes to this period and to Callixtus, the deacon of Zephyrin, the establishment or renovation of THE CEMETERY *par excellence*, to which his name was afterwards attached.[1] And the mentions of ecclesiastical property at Rome and elsewhere become henceforth more numerous, yet so that the *areae* and *cemeteria* form the nucleus of the growing estates of the infant churches. Thus, when Gallienus restores the confiscated property of the Christians, the cemeteries figure at the head of the list, and when Maxentius does the same, forty years later, the burial places are still the solid block of ecclesastical wealth. De Rossi conjectures that the bishop was always inscribed as syndic or agent of these associations, in accordance with a prescription of the civil law, and he elucidates with much skill, by the aid of this supposition, the very tangled chronology of the Roman episcopal succession in the first decade of the fourth century.[2]

In a future article the writer proposes to treat more exhaustively the other causes which co-operated at this period in the dissemination of Christianity.

T. J. SHAHAN.

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[1] *Liber Pontificalis* (Ed. Duchesne), i., 141.

[2] The arguments of De Rossi are neatly summed up by Northcote and Brownlow in their *Roma Sotterranea*, i., pp. 103–9. On the interesting question of the Roman confraternities cf. Mommsen and Marquardt, *Rœmische Staatsverwaltung*, iii., 131–142; and Boissier, *La Religion Romaine aux temps des Antonins*: Paris, 1884; vol. ii., pp. 239–304. Loening in his *Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenrechts*, and Allard in his *Histoire des Persecutiones pendant le premeirè moitié du III e siècle*, give valuable details on the use of the civil right of association among the Christians. See also Cagnat, *L'Armée Romaine d'Afrique*, Paris, 1892, p. 457, for the military colleges and savings associations.

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HONORIUS AND LIBERIUS, PONTIFFS.

IT is the self imposed mission of a good many Anglicans to pick flaws in the history of Catholicity. No pursuit can be more easy or more secure. In nineteen centuries of Catholic story it would be strange if there had not been scandals, and these, too, of all kinds—save only one. There has never been any scandal on the Divine side of the Church, there have been only innumerable scandals on the human side. The divine side of the Church is her teaching power, and also the Holy Mass and the Sacraments. On this side there has never been scandal. But on the human side in respect to weak Catholics—the catalogue of scandals has been continuous. It was absolutely impossible that it should be otherwise. The Church is put into the world to fight the world, and the world is quite as militant as this Church. Pride, anger, falsehood, selfishness, have been contending with authority for nineteen centuries, and they are as active against authority in the present day as they were in the day of Arius or Nestorius, of Cerinthus, of Marcion, or Martin Luther. The complications which have arisen from such enmities have been political, social, and domestic; they have poisoned history, tradition, education; and, since it is impossible for any human being to be at once a perfect master of all the historic accidents of any controversy, and of the rights or wrongs of all the dissidents in that controversy, it has naturally followed that some historians have given their own bias to the relation of (what they believed to be) the "facts" of any quarrel. Hence, it is easy for any disputant to throw stones at Catholic story, and it is as safe as it is easy or congenial. Private construction can be put upon "facts" as arbitrarily as it can be put upon "texts"; and there are always plenty of history-writers who can be quoted on the one side, as there are always plenty who can be quoted on the other. A disputant has only to make up his mind that he will argue against the Catholic Church, and shelves of books will be open to his selection, and texts of Scripture will be open to his interpretation.

We are led to these remarks by the perusal of a pamphlet, which was published not long since in America, and which abounds in curious assumptions and mis-statements too numerous to be glanced at in this article. We take only one assertion, as a specimen of a great number, and as belonging to the "historic" groove of controversy. The writer shall be quoted in his own words:

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"The very dogma of infallibility ruins your case, for, if the present Pope be infallible by virtue of his high office, all Popes before him must have been infallible; yet, we have at least one of them, Honorius by name, who was condemned as a *heretic* by the Universal Church. How could an infallible Pope give an heretical decision on a matter of dogma? Yet, Honorius did this, and was anathematized as a heretic by the Sixth General Council of the Church, A. D. 681. . . . . If the Church in those days had believed in Papal infallibility, the Council could not have entertained the *possibility* of his being a heretic. The bishop would have said, as you Romans are so fond of saying in words, falsely credited to St. Augustine, 'Rome has spoken; the matter is ended,' and they would have accepted the heresy of the Monothelites as Catholic truth. On the contrary, they said, Monothelism is heresy, and Pope Honorius, who maintained it, was a heretic; and so his name was coupled with *anathema*, the Church's curse." . . . . . "I am willing to admit that in the great controversies about faith, in early times, the Popes, with the exception of Liberius and Honorius, were generally on the right side."

Now, here we have a number of assertions, scarcely one of which can be said to be accurate. To begin with, Honorius was not condemned as a dogmatic teacher, either by the universal Church or by a provisional council. To have been condemned as a dogmatic teacher he must have pontifically taught what was false; but he never taught, pontifically, anything at all in regard to the doctrines under dispute. That doctrine was—to put it into the form of a ques—Was there one Will, or were there two Wills in Jesus Christ? And the orthodox answer is, There were two Wills. Or, to quote Dr. Döllinger, in his "History of the Church," Sergius, who was a heretic, "taught that in Christ there was only one operation, and only one power of will, springing, as from its cause from the Logos, Who employed the human nature only as His instrument," whereas the right faith is that the two wills of Christ involved, necessarily, two operations. This heresy of Sergius was, in the main, a revival of the heresy of Eutyches, which had been condemned; but—as is natural with all heretics—Sergius sought to wrap up his heresy in the form of apparently honest words. Pope Honorius was uncertain how to act. He detected the heresy, but thought it more prudent to leave it to die a natural death. He therefore "recommended silence." And this silence was construed by the enemy as a tacit admission of Monothelism. It is just here that our delicate inquiry begins.

Now, there are certain broad facts on which a Catholic may insist in arguing this much debated point. 1. Pope Honorius did not teach heresy, dogmatically. 2. He was never accused of teach-

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ing heresy dogmatically. 3. He was accused of negligence in not condemning it. 4. The letter which Honorius wrote to Sergius—and which is assumed to be the evidence of his guilt—was a private letter, and could not, therefore, be regarded as *ex cathedra;* had it been meant to be dogmatic it would have been addressed to Catholic bishops, but it was not sent to so much as even one Catholic bishop. 5. This letter contained no heresy, not in the sense of a dogmatic affirmation. 6. The Sixth General Council did not condemn Pope Honorius for having taught what was contrary to the faith, but for having neglected to teach what was the faith. 7. Both the Pope who presided at that Council, and the Popes who succeeded to that Pope, affirmed the infallibility of every Pontiff. 8. The Sixth General Council also affirmed infallibility in regard to every Pontiff who had lived. 9. What was blamed in Pope Honorius was his negligence in his stewardship—his not teaching infallibly when he *could* have done so, and his not teaching infallibly when he *ought* to have done so.

Now we have nothing to do with the private motives of Honorius—as to his not teaching the Church in a troubled time. We have only to do with the condemnation by the council in regard to his negligence in his stewardship. To quote Dr. Döllinger—and we prefer to keep only to his statements, because he is thought so much of by Protestants—he says in his work on "The First Ages of Christianity and the Church," when he is speaking of the stewardship of the Pope: "And in this House, built upon him, Peter is to have the duties and powers, not of the Master of the House—that Christ is, and remains—but of the steward. These were promised him under the symbol of the keys, whereby he is enabled to open the treasuries of the House, to guard the spiritual stores and possessions of the Church, doctrine and means of grace." This was Dr. Döllinger's idea of the stewardship, so that we can clearly see that, in the neglect of the stewardship, there was the neglect of what *ought* to have been done, not the doing of what ought *not* to have been done.

The distinction is so broad that it should be unnecessary to dwell upon it, yet there are some writers who ignore it altogether. If the Popes were impeccable, it would have been impossible for Honorius to have neglected any part of his duty. But no Pope, not even St. Peter, was impeccable. Infallibility applies only to the teaching sound doctrine, whenever the Pope declares his intention of teaching the Church. It does not apply to character in any sense, nor does it guarantee the Pope against weakness.

To take a few of the points which are disputed in regard to "the scandal" about Honorius. It is conceded that the first letter of Honorius, which he wrote to the heretic Sergius—the only letter

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which is preserved in its entirety—did not contain any dogmatic statement. Honorius even warned Sergius in this letter that he had no intention of writing dogmatically: "Non nos oportet unam vel duas operationes definientes predicare" ("we have not to teach or to define either one or two operations"). Hence it is not strange that in that letter we do not trace any intention to teach. The highest authorities of the period have expressly stated that they detected no formal heresy in that letter; to wit, Pope John IV. and St. Maximus, whose judgment it were impossible to dispute. Dr. Döllinger, in his "History of the Church," says that Sergius "wrote a most artfully composed letter to gain to his side the Pontiff Honorius," and he added that "Honorius suffered himself to be misguided" by the perfidious tactics of Sergius. "For this," says Dr. Döllinger, "Pope Leo II. placed the error of Honorius in his *inactivity*"—a very different thing indeed from teaching heresy. Indeed, it has been maintained by many authorities that not one word that Honorius said or wrote could justify the charge of any heresy, either in his pontifical capacity or in his private or friendly relations.

It is worth while mentioning that Dr. Döllinger makes the suggestive observation, that the Greeks at Florence, who would have rejoiced to produce Honorius on their side, did not so much as allude to him.

We may, however, now turn to the Sixth General Council, which is assumed to have condemned Pope Honorius, not only for negligence or inactivity, but, as some critics assert, for teaching heresy; and we may show, without difficulty, that such an assumption is negatived both by words and by acts. Pope Agatho, who presided in part at the deliberations of the Sixth General Council, himself believed in Papal Infallibility. These were his words, addressed to the council: "The splendid Light of Faith, transmitted successively from the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, by means of their successors, even to our humility, has been preserved pure and without spot, without ever having been obscured by heresy or defiled by error." And again, in a letter to the emperor, he says, "The Lord and Saviour of us all, the author of our faith, has promised that the faith of Peter shall never fail, and commanded him to confirm his brethren. No one is ignorant that *all* the Apostolic Pontiffs have done this with confidence." And elsewhere he affirms that "The Roman See has *never* turned aside from the path of truth to any error whatsoever; whose authority, as of the Prince of all the Apostles, the whole Catholic Church at all times, and the Universal Councils faithfully embracing, have in all respects followed." And these words of St. Agatho were written, be it repeated, while he was judging the conduct of Pope Honorius, and while the Sixth General Council was judging it.

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But what said the council itself? The answer is so plain as to be conclusive. At the close of the council, and after the condemnation of the Monothelites, all the bishops subscribed these letters of Pope Agatho, using these words with regard to them: "Our eyes saw the ink and the paper, but our souls heard Peter speaking by the mouth of Agatho. . . . . Therefore we leave what should be done to you, as Prelate of the first See of the Universal Church, standing on the firm rock of faith, having read, through the letter, of the true confession sent by your Paternal Blessedness to our most religious emperor, and which we recognize as divinely written from the Supreme Head of the Apostles."

Subsequently, when Pope Leo II. gave his sanction to the decrees of this council, he thus clearly and explicitly spoke of Honorius: "Honorius qui hanc apostolicam ecclesiam non apostolicæ traditionis doctrina lustravit, sed profana traditione immaculatam maculari permisit." ("Honorius, who did not make this apostolic See resplendent with doctrine, but by a profane treason allowed the faith to be exposed to subversion.") And so, again, in his letter to the Bishops of Spain, the same Pope, Leo II., wrote; "Flammam heretici dogmatis non, ut decuit Apostolicam auctoritatem, incipinentem extinxit sed negligendo confovit." ("He did not extinguish at its commencement the flame of heretical doctrine, as became his apostolic authority, but by negligence nourished it.") Not a word is here said about heresy, but only about negligence or inactivity, as Dr. Döllinger has very lucidly insisted. Pope Leo and Pope Agatho, like the Sixth General Council, fully recognized two truths in this sad story, and not only recognized, but affirmed them: 1. That the Holy See had never gone wrong and could never go wrong upon any point that was of faith unto salvation; 2. That Honorius had cast reproach upon the Holy See by neglecting to use the apostolic powers which were *his*, as they were those of all pontiffs.

Briefly, then, we have an Œcumenical Council, while judging the case of Honorius, and pronouncing him guilty of negligence, affirming that Honorius was *included* in the occupants of that Holy See which had "never been obscured by heresy or defiled by error." We have the infallibility of all pontiffs taught directly by that General Council which condemned Pope Honorius for "inactivity"; and moreover, we have this affirmation in the very last sitting of the Council. We have, too, the decision of Pope Leo II., that Honorius was guilty of allowing ("permisit") the spread of a detestable heresy, and for the very reason that, being an infallible Pontiff, he was bound to have at once said "anathema." The whole story is demonstrative of the zeal of the Catholic Church for active duty in the suppression of error, as well as of the insistence of the Catholic Church upon the supreme power and prerog-

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ative of the pontiffs. Controversionalists who are on the wrong side of judicial estimate, ought to recognize in this episode the existence of that catholic spirit which is so obviously wanting in their own communities; a spirit which will not brook "inactivity" nor "negligence," but which insists on the instant exercise of authority.

We may yet, however, linger upon a few points, since this controversy has been bitterly revived, and it is most difficult to satisfy all objectors. Thus, it may be urged in the defence of Honorius, that in his second letter to Sergius he expressly asserted Two Operations; for he confessed to Two Natures in Christ, "unmixed, undivided, unchanged"; repudiating, however, the formula "Two Operations," which he considered to be too "grammarian" to be desirable. Detestable as was such weakness, such pusillanimity, we can readily understand why he fostered it: first, on the ground that he was grossly deceived by Sergius's letters, and next, on the ground that he was timorous as to casting a stumbling-block in the way of the conversion of the Monophysites. Such cowardice, such feebleness, were reprehensible, and more than one council anathematized him. Yet, when the Sixth General Council affirmed that his letter written to Sergius was "altogether alien from the Apostolic dogmas, and followed the false doctrine of the heretics," we have to bear in mind that they were judging that letter as a *letter*, not as a pope's dogmatic teaching. Indeed, the very wording of the letter shows that it was meant only to be conciliatory—to be, as we should now say, worldly-wise—since it avoided precise formula or affirmation. Honorius, in that letter, seems to reason in this way: There were Two Natures in Christ, and therefore there were Two Wills; yet, since the Humanity of Christ was in perfect union with the Divinity—hostility between Two Perfect Natures being inconsiderable—it follows, that to *insist* on two distinct Operations would be to insist on the possibility of inharmoniousness. Such causistry was pronounced culpable and contemptible.

The obvious conclusion is, that Honorius was not condemned for formal heresy—still less for dogmatically teaching formal heresy—but for his feeble wish to temporize under difficulties. He acted just like a modern Archbishop of Canterbury; taking "quieta non movere" for his motto; and gently smiting with the left hand while caressing with the right hand, in utter forgetfulness of his duty to "strengthen the brethren." But whereas the Anglican Church would not have thought of summoning a council for the purpose of anathematizing an archbishop, but, on the contrary, would rather have complimented the archbishop on "the extreme liberality of his views," the Catholic Church did, in the Sixth Gen-

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eral Council, judge and anathematize Honorius; not for teaching heresy but for trifling with it. The attitude of that Council towards Honorius might perhaps be expressed in these words: What you aimed at was to impose a disciplinary law, that there should be no insistence on the disputed words "Two Operations." You never *required* the profession of faith in that formula, and you never *forbade* its being professed by any Catholic. Nevertheless, you have been an unworthy chief pastor, and this Council condemns you with anathema.

II.

Liberius is another name which is coupled with Honorius as suggesting fallibility in the pontiffs. Here, again, let us consult Dr. Döllinger, for he is much esteemed as a reliable historian by those who seek for champions in antagonism.

Now Dr. Döllinger evidently did not think much about this "scandal," for he dismissed it in a little more than a page. The historian who could dwell through a whole chapter on the Primacy and Supremacy of the Holy See; who could assure us, in his "History of the Church," that "it was acknowledged to be the prerogative of the first see in the Christian world that the Bishop of Rome could be judged by no man. . . . It was a thing unheard of that the Head of the Church should be placed in judgment before his own subjects. . . . He who was not in communion with the Bishop of Rome was not truly in the Catholic Church"—could only think it worth while to say of that controversy: "Many modern historians have undertaken to prove that the 'fall' of Liberius must be regarded as no more than a fiction of the Arians." And then he shows briefly why this may have been so. He argues that the allegation that "a formula was prerented to Liberius by the Arians, with the object of getting him to authorize Arianism," may be true or may be not true; nor does it matter, for if he did sign the formula, the formula was harmless, being "of such a nature that orthodox Catholics might without difficulty submit to it." Yet he seems to side with the historians who maintain that "the heretics corrupted those parts of the works of St. Athanasius, and the fragments of St. Hilary in which the account of it is maintained." And he particularly notices that "it seems that Sulpicius Severus, Socrates, and Theodoret knew nothing of such a tale of the Pope, for they make no mention of it, and state that Constantius was compelled, by the prayers of the Roman women and by an insurrection of the people, to permit the return of Liberius to Rome." We have to bear in mind that in those troublous times, when Arianism had swallowed up half Christendom—possessing, indeed, as much power and popularity

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as Protestantism does in this century—it was most difficult to get at the true version of Arian tactics, most difficult to know who could be believed. Liberius was an exile from Rome. The civil power had banished him for this very reason that he had resisted the Arians and the Arian Emperor, so that his action was as hampered by his surroundings as his teaching was misrepresented by his enemies. Yet as to that teaching, two things appear to be certain: (1) He never wrote nor taught what was Arian; (2) He did write and teach what was Catholic. We have, indeed, testimonies to his orthodoxy, which are sufficient. Thus we may ask: Would Pope Siricius, in his letter to Himeric, have spoken of Liberius as "blessed," had the faintest taint of any heresy attached to him? Would St. Ambrose have declared him to be "a man of holy memory" had he abandoned the faith under persecution? Would St. Basil have styled him "most blessed" if he had set any example of unfaithfulness? We may dismiss, then, every imputation of "teaching heresy." Liberius was sorely tempted and tried, but it is certain that he never taught Arianism.

Writing of events which took place fifteen hundred years ago, we are necessarily more or less in the dark as to the details which are commonly called "historical." If even as to events which take place in our own day, and of which we read in the daily party-newspapers, there is a difficulty in separating the wheat from the chaff—the facts from the coloring of prejudice—how much more when we attempt to sit in judgment on a controversy whose period was the middle of the fourth century, should we be wary both of believing and discrediting.

Now our first point in attempting to fathom this "scandal" must be the inquiry into the nature of the provocation. We find, then, to begin with, that Liberius was banished from Rome *because* of the firm support he gave to the Nicene faith; *because* of his constancy in orthodoxy. This is certainly a strong point to begin with, nor do we know that any disputant has questioned it. Our second point is that, even assuming that Liberius subscribed a formula which was presented to him by heretics, that formula was not in its wording heretical. At least this was the estimate of Dr. Döllinger. Our third point may be, that even if it had been heretical, Liberius taught nothing, imposed nothing, in the act of subscribing that formula; for, in the first place, being under persecution, he must have subscribed it under tyranny, under force; and in the next place, he could not have meant it to be *ex cathedra*, for he was cut off from all friends, all counselors. Cardinal Newman has remarked upon this point, that an English judge who should be carried away by bandits, and then forced to subscribe a doubtful document, could not be held responsible for judicial errors

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which were not his, but those of his captors. However, there is really no uncertainty as to the subscription; while as to the formula itself, it was equivocal. And our fourth point might be, that after these troubled days were over, and Liberius was restored to his see, he confirmed the orthodox Council of Alexandria in the year 362, and therefore shortly after his exile.

And here again, as in the case of Honorius, we have the judgment of a Pope and a General Council in regard to the Pontifical Orthodoxy of Liberius. The Sixth General Council, which was held three centuries after the time of the assumed fall of Liberius, declared, as we saw just now, that "*all* the Apostolic Pontiffs had kept the faith"—had "*never* turned aside from the path of truth." This Council therefore exculpated Liberius. And at this point we may well turn to a larger grip of the subject—to the comprehending of the lesser within the greater.

III.

No one can now be infallible as to history for the simple reason that all chroniclers have been fallible. Even the Supreme Pontiff does not claim to be infallible as to history—as to this fact or that fact in natural story. The "infallibility of the Pope" is hedged round with such precaution that the Vatican Council has left us no room for question as to when the Pope teaches infallibility, when not. The Pope himself is subject to error like other men. As a private doctor he may err; as a writer of books he may make mistakes; even as to faith and morals, when only discussing them privately, he would not enjoy immunity from fallibility. It is only when he, "using his office as Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, defines a doctrine of faith or morals to be held by the whole Church, he, by the divine assistance promised to him in the blessed Peter, possesses that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer was pleased to invest his Church in the definition of doctrine on faith and morals, and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable in their own nature, and not because of the consent of the Church."[1]

Now it is a happy thing that we can turn away from doubtful history to a faith which is not doubtful but infallible. General Councils, whose decisions have been confirmed by the Pontiff, are not simply authorities as to probability, but authorities as to indisputable certainty. This being so, we turn away from a "scandal" in the fourth century, or a scandal in the first half of the seventh century, and inquire of General Councils, not whether any Pope has privately erred, but whether any Pope has taught the Church falsely?

[1] *Pastor Æternus*, cap. 4.

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The answer has been as plain as is the question. The Sixth General Council, already quoted, has settled the question as to Honorius, and therefore also the question as to Liberius. But since this Sixth Council there have been other councils, of which the ruling has been based upon infallibility. We need not speak of the Second Council of Lyons (1274), when the schismatic Greeks were admitted to Catholic union, and acknowledged the Pope as the Head of the whole Church; nor of the Council of Constance (1414), when the schism caused by false popes was healed, and the only true Pope was acclaimed by the Council; nor of the Council of Trent (1545–1562), which defined truth in opposition to Protestantism; but we will speak only of the last Council, that of the Vatican, which finally settled the root and basis of authority. At this Council the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope—previously recognized in the First Council of Ephesus, 431, and more fully declared in the Council of Florence, 1438—was solemnly affirmed and defined. At this Council also the dogma of a Personal God was first explicitly affirmed or defined—in answer to the skepticism of some modern heretics; just as the dogma of the Immortality of the Soul was first affirmed or defined at the Fifth Council of Lateran, 1512—in answer to the speculations of weak believers.

Our point is that the decisions of the Vatican Council settle forever the two "scandals" we have been speaking of; for the greater postulute being accepted that a pontiff cannot teach falsehood, the lesser postulate—that no particular pontiff has taught falsehood—must be necessarily included in the greater. "But this is to beg the question," may reply the objector; "at least it is to invert the reasoning process." So it would be, historically. But here again the greater takes precedence of the lesser, because, as to faith, the Catholic Church is infallible, and authority is the basis of faith; whereas, in regard to history, Catholics and skeptics are alike fallible, and share the painful infirmity of "getting wrong."

We may be pardoned for adding a perhaps relevant observation, which, however, lies outside the main argument.

That in the long period of nearly nineteen centuries, and in the history of two hundred and fifty-eight popes, these two instances of Honorius and Liberius are all that can be urged against infallibility. must be regarded as rather demonstrating the weakness of objectors than the untenability of orthodoxy. There were four popes in the first century, eleven in the second, fifteen in the third, eleven in the fourth, twelve in the fifth, thirteen in the sixth, twenty in the seventh, thirteen in the eighth, nineteen in the ninth, twenty-four in the tenth, eighteen in the eleventh, sixteen in the twelfth,

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seventeen in the thirteenth, ten in the fourteenth, thirteen in the fifteenth, seventeen in the sixteenth, eleven in the seventeenth, eight in the eighteenth, and six in the ninety-three years of the nineteenth; and yet all that non-Catholics can find to say about the whole number is that one of them was reproached for "inactivity," and another was grossly libelled by Arians. Point to any list of non-Catholic ecclesiastics through a period of even one century or half a century, and how many of them could bear the inquiry into "inactivity," how many of them could claim to have condemned heresy? It is a high compliment—if we may use a conventional expression—which heresy always pays to Catholicity, that it *expects* to find perfection in all the popes; and it is a still higher compliment that it can find no worse thing to complain of than such weakness, here and there, as is common to human nature, or such frailty as does not touch the Teaching Power. The remark may be worth noting, yet it must have often occurred to Catholics, that no pope of doubtful repute in regard to sanctity ever professed to define dogma, to teach the Church. This is a truth, though it is not worth while to insist on it. On the other hand, every pontiff who has been illustrious as a teacher has also been illustrious for his sanctity. Neither truth need be dwelt upon as of much import, since the promises were not given to character or to superiority, but solely to office, to headship. Yet take the whole line of two hundred and fifty-eight popes—beginning with thirty-three martyrs, and now continued by Leo XIII.—and we may confidently assert that nineteen centuries of Catholicity have been headed with a saintly Host of Pontiffs.

ARTHUR F. MARSHALL.

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THE GARDEN OF BALSAM.

AT Matariyeh, about six miles north of Cairo, and a furlong from the site of the world-renowned city of Heliopolis, the biblical On, is a garden whither pilgrims from eastern and western Christendom were wont to flock in early and mediæval days, and to which the children of the Church in the venerable Orient still resort as being one scene of a portion of the early life in the sacred boyhood of Jesus Christ. After having seen Jerusalem, Bethlehem and the Jordan's stream, the primitive palmers sought to pay their devotions at the shrines of Alexandria, Matariyeh and Mount Sinai, and Rymer in his "Fœdera" is said to give many a license for the making of these pious travels from our own occidental shores. Prophecy, tradition and probability, all seem to unite in making Matariyeh the spot of the Repose in Egypt for at least some space of time, and it is not to be lightly ignored that Jew, Copt, and Saracen, the faiths of Israel, Christ and Mohammed, should unite in their testimony to this fact. The tradition is that the holy wayfarers came across the parching Arabian desert by the usual caravan route, the same as that by which the patriarch Jacob journeyed together with his sons, and made their way to Heliopolis, the chief city—the first large town in fact—which they came to upon the desert's border. We can scarcely think of that advent as we stand upon the walls of sun-dried brick of that city and gaze across the sandy wastes without the words rising spontaneously to one's lips, "Quæ est ista quæ ascendit per desertum sicut virgula fumi ex aromatibus myrrhæ et thuris? . . . . Quæ est ista, deliciis affluens, innixa super dilectum suum?" Arrived at Heliopolis they begged for water to quench their thirst, and being refused from house to house, Mary with her divine Child sank wearied out with travel and the fatigues of the way at the foot of a sycamore fig without the southern gate of the city, when, like to Hagar of old, her God revealed to her a spring of pure water whereat to satisfy their need. Certainty in the Almighty power of the Creator made Man led affectionate devotion to cluster many details around this tree and well, all of which are possible, but which, to those whose faith is a feeble plant and only nourished by the most potent truths, seem to make dim the light of the sun and thus becoming hindrances lead them to refuse the veneration which this spot would receive if it were not connected with the profoundest feelings of the human heart. This is the scene of the *Réposos* of the mediæval

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artists, known from popular legend, mystery play and carol song, and confirmed to them by pilgrims' writings and crusaders' story.

If every intellectual traveller, when at Cairo, makes a visit to the remains of the great city of Heliopolis, why does not every reverent one do so to the Balsam Garden of Matariyeh? True science and religion must ever travel together, and on this road, head and heart may find their healthiest exercise in the contemplations aroused by these deeply moving spots. The contrast between our pilgrimage thither to-day and that of the palmers of old time marks both our loss and our gain; we have lost the bright flame of their faith but have gained in ease of transport; the difficulties they had to contend with are no longer ours; we experience nothing like them anywhere, and even for a stranger to go inland in Morocco is not so perilous as it was for Christians to come here; for even after a great expenditure of time, patience and money, the dangers of the road were constant. To-day we can drive without aught to disturb our ease, save it be the dust, from our comfortable hotel to the very garden gate, and see things which saints and princes have desired to see and yet could not see them and which were denied to the earnest hearts of thousands of crusading knights and nobles; and yet some of that Christian army must have trod these garden walks, for it was in the fields between it and Cairo that Amaury, King of Jerusalem, lay encamped in November, 1168, as he proceeded to attack the Saracens' capital, and only a heavy ransom prevented his executing that wise decision. Think of this, however, you who drive along this road, that Christendom in the purest days of its chivalry, in the most earnest days of its faith, and the most refined in its art, the thoughts of which became the wisdom of succeeding generations, that here it gathered the noblest of its sons in intellect, position, and wealth, ready and happy to die for the Child who played beneath the sycamore's shade of Matariyeh.

For the account we now give we will describe the approach from Cairo and also the garden itself, interweaving with our description any traditional lore which we have been able to gather, thereby illustrating many a detail which we find in the work of the artists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, whether it be in wood or stone, or on canvass or glass, and we shall see how many an old-world legend or name of flower, bird, or insect travelled from this source to our northern strands and became part of the folk-lore of all nations.

Passing out of Cairo past the Abbassieh Barracks, a broad roadway is planted with the acacia or mimosa lebbeur, and leads to Matariyeh. Your carriage wheels sink deep in the sandy soil and the dust rising in clouds covers you and the cushions and pro-

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duces a travel-stained appearance before you have gone a couple of miles. If care were taken of the road, it would be the most beautiful drive out of the city, for these lebbeur trees flourish wonderfully well and have quite naturalized themselves since their introduction into the country some forty years ago. Before you reach the barracks you pass the small European hospital where the Sisters of St. Joseph have a house which, by its name, seems to to be, as it were, the lodge to the drive that leads to their patron's place of sojourn. Some distance further on we come to the palace of El-Koubbeh, the property of the viceroy, surrounded by rare trees and gardens, which are beautiful for this grassless country. That dried-up and contorted moss which you see upon the tree stumps is called by the Arabs *schaker rabba*, or "giving thanks to the Lord God," because immediately it is watered by rain or flood, it expands as if in gratitude for the welcome gift. It is the *Lycopodium imbricatum* or *L. bryopteris* of Linnæus. As you plough through the light soil, haply you may see by the roadside many an animal whose name is known to you from the storied page of Egypt's history. "Pharaoh's Rat" is that little creature, the size of a cat, which pricks up its ears at your approach, and which, without moving a limb, turns its eyes on every side to note the cause of alarm. It is the sacred ichneumon of the ancients, the mongoose, once the pet in every temple of this land, perchance for the same reason that it is still employed in Cairene houses, viz., as a mouse-killer. It is an easily-tamed, sweet-tempered, gentle little animal, worshiped, as we think, and mummified in parts of this country, but, more probably only reverenced as a type, on account of its antipathy to serpents and crocodiles—the prototypes of our dragons. Isn't it told by Herodotus how it lay in wait for these latter monsters to fall asleep as they basked in the sun upon the muddy banks of the Nile, and that immediately their lower jaw fell, in jumped the nimble mongoose, who plunged into their stomach and ate his way out to the light, thus slaying the brute like a St. Margaret of Cortona? and how, in its contests with deadly snakes, it knew an antidote among the herbs to the poison of their fangs?

That snow-white bird with stork-like appearance, which, at first sight, you think must be the Sacred Ibis, is not that, but the Heron-Driver (*Ardeola russata*). The slender form and elegant carriage of this bird, together with the beautiful purity of its color, and the tender melancholy of its air, make most travelers think that this must be the oft-mentioned *Ibis religiosa*. But that is rarely seen, and is black, with a curving beak, as you will soon learn from the temple walls when you go up the river.

It is of interest as we approach Heliopolis the city of the Phœ-

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nix and the Mary Well of Matariyeh, to think of the legends with which the stork (*Ardea cicona*) is invested by Teutonic peoples. In Holland, Denmark and Germany it is known universally as the Fire-fowl and Baby-bringer, and is always regarded as sacred; its presence is everywhere welcomed and the house highly honored where it can be induced to make its nest. We all know the sight of the storks' nests from the towers of Strasburg Cathedral, perched on high, like that of the fabled phœnix, upon the highest point of the dwelling, usually the chimney-stack. In children's tales their own advent into this world is associated with this bird; they say they are brought from the *Kinderbrunnen*, or child's fountain, by the stork, being the gift of the good lady of the spring, the Mother of God, to their parents, and the bird often bites the mother, causing her to stay abed awhile. There seems a strange refrain through this folk-tale of the Phœnix legend, with its nest of balsam or myrrh and the child-life of our Lord near the Holy Well.

You will pass by many a group of curlew, which the Egyptian Arabs call *karrawan*, and say that its cry forms the words addressed to the Deity: "*Lak, Lak, Lak, la Shariah Kalak, fil mulk*," *i.e.*, "To Thee, to Thee, to Thee belongs the sovereignty of the world, without partner and comparison"—words which instance how all earnest religious peoples love to associate God and His creation in constant relation of prayer and praise. One legend, among many relating to these birds, tells how the Blessed Virgin had a handmaid who stole her scissors, in the stay at Matariyeh perchance! She remained impenitent and would not confess her sin, at least in her human form; for she became a curlew, with a forked and scissor-like tail, telling her lasting shame, and the only cry she could utter was the too-tardy repentant one which the Swedes say is "*Tyvit! Tyvit!*" "I stole them! I stole them!" The story at least proves that Eastern morality in the matters of *meum* and *tuum* has not improved, and has the doctrine of heredity by this time to neutralize the consciousness of guilt.

When about four and one-half miles from Cairo we pass a road to the left leading to a plantation of cassia (*C. fistulosa*, L.), whose magnificent yellow bunches of flowers afford a lovely sight in the springtime, and whose long blackish pods of sweet pulp yield the cassia-stick of the druggists. Another road on the right conducts to an ill kept olive yard; but these trees do not seem to flourish in Egypt, the soil of which is too rich for their ascetic temperaments. We cannot go by on our visit to Matariyeh without a thought at these spots of the simile to the *Oliva speciosa* of her, all of whose "garments smell of balsam, aloes and cassia," in the affectionate language of mediæval Christendom.

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As we are drawing nigh to the object of our drive, it may be well for us to refer to what we have already stated, that prophecy and probability, as well as tradition, seem to combine in making Matariyeh the scene of the sojourn of the Holy Family. "Out of Egypt have I called my son" had a literal as well as a spiritual meaning, after the manner of all of the Holy Scriptures. The literal refers to the calling of Israel in the time of Moses, the spiritual to the calling of our Lord on the death of Herod. That there is this double signification is shown by St. Matthew, who uses the prophecy;[1] and if we believe in the inspiration of the Sacred Writings we must recognize that both significations had the same Author and the same Interpreter. Next, the Egypt from which Israel was called was this land of Goshen, and in Osee the reference is to that part, and its application to our Lord is the same. If this be so far true, the question follows, where in Goshen would the Holy Family stay? Was it at one of its three chief towns—Rameses, Pithoum or On? And here constant and unvarying tradition says the last, and there is no such association with either of the other two.[2] Another point is remarkable. The fact of our Lord's life and residence having been chiefly passed among the Jews has often been especially noted. He spent almost His entire life in Judah and Israel, and though He visited the Decapolis and the Phœnician colonies of Tyre and Sidon, He did not stay there. He declared His mission to be to "the lost sheep of the House of Israel," and it is very striking how His coming into Egypt seems like a fulfilment of that pursuit of His after His wandering people. It is worth while to read Jeremias to see how continually the prophet protests against the Jews leaving their land, and how, rebellious to all restraints and deaf to all warnings, they went off and settled in Cahpanes, Noph and other places, and it would give a vigorous interpretation to our Lord's parables to think of this visit of His here to have been the full meaning in His mind when He said: "Last of all, He sent His Son," when prophets had failed. It was at On or Heliopolis that the Jews said Jacob the Patriarch was met by his son Joseph, and here Jeremias was brought compulsorily by his emigrating countrymen, and here he wrote the book of the Lamentations. At the Christian era there were nearly a million Jews in this Lower Egypt, forming a colony governed by their own laws, of which the centre was in the prefecture of Heliopolis. Nowhere else were they so numerous. Does not this exclusive mission point, therefore, to the neighborhood of that city? That this is the opinion of those learned men

[1] ii., 15.

[2] See Patrizzi, *De Interp., S. S.*, i., 284, 298, 299, 327, 363, 384; *De Evang.*, iii., Diss. 31, 32.

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whose study is theology is shown by reference to St. Bonaventura,[1] Barradius,[2] Ludovicus de Dieu,[3] Cornelius a Lapide,[4] and a multitude of authorities cited by them. There is a record of the Holy Family's coming here in the "Gospel of the Infancy of the Lord Jesus Christ," a narrative which is referred to by Eusebius,[5] who flourished early in the fourth century. It is only worth mentioning as a very early occurrence of the tradition, for the work is probably the work of a compiler in the first centuries. It was originally, perhaps, compiled in Syriac, and is well known from the Arabic version published in Latin by Hy. Sike, at Crêves, in 1697. The Nestorian Christians of Persia and India use it, and the Copts likewise, we believe; and it is not lightly to be passed by that these last, the native Christian Church of Egypt, of uninterrupted continuity from the days of St. Mark, should ever have maintained the tradition of the Garden of Balsam.

Beyond this we at present do not knew of any written record of the tradition previous to the great persecution of the Copts by the Arab conquerors in the eighth century, but probably when students with time and opportunity turn their attention to the ecclesiastical history of Egypt we shall be astonished at the stores of information on many things which lie at present unknown. It is unfortunate that our intimate acquaintance with that land is so recent, that when we go there we are appalled with our ignorance, and the histories and arts of Pharaohs, Ptolemys, and Saracens attract visitors more than those of the native church.

But here we are at the village of Matariyeh, where among its 400 or 500 inhabitants only three or four families of Christians are to be found; we pass through it and come to a small plantation at whose boundary is the Garden of Balsam or Myrrh. An avenue about seventy yards long leads from the road between banana, orange, palm, cassia and other trees; on our left about half way is a large double sakyeh or water-wheel which is raising the sweet waters from the holy well now far below the surface by reason of the yearly deposit of the Nile's flood, and before us is the venerable sycamore known as the Virgin's tree. We do not now find the balsam growing which once flourished here and gave the spot its name, but there are few trees around with which Christian associations are not connected by their use as types or similes in the sacred writings of our faith. Let us take each subject of interest separately in order not to confuse our minds with this garden's fruitful considerations, and let us reverently listen to the traditions of the spot with minds neither credu-

[1] *Vita Hi.*, xii.
[2] *Hist. Evang.*, T. 1, Lib. x., Ch. 9.
[3] *Hist. Hi. Faverian*, pp. 587, 583.
[4] *Eccles*, xxiv.
[5] *Hist. Eccles.*, vi., 12.

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lous nor skeptical, and with hearts tender towards all memories of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph. In these days of scornful indifference to the mediæval records of the Christian faith, when the superficialty of men's thoughts and reading make them dismiss with the superb insolence of ignorance all the ancient traditions of Christendom as "the inventions of monks," and lead them to defile the memory of their ancestors by attributing to one-half of them lives of fraudulent imposition and to the other half of mental imbecility, it is well to come to this land of Egypt and learn the pitifulness of our century's pride and the source of this land's strength. The source of this land's strength we say, for of its wisdom and power we shall have no doubt if once we make the Nile's voyage; neither, if we make that visit intelligently shall we hesitate in attributing the source of it all to their reverence for their gods and for every natural revelation they could find which reminded them of them. This too was the spirit of the men of the *moyen âge*, and it is with such dispositions we would come to Matariyeh's tree and fountain.

Whether this be the identical tree that shaded the Holy Family matters but little, for it is not as a relic that we need regard it, but as a monument marking a sacred spot; still we will not omit to consider the possibilities of the case; for we understand that it is not unreasonable that this should be a surviving part of the original tree. It is only in name identical with that we know in Europe as the sycamore, which is either a maple or else the false sycamore or bead tree. This is known to botanists as the *Ficus Sycamorus* or sycamore fig, and in its native land as *Ficus Pharaonis* or Pharaoh's fig. This is indigenous and grows equally well here in Egypt, in Palestine, and Syria; its wood is grainless, close, and incorruptible, and of it are made the magnificent sarcophagi which taken from their tombs now abound in the museums of Europe, and which after three thousand years show no signs of decay. This is the "sycamore" up which Zaccheus climbed to see our Lord pass by, and probably this is the species of "fig tree" upon which Judas is said to have hanged himself without the Joppa gate of Jerusalem. Its leaves are like those of the alder, and its great rounded head of foliage of a sombre green is a frequent sight in this Lower Egypt. In summer and autumn it bears upon small leafless shoots a quantity of round, flesh-colored fruit, of a small size, which the Arabs eat while young, and whose ripening they hasten by making a small incision near the eye; when gathered it has a fresh, sweet flavor, which recalls the apple and strawberry; the skin is thin, the flesh white and watery like that of the Japanese medlar; it will not keep, but after a day or two becomes sickly and unpleasant. Such is the character of the sycamore fig.

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This one here is placed in an open space bounded by orange trees whose sweet blossoms perfume the air; it is still a fine and beautiful tree, and though leaning considerably to one side through the loss of a great portion, is fairly sound, and with a crown of leafage over twenty feet in circumference. The enormous roots which support the trunk appear to be of exceeding antiquity and a wooden palisade fences them from violation. The Arab guardians admit the pilgrim to kneel beneath the branches and recite his *Pater* and *Ave*, but permit no curiosity-monger to injure the stem, and are as jealous of its history as the native Christian himself. France should feel a double interest in its preservation, for when in 1800 Kléber pursued the Turks to the walls of Heliopolis he came upon this Garden of Balsam and cut his name with his sword upon its trunk;[1] and upon a more peaceful occasion, when the Empress Eugenie came to open the Suez Canal, the Viceroy Ismail bought this garden and presented that pious lady with the Virgin's Tree.

Sandys, in his "Travels" in 1610, gives some of the legends which have gathered around it. He says, "There standeth an overgrown fig-tree, wh. opened (as they report) to receive our Saviour & His mother, then hardly escaping the pursuers; closing againe till the pursuite was past; then againe dividing as now it remaineth. A large hole there is through one of the sides of the leaning bulk; this (they say) no basturd can thred, but shall stick fast by the middle. The tree is all be-hackt for the wood thereof is reported of sovereigne virtue." The legend of a tree having opened its wood to receive the poor fugitives, is of very early date, but it is to the juniper that this is generally attributed, and we are inclined to think that it has been transferred thence.

There is also connected with this Matariyeh tree the legend of how the spider contributed its share to conceal the refugees by weaving its web across the severed trunk, thus diverting any suspicion of recent disturbance there. We may trace this folk-lore legend to our own western shores, for Mr. Henderson repeats a story told him by the Rev. T. B. Dykes, of how an old lady rebuked the clergyman for attempting to kill one of these insects which he observed near her bed. She said, with much earnestness, that they ought not to be injured, for we should remember how when our Lord lay in the manger of Bethlehem, the spider came and spun a beautiful web, which protected the Holy Babe from all dangers which surrounded Him. Napier confirms the Scotch regard for the spider's life, and they say:

"If you wish to live and thrive,
Let the spider run alive,"

[1] *Corresp. d'Orient*, libre 141.

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attributing its immunity to a similar cause. In Ireland and most lands we hear the same story. The Cossacks of the Aral call the *Aranea speciosa*, *Pallas*, "God's spider" (Voshie misgir), from having been the insect of the "Cross spider" (*Aranea diadema*), which bears a triple-cross upon its back, a fact which is allied to a like thought, and is intensified by its love of the hazel, a tree which sheltered the Holy Family upon the flight to Matariyeh.

Baedecker states that this Virgin's tree was planted in 1672, but that cannot possibly be true, for Sandys, visiting it sixty years earlier, as we have related, describes it as we see it to-day, and eighty years later a naturalist who was a friend and pupil of Linnæus, came and examined it, and considered that it must be then at least three hundred years old.[1] Thévenot, in 1657, tells of a part having become separated and fallen the year previous, but the remainder stood, and was "fort vieux." The Protestant travellers, Jean Wessling (1730) and Dr. Sepp,[2] saw the tree, and affirm their conviction that it was the same as was honored in the second century; and the great traveller, Burckhardt, remarks: "Since the Egyptian sycamore, among various other trees, will live many thousand years, there is nothing absurd in the supposition that the Virgin may have sat with the Infant Saviour under the shade of this noble trunk."[3] Whether this be so or not, we are unable to give an authoritative reply, but we may more readily believe that it marks the same sacred spot.

About forty yards from the sycamore fig is the holy well, which we passed on our left as we came up the avenue of the garden. The "Gospel of the Infancy"[4] tells how "the Lord Jesus brought forth a spring of water at Matariyeh, in which the Ladye Marye washed His raiment"; and the liturgical books of the venerable Coptic Church retain mention of that event. In their ecclesiastical calendar, called the "Synaxarium," the commemoration is marked for the 8th of the month Bauneh or Paoni, nearly equivalent to our 2d of June; and the "Dipnarion" recalls it in two canticles for the same day. The tradition is that our Lord brought forth this spring by His Almighty power, and that its waters remain ever sweet from having been in contact with His Divine Person. To us who come from lands where springs are numerous, it is difficult at first to realize why this one should be so remarkable as to countenance the fact of its being a fount of supernatural origin. Let us learn, therefore, if there be any grounds for this tradition, upon its natural side. The subsoil of Egypt consists of a salt sand, occasionally interrupted by beds of clay of small extent. The Nile's waters infiltrate this sandy soil, and

[1] Hasselquist, *Voyages*, p. 150.
[2] *Jerus. und des Heiligeland*, ii., 695.
[3] *Egypt and Nubia*, i., 161.
[4] Chap. xxiv.

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form a continuous sheet of subterranean water, down into which the water-pits are dug which we met with continually, such as that close to the obelisk within the walls of Heliopolis. The water raised by the sakyehs from these pits is of course excessively saline, and its supply depends upon the drainage of the district, varying also with the level of the river. This Fons Mariæ is entirely different; it is not dependent upon any such eventualities; its waters are beautifully sweet, and its supply constant. To the north, east, and west no spring exists in the land, and the only one south is that at Helonan, nearly twenty miles away, and is sulphurous, supplying the water-cure of the place. It, moreover, rises at the base of the Marattam hills, where the rainfall is more frequent, and from them it receives its waters. At Matariyeh, however, the country is flat, and the rainfall so small as scarcely to lay the dust, on the ten or twelve times a year of its occurrence. The spring is an alluvial soil, yet it remains free from all infiltration from the Nile, while all other sources at a similar distance from the river (five miles) are brackish. The natural fact stands, therefore, remarkable in itself, and well might pious tradition find the solution of it in the thought that it sprang forth to assuage the bodily thirst of its Creator, and retained its virtues from having bathed the limbs of Him who was the Son of God. Nor did the early Christians see anything incongruous in the fact that He whose touch could heal the sick, whose word could raise the dead, and the hem of whose garments could restore health to the poor woman in the crowd, should have possessed the power, and exercised it, of producing this spring when a little child in the Garden of Myrrh.

Sandys in his "Travels,"[1] remarks: "Of so many thousand wels (a thing most miraculous) this onely affordeth gustable waters; and that so excellent, that the Bassa refuseth the River to drinke thereof, and drinkes of no other: and when they ceasse for anytime to exhaust it, it sendeth forth of itselfe so plentifull a streame, as able to turne an over-fall mill."

The ancient pilgrims love to tell how the very oxen which worked the water-wheel seemed to have been Christianized in their habits, retaining, even under their Arab masters, the custom they had learnt under their Coptic owners, no doubt, of suspending work from Saturday midday until sunrise on Monday. It amazed the early palmers to witness in a Moslem land what they almost thought to be the testimony of these dumb animals to the practice of abstaining from servile work upon the first day of the week, but perhaps the explanation is more welcome to us that the old acquired

[1] p. 127.

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habits were not interfered with when the Saracen became the conqueror, for he seems to have retained the Christian gardeners. The Friar Brocard, who came here in 1283, would not credit the report about the animals desisting from work until, with his own eyes, he saw the fact;[1] and Quaresmius, an old "Guardian of the Holy Land," as the head of the Franciscans has even been called, says that very many persons testify to its truth.[2] Now, Arab workmen are employed, and black buffalos turn the two rôrias, which raise the hyaline stream, emptying it into a reservoir, from whence it flows to make glad this garden of God.

As we may readily believe, a spot with such memories as this was very unlikely to have been unmarked by a church in the six centuries before the birth of Mohammed, and although we cannot now see any remains of it above ground, yet we possess records which confirm its existence. Of such importance was it, that the commemoration of its dedication was deemed worthy of a place in the Coptic Synaxarium or Kalendar, which testifies to the extreme veneration in which it is held. On the 2d of June is marked, "The dedication of the Church of the Virgin Mother of God at Matariyeh, without the walls of Cairo, where the Virgin Mother, coming down to Egypt with her divine Son and her spouse, miraculously produced a spring of sweet waters"; and up to the present day they keep this festival, which is now called the "Feast of Balsam." On that day the Copts of Cairo, and all around, assemble at the village of Minich Sored, about two miles west of Matariyeh, upon the farther side of the Ismailia Canal, where two hundred or three hundred of them live. They pass one night in their church there, once celebrated for a miraculous picture of the Blessed Mary, and on the morrow, after hearing Mass, they come over to this garden and spend the day in happy enjoyment. The church here was in their keeping until the seventh century, when the Arabs came and turned them out; the sanctuary was stripped and defiled and afterwards converted into a mosque, which they called Te Makādor or The Place of Repose.[3] The Arab historians tell the traditions of the place which they learned from the former owners, making the continuity very complete. The church stood about ten paces from the Holy Well, between the site of which and the spring the avenue now passes, and into it flowed the honored stream, filling a porphyry laver, and issuing again into the plantation.

An engraving of what stood of this ancient *ecclesia* in the sixteenth century may be seen in the work of Bernardin Amico (*Trattato delle piante e imagini de sacri edifizi di Terra Santa*, etc.), and in Corneille le Bruyn's "Voyage du Levant" there is another, taken

[1] *Salanicus*, x., 5.
[2] *Elucid. Terræ S.*
[3] Wansleben, *Relation*, etc., p. 230.

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about 1680, when the Dutch painter and traveller found it ruinous and desecrated. It appears to have been a plain rectangular room with an oblong lavacrum in the pavement, like to the Epiphany tanks which are seen in every Coptic church. In the former view a slab projects from the wall with a recess behind it, and it was perhaps the work of the Franciscan Fathers, who managed to obtain a concession of the spot in 1597, and by the alms of pious Venetian merchants to reline with precious marbles both laver and niche.[1] But their retention must have been very short-lived, for in 1610, when Sandys was there, he saw "a well environed with a poor mud wall, the water drawne up by buffalos into a small cesterne, from whence it ranne into a laver of marble within a small chappell, by the Moores (in contempt of Christians) spitefully defiled. In the wall there is a little concave lined with sweet wood (diminished by affectors of relicks) and smoked with incensis in the sole, a stone of porphyry, whereon (they say) she did set our Saviour." The writer regrets that upon his visits to Matariyeh he did not make closer search for any traces of this old church, but the thoughts aroused by the spot are so engrossing in their interest that he omitted to make any effort to discover any sign in the plantation which now covers its site. Even as late as 1755 its ruins were visible, as is shown by Fourmont in his "Description Historique," etc., as in 1714 by Paul Lucas.[2]

Once again, however, within the circuit of the garden, and not a hundred yards from the Holy Well and Tree, has arisen a Hill of Frankincense, and the eye is arrested and delighted as it approaches this spot by road, to see rising above its fresh and vivid green the sign of man's redemption and the statue of her who here bore her Holy Child in her arms. It is almost startling to come across this emblem and figure in this Moslem land, for although familiar to us throughout Europe, its rarity in this country is so great that its presence is welcomed like a message from home; and the faithful children of every family in divided Christendom must be grateful to the good men who have given us this joy in a land where all minor differences yield before the touchstone of Mahommed or Christ. The French Fathers of La maison de la Sainte Famille, in Cairo, have united here piety and patriotism; they have made at this resting-place of Jesus, Mary and Joseph a home for their own retreat when worn out with the fatigues of their toilsome lives in the great city, and they have raised their graceful little chapel above a rockwork grotto, recalling that of Lourdes in their own native country, connecting the spring and shrine in that western land with this in their eastern place of sojourn, testifying thus to

[1] A. Bassi, *Pellegrinaggio.*

[2] *Extrait d'un Voyage*, i., 309.

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their belief that Christ's power and Mary's prayers are as real and potent in the nineteenth century as in the first. Moreover, they have combined to centre here the type of real conquest and true patriotism, for they have put their little oratory under the patronage of Notre Dame des Victoires, mindful of the victory of their country's arms over the Turk in the plains around; but with far higher meaning they set up this statue as their oriflamme, the standard of their queen, before whom, bearing her Son in her arms, the idols of Heliopolis fell, and its science paled into shadows of the truth. Once again, the memorial of that great Advent rises above the dust of that city's temples and the débris of its gods, and shall it not lead them to victory against the Moslem of this land, not to wrest from them their soil nor to enslave their bodies, but to captivate their minds and hearts and bring the princes of Arabia and Saba once more to the cradle of Bethlehem? Around their little house and chapel is a *hortus conclusus*, where the Fathers are endeavoring to gather the herbs and shrubs whose perfume and beauty, or importance as types in Holy Scripture, tell of the perfection of Mary's character. Palm and olive, rose and storax, plane and vine, sing here Ave Maria; and we hope that these Christian gardeners may get the balsam itself soon within their garden, reviving the historic culture of the spot and fulfilling the simile of the Canticles, "Sicut Balsamum aromatizans odorem dedi: quasi Myrrha electa dedi suavitatem odoris."

It would never do for us to leave Matariyeh without considering what this Balsam was of which we have spoken so frequently, and which is the garden's title to-day. Josephus[1] tells us that, according to Jewish tradition, the first plant in Judæa was a present brought to King Solomon by the Queen of Sheba, and we know that there came to Jerusalem "no more such abundance of spices as" those she brought with her. This is exceedingly probable, for it is usually conceded that wherever Sheba may be, it lay south of Egypt, and we may remember that the kings of Ethiopia or Abyssinia claim a descent from her son. The myrrh or balsam trees of the land of Punt were considered so precious in early Egyptian history that we may see them figured upon the walls of that lovely temple of Deir el Baheir as being borne by Nubian slaves in tubs on the return of an expedition to that land, and it still grows in what we know as the Sûdan. It was also found by the wonderful traveller, Sir Richard Burton, between Mecca and Medinah, and Yakout, in 1228, says: "J'ai bien ouï dire que l'arbuste du Hedjaz qu'on nomme Bescham est le même que le Baumier de Matariyeh, mais je ne sache pas que le Bescham donne du Baume."[2] *Bescham* is what Burton says is Abouschâm in El

[1] *Antiq.*, viii, 2.

[2] *Pays Inconnus*, iv.

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Hejaz, and he gathered from the Bedouins that the plant had been brought thither from Egypt, a fact which we should consider improbable. The Arabic name *Abouschâm*, *Bescham*, *Balisan* became the *Balsamon* of Theophrastus and Dioscorides; hence our Balsam further contracted into Balm. In the Sûdan we understand that it is called *Ayöut* or *Moyak*, but it is yet too unnoticed to have attracted our recent travellers. There evidently was balsam in the days of the patriarch Jacob in the Land of Gilead, for "a little balm" was one of the presents sent by him to his son Joseph in Egypt when they went thither to buy "corn." When the writer was travelling through that land in 1890 he made some effort to discover the shrub, but fruitlessly. It is quite possible, and seems probable, that this may have been of inferior quality to that of central Africa; perhaps it was the *Balsamo-dendron Gileadensis* Kunth. (*Amyris Gileadensis*, L.), of which a plant exists in the Royal Gardens of Kew; or it may have been exhausted when its value was learned and not replanted, after the manner of that desolated land. It existed in the days of the prophet Jeremias, as we shall see later on, and the phrase of the Balm of Gilead as a sovereign cure and sacred title remain to us still.

Solomon probably received as a gift plants of one species which grew here at Matariyeh, one *Balsamo-dendron Opobalsamum*, Kunth., and would send it to be cherished in the warm valley of the Jordan, in the gardens of Engaddi, near Jericho, or to his "Enclosed Garden" among the hills of Bethlehem-Judah, and hence arose its other titles of Balm of Judah, Jericho, or Engaddi. And it is to these that perchance Pliny refers[1] when he says: "Of all perfumes, the best is that of the balm produced by the land of Judæa alone. Formerly it only grew in two gardens, both of them royal. The Emperors Vespasian and Titus have exhibited this shrub in Rome. Glorious to say, since Pompey the Great we have carried trees even in our triumphs. Now this tree is a captive and pays tribute with its nation." Some attribute its introduction into Matariyeh to Cleopatra, who sent a commission to Engaddi to obtain a plant, but to the early Christians its presence seemed linked with Him from whom all sweetness flows, and to their simple minds it was more pleasant to think that it sprang up from the drops of His sweat as he played in the garden's walks, or from the water wherein His blessed Mother laved His limbs or washed His linen. Even so great a commentator as Cornelius a Lapide[2] seems to see in its coming here, about the time of the Holy Family's arrival, a striking figure and realization of the words: "I gave forth my odor like sweet balsam .... and my fragrance like pure myrrh"; and the ancient tradition we may find transferred across

[1] *Hist. Nat.*, xii., 25, 54.

[2] *Ecclus*, xxiv., 20, 21.

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Europe to our own shores in connection with the Libanotis, frankincense, or Rosemary bush, which is said to gain all its perfume from having borne upon it the clothes of the Redeemer.

The life of the trees here seems to have been very precarious from the fourteenth century. The noble German pilgrims, whose visit is told by Bernard de Breidenbach, speak of seeing five hundred trees, but these had dwindled down to a solitary specimen in 1615, and this was destroyed by an excessive inundation of the Nile. Felix Faber, in his "Evagatorium," describes the shrub as scarcely a man's height, like a gooseberry somewhat in appearance, with whitish branches and leaves resembling those of rue, but seven foiled, and many of the old pilgrims tell of the method of extracting its soft gum. The choicest and earliest was obtained by making incisions during the hot months, and the exudation was collected in glass vases. It was of the consistency of honey, and of a yellowish-brown color, and reserved most jealously by the Soldan for gifts to such mighty and mysterious potentates as Prester John, Negus of Ethiopia, the Cham of Tartary, the Caliph of Bagdad, and so forth. It was believed by the Arabs not to flourish unless it were tended by Christian hands and watered by Our Lady's Spring, and several attempts to contravene this are recorded. Almelec-Alcamel, the Caliph, obtained leave from his father Adel to plant some of the shrubs in a neighboring garden, but they would not grow until the water of Sitti Mariam was brought to them,[1] and in 1195 a Jew, Ibn Koreita, afterwards Vizier to Sultan Aziz, son of the great Salah Ed-din, made a similar attempt, and his incredulity was removed.[2]

The tonic and stomachic properties which the shrub possesses and the rareness of its growth made popular imagination extend its virtues until it seemed to satisfy that search of eastern pharmacy—the elixir of life itself. Maundeville tells how it was considered an infallible specific in fifty different complaints, and it is to these medicinal qualities that the prophet refers who wrote his lamentations at the city of Heliopolis, just without this Matariyeh garden's pale, distraught by the "cry of the daughter of (his) people that dwell in the land far" from the fair hill of Zion which they have forsaken. He exclaims, "Is there no balm in Gilead, no physician there?"[3] and exhorts them to return and "go up into Gilead and take of its balsam, O virgin, the daughter of Egypt; for in vain shalt thou use many medicines, for no cure shall be unto thee here."[4]

With such a reputation we can easily appreciate how prized

[1] De Saey's translation of *Abd-Allatif*, p. 90.
[2] Wansleben, *Hist. de l'Eglise Alex.*, ii., 25.
[3] Jer., viii., 19. [4] Jer., xlvi., 11.

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every drop must have been, and few shrubs can trace such an ancestry of esteem through the Pharaohs, the Jews, the Romans and the Arabs. We might include the Christians also, since for many centuries it was sought to provide the precious unguent used in the Church called the Holy Chrism, which is employed at baptism, confirmation, ordination of priests and dedication of churches and altars. Chrism is but the Greek for a very thick anointing substance; we have the word softened into "cream," and a "chrisome-child" is one upon whose brow the anointing at baptism still remains covered by the linen bandage or "chrisome-cloth" about his head. Myrrh is but another Greek word for the same medium, and because this chrism was in early time the gum from the balsam trees of Matariyeh and Engaddi the word myrrh became identical with balm. The ceremony of consecrating the Holy Chrism takes place every Holy Saturday in Catholic Churches, the day the "Three Myrrophores," or myrrh bearers, as the Eastern Church calls the three Marys, went to the Sepulchre to anoint the body of the Lord. Among the Copts of Egypt it is consecrated at the monastery of St. Macarius on Good Friday from the same allusion, and they compose it of those aromatics which were found in the Sepulchre of the Saviour; Wansleben gives the drugs which they employ and the manner of their preparation. The Catholic Church has had to substitute for the balsam from the Garden of the Repose in Egypt that of species in Peru, sold as Balm of Mecca, which mingled with spices forms the *oleum chrismatum* in her triple chrismatories. There is a tale told of St. Willebald, a Briton, who was bishop in Bavaria, that having made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in A.D. 723, he managed to obtain a gourd full of the much sought for Balsam in Jerusalem, whether it was that of Matariyeh, the record does not say; but if it were from Solomon's gardens then this is the latest record we have of the plants there. Having obtained his treasure the difficulty was to escape with his life, for strangers were in a continual state of being searched and this balm had a most potent fragrance. At last the bishop obtained a rag soaked with petroleum (*petræ oleo*) and with this for stopper he was able to evade the custom house scrutiny (Hodœporicon S. Willebaldi. Trin.). De Sacy in his notes on the Arab writes, Abd Allatif says: "Le souverains Chrétiens le recherchent à l'envi les uns des autres, et tous les Chrétiens, en général, l'ont en grand estime; ils ne croient point qú'un Chrétien soit devenu parfait Chrétien, si l'on ne met un peu d'huile de Baume dans l'eau Baptismale, quand on l'y plonge." Shakespeare has given us the proverb: "Not all the water in the rough rude sea, can wash the balm from an anointed king," and each country in Europe had a tradition of the miraculous origin of this coronation

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balm. In England it was said that the Blessed Mother of God had given a golden eagle filled with the holy oil to St. Thomas of Canterbury, during his exile, with the promise that any kings of England anointed with it would be merciful rulers and champions of Holy Church.[1] In which we can trace the origin of the Balsam from Mary's Garden. The same sort of story is that of the dove with the crystal ampulla bringing the balm for Clovis's consecration at Rheims; but we have said enough to show how great a part the shrub's produce occupied in the Christian economy.

Let us now take one last turn round the walks of Matariyeh before we leave and complete some detail of thought. It is in this place of the Repose that painters and sculptors often represent the young Child Jesus with a bird in His hand; a picture by Fra Angelico in Lord Dudley's late sale made it yellow and long-headed and with an aureole apparently, while in the other hand our Lord held what looked like a banana or perhaps it was a roll of clay; another at same sale by Fra Bartolomeo made it a small black bird, while in a third by Francesco Francia it looked like a brown sparrow. A chaffinch, a nightingale, a redbreast, in fact any bird was employed by the painters to tell a legend which we have never seen given, the usual explanation being that it is but a plaything. In those pictures—as in that by Lorenzo di Credi in the Palace Pitti, at Florence—where the scene is that of the Nativity and the Saviour lies on the ground or manger with a bird by his side—there is no connection with this Matariyeh scene but the reference is to quite another legend; that of which we are now speaking is a story told in the Apocryphal Gospels where it is related that our Lord and some other Jewish children were at play, amusing themselves by making models of birds in moist earth; when they tired they threw them up in the air in sportive recklessness, but those which had been fashioned by the hand of the Creator became endowed with life and soared into the heavens.[2] Hence flow numerous charming legends about birds, which still remain to us in quiet parts of Europe as also in Asia, in allusion to this miracle. The swallow has a sacred name in every Christian land, as the "Bird of God," or the "Virgin Mary's Fowl," and A. de Latrope in his "Gazophilacium linguæ Persarum"[3] says that the Arabs called it the "Bird of Jesus," as if to identify it with the story. In other lands, the blue titmouse is entitled "Le fils de Dieu," and forever chaunts His name; and the Sicilian loves the "Figliuolo di Dio." Others again, would ally the story to the golden plover, whose "deerrin" note sounds like a Scandinavian word said to

[1] *Maskell*, iii., p. 17.
[2] *Thilo*, cxi., p. 284; B. H. Cooper, p. 32.
[3] 1684, p. 356.

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mean "glory" (dyrdhin); and we might carry on the pretty guesses made by simple hearts and ears in early days to much greater lengths. Didron tells us[1] that a group may be seen in stone in the church of Vertus (Marne), of the thirteenth century, but he does not read its meaning, we suggest, as the correct one; he thinks it only a plaything, as any object might be, just as others would see the Holy Dove in similar sculptures in the hospice of Rue Sommis, in the church of St. Germain-des-Près, in Paris, or in the painting of the Madonna of Guercino. Mrs. Jameson thought that the bird in the Saviour's hand was borrowed from the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and that, in some way, it referred to the soul of man; indeed, she was confident that this was so in the very ancient pictures. But, in early days, as we have said already, these legends of the Sacred infancy were very familiarly known and popularly held as facts; and although, in later times, birds were introduced only as ornamental accessories, yet, in the Eastern parrot-like figures, or, as is frequent in the Venetian pictures, the partridge, or, in Raphael's famous goldfinch (Madonna del Cardellino), the originating idea was this story from the Garden of Balsam. So forgotten were these old legends, as men began to disregard the sacredness of nature, and to look upon its beautiful denizens for purposes of "sport," or as dainties for the stomach—returning to the basest of pagan bestialities in destroying the sweet birds of heaven for a fragmentary, unneedful food—that we find all the proprieties of art set aside, and Baroccio can dare to paint our Blessed Lord holding up a bird before a cat, and calmly depict there the cruelty and infidelity that must have saturated his own soul.

We might make reflections upon most of the trees which grow in this garden, for almost all of them are allied to sacred traditions. There is one we must not omit, since it is closely interwoven with early art, and takes its source probably from another of those apocryphal gospels, viz., that of the Nativity of Mary. An old crusading bishop of Acre, in 1244, says: "At Cairo is a very ancient date tree, which spontaneously bent itself to the Blessed Virgin when she wished to eat of its fruit"; and a traveller, in 1672, relates how, "eating some dates with an old man, but credulous Christian, he said, 'that the letter O remained on a date-stone for a remembrance that our Blessed Lady, the Virgin, with her divine Babe in her arms, resting herself at the foot of a palm tree (which inclined its branches and offered a cluster of dates to its Creator), plucked some of the dates, and eating them, satisfied with the taste and flavor, cried out in amazement, 'O, how sweet they are!' This exclamation engraved the letter O, the first word

[1] Bohn's edit., i., 490.

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of her speech, upon the date-stone, which being very hard preserved it.'" In painting or mosaic, this bowing of the palm tree is of frequent reference, as in the fresco of Pinturicchio, at St. Onofrio, Rome; and it is another of the legends popular in mediæval times which took their origin from the Repose of the Holy Family in Egypt.

We here reluctantly must end. In these traditional stories there is one continual charm in the simplicity of the minds which connected all they saw in nature with the life of our Blessed Lord upon earth, and that of His saints; the tender piety with which they expressed their observations on all vegetable and other forms of life, evince dispositions which it would be well if we still possessed; and, in our adoration for what we call scientific knowledge, we should not dismiss that which clothes the skeleton of fact with the beauty of imagination. It may be true that the stars shine, but we should recognize, primarily, that they twinkle, and that they are set in the firmament of heaven by One who "calleth them all by their names." It may be that the herb of the field is a gasometer, but the essential truth is, that God has clothed it with virtue and beauty. Amongst those, too, who will frankly profess a certainty of belief in the miracles recorded in the New Testament, why should there be the keen antipathy to quietly listen to even the probability of any others, such as we have here related, even among Catholics? Their rejection incurs no spiritual censure; and those who accept the miracle of converting water into wine, need not become impatient at being asked to listen to the sweetening of the Matariyeh spring. If we cannot trace the Repose in Egypt by historical writings, it seems worth while to attempt to do so by the legends which remain to us, and by the traditions which art has preserved and illustrated. Of course, in these days, when we are taught to scornfully turn from all antiquity as the time of superstition and ignorance, we are in no mental touch with those days when books were unknown, and all history was but the handing on of facts from father to son; and the insolent daring of modern talk in arguing over the fact of the world's ever needing a Creator, far less a Redeemer, drives us apart from every period of thought that has ever existed. But still, to many, there continues a reverence for the past ages, and a wistfulness for the peaceful faith they knew—and to such, this record may be sympathetic, while they stay in the impressive land of Egypt and think of the residence there of their Saviour and their God when, as a boy, "Jesus was here among men."

A. R. Dowling.

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OUR CONVERTS.

PART II.

THE next eminent convert was Mrs. Eliza A. Seton, of New York, whose case, like that of the others I have related, proves that God frequently selects those outside the Church to be the bearers of great missions in the Church. Mrs. Seton was a type of Christian womanhood. Her life, in disaster as well as in prosperity, was a model of Christian grace. The wife of William Seton, a wealthy merchant, when commercial and financial disaster swept away the fortune of a life's accumulation, her fortitude strengthened with adversities. When her husband's health gave way under the pressure, she accompanied him to the more congenial climate of Italy, where her vigils, her nursing and her angelic ministrations prolonged, but did not save, the life she so much cherished. In Italy she saw the Church, but it was at a distance; her misfortunes, her poverty, her exile, her bereavement made her pure soul conscious of a spiritual void. Faith and grace and communion with God she now sought. She returned to New York, her home. Her former spiritual advisers, Bishop Hobart and other Protestant ministers, used every effort to meet the needs of this noble nature, but in vain. Her spirit, however, did not rest until it found truth and light and grace and peace in the ancient and apostolic Church, which came down, directly through the ages, from the Saviour to all times. The circumstances of Mrs. Seton's conversion were most interesting and touching. She was received into the Catholic Church March 14, 1805. Among the eminent Catholic divines who took part in presenting the truths of religion to her were Archbishop Carroll, of Baltimore; Bishop Cheverus, of Boston; Rev. Dr. Dubourg, Rev. Dr. Matignon and others. Now her heart was filled with a desire to do good—the project of some great work of charity occupied her thoughts, and from an academy for young ladies, which she started in Baltimore, her thoughts and aspirations developed into the grandest and most beneficent results—the founding of the American Sisterhood of Charity. What higher mission, what holier result, are human efforts and sacrifices capable of? In the higher academies of our land, in the humble parochial schools, in hospitals, asylums and infirmaries, on the field of battle and in epidemics and pestilence, the daughters of Mother Seton, Sisters of Charity, have won the plaudits of good men, and, by their holy works, have carried the battlements of heaven!

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Fanny Allen was one of Vermont's fairest daughters—still fairer and more beautiful in intellect and in soul. She was the youngest daughter of Vermont's Revolutionary hero, General Ethan Allen. Educated in such manner as to meet the natural gifts of her mind, religion was excluded from her training, but it welled up in her soul by a grace that came only from above. Her questions were parried by her family, but never answered. She was born on February 16, 1784. While still receiving her education at the hands of a devoted step-father, she was led by an unknown impulse to the temple of a religion of which she knew almost nothing. From that moment, in her heart, she became a Catholic in faith. It was her own secret. She received baptism, at the age of twenty-two, at the hands of Rev. Daniel Barber, whose name has already been mentioned, and will be mentioned more fully, as an eminent convert; but at this time he was a Protestant minister. She soon afterwards, with her parents' consent, went to Montreal, to study French, and became a pupil in the Convent School of the Sisters of the Congregation. Her conversion was sudden; it took place at the gate of the sanctuary railing in the convent chapel, whither a sister had sent her to place a vase of flowers before the Blessed Sacrament. Her steps were mysteriously arrested at the gate; three times she attempted to fulfill her mission, and three times she was stopped by an inscrutable impulse:

"Ter limen tetigi, ter sum revocatus!"

Was she, without an open profession of faith, unworthy to approach the Holy of Holies? She fell upon her knees and adored Jesus Christ in the Holy Eucharist. Retiring to an obscure corner of the temple, she wept, and when her voice returned to her, she exclaimed, "After this miraculous occurrence, I must give myself to my Saviour." The tidings of her conversion produced intense sensation in her family and in all Vermont. She was brought by her parents to their home in Sheldon, Vermont, where the allurements of gay and fashionable society and all the means to which her parents could resort were used to change her purpose; but in the end her mother accompanied her again on a second visit to the convent at Montreal. But she took time even then, and had recourse to prayer before making a selection among the many admirable religious orders of Montreal. Finally she entered the Hotel Dieu. She was professed in 1810, her parents attending amid the concourse of people attracted to the chapel. Her parents frequently visited her. Her convent life was a model of the true religious. Her physician, an American Protestant, was so impressed by her heroic death that he became converted on the spot. She died on December 10, 1819. We shall soon see

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cause for wonder at the many remarkable conversions which followed hers in Vermont.

Remarkable indeed was the conversion of the Barber family. Rev. Daniel Barber had served two terms as a soldier in the Revolutionary War. He belonged to a large, intellectual and influential family, and his father, whose name was Daniel, had become impoverished by the war of our independence and the depreciation of paper money. He was born in Connecticut on October 2, 1756. Reared in the strictest school of Congregationalism, his earnest mind, in search of the Apostolic succession, led him to join the Episcopal Church, and at the age of thirty he was a minister therein, which was about the year 1786. During thirty-two years of Episcopal ministry, his mind was in spirit Catholic; but little was known in Vermont of the Catholic Church. He would make the sign of the cross, and he deemed nothing unworthy of a Christian which honored Christ. He was present at the religious profession of Fanny Allen at Montreal in 1810, and was deeply impressed by her heroic faith. In 1812 he visited Bishop Cheverus at Boston. Many difficulties presented themselves to his mind, and he communicated to his son, Rev. Virgil Horace Barber, then an Episcopal minister in Northern New York, his doubts, and lent him the books on Catholic doctrine which he was reading. In 1816 Virgil Horace Barber met Rev. Benedict Joseph Fenwick at New York, and feeling greatly disturbed in his faith, he communicated to him his own doubts and difficulties. He was already married and had a large family. He was a man of fine education and culture. He and his wife, under the instruction and kind advice of Dr. Fenwick, but under circumstances of appalling sacrifice, became Catholics, and all their children followed. Daniel Barber, his father, though yet not wholly converted or over his scruples, was at all times honest in his convictions, and he earnestly desired to know the truth and to embrace it. Such was his scrupulosity in changing his religion a second time, and such his desire for study and light, that not only did his son, Virgil Horace, and all his family precede him in entering the Church, but so also did his own wife and other relatives in Vermont. Finally, he, who had led so many others to investigate and embrace the truth, saw its full effulgence himself, and on November 15, 1818, he resigned his Episcopalian parish, and delivered a farewell address to the congregation. He then went to visit his friends in the South, and while there he was received into the Church at Georgetown, where his son, Virgil Horace, who had joined the Society of Jesus, was making his novitiate. I must now go back a little in my narrative. Such were the sentiments of gratitude to God of Mr. and Mrs. Virgil Horace Barber, for the grace of conversion, that each

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desired to make an entire sacrifice of their lives to religion; but how could husband and wife be separated, and be received into the ecclesiastical and religious state? They consulted their friend, Rev. Benedict Joseph Fenwick, of the Society of Jesus, and he informed them that by their mutual consent and the permission of the Sovereign Pontiff, this could be done; and he cited the case of Lord and Lady Warner, in England, who became converts, and, after making provision for their children, Lord Warner was received into the Society of Jesus, while she took the veil in a convent on the continent. It would be extremely interesting to relate the details of this remarkable history, but time and space are not sufficient. The requisite permission and arrangements having been made, the Rev. Virgil Horace Barber was received into the Society of Jesus, made his novitiate at Georgetown College, and after completing his studies partly at Rome, was ordained a priest in the Society of Jesus in 1822. With the permission of his Superiors in the Society, he was sent to Claremont, the home of the Barbers, to serve as a missionary priest, where he built a church, and announced with fervor and effect the truths he had himself embraced. His wife, Mrs. Jerusha Barber, became a Visitation nun, under the religious name of Sister Mary St. Augustin, at Georgetown Convent. All the children of Mr. and Mrs. Virgil Horace Barber became members of religious orders. Their oldest child, Mary Barber, became an Ursuline nun at Quebec, under the religious name of Sister Mary Benedicta. Mary Abigail Barber also became an Ursuline nun in the same convent at Quebec. Susan Barber became an Ursuline nun in the convent of that order at Three Rivers, Canada. Josephine Barber became a Visitation nun in the convent of that order at Mobile, Alabama. The only son of Mr. and Mrs. Barber became a Jesuit priest, and few students of Georgetown College have not heard of the saintly life of the good and learned Rev. Samuel Barber, S. J. The mother and four daughters remained faithful and devout nuns to the last, and edified their respective sisterhoods by their sanctity, their religious obedience and their angelic virtues. It was the singular fortune of the present writer to have known and seen personally and frequently these three celebrated convert priests, Daniel Barber, Virgil Horace Barber and Samuel Barber. The Rev. Daniel Barber often visited my father's house in Washington while I was a child; he was a great invalid, but in the midst of his severe paroxysms of pain I could hear him devoutly reciting the rosary. Whenever he arrived at my father's house, the whole family venerated him as a saint, and the utmost kindness was shown to him. As a boy, I rejoiced to hear him relate his services in the Revolutionary War, in which my own grandfather was an officer under Washington,

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and his experience in the long struggle he made to reach and embrace the truth of revelation. The Rev. Virgil Horace and Rev. Samuel Barber were preceptors of mine at Georgetown College from 1844 to 1848, the former as Catechist and teacher of Christian Doctrine, and the latter as professor of Classics. Both were learned men, but both were even more devout than learned. I shall never forget the edification I experienced at seeing the Rev. Father Virgil Horace Barber going to confession to his own son, the Rev. Samuel. He called his own son "Father Samuel," and I remember this venerable priest often asking me to go and send "Father Samuel" to him. The conversion of the Barber family led also directly, or at least indirectly, to the conversion of Mrs. Tyler, sister of Rev. Virgil Horace Barber, also of his nephew, William Tyler, who afterwards became a priest and the first Bishop of Hartford, and to the conversions of Rev. Mr. Kewley, Rev. Mr. Ironside, Rev. Colvin White and several others. In its widespread consequences and fruits, in leading to other conversions, the conversion of the Barber family had more features of a movement in it than any phase of the convert question up to this time except the Mercersburg movement; and yet there is more individuality in all these conversions than is to be found among most of the English converts of the Oxford movement.

While Napoleon was in the zenith of his imperial power, an order which he issued, that all Englishmen, then in France, should be regarded as prisoners, arrested the homeward journey of a young English gentleman accompanied by his mother, and his detention in France brought him to the light and membership of the Catholic Church. A French Abbé, at Lyons, was his friend, associate, and instructor, in the faith. What could have been more unique and providential than the results? Both the French Abbé and the young English convert afterwards became American archbishops. The Abbé of Lyons was afterwards Archbishop Maréchal, and the young English convert became Archbishop Whitfield.

Rev. James Whitfield, born at Liverpool, 1770, was ordained at Lyons in 1809. When Metropolitan of Baltimore, Archbishop Maréchal invited Father Whitfield from England to America; the latter arrived at Baltimore in 1817. In 1828, Dr. Whitfield was appointed coadjutor bishop; before the bulls arrived, Archbishop Maréchal was dead; and, on May 25, 1828, Bishop Flaget consecrated Dr. Whitfield fourth Archbishop of Baltimore. He devoted his large private fortune to the cause of religion, education, and charity; he obtained large donations for the same cause from the Association for the Propagation of the Faith; he generously assisted the poor and scattered Catholics of Richmond and Norfolk. He has the eminent distinction of assembling the first Provincial

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Council of Baltimore, which embraced all the bishops of the United States, in 1829. He did much from his private means towards completing the beautiful Cathedral of Baltimore. In 1833, he called the second Provincial Council of all the bishops of the United States, over which he ably presided. He was a great friend and patron of religious orders, which increased greatly under his administration. Archbishop Whitfield died on October 19, 1834, deeply regretted and revered in America and Europe.

Descended from an ancient English family, the marriage of his widowed mother to a Catholic gentleman of Maryland, led the way to the conversion of Samuel Eccleston, who was born in 1801. Converted while a student of St. Mary's College, Baltimore, he entered the Theological Seminary in 1819, and was ordained a priest in 1825. Not content with such studies as America then afforded, he went to France, England, and Ireland; returned to America in 1827, and was appointed president of his Alma Mater, St. Mary's. In 1834, he was appointed coadjutor bishop, and was consecrated by Archbishop Whitfield, and, on October 19th of that year, on the death of Dr. Whitfield, he became fifth Archbishop of Baltimore, at the early age of thirty-three. His administration, like that of Dr. Whitfield, was a model one. He introduced the Brothers of St. Patrick in his archdiocese; he introduced the first Redemptorists into the United States; he introduced the Lazarists into his archdiocese; and, besides many new churches, Mt. Hope Hospital for the Insane was built under his administration. The Young Catholic's Friend Society, and St. Charles College near Ellicott's Mills, were established during his administration; he called together, and presided over, five Provincial Councils of Baltimore. In 1833, eight bishops attended the Third Provincial Council; in 1840, thirteen bishops attended the Fourth; in 1843, sixteen bishops attended the Fifth; in 1846, twenty-three bishops attended the Sixth; in 1849, twenty-five bishops attended the Seventh. In 1846, Archbishop Eccleston introduced the first Christian Brothers into America. To have introduced the first Redemptorists and the first Christian Brothers into this country, entitles this eminent convert to the undying gratitude of the American Church.

I have already alluded to the conversion of Bishop Tyler, nephew of Rev. Virgil Horace Barber, as soon following that of his uncle, and of his mother, and other relatives of Vermont and New Hampshire. Young Tyler became a fine classical scholar under the instruction of his uncle; he made his theological studies in Boston, under Bishop Fenwick, and in Montreal, and was ordained by Dr. Fenwick at Pentecost, 1828. So holy and zealous was his priesthood, that when the Fifth Council of Balti-

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more, in 1843, erected Hartford into an episcopal see, Father Tyler was appointed its first bishop; he was consecrated at Baltimore, by Bishop Fenwick, on March 17, 1844. Holy Trinity Church became his cathedral, the only church in Hartford, and it was then a poor cathedral; his diocese had but six priests; and, in order to reach a greater number of Catholics, he made Providence his residence. Such was the poverty of the diocese, that he had to obtain pecuniary aid from the Leopoldine Society at Vienna. He attended the Sixth and Seventh Councils of Baltimore. At the time of his consecration he caught a severe cold, from which he never recovered. His labors and trials were great, for, not only had he to struggle against poverty and ill-health, but the prejudice of all New England, and especially of Connecticut and Rhode Island, were against him and his cause. At the Seventh Council he presented medical certificates that he could not survive much longer, and requested permission to resign; the Council preferred to give him a coadjutor, Right Rev. Dr. O'Reilly; but after his return from the Council, while still struggling to offer the immaculate sacrifice, he was taken ill at the altar, and was held up while proceeding with his last Mass. He died on June 18, 1849. In the midst of his impoverished circumstances, Bishop Tyler succeeded in adding considerably to the churches and works of the diocese, and he died a faithful witness to the faith he had embraced so heroically.

Descended from the Youngs on his father's side and the Moodys on his mother's side, both old English families, which gave many ministers to Universalism and Congregationalism in New England, Joshua Moody Young was a thorough Puritan. Born in Maine, in 1808, he learned the printing trade, and thus made the acquaintance of a young Catholic boy, whose conversations paved the way to his conversion from Universalism to Catholicity. His conversion was completed under Bishop Fenwick, and, in 1828, he received conditional baptism from that celebrated convert Father Charles D. Ffrench, at Portland. In baptism he took the name of Mary as his middle name. In 1830 he removed to the West, entered the diocese of Cincinnati, and worked as a printer on the *Catholic Telegraph*. Bishop Purcell sent him to Mt. St. Mary's College, in Maryland; he embraced the sacerdotal state, and was ordained in 1837. He devoted himself to the arduous mission of the West, and from 1837 to 1854 Father Young spent his life in travelling, preaching, instructing, and leading souls to the truth. In 1854 the episcopal See of Erie was created, and Father Young was made its first bishop. The most strenuous efforts on his part failed to secure his escape from the mitre, and he was consecrated by Archbishop Purcell, at Cincinnati, on April 23, 1854. Such

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was the poverty of the new diocese, that his former parishioners, at Lancaster, Ohio, presented him with a handsome donation to aid in organizing it and as a tribute to his apostolic labors among them. Bishop Young was an example of Catholic piety and self-denial. He was austere to himself, loved retirement, practiced austerities, was devoted to labor and study, an early riser, a devout client of Mary, was hospitable to poor members of the clergy, full of deeds of charity to his neighbor and to the orphans, a promoter of education, a great church-builder. In the first year of his episcopate there were twenty-eight churches in the Diocese of Erie, and these he increased to more than fifty; and he increased its priests from fourteen to fifty-one. He travelled much through his diocese, erected schools and academies. He was an example of self-sacrifice, labor and zeal. He worked until he died, in the service of his Master, and died suddenly, on September 18, 1866.

The conversion of the Rev. James Roosevelt Bayley was one of the most heroic and edifying events in the history of our converts. He was descended from an old English family; he also had the blood of the Huguenot Le Comptes in his veins, and on his mother's side he was descended from the Knickerbocker Roosevelts. His American ancestors were prominent and useful citizens of New York, and his father, Dr. Guy Carlton Bayley, was an eminent physician. He was a nephew of Mother Seton, the illustrious foundress of the American Sisters of Charity. In 1839 he was rector of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, at Harlem, New York, and it was then he made the acquaintance and loved the conversations of a young, devout and learned Catholic priest, and thus were sowed the first seeds of the faith; this young priest was afterwards the first American cardinal, John McCloskey. He resigned St. Andrew's rectorship even before he became a Catholic, and went to Europe in 1841; at Rome he visited the Episcopal Church and received Communion therein; and here, too, at Rome, he met Cardinal Cullen, the Jesuit Father Esmund, and Father Haskins, an American convert. He made a spiritual retreat at the Gesu, under Father Esmund, was received into the Catholic Church, and on April 28, 1842, he received Holy Communion and confirmation at the chapel of St. Ignatius from the hands of Cardinal Franzoni. He continued his travels, opened a correspondence with Archbishop Hughes, and finally commenced the study of Catholic theology at St. Sulpice, Paris, where Father Lynden and Archbishop Williams, of Boston, were among his companions. After a year he was visited at St. Sulpice by Archbishop Hughes, under whose jurisdiction he placed himself. After returning to New York and continuing his studies at St. John's, Fordham, he was ordained by Dr. Hughes, on March 2, 1843. Father Bayley served as Vice-

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President of St. John's College, performed missionary work, in 1846 became secretary to Archbishop Hughes, then his chancellor, and was eminently able, zealous and energetic. He thoroughly organized the New York Chancery Office. Under his grandfather's will he forfeited his inheritance of $70,000 by becoming a Catholic, and when he heard of the decision of the court against him, he expressed his resignation by saying: "It will be all the same a hundred years hence." In 1853, when the Diocese of Newark was erected, he was appointed its first bishop, and was consecrated at old St. Patrick's, New York, by Archbishop Hughes on October 30, 1852, together with Bishops Loughlin and De Goesbriand. Under his administration, Seton Hall College was founded, St. Elizabeth's Convent and Academy at Madison established, and also orphan asylums at Newark, Paterson and Jersey City. He introduced the Benedictines, the Passionists, the Christian Brothers, the Sisters of Notre Dame, and the Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis. He was a champion of temperance and a public opponent of Know-Nothingism. In 1872 he succeeded Most Rev. Martin John Spaulding as Archbishop of Baltimore. His short administration at Baltimore was energetic, zealous and fruitful, even though his health was infirm. He succeeded in getting the cathedral out of debt and consecrated, and made visitations of his archdiocese. It was during his administration that the Archdiocese of Philadelphia and its suffragans were separated from the Province of Baltimore. He was appointed by Pope Pius IX. to place the red beretta on the head of Cardinal McCloskey. His health grew so infirm that he went to Europe for medical aid and rest, but returned in a dying state, and was unable to reach Baltimore. He died at his old residence at Newark on October 3, 1877.

General William Starke Rosecrans was born in Ohio, in 1819, graduated at West Point in 1842, was professor at West Point of natural and experimental philosophy and engineering, and, while thus engaged at the Military Academy, he studied and reasoned himself, guided by divine grace, into the Catholic Church. His conversion led to that of his brother, to whom he communicated the reasons for his change of religion. After serving in many capacities in military and civic employments, when the Civil War broke out, in 1861, he went into the volunteer service and rose to the highest military rank by his brilliant and dauntless services in important campaigns, and was the hero of many battle-fields. His military education, his skill in theoretical and practical science and in the art of war, and his ardent patriotism, made him one of the foremost generals of the war. So long and varied were his services that it would be impossible to give the details of his campaigns.

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He received several public votes of thanks for his gallantry and skill. After the war he served in Congress, and was prominently engaged with many public measures, such as the railroad between the United States and Mexico, mining operations and railroads; and in 1885 he was appointed Register of the United States Treasury. General Rosecrans is a man of marked ability and character, and while he has contributed important papers on the historical questions growing out of the war, several works have been written on his principal campaigns.

Right Rev. Sylvester Horton Rosecrans was a brother of General Rosecrans. While at the Episcopalian College of Kenyon, Ohio, a letter which he received from his distinguished brother, General Rosecrans, who had become a Catholic, drew his attention to the reasons in favor of Catholic truth, and he was received into the Church in 1845. His faith and zeal were great, for Bishop Lamy, then a missionary in Ohio, mentioned that the young convert walked frequently eight miles, while fasting, to Mt. Vernon, Ohio, to receive Holy Communion. From Kenyon he went to St. John's, at Fordham, and thence to the Roman Propaganda. He won the doctor's cap, and was ordained at Rome in 1852. In the midst of several missionary labors his arduous studies made him a thorough schoolman and theologian. His sermons were clear, logical, and convincing. He became coadjutor bishop to Archbishop Purcell in 1862, and in 1868 he was appointed first Bishop of Columbus. His labors were constant and untiring, his works resulted in increasing the churches and institutions of his diocese, and his personal virtues made him a model for the imitation of his clergy. His poverty was in keeping with his personal sacrifices for religion and charity. He was indifferent to fame and seldom left his diocese. After so many labors he devoted himself finally to the erection of the Cathedral of Columbus, and so great were his labors, anxieties, and fatigues, that in the midst of the dedication services, on October 20, 1878, he was prostrated and died in a few hours. Such was his voluntary poverty, and charity to the poor, that at his death two silver dollars constituted all his worldly wealth.

Though born in Philadelphia, in 1813, James Frederick Wood, who became the first archbishop of that diocese, spent the earlier part of his manhood at Cincinnati, where he served in responsible positions from check-clerk to cashier in one of the largest banks of that city. He was descended from a good English family of Gloucestershire. His family and himself were Protestants. The reasonings of his clear, methodical, and logical mind, aided by grace, led him to embrace the Catholic faith, and he was received into the Church by Archbishop Purcell on April 7, 1836. Re-

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signing his position in the bank, he gave himself to the holy priesthood, studied theology at the Roman Propaganda, where his fine executive abilities and religious character caused him to be appointed Prefect of Discipline. He was a thorough theologian and canonist, and was ordained by Cardinal Franzoni on March 25, 1844. He performed parochial missionary work at the Cincinnati Cathedral, from 1844 to 1857, with signal ability and zeal, and in the latter year was appointed Coadjutor Bishop of Philadelphia in consequence of the declining health of the saintly and learned Bishop Neumann, and, in 1860, he succeeded as fifth Bishop of Philadelphia. His labors now were exeeedingly great, for his diocese included all Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware and West New Jersey. He restored the depressed finances of the diocese to prosperity; he completed Philadelphia's magnificent Cathedral; he was a friend and companion of the orphans and of the poor; he erected the great Ecclesiastical Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo. It would be difficult to enumerate the institutions enlarged by him, or those which he founded or befriended for purposes of education and charity. His business training and experience were so beneficial to his diocese as to demonstrate the importance of suitable and adequate business training for the American clergy who have to manage such vast temporal interests. On February 15, 1875, Philadelphia became a Metropolitan See, with the dioceses of Pittsburgh, Erie, Harrisburg, and Scranton as suffragan sees, and Dr. Wood became first Archbishop of Philadelphia. His services in ecclesiastical councils, his attendance at the Vatican, his visits to Rome, and his priestly and dignified intercourse with the world gave the archdiocese of Philadelphia a prestige which has been gracefully maintained to our day. He died on June 20, 1883, universally respected and venerated. His conversion seemed like a tribute from the business world to the world of religious truth and conscience, and has borne its noble fruits. Such were his labors that while in 1857, when he came to Philadelphia, he found in Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware and West New Jersey one hundred and forty-seven churches, one hundred and fifty-five priests, four colleges, four literary institutions for girls, one theological seminary, one hospital, eight asylums, and thirty-three parochial schools, at the time of his death he left, in the greatly curtailed limits of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, one hundred and twenty-seven churches, with eight others building; fifty-three chapels and thirty-one stations; in all, two hundred and eighteen altars where divine services were celebrated; two hundred and sixty priests, of whom sixty-four belonged to religious orders; ninety-nine ecclesiastical students; fifty-one Christian Brothers; one thousand and twenty religious sisters; three ecclesiastical in-

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stitutions; three colleges; thirty-two thousand children attending parochial schools; six orphan asylums and other institutions; besides numerous confraternities, conferences, and devout and charitable societies.

Rev. Thomas S. Preston was descended from an old English family, settled in New England. His parents were Episcopalians, not Puritans, and he, after graduating at Trinity College, in 1843, became an Episcopal minister. Like Rev. Donald McLeod, he may be said to have been a disciple of Dr. Ives during his Protestant ministry, and was no doubt influenced by his example and by the writings of the Tractarians of Oxford. He entered the Catholic Church in 1846, studied for the priesthood at Troy, and was ordained a priest by Cardinal McCloskey, then Bishop of Albany, on November 16, 1850. After service at the cathedral and at Yonkers, he became secretary and chancellor under Archbishop McCloskey at New York. He was appointed pastor of St. Ann's in 1862; vicar-general in 1873 by Cardinal McCloskey; was made a domestic prelate to Pope Pius IX., with the title of Monsignor, on December 13, 1881; and Prothonotary Apostolic on August 21, 1888. His remarkable capacity for business and his attention thereto were shown in the success with which he discharged the duties of chancellor and vicar-general until his death, as well as administrator during the short absences of Archbishop Corrigan. He was a man of learning, ability, zeal, picty, and dignity, and was remarkable for his priestly carriage and deportment. He was the spiritual adviser of Mother Veronica Starr in founding the Sisters of the Divine Compassion. While ever preserving his courtly manners, he was humble, ascetic, and self-denying, and devoted much time, amid his labors, to writing spiritual books. He died on November 1, 1891, greatly and universally respected and beloved. In 1881 he received the degree of LL.D. from Seton Hall College, and that of D.D. from Georgetown College in 1889.

The Right Rev. Richard Gilmour was the only child of John and Marion Gilmour, who were strict Scotch Covenanters. He was born in Scotland on September 28, 1824. His parents settled in Pennsylvania, on coming to this conntry, near Latrobe, where their son, by his brightness and application, advanced beyond the curriculum of the village school. At the age of eighteen he was sent to Philadelphia to a higher academy, and, being a fine musisician, he took delight, during his vacations and between the services, in playing on the organ of the Church of St. Francis, at Fairmount, for his amusement. Thus he made the acquaintance of Rev. Patrick Rafferty, who gave him access to the organ, and he commenced finally to attend divine services there and to hear Catholic sermons. After the study and deliberation of two years,

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accompanied with prayer, he became a Catholic at the age of twenty and immediately offered himself for the priesthood. In September, 1846, he commenced his theological studies at Mt. St. Mary's College at Emmettsburg, Maryland, soon became prefect and professor of higher mathematics, and, on August 30, 1852, was ordained a priest at the Cincinnati Cathedral by Archbishop Purcell. Such was the ardor of his missionary labors that he was compelled to take rest from them by becoming a professor at Mt. St. Mary's of the West. He again went on the missions, until 1872, when he was appointed Bishop of Cleveland to succeed the saintly Bishop Rappe. He was a laborious Bishop and gave a fine organization to his diocese. He extended his vigilant labors to all parts of it, and was a fearless defender of justice and truth. He was a great patron of parochial schools, insisting on schools in all his parishes, prepared rules for their management and a series of readers which were adopted throughout the country. He did much to vindicate the memory and the administration of his good predecessor Bishop Rappe, and he erected a monument to his memory. He established the "Catholic Universe" for the vindication of Catholic truth. A sun-stroke prostrated his powerful frame, which was already weakened by labor and anxiety. He went to Florida in 1891 and was the guest of Bishop Moore of St. Augustine, where he improved a little, but soon grew worse, and died on April 13th, of that year.

Right Rev. Edgar Philip Wadhams was born in Lewis, Essex County, New York; his parents had him educated for the ministry of the Episcopalian Church. He studied at the Middlebury College, in Vermont, and graduated at the Episcopal Theological Seminary at New York, and received a Deacon's orders. Religion was his earnest study and his sincere search for truth led him into the Catholic Church, into which he was received by Rev. Peter Fredet, at St. Mary's Sulpician Seminary, Baltimore. He studied the sacred course of studies at St. Mary's Seminary, and, on January 15, 1850, he was ordained a Catholic priest in St. Mary's Pro-Cathedral at Albany by Bishop, afterward Cardinal McCloskey. He served zealously as an assistant priest at the Albany Cathedral, until 1865, then as pastor of the Cathedral and was appointed Vicar General of the Albany diocese. In 1872, the new diocese of Ogdensburg was erected, and Father Wadhams was appointed its first Bishop. He was a most zealous and self-sacrificing prelate, built many churches and schools, and, though he incurred heavy pecuniary responsibilities, time and his own great efforts enabled him to pay them. He introduced the Clerks of St. Viateur and placed them in charge of schools at Ogdensburg. He founded other schools at Croghan and Mohawk Hill and placed over

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them the Franciscan Sisters; at Watertown he established a boy's college and confided it to the Fathers of the Sacred Heart, and he founded other schools and did much for the advancement of his clergy in sacred learning and piety. His zealous labors greatly increased churches, educational institutions and works of charity. He died November 11, 1891; his death was most edifying, and showed the true Christian and priestly character.

Born of Protestant parents at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on December 22, 1832, Dr. Thomas A. Becker, the present learned Bishop of Savannah, Georgia, received a fine education at Alleghany Institute, Western University and the University of Virginia. At Richmond he met the late Bishop McGill, whose powerful mind and close logical reasoning found a ready response and a thorough conviction in his disciple's well trained intellect. Divine grace did the rest. Dr. Becker not only embraced the grace of truth, but he dedicated his life to its propagation, entered the the Urban College of the Roman Propaganda, in 1852, where he took the degree of Doctor of Theology and was ordained at the Basilica of St. John Lateran, on June 18, 1859, by Cardinal Patrizi. As a priest he rendered valuable services on the mission in the Richmond Diocese, and at Baltimore, and as a professor in educational institutions, including Mt. St. Mary's College. While at the Baltimore Cathedral, by reason of his ecclesiastical learning he was selected by Archbishop Spaulding one of the commission to prepare the matters which were to be brought before the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore. He was afterwards serving at the Richmond Cathedral, when he was appointed first Bishop of Wilmington, Delaware. He organized his new Diocese, greatly increased its priests, churches, schools, and benevolent works, and made his zealous influences beneficially felt in all its parishes. He was a man of signal learning and scientific attainments. He contributed many valuable articles to Catholic literature, and especially the pages of this REVIEW. In the Third Plenary Council he was chosen to preach the sermon on the "The Church and Science." On March 26, 1866, he was appointed Bishop of Savannah to succeed Archbishop Gross, and in this field he has labored with zeal, courage and success. He has made many converts.

The Right Rev. Alfred A. Curtis, who succeeded Bishop Becker in the See of Wilmington, is a native of Maryland; born about 1833, he received a thorough education far beyond the usual curriculum of Protestant ministers, was also a fine Hebrew scholar, and was ordained in the Episcopal ministry, in 1859. His logical and devout mind worked its way through Ritualism to Catholic truth; he resigned the rectorship of Mt. Calvary Church towards

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the close of 1870, went to England, where he had frequent conferences with Cardinal Newman on religion, and was received by him into the Church in April, 1871. Returning to Baltimore, he entered St. Mary's Seminary to study for the Catholic priesthood, and was ordained by another eminent convert, Archbishop Bayley, in December, 1874. His services in the pulpit, on the missions, and in society were valuable, for he is a fine theologian, scripturist, versed in Patristic learning, a zealous churchman, a devout Christian and accomplished gentleman. While serving as secretary and assistant at the Baltimore Cathedral under Cardinal Gibbons, he was appointed Bishop of Wilmington. He is destined to render great services to religion, to prepare the Protestant mind to accept the truths of Catholic teaching, and to be eminently useful in the Hierarchy and the Church.

I will now relate a conversion of extraordinary individuality, because of the peculiar elevation of character of the convert, the early period of life when his struggles for truth and goodness commenced, the peculiar course of study through which he passed, and the far-reaching consequences to which his conversion led. Isaac Thomas Hecker, born on December 18, 1819, commenced his remarkable career in poverty and manual labor, as a baker; he closed it gloriously as the venerated founder of an American Order or Congregation of Missionary Priests, the Paulists, so named from that illustrious convert and apostle of the Gentiles, St. Paul. Young Hecker, from his boyhood, seemed to aspire to as yet to him an unknown good; to seek an undiscovered type of benevolence and social improvement; to yearn for something better, more spiritual, and yet more humane. He possessed a great ideal; he struggled for the reality. Socialism was the only means he could then conceive of for this work; transcendentalism was his fountain of theories. While laboring manually and thereby supporting himself as a boy, he seized every spare moment for study, when, too, he saw no examples of study around him. When still young he joined his two brothers, John and George, both of whom were men of large benevolence, in the flour business—there was to Isaac a symbol of life in bread—but just as success was beginning to crown their honest efforts, Isaac took up the study of philosophy, with Kant as his text-book, mingling with it the study of metaphysics and theology. He abandoned all mercantile pursuits, and in 1843, when twenty-four years old, he entered the community of Brook Farm, which was a temporary sojourn and experiment of many eminent Americans in search of a higher good; and here his heart found contentment and peace temporarily in baking the bread for the community to eat. After nine months, failing to find his ideal, he left Brook

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Farm in company with the celebrated transcendentalist, Henry D. Thoreau, who was much his elder. The two philosophers endeavored to discover by personal experience the least that human life could be sustained on. They reduced the sufficient consumption of food to the value of nine cents per day per man. He next taught his complete system of truth, spirituality, and social good in the Worcester "Consociates." He then yielded to the earnest entreaties of his good brothers in again joining them in business, but upon the express condition that they should all three possess all things in common, keep no separate purses, and should own no separate properties; and Isaac alone was to handle and manage the men employed by the firm. His purpose in this was soon manifest in his providing a library for the laborers, equipping a hall for their amusements, and he delighted to lecture for them. He could endure this life but a year, when, abandoning business, another form of socialism engaged his sympathies and studies—that of the celebrated Fourier; but his mind soon penetrated its impracticability when applied to real life and society. Many of us can recall the crusade made by the Presbyterian minister, William Craig Brownlee, about 1844, against Catholics and Quakers, whom he equally hated. So far from influencing young Hecker against Catholics, of whose tenets he then knew but little, he thought if Catholics were justly assailable, some other means than vituperation would rationally be resorted to; and he commenced to study revealed religion as witnessed and taught by the Catholic Church. He continued these studies while on a visit to his transcendentalist friend, Thoreau, in Massachusetts; and the next year, while there, he became a convert to the Catholic Church. He had now found what his soul and intellect had sought—a clear and logical perception of religious truth and a boundless field for humanity, philanthropy, charity, and good of every kind. But how was he to serve his fellow-men? "In the Catholic priesthood," was his own answer, and in the Missionary Congregation of the Redemptorists, laboring for souls. He joined the Redemptorists, spent his novitiate at Saint Trond, in Belgium, studied Catholic theology with St. Ligouri's works always before him, and in 1849 he was ordained a Redemptorist priest in London by Cardinal Wiseman. Returning to the United States, he devoted seven years to missionary work, holding missions and preaching in all parts of the country. High as this exalted labor was, Father Hecker had not yet attained his highest ideal, and this was found by him at Rome in his own plan—then and there sanctioned by Pope Pius IX., and afterwards executed—of the Congregation of Missionary Priests of St. Paul the Apostle. While the labors of the Redemptorists were chiefly among the

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German Catholics, the field selected by the Paulists was among the English-speaking Catholics of America, and to reach the honest Protestant American mind. In his exalted purpose Father Hecker was joined by four other American converts, Redemptorists—Fathers Hewit, Deshon, Baker, and Walworth —and all five were dispensed by the Pope from their vows as Redemptorists. Father Hecker was the superior of the Paulists, by their choice, from their organization in 1858 to his death in 1888. The history of his life now becomes the history of the Paulist Community, and this is a great and fascinating work in itself; it has been gracefully and gratefully written by one of the companions of Father Hecker, Father Walter Elliot. Among the fruits of his sublime life and of the Paulists may be mentioned an easier access between the Protestant American mind and the Catholic Church, numerous conversions, the establishment of the Catholic Publication Society and the monthly *Catholic World*, the founding of the Convent and Congregation of St. Paul, several published volumes of Paulist sermons, and several works of great ability on religious and spiritual subjects. Father Hecker relied greatly, in his conceptions and plans, upon the printing press, and he told me that he aspired to the development of a religious order of priests, sisters, and brothers who, among themselves, would do the whole work of writing for the truth, setting the type, and publication, thus consecrating priests, nuns and brothers, the pen, the hand, and the press, to the service of God.

Miss Eliza Allen Starr was born in Deerfield, Massachusetts, August 29, 1824, and is a cousin of Fanny Allen, whose conversion is mentioned herein. Educated at Deerfield, she became a Catholic at Philadelphia in 1850. From the time of her conversion she has devoted herself to the study of Christian art, and by her lectures, writings, and classes has greatly diffused in many cities a love for and study of religious and devotional art. She removed to Chicago in 1856. She is noted for her strong Catholic faith and generosity, and has made many converts among educated people; possesses learning, eloquence, and heroic zeal. She received the Lætare Medal from the University of Notre Dame, in recognition of her services to religion and to art and of her beautiful writings. In behalf of the Cardinal, and many Archbishops, Bishops, priests, and eminent laymen, the present writer presented to her at Easter, 1893, a magnificent testimonial, beautifully embossed and illuminated, handsomely painted, and now hanging in St. Joseph's Cottage, her residence at Chicago. Type of Christian womanhood, she is a leading spirit among American converts.

While the conversion of Father Hecker pre-eminently illustrates

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the aspirations of a noble soul, that of Dr. Orestes Augustus Brownson pre-eminently manifests the aspirations of a noble intellect; and yet Father Hecker had a noble intellect, and Dr. Brownson had a noble soul. Dr. Brownson started life as a Puritan in faith of the strictest school. Though fond of reading, the first regular academic education he received was acquired with his own frugal savings at Ballston, Saratoga County. Born in Vermont in 1803, he joined the Presbyterians in 1822, and in his search always for the highest and the best, became a minister of that sect till 1825, when, following what seemed logical courses of reasoning, he reached Universalism, and became a minister and preacher of it, and edited the *Gospel Advocate*. In 1828 he made the acquaintance of Robert Owen, the celebrated social philosopher and friend of labor, and then Dr. Brownson, seeking always a higher good, became an Owenite, or, as he styled it, a "World Reformer"; it was in some sense the religion of humanity. Dr. Brownson developed the intellectuality of this sect, following Cousin, St. Simon and other socialist writers. He aided in forming the Workingmen's Party in New York in 1838, but soon saw its impracticability. The celebrated Dr. Channing in 1832 won this earnest and deep searcher after the true and the good to Unitarianism, and herein, too, he became a minister and preacher, and this led logically, according to the doctor's premises, to his organizing in 1836 the Boston Society for Christian Union and Progress. In his work entitled, "The Convert," he does not hesitate to call some of his views "horrible doctrines." But they only seemed to him such in the retrospect from a more perfect state. His efforts to serve society and elevate the masses led to his becoming a political leader; of course he had to become a Democrat, but he was too upright and philosophical to obey any political machine. In 1836 he published his "New Views of Christian Society and the Church," which was strongly anti-Protestant. In 1838 he published and edited the *Boston Quarterly Review*, which was afterwards merged in the New York *Democratic Review*. In 1840 he published "Charles Elwood, or the Infidel Converted," a philosophical treatise embodying his own experiences, which showed how his robust mind had saved him from atheism. During all these years Dr. Brownson's intellectual activity and the productions of his pen were marvelous. It was evident that his great intellect was ever in search of some certain and infallible standard of truth; a Church was necessary as a witness of the truth to man. He saw that man could not create the Church, but, on the contrary, man must seek and recognize the Church as the channel of truth. This course of reasoning led him to embrace the Catholic faith in 1844. He then refused to allow a second edition of

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"Charles Elwood"; his *Review* now was called *Brownson's Quarterly Review.* It was his own personal organ. He said the simple catechism was his text-book, and it is a remarkable fact that this great and ever-active intellect, after almost forty years of study, teaching and writing, dated his real intellectual and moral life from the day of his conversion to the Catholic faith. His writings were numerous and powerful. Admitted once into the realms of truth, his defence of it was masterly, convincing, overpowering, unanswerable. He had many controversies; he made many converts; his voluminous writings underwent a critical and authoritative examination at Rome, and were pronounced sound. His convictions and perceptions of truth were so luminous that he could brook no opposition in its advocacy, and his impetuous nature led him to use too vigorous or even unsparing language. His faith was accompanied by tender piety. He died in 1876 at Detroit, a devout Catholic and child of the Church, to which he bequeathed the rich inheritance of his invaluable writings.

One year after the conversion of Dr. Brownson, in 1844, he was followed into the Church by James A. McMaster, in 1845. With great precocity of intellect and a fine classical education, with an ardent nature and a fearless courage, Mr. McMaster was a man evidently destined for an active, aggressive and useful career in the economies of Providence. His Puritanic training gave a stern and militant cast to his Catholic life. He was a fine scholar, and possessed an analytical and logical mind. His first change was from Calvinism to Episcopalianism, but he was too consistent a reasoner and searcher after truth to stop there; he soon found himself in the Catholic Church. The chief lesson of his life is that of submission to the will of God in determining and embracing the sphere of greatest usefulness. To ascertain this he entered the novitiate of the Redemptorists in Belgium for meditation and study; and though he aspired to the priesthood, he surrendered his will to the advice of his confessor, who told him his vocation was that of journalism. Had he gone into secular journalism, his reputation and fortune would have been great; but it was true heroism to have selected, as he did, the field of Catholic journalism, which was needy, unrequiting and stormy. But he entered it in order to defend the truth which he had espoused. As editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, from 1848 till his death in 1886, he became a champion of Catholic truth against her enemies, and the defender of Catholic discipline, morality and tradition against all opponents within and without. By his energy, fire, learning and piety, he made the *Journal* the leading Catholic paper of America. Its editorials were as much feared by unworthy or improvident Catholics as by the open enemies of the Church. Such was the

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Catholic tone of his household that he freely sacrificed every social consolation in freely giving all of his three daughters to the religious and conventual vocations. He pointed out the way for the Catholic laity to serve religion in the journalistic and literary career, and he gave them the example.

The conversion of Dr. Levi Silliman Ives is particularly interesting, as he was the only Protestant Bishop since the Reformation that has become reconciled to the Catholic Church. Born on September 16, 1797, at Meriden, Connecticut, and reared in the Presbyterian faith, at the age of twenty he "experienced religion," and became a professing member of that communion. He received a good education, served a year as lieutenant in the War of 1812. In 1819, when twenty-two, being a man of religious aspirations, he abandoned the untenable position of Presbyterianism, and embraced Episcopalianism, which seemed to him nearer the truth. He studied for the ministry at Philadelphia, was ordained a deacon by Bishop White, and in the same year was married to Rebecca, the daughter of Bishop Hobart, of New York. Having filled various positions as assistant minister or as minister, in 1831 he was consecrated the Episcopal Bishop of North Carolina. He was a man of strong and tender feelings; he and his flock were devotedly attached to each other. The light of Christian antiquity began to dawn upon his mind, and like the Puseyites and Tractarians of England, and the Ritualists of our country, he thought the ancient faith and ritual could be restored in the Episcopal Church. The trials through which Dr. Ives passed would be incredible had he not so graphically related them himself. The struggle between divine light and grace on the one hand, and the convictions, associations and tender ties of an earnest and sincere life on the other, gave an appearance of vacillation to his later career; but when all these were overcome, he went straight to Rome. On Christmas day, 1852, he made his profession of Catholic faith to Pope Pius IX., and laid his episcopal ring at the Sovereign Pontiff's feet. During the heartrending trials through which Dr. Ives had passed, his devoted wife tenderly clung to him and consoled him, and at Rome she, too, became a Catholic. Rev. Donald McLeod, the friend and disciple of Dr. Ives (two pure souls that commenced together in the graces of the natural order, and confessing to each other, like David and Jonathan, in their spiritual intercourse), soon followed his example. In a temporal, social and civil aspect it is heroic to contemplate the sacrifices made by this exalted man. But he was marked out by Providence for a high vocation. Having returned to New York, and while lecturing in Catholic academies and schools in his characteristically clear and cultivated style, and with his acknowledged

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learning and eloquence, God manifested to him his great missionary work, and he bravely embraced it. Under this inspiration he became the founder and first president of the New York Catholic Protectory, an institution which has since its foundation sheltered and educated nearly thirty thousand Catholic children rescued from the streets of New York. In his last years he suffered much and patiently, awaiting his great reward. These years were spent in the family and household of the present writer, to whom he imparted his hopes and prayers, and the traditions of the Protectory, and to whom he truly predicted his succession in time to his own office and labors of the Protectory. As atoms we come and go in this fleeting world; but there is an eternal, spiritual world where the souls are beautiful forever. It is only for recording angels to know and write the number of young souls that may be beautified in heaven for eternity through the institution which Dr. Ives founded on earth.

It would be improper to conclude this paper without a particular reference also to the remarkable conversion of Rev. James Kent Stone; for it was through him that a generous and prompt response was made, as we hope in behalf of millions yet to follow from the ranks of Protestants, to the call for Christian unity which Pope Pius IX. addressed to all Protestants as Christians "acknowledging the same Jesus Christ as the Redeemer, and glorying in the name of Christian." Born in Boston in 1840; graduated at Harvard in 1861; a student at Göttingen University, and a soldier in the Union army in our Civil War, from which he returned with honorable wounds; he entered, in 1863, upon that educational career for which his brilliant training and rare gifts of nature and of grace so well qualified him. Professor in several chairs and president in the Protestant College of Kenyon, Ohio, from 1863 to 1868, and then president of Hobart College, New Jersey, in 1868. It was in 1869 that Pope Pius IX. convened the Œcumenical Council of the Vatican, and addressed the invitation, *Ad Omnes Protestantes Aliosque Acatholicos.* There was not a member of the Protestant ministry in this country whose certain and assured future was more brilliant. Dr. Stone states that he had through life prayed for light to see the truth, and conscientiously believed that he had found it in the Episcopal Church. He perused the invitation in the Letter Apostolic of Pius IX., as most Protestants did, with an almost contemptuous indifference, but he read it. It was certainly remarkable; while still unconscious of any change in his religious or theological beliefs or opinions, the light flashed upon him, and revealed only his former darkness, where he thought he saw light; but as he says, "My feet soon rested forever on the eternal rock." He heeded the invitation; he was re-

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ceived into the one fold. But he sought more than this; he must seek to carry the light to others, and for this end he became a priest; joined the Congregation of the Missionary Priests of St. Paul the Apostle, and his announcement of the Word of God was most effectual. Yearning for a yet more ascetic life, he next became a Passionist, or member of the Congregation of the Discalced Clerks of the Most Holy Cross and Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ;" received the monastic name of Father Fidelis. There is a similarity between the Passionists and Paulists: while the founder of the former, St. Paul of the Cross, aspired to the conversion of England, the latter, following also the example of St. Paul, in seeking the conversion of the Gentiles, aspired to the conversion of America. The Passionists in America have sought their field here instead of England, both Congregations laboring in similar but different fields. Since he became a Passionist, Father Fidelis has extended the apostolate both to North and South America with abundant fruits.

Our converts have not only zealously preached the Gospel amongst us by eloquent word and edifying example, but they have also left to the American Church for all time an enduring legacy of sacred literature. While our serial publications contain articles almost every month entitled "Why I became a Catholic," many of our converts have published religious works of invaluable worth. Many have contributed to our general literature.

Father Thayer has left for the study of coming generations such works as "Controversy between Rev. John Thayer, Catholic Missionary of Boston and Rev. George Leslie, pastor of a church in Washington, N. H. (Boston, 1703); "An account of the conversion of Rev. Mr. John Thayer, lately a Protestant minister at Boston, in North America, who embraced the Roman Catholic religion at Rome, on the 25th of May, 1783, written by himself," (Baltimore 1788). This work went through many editions and was translated and published in French, Spanish and Italian.

Stephen Cleveland Blyth, who studied many religions, even mastering Mohammedanism, published at New York, in 1815, his masterly "Apology for the conversion of Stephen Cleveland Blyth." Rev. Daniel Barber wrote "Catholic Worship and Piety, Explained and Recommended in Sundry Letters to a Very Dear Friend and Others" (Washington, 1821) and "History of My own Times" (Washington, 1827). Rev. Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin published "Defence of Catholic Principles in a Letter to a Protestant Clergyman (1816); "Letter to a Protestant Friend on the Holy Scriptures (Ebensburg, 1820); "Appeal to the Protestant Public"; "Six Letters of Advice" (1834). Archbishop Bayley wrote "Sketch of the History of the Catholic

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Church on the Island of New York" (New York, 1853, revised in 1869;; "Memoirs of Simon Gabriel Bruté, first Bishop of Vincennes" (1860); and "Pastorals for the People." Dr. Brownson's works are numerous; those prior to his conversion were "New Views of Christian Society and the Church" (Boston, 1836); "Charles Elwood, or the Infidel Converted," 1840, and he edited or wrote for the "Gospel Advocate," the "Philanthropist," the "Christian Examiner," the "Boston Quarterly Review," and "Democratic Review." After his conversion he published "Essays and Reviews" (New York, 1852); "The Spirit Rapper, an Autobiography" (Boston, 1854); "The Convert, or Leaves from My Experience" (New York, 1858); "The American Republic, its Christian Tendencies and Destiny" (1865): "Conversation on Liberalism and the Church" (1870); but the great bulk of his learned and valuable writings are to be found in "Brownson's Quarterly Review." Late in life he contributed articles to the *Catholic World*, and *Tablet*. Many of his works have been translated into European languages. His works have been collected and published by his son, Henry F. Brownson, at Detroit, in nineteen volumes.

Father Hecker's works, in addition to numerous valuable and characteristic papers chiefly published in the *Catholic World*, are "Questions of the Soul" (New York, 1855); "Aspirations of Nature" (1857); "Catholicity in the United States" (1870); "Catholics and Protestants agreeing on the School Question" (1881). Dr. Ives's works, while a Protestant were, a "Catechism," a "Manual of Devotion," "Humility a Ministerial Qualification" (1840); "Sermons on the Obedience of Faith" (1849); and while a Catholic "The Trials of a Mind in its Progress to Catholicism; a "Letter to His Old Friends" (Boston, 1853). The Rev. Mr. J. J. Maximillian Oertel published "The Reasons of J. J. M. Oertel, late a Lutheran Minister, for becoming a Catholic" (New York, 1840). The only work of Hon. Peter H Burnett, "The Path which led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church" (New York, 1860), is remarkably valuable and interesting, because of its peculiar feature of handling the question upon legal methods and evidence. The writings of Rt. Rev. Thomas S. Preston were "Ark of the Covenant, or Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary" (New York, 1860); "Life of St. Mary Magdalen" (1860); "Sermons for the principal Seasons of the Sacred Year" (1864); "Life of St. Vincent de Paul and its Lessons" (1866); "Lectures on Christian Unity, Advent" (1866): "The Purgatorian Manual, or Selections of Prayers and Devotions" (1867); "Lectures on Reason and Revelation" (1868); "The Vicar of Christ" (1871); "The Divine Sanctuary; series of "Meditations upon the Most

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Sacred Heart of Jesus" (1878); "Divine Paraclete" (1880); "Protestantism and the Bible" (1880); "God and Reason" (1884); "Watch on Calvary" (1885).

Rev. Alfred Young, besides many Catholic magazine articles, has published "The Complete Sodality Hymn Book" (New York, (1863); "Catholic Hymns and Canticles" (1888); "The Office of Vespers" (1869); "The Catholic Hymnal" (1884); and "Carols for a Merry Christmas and Joyous Easter" (1885–6). Rev. James Kent Stone (Father Fidelis) wrote "The Invitation Heeded" (New York, 1872).

Mrs. Anna Hanson Dorsey wrote "May Brooks," which, when republished in Scotland, was the first Catholic Book published in that country since the Reformation; "The Student of Blenhein Forest" (Baltimore, 1847); "Flowers of Love and Memory" (Poems, 1849); "Oriental Pearl" (1857); "Woodreve Manor" (Phila., 1856); "Coaina, the Rose of the Algonquins" (1868); "Nora Brady's Vow" (Boston, 1869); "Mona, the Vestal" (1869); "The Flemings, or Truth Triumphant" (New York, 1869); "The Old Gray Rosary" (1870); "Guy the Leper," an epic poem (Baltimore, 1850); "Tangled Paths" (1879); "The Old Home at Glenara" (Balto., 1886); "Warp and Woof" (1887); "Palms" (1887).

Rev. Augustine F. Hewit, C. S. P., editor of the *Catholic World*, for which he wrote much, has published: "Reasons for Submitting to the Catholic Church" (Charleston, 1846); "Life of Princess Borghese" (New York, 1856); "Life of Durnenlin-Borie," an Annamite Missionary (1857); "The Little Angel of the Copts"; "Life of Rev. Francis A. Baker" (1865); "Problems of the Age, with Studies in St. Augustine and on Kindred Subjects" (1868); "Light in Darkness, a Treatise on the Obscure Night of the Soul" (1870); "The King's Highway, or the Catholic Church the Way of Salvation, as Revealed in Holy Scriptures" (1874).

Mrs. Madeleine Vinton Dahlgren, widow of Admiral Dahlgren, wrote: "Idealities" (Philadelphia, 1859); "Thoughts on Female Suffrage" (Washington, 1871); "South Sea Sketches" (Boston, 1881); "Etiquette of Social Life in Washington" (Philadelphia, 1881); "South Mountain Magic" (1882); "A Washington Winter" and "Memoirs of John A. Dahlgren" (1882); "Lights and Shadows of Life" (Boston, 1886); and translated several important works, including Donoso Cortes' "Catholicism, Liberalism and Socialism," for which she received the thanks of Pope Pius IX.

Rev. Donald McLeod was editor of the *St. Louis Leader*, and published: "Pynnshurst; His Wanderings and Ways of Think-

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ing" (New York, 1852); "Life of Sir Walter Scott" (1852); "Life of Mary, Queen of Scots" (1857); "The Elder's House, Three Converts"; "Chateau Lescure, or the Late Marquis"; "Life of Fernando Wood, Mayor of New York" (New York, 1856); "The Saga of Viking Torquil," and "The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary." Eliza Allen Starr, besides many valuable articles on religion and art, wrote: "Patron Saints" (New York, 1871); "Pilgrims and Shrines" "Songs of a Lifetime" (Chicago, 1887). Bishop Gilmour compiled "School Recreations," a collection of hymns, etc. Frances C. Fisher, whose *nom de plume* is Christian Reid, wrote "Valerie Aylmer" (N. Y. 1870); "Morton House" (1871); "Mabel Lee" (1871); "Ebb Tide" (1872); "Nina's Atonement" (1873); "A Daughter of Bohemia" (1873); "Carmen's Inheritance" (Phil. 1873); "A Gentle Belle" (N. Y. 1875); "Hearts and Hands" (1875); "A Question of Honor" (1875); "Land of the Sky" (1875); "Bonny Kate" (1878); "A Summer Idyl" (1878); "Hearts of Steel" (1882); "After Many Days" (1877); "Armine" (1884); "Roslyn's Fortune" (1885); and "Miss Churchill" (1887).

Rev. George Mary Searle wrote on astronomical subjects for the *Catholic World* and *Astronomical Journal*, and was the author of "Elements of Geometry" (N. Y. 1877). Mary Agnes Tinker, a native of New England, was a frequent contributor to the *Catholic World*, and was the author of "The House of York," "Grapes and Thorns," and other works. Dr. Brownson said: "She has won a high place, if not, indeed, the very highest, place among our American female Catholic writers of fiction." "She has the eye of a poet for natural scenery, and her pictures of nature are fresh, original, and truthful." Charles Warren Stoddard was the correspondent of the San Francisco *Chronicle*, and published his "Poems" (San Francisco, 1867); "South Sea Idyls" (Boston, 1873); "Mashallah, or Flight into Egypt" (N. Y. 1881); and "The Lepers of Molokai" (Notre Dame, 1885).

Laura Keene published a weekly art journal in New York and constructed sacred plays. Dr. Jedediah Vincent Huntington edited at different times the *Metropolitan Magazine*, in Baltimore, and the St. Louis *Leader*, and published his "Poems" (N. Y. 1843); "Lady Alice, or the New Una" (N. Y. and London, 1849); "Alban, or the History of a Young Puritan" (1850–53); "The Pretty Plate" (1852); "The Forest," a sequel (1853); "America Discovered" (1853); "Blonde and Brunette" (1858); "Rosemary" (1860); he also translated Franchere's "Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in 1811–14" (1854) and Segur's "Short and Familiar Answers to Objections against Religion" (1854). Rev. Clarence A. Walworth's works

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are "The Gentle Skeptic" (N. Y. 1860); "The Doctrine of Hell Ventilated in a Discussion between Rev. C. A. Walworth and William H. Burr, Esq," (1874); "Andiatarocte, or the Eve of Lady Day on Lake George, and other Poems, Hymns, and Meditations in Verse" (1886). Right Rev. Sylvester H. Rosecrans wrote the "Divinity of Christ." Rev. George F. Haskins was the author of "Travels in England, France, Italy, and Ireland."

Octavia Walton Le Vert, of Alabama, published her "Souvenirs of Travel" (Mobile, 1858), and wrote "Souvenirs of Distinguished People" and "Souvenirs of the War," which were never published. Miss Hemenway, annalist, published the "Historical Annals of Vermont." Elizabeth Fries Ellet published her translation of Silvio Pellico's "Euphemia of Messina" (1834); "Theresa Contarini," a tragedy (1835); "Poems, Original and Selected" (1835); "Scenes in the Life of Joanna of Sicily" (1840); "Characters of Schiller" (1842); "Evenings at Woodlawn" (1850); "Family Pictures from the Bible" (1849); "Domestic History of the American Revolution" (1850); "Watching Spirits" (1851); "Women of the American Revolution" (1851); "Pioneer Women of the West" (1852); "Novelettes of the Musicians" (1852); "Summer Rambles in the West" (1852); "The Practical Housekeeper, a Cyclopedia of Domestic Economy" (1857); "Women Artists in all Ages and Countries" (1861); "Queens of American Society" (1867); "Court Circles of the Republic" (together with Mrs. R. E. Mack) (Hartford, 1869). George Parsons Lathrop, besides having been connected editorially with the *Atlantic Monthly* and the Boston *Courier*, wrote "Rose and Rooftree," poems (Boston, 1875); "Study of Hawthorne" (1876); "Afterglow" (1876); in 1877, edited and contributed to "A Masque of Poets," and in 1883 edited an edition of Nathaniel Hawthorne's Works, with a Biography and Introduction; his other works are "An Echo of Passion" (Boston, 1883); "In the Distance" (1882); "Spanish Vistas" (N. Y. 1883); "History of the Union League of Philadelphia" (Phil. 1883); "Newport" (N. Y. 1884); "True" (1884); and he wrote a dramatic adaptation of Alfred Tennyson's "Elaine" (1887). He has lately collected and published his "Poems" in one volume. Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, wife of George Parsons Lathrop, has contributed poems and prose articles to the serial literature of the country, which we would like to see collected and published in a separate volume. Both, since their conversion, have contributed articles to our Catholic literature and magazines, and have taken an active part in Catholic movements.

In mentioning that our converts have almost wholly come to

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us from other Christian societies, and not from heathen or unbelieving schools, I had no reference to conversions among our North American Indians, of whom there are now about two hundred and fifty thousand surviving, and of these about one-half are Catholics. My theme has relation chiefly to our own Caucasian race and civilization—to the growth of the Apostolic Church in a Christian republic which has not directly recognized her divine mission, and in which Church and State are separate.

But there is one convert of special historical interest, of fame as bright as the summer sun, of faith as strong and pure as gold, of angelic soul, and of virtue supernatural, whom I must briefly mention—the celebrated Indian maiden, the flower of the Five Nations, the lily of the valley of the Mohawk, Catharine Togakouita. Born in paganism, in 1656, at Gandahouagué, of an Iroquois father and a Huron mother, she inherited the natural virtues of two heroic tribes; but she lost both parents when a child. While yet without the fold she dedicated her life to perpetual virginity, and, as a child, of her own motion, she sought the faith and received it from the Jesuit Fathers among the Iroquois; thenceforth she advanced in sanctity, feasting spiritually upon the sacraments and breathing constantly the air of the temple and the sanctuary. From association with savage heathens she sought Christian and more congenial homes and shrines. She won the universal title of "la bonne Catharine," even among the heathens. She finally fled from Ossernénan—where the martyred Father Joques had suffered before her, and she then suffered—to Sault St. Marie, to breathe the air of Catholic faith and piety; and well did the black gown of the Mohawk write to him of the Sault, "You will soon know the treasure we are giving you. Keep it well, therefore." Even in her short life, Jesuit and Indian alike venerated her as a saint. In 1678, when she died at the age of twenty-two, her countenance assumed in death an angelic beauty, the rose and the lily uniting to make her beautiful; and the dusky sons of the forest, her own people, came from far and near, uniting with venerable priests and nuns in gazing untiringly at her angelic form. In Canada and America her name is venerated as a saint. At the shrine of Our Lady of the Martyrs, in our own valley of the Mohawk, her name is invoked with those of our martyrs, Father Joques and René Goupil. At Rome, on the conciliar petition of our hierarchy, followed by that of our Catholic people, the process is moving to her solemn beatification.

RICHARD H. CLARKE.

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HAWAII AND ITS MISSIONARIES.

THE recent revolution in the Hawaiian Islands has brought its people and their civilization prominently before the notice of this country. The political features of that revolution or of the annexation of the islands to the United States we do not propose to discuss here. The history of the little Polynesian kingdom, which for half a century has been recognized by the world as an independent State, is in itself a most interesting study. To trace the progress of the different branches of the human race from barbarism to civilization is, indeed, the most useful task of history, as it is also one of the hardest. That such a progress has been made by a large number of nations during the past, while others have remained stationary in their condition, is a fact which cannot be questioned. Confining ourselves to written history, we know from Tacitus and Cæsar that the Germans and Britons of the first century of our era were in almost the same social conditions as the Iroquois and Hurons of our own land, as described by the historian of New France, Charlevoix, two centuries ago. The whole of Europe east and north of the Rhine and Danube was in a similar state of barbarous independence, while the Roman empire possessed a social condition differing but little from what is now recognized as civilization.

The various steps by which the skin-clad tribes of Northern warriors developed into the nations of modern Europe and their great colonies on this Continent, occupy the history of centuries, and those often centuries of turmoil and war in which little record was kept of social changes or the growth of institutions. The German barbarians of Tacitus have grown into the German empire, and the pirates of the North into the Scandinavian kingdoms and the British empire, but historians still dispute as to the influences which wrought these mighty social changes. On the other hand, the native population of our own country, though possessing equal physical vigor and rude courage with the old Vikings, has almost melted out of existence in two centuries at the contact of European civilization. Whence this difference in the fate of different races under apparently similar circumstances? Civilization, as we know it to-day, and as it has existed practically for at least twenty-five centuries, is a boon of the highest value to some races, whilst to others it seems a deadly poison. The recent history of the Polynesian race gives singular facilities for the study

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of this remarkable fact, and it is mainly for this object that we purpose to sketch the history of Hawaii.

Though it is more than three hundred and fifty years since the ships of Spain first crossed the Pacific Ocean, it is only during the present century that its islands and their inhabitants have been brought into any real contact with Europeans. The small extent of most of the former and the absence of metals, offered little inducement either for colonization or conquest, especially while the American Continent was practically unoccupied. During the last century the exploring expeditions of Cook and La Perouse visited the principal groups of islands. Everywhere the natives were found unacquainted with Europeans or any foreign civilization. Even the use of iron was unknown, and except hogs and dogs in some islands, there were no domestic animals or even quadrupeds of any kind. The population of all the islands, from New Zealand to Hawaii, was of the same race, and similar in manners and religious beliefs. This race is sometimes known as the Maori, at others as the Polynesian, and forms as marked a division of mankind as the red men of our own Continent. In some of the southern groups, as Fiji, another stock more allied to the negro race is established, but there has been apparently little mixture between them and the Maori tribes. The latter are believed to have come originally by sea from the islands near Sumatra, whence they spread to Madagascar west and to Easter Islands eastward. The Malays of Java, Borneo and the Moluccas may have been originally the same race as the Polynesians, or they may have been colonists from Asia, whose arrival drove the Maoris to seek new homes. In any case, they have been for centuries a distinct race, and further advanced in material civilization. The natives of the Philippines are probably related to both races, but they have been Christians for over two centuries, and do not enter specially into the subject of this sketch.

When visited by Cook and La Perouse, a little over a century ago, the condition of the Hawaiian islanders was much the same as that of all the rest of their race. Physically they were among the finest specimens of the human family, and in intelligence and courage they were above the average of uncivilized peoples. They possessed a definite system of hereditary government, an aristocracy of chiefs, an organized priesthood, with stone temples and a certain code of laws and ideas of right and wrong. In spite of the want of iron, they were able to build canoes of sufficient size for long voyages. Though unacquainted with writing, they preserved their history in poetry like the Druids in ancient Ireland. Their government was much more monarchical than that of the American Indians, and the higher chiefs were regarded as of super-

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human origin. Their wars were frequent and merciless, and domestic morality was scarcely known. Their religious practices were somewhat elaborate, long prayers and sacrifices being in use, but the moral observances imposed by their belief were almost wholly limited to observing an arbitrary code of prohibitions known as tabus.

The tabu was in some respects a systematic application of superstitious ideas about lucky and unlucky things, resembling those prevalent among many persons in civilized lands. As we find people who deem it unlucky to begin work on a Friday or sit down at table with twelve companions, so the heathen Hawaiians dreaded undefinable mischief from violating any of the numerous tabu prohibitions laid down by their priests. Thus a man might not eat at the same table with a woman, no matter what her rank, and women were forbidden to eat pork and other articles of diet which were lawful food for men. The code of tabu was not only enforced by popular prejudice, but also by the legal powers of the chiefs. A woman who presumed to taste pork or bananas was doomed to immediate death, if the fact were discovered. The tabus constituted an onerous load on the bulk of the population, but scarcely any dared to violate them. On some occasions human sacrifices were offered to the gods, either to gain victory in battle, or to obtain the recovery of some chief in case of illness. A belief in sorcery was general, and the practices resulting from it were like the voodooism of the West Indian negroes. Cannibalism was common among all the Polynesians, though in other respects they were far from a natural disposition to cruelty such as was shown by many of our own Indian tribes.

Socially, the inhabitants of the Polynesian Islands were universally hospitable, and addicted to feasts and light-hearted enjoyment. They were naturally kindly to strangers, and subsequeut to Cook's voyages, several Europeans and Americans settled alone among the natives without fear. The attacks on vessels or boats which are so often mentioned by the earlier explorers can be traced almost always to previous aggressions on the part of the whites. Captain Cook lost his life in attempting to carry off the king of Hawaii, by whom he had been most hospitably treated. The explorer had received gifts of provisions and hogs to the value of some thousand dollars from the king. Yet when a boat was stolen by a few natives for the sake of its iron, Cook undertook to seize his entertainer as a hostage for the punishment of the offenders, and was killed in the attempt after the English sailors had fired on the crowd.

The native population were agricultural, depending on yams, taro and the bread fruit for their support, in addition to fisheries.

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The islands, in spite of the wars among the tribes, were densely peopled everywhere. Cook estimated the population of the Hawaiian group at from three to four hundred thousand, and as at a later date one of the native chiefs was able to collect an army of sixteen thousand fighting men, the estimate seems not exaggerated. As the area of Hawaii is about four thousand square miles, and that of the whole group less than seven thousand, its population a hundred years ago was denser than that of any part of the United States at that time. Such were the Hawaiians in their native barbarism, and revolting as are some of its features, it cannot fairly be said to have been much lower than that of the ancestors of many European nations who now stand high in the scale of civilization.

The first white visitors to Hawaii were unfortunately of a different type from the men who civilized and Christianized the Picts and Wends, the Vikings and the Saxons in other days. Shortly after the visits of Cook and La Perouse, English and American trading ships began to find their way to Hawaii and the islands of the Pacific. There were many minor sources of wealth, such as sandalwood, pearls and whaling, in the Pacific islands and old and New England alike furnished keen traders to work them. During the first twenty years of this century the commerce of the world was almost confined to English and American vessels, owing to the destruction of the French marine in the wars of the Revolution. The seafarers who resorted to Hawaii nearly all spoke English in the early days. The influence of those visitors was anything but favorable to the moral improvement of the natives. The very lax moral code of the heathens was lowered by their civilized visitors. Drunkenness had been unknown, but the distillation of spirits was the first art of civilization introduced by foreign ships and in a few years it became fearfully common among the natives as well as the visitors. New diseases followed and decimated the population more effectually than their old wars. The foreign ships, too, made slight account of the lives of the natives, and on one occasion a trader to avenge some petty theft slaughtered nearly a hundred in cold blood, by repeated broadsides. Such were the first fruits of civilization in Hawaii.

In the meantime a chief of Hawaii, Kamehameha, of considerable abilities, had been extending his authority over the whole Hawaiian Group, which had hitherto been divided among several independent chiefs. In this respect Hawaii offers a striking resemblance to Madagascar, another country inhabited by the same race. As Radama established the Hova Empire in the African islands by the help of foreign weapons, so Kamehameha procured arms from his visitors and founded a petty empire in

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Hawaii. In each country the victorious despot showed something of the spirit which actuated Peter the Great, of Russia, in introducing the material civilization of other lands among his barbarian subjects. Kamehameha made no change in the native religion, but on his death in 1819, his queen, Kahumanu, who succeeded to his authority, jointly with his son, formally abolished the established rites of tabu. It was forbidden for any woman to eat in the company of men, but the queen publicly set the law at defiance. A chieftain, who rose in arms in defence of the native religion, was defeated and killed and the whole system of tabu was abandoned by the population. It was policy, not any religious conviction, which determined this revolution, for Christianity was scarcely known in Hawaii. At the time two natives had been baptized by the Catholic chaplain of the French exploring ship Uranic, but no serious attempt was made or indeed would have been possible, during the limited stay of that expedition, to announce Catholicity to the bulk of the natives.

The Church from the earliest days has regarded the conversion of the heathen world, by missionary effort, as a most important part of its work. The exploration of Polynesia, unfortunately for its people, was begun at a most disastrous period for Catholic missions. The suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 was closely followed by the wars of the French Revolution, the imprisonment of two Popes and a general decay of the Catholic missions in uncivilized lands. It was only in 1822 that the Association for the Propagation of the Faith was established in Lyons and that a successful effort was thus made for the restoration and extension of the nearly ruined Catholic missions throughout the world.

Among the communities which adopted the various forms of Protestantism in the sixteenth century, missions for the conversion of the heathen were occasionally attempted but invariably without success. The conquests of England in Asia and America had no practical result in spreading Christianity among the conquered races. The latter were either exterminated like the American Indians or left to their old superstitions like the Hindoos. Still Protestant missionary societies in England and America continued to collect large sums and to apply part of them to sending out missionaries to various foreign lands where safety was guaranteed by England's naval power. As most of these missionaries were married and received fairly good salaries from their societies the work proved attractive to many, especially as the standard of qualification was not high: A Protestant missionary in fact has less work and better pay than the majority of those whom a spirit of adventure drives to seek a living in semi-civilized lands. The Pacific islands offered a good field for missionaries

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of this class. There was little danger from the natives, who were impressed with seasonable fear of the well-armed European ships, the climate was healthy, the surroundings romantic and the contributions liberal. An English mission was sent to the Society Islands in 1819, others later to New Zealand, and in 1820 the American Missionary Board dispatched a colony of two ministers and five married laymen, accompanied by some Hawaiian sailors, who had been on board American vessels, to found a mission in Honolulu. Political events gave the new arrivals unexpected opportunities. The new queen and king had formally abolished the native religion just before the arrival of the missionaries, and the queen at least was anxious to introduce European customs among her people. John Young, an old sailor, who had been for years a favorite with Kamehameha and had helped him materially in his earlier wars by mounting guns and similar warlike services, gave a cordial welcome to the missionary party and recommended them warmly to the queen Kahumanu. The queen desired to make her people equal to white men and Messrs. Bingham and Thurston, the ministers, undertook the task cheerfully. A quarter of a century before, Vancouver, the commander of a British war vessel, had given Kamehameha some advice of a mixed religious and political character which was still remembered as a kind of oracle. He had informed the chief that his tabu superstitions were bad, and that he should put his islands under the protection and allegiance of the British crown. It is not probable that either suggestion was clearly comprehended; but the Hawaiian chief allowed the British flag to be hois ed as a sign of protection over his dominions, without any idea of thereby giving up his right to conquer his neighbors or rule at his own discretion. The tabu system he left untouched, either from superstitious fears, or because he knew of nothing to substitute for it and did not care to organize his new empire without its help. Kahumanu had now abolished the tabus and she took Bingham's advice to establish a nominal Christianity in its place, in much the same spirit as her late husband had accepted the nominal protectorate of George III. Mr. Bingham, as the teacher of the new religion, became her chief adviser.

The principal chiefs who formed the queen's Council and the supreme governing body of the islands, agreed with the sovereigns in making Bingham's religion a state institution to replace the discarded tabu system. The missionaries were well provided with funds by the zeal of New England Protestantism, and they proceeded to make the most of their new opportunities. Besides opening schools to teach English, they mastered the native language, reduced it to writing and published several more or

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less accurate versions of the Scriptures and other books. The Hawaiians, like all Polynesians, are quick to learn and in a short time a number had learned to read and write in the native schools. Many were made religious teachers at short order by the American ministers and sent to teach the new religion in different parts of the islands. Supported by the authority of the queen's government, the Kumus, as the native catechists were called, succeeded to the powers formerly exercised by the Kuhinas or native priests of idols. Attendance at their instructions was made compulsory where practical, and such customs as the Calvinists considered unchristian were prohibited by law. The Christianity taught was of an extremely vague description. At one time baptism was requested as a mark of Christianity, at others it was declared unnecessary at the will of the ministers. In the laws published for the regulation of public morals there was a good deal of spirit of New England Calvinism of the last century. The native games and dances, were to a great extent prohibited and the Kumus and ministers undertook to regulate the daily life of their disciples with nearly the minuteness of the old heathen tabus.

In Honolulu these new laws led to several conflicts with the foreign sailors during the years between 1820 and 1830. The crews of the whalers and sandalwood traders which resorted to the islands were for the most part a lawless set, who looked on themselves as freed from all moral restraints at such a distance from home. The captains treated the authority of the native chiefs with contempt. A United States war vessel, the Dolphin, which touched at Honolulu in 1825, threatened to lay the fort in ashes, if the excesses of the crew on shore were interefered with by the native police. Some of the whalers threatened Mr. Richards, who was next to Bingham in influence among the missionaries, with personal violence on more than one occasion; others brought forward real or pretended claims against the native chiefs, and in 1826 the American sloop of war Peacock, commanded by Captain Jones, was sent out by this Government to investigate those claims. Captain Jones held an investigation in Honolulu and gave Mr. Richards a high character, but ordered the native chiefs to pay half a million dollars to the American claimants. This sum exceeded the whole yearly exports of the islands and was denounced as ten times greater than the alleged debts by the natives, but in Hawaii, as elsewhere, might made right. A heavy tax of sandalwood was imposed on every adult native to meet these claims, which even this failed to satisfy, and which were compromised for a much smaller sum years afterwards. The American sailors and American missioners thus settled their quarrels at the expense of their Polynesian hosts.

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The same year saw the beginning of the Catholic mission in Hawaii, which was the first in Oceanica. Two priests—M. Bachelot, a native of France, and Father P. Short, an Irishman educated in the same country—were sent out with two lay brothers, both mechanics, by the Society of Picpus, a congregation established in Paris for foreign missions. The queen and the Protestant ministers soon displayed a strong spirit of hostility towards the Catholic religion, which was favorably received by many of the natives. In 1829 the natives were forbidden by the queen to attend Catholic worship and the priests prohibited from receiving them into the Church or even into their houses. How much of religious fanaticism was involved in this step, as far as the chiefs were concerned, may be gathered from the answer given by Boki, the governor of Oahei, to an English captain who remonstrated against such a display of religious intolerance. Boki declared that the islands were too small for two religions, and that as they had already taken one, they could not tolerate the existence of another. He added that if the Catholics had come first, the chiefs would just as readily have adopted their creed. The Christianity of the Methodist converts may be estimated at its full value from this remark.

The old queen, at the express advice of Mr. Bingham, as she acknowledged herself, took active measures to exterminate Catholicity from her dominions. In 1830 a number of natives were arrested on the sole charge of being Catholics and sentenced to hard labor on building the fort of Honolulu. Men and women alike were included in this sentence, though mat-making was sometimes assigned to the women as their task. One woman who was nursing her infant child died in prison in consequence, and when the others had served out their sentence they were allowed to return home. The following year Kahumanu renewed the persecution. Nine Catholic men and women, including one of the chiefs, Esther Uhete, were thrown into prison and sentenced to hard labor. Several more were subsequently arrested, and all were offered liberty if they would attend the Protestant services, but all steadily refused. Fathers Bachelot and Short were expelled by force on Christmas eve of the same year, and sent in a whaler to California, then a province of Mexico.

The Catholics already arrested were kept in prison for eighteen months, and were repeatedly urged to accept Protestantism as the price of their liberty. Finally an attempt was made to put them in chains—a special degradation of the lowest criminals in Hawaii. Esther Uhete, as a chief by birth, protested so vigorously against this outrage that her jailers got alarmed and agreed to allow her an appeal to the Council of Chiefs. The

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English consul also interfered in their behalf, and the young king, who exercised joint authority with Kahumanu, finally liberated them. Several died shortly afterwards from the effects of their confinement and the abuse inflicted on them.

Kahumanu died in 1832, and was succeeded as queen by Kinau, a daughter of Kamehameha I. Her brother, Kamehameha III., was already in power, and thus the double sovereignty established since the death of the founder of the kingdom was continued. The young king was not as enthusiastic a disciple of the Protestant missionaries as his stepmother and sister, and in March, 1833, he abolished most of the regulations which had been established under the old queen. At Mr. Bingham's suggestion, the laws against ordinary crimes remained, but the Hawaiian blue laws were abolished, and attendance at the Protestant churches or schools was left to the discretion of each individual. A widespread defection from these institutions was the immediate result and a remarkable proof of how artificial a thing was the supposed conversion of Hawaii. Boki, the governor of Oahu, who had been one of the zealots against Fathers Bachelot and Short, openly returned to the old pagan rites, and on the death of a favorite daughter he had her funeral celebrated with the traditional heathen ceremonies and license.

The young king, however, soon fell under the ascendancy of his more energetic sister and allowed the Protestant penal code to be restored. Their missionaries received reinforcements from the United States and England, and in 1835 they counted no less than a hundred and forty-three in the Hawaiian group. The same year the persecution of the native Catholics was renewed. A new and disgusting punishment was invented for them—that of acting as scavengers for the fort and jail. Two women were sentenced to this vile work, and they were even obliged to carry off the filth in their bare hands. Other Catholics were taken by force to the Protestant prayer-meetings; and in October, 1835, six professing Catholics, five of whom had not yet been baptized, were sentenced to the same punishment as the first two prisoners. The one baptized Catholic was chained down by neck, hands, and feet to a mat in the prison as a punishment for his faith, but none of the prisoners would consent to abandon their faith. The foreign population, though mostly non-Catholic, grew indignant at these disgraceful scenes, and some of them remonstrated strongly with Kinau, but to no purpose. In June, 1838, six Christians more were arrested, and on their refusal to abandon the Catholic faith they were condemned to penal servitude on the public works for life. Three were women, and it is a striking example of the zeal for morality which actuated the dominant Protestant

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element that these three were specially ordered to be put to labor in company with common prostitutes.

In the meantime the two exiled priests had determined to return to Hawaii, and they arrived there in March, 1837, on the brig Clementine. They landed unmolested, but on the following day Father Bachelot was ordered by Kinau to re-embark on the Clementine. The owner, M. Dudoit, a Frenchman, refused to carry him away against his own will, and after a long discussion the two priests were put on board by an armed force, the guns of the fort being trained on the vessel to compel obedience. M. Dudoit then took the crew off and brought his flag to the English consul, his vessel being under English colors. Before the consul he lodged a formal protest against the violence offered him, but at first in vain. The two priests were detained on the Clementine over a month, until an English frigate arrived in Honolulu. The captain, Sir Edward Belcher, took them off, but only on a promise that they should leave on the first convenient vessel. Father Short sailed for Valparaiso on the 2d of November, and a few days later M. Bachelot and Mgr. Maigret, afterwards Bishop of Honolulu, who had arrived during the year, took passage on a schooner for Ascension Island. M. Bachelot had contracted a fever, and died a few days after reaching the lonely island where he found a resting-place. Father Maigret was the only one near him at his premature death at the age of forty-one.

The violence of the Hawaiian government against the Catholic Church, however, was not to last much longer. In 1839 the French frigate Artemise arrived in Honolulu and presented a formal demand in the name of the French government for liberty of conscience throughout Hawaii and the release of the Catholics in prison for their faith. Neither the king nor his missionary advisers ventured to refuse this demand, and after some deliberation it was proclaimed that all persecution of Catholics should be ended. Several priests who were on the Artemise at once landed and resumed the long interrupted work commenced by Fathers Bachelot and Short. The growth of the Church among the natives was very rapid in spite of the ill-will which still continued to be shown towards Catholicity by the Protestant chiefs. In a few years the Catholic population amounted to twelve thousand, and somewhat later the Catholics were estimated by Mgr. Maigret at over twenty-three thousand, a full third of the then existing population, while another third professed no religion but their ancestral paganism. The persecution of Kahumanu and the Calvinist missionaries has been another monument of the powerlessness of human intolerance against the Church of God.

Though Mr. Bingham and his colleagues were thus compelled

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to allow freedom of conscience to the natives, they continued to exercise an increasing influence with the king and chiefs. This influence extended to matters rather different from those for which missionaries are usually supposed to be sent. The king was advised to form his government on a European model instead of the old native system. Mr. Richards, the same minister who had received the favorable report of Captain Jones in 1826, undertook to devote himself to the duties of a constitutional lawyer instead of a preacher of the gospel. He abandoned mission work in 1839 to fill the position of legal adviser to the king, and delivered a series of law lectures in Honolulu to instruct the natives in the benefits and methods of a constitutional monarchy. It does not appear that the Hawaiians comprehended the latter fully, but a ministry was established to replace the Council of Chiefs. The natives not being familiar with modern diplomacy, the new ministers were all recruited from the missionaries and their families, or from friends who had followed them from the United States.

A land law was the next innovation. Under the Polynesian system the king was regarded as the sole proprietor of land, and he made grants of districts to his chiefs for life, they, in turn, subletting them to the lower class of cultivators. Rents were paid in produce to the chiefs by their tenants, and to the king by the chiefs. In a general way the Polynesian system had a resemblance to that which prevailed in Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and it offered a good deal of protection to the farming classes in the possession of their lands. The missionary advisers of the king, however, pointed out how different it was from the usages of countries like America and England, and the facilities for commercial enterprise which might be obtained by the adoption of the latter. Accordingly, a new law was framed by which the king retained a third of the land in absolute property; a third was granted to the sub-chiefs as separate estates, and a third was left to the actual cultivators. As only a small part of the soil was actually under cultivation, this system enabled enterprising individuals to acquire large tracts on easy terms, and the missionary adherents supplied the largest proportion of enterprising individuals then in the islands. A landed aristocracy of planters, many of them belonging to the missionary families, is now established, while the land has passed out of possession of the natives without any foreign conquest or visible compensation.

The king's third of the land was subsequently divided into two parts, one of which was retained for the private benefit of the sovereign and his family, and the other declared national property. Long before this, however, Mr. Richards, the ex-missionary, in his capacity of legal adviser to Kamehameha IV., made a contract

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with the firm of Ladd & Co. in 1841, giving them the privilege of leasing any unoccupied land at a nominal rent. Mr. Richards became a partner in the firm, and subsequently transferred its interests to the Royal Belgian Company, of which he was a director. The arrangement was made in 1843, during Mr. Richards' embassy to Europe to secure the recognition of Hawaii as an independent State by England and France. It was afterwards complained that the contract with the Belgian Company, so-called, virtually gave it a monopoly of the whole foreign trade of Hawaii, and deprived the native population at a stroke of the greatest part of the land of their country. A settlement was finally effected by which the contract was annulled, but compensation was made to the concessionaires. It is to be presumed that the lawyer-missionary did not go wholly unrewarded in a financial point for his disinterested efforts to bring the Hawaiian people up to the standard of modern civilization.

The organization of a public treasury was effected in 1842, and another missionary, the Rev. Dr. Judd, was appointed treasurer. In fact, no native was admitted to any ministerial office under Kamehameha III. Under his successor, six members of the ministry were foreigners, mainly of the missionary colony, and the heir to the throne was the only native who received a portfolio. Under the rule of Kamehameha V. and Lunalilo, no natives were called to high public office, though it was claimed that the Hawaiian population had been Christian for nearly two generations. If the missionaries had not succeeded in the conversion of souls, they certainly had in securing the largest part of the wealth of the islands for themselves and their families.

The regular administration of law according to the practice of the United States, instead of its being applied by the native chiefs, was another point strongly impressed on the king's mind. A lawyer who had landed from Oregon was installed as chief-justice at a handsome salary about 1847. Of course familiarity with the legal practices of American courts was regarded by the missionaries as much more necessary for the proper administration of justice than any mere familiarity with the customs or rights of the Hawaiian people. The new chief-justice, we believe, gave every satisfaction to the missionary element, and if the natives did not thrive under the new *régime*, it was not regarded as of any special consequence. The missionaries had made them nominally Christians, and they could not be expected to also teach them how to protect their worldly interests in the field of civilized life.

Towards 1850 the American Mission Board withdrew from further control over the Hawaiian missions, it being alleged that

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the latter were now able to maintain themselves. This was certainly quite true as far as their white teachers were concerned. In fact the latter had now so many duties, political and commercial to perform that merely clerical work was, in a great degree, left to the natives themselves. Though not regarded as sufficiently instructed to manage their own government or temporal affairs, their teachers thought them fully competent to be their own guides in religious matters, The fact that the financial resources of the islands had in a great degree passed from native hands may possibly have had something to do with this withdrawal of religious guidance as well as the extraordinary decrease in population which had accompanied the *règime* of the foreign Protestant missionaries.

The decrease was certainly noteworthy and is the most striking comment on the value of Protestant mission work in benefiting the heathen world. In 1830, ten years after the arrival of Messrs. Bingham and Thurston, and when the whole of Hawaii was nominally converted a census was taken, which gave the population at one hundred and thirty thousand three hundred. Though this was much less than the estimated numbers in the time of Kamehameha the First, the decrease might, with some appearance of likelihood be attributed to the wars of that chief and to the barbarities of heathenism. A similar result had been observed by the Catholic missionaries of the Gambier Islands and Wallis at their first arrival there previous to 1840. The native population was everywhere represented as having been nearly double its then numbers a couple of generations earlier, and the same was doubtless the case in Hawaii. In the latter islands however, under the sway of the Calvinist missionaries the decrease continued more rapidly than if they were decimated by the fiercest wars. A census taken in 1836 only showed little over a hundred and eight thousand natives and in 1850, though there were less then two thousand foreigners on the islands, the numbers had fallen to eighty-four thousand. Shortly afterwards the first appearance of leprosy was noted and it has since continued to extend its ravages. In 1890 the whole native population including half-breeds was little over forty-one thousand, a decrease to nearly a quarter of its original numbers under the missionary sway.

So alarming was the disappearance of population to the planters, who had now become the practically controlling power, that various projects were set on foot for encouraging foreign immigration. A large number of Portuguese laborers were first brought over, between 1865 and 1872, and at present the Portuguese form nearly two thirds of the foreign population of the

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white race. A more subservient class of laborers however, soon commended itself to the planters, and Chinese and Japanese have since been imported on a contract system of labor or peonage. The census of 1890 gave in round numbers the whole population at little over thirty-eight thousand of the native race, three thousand half-breeds, eight thousand six hundred Portuguese, four thousand three hundred Americans, English, Germans, French and other Europeans, about seventy-five hundred Hawaiians of foreign origin and twenty-eight thousand Chinese and Japanese. Though the latter are of course as much heathens as were the Hawaiians of seventy years ago, it does not appear that the Protestant missionaries have set any special effort on foot for their conversion. The necessities of commerce are doubtless too absorbing to permit of such an application of missionary energy at the present time.

What makes the destruction of the Hawaiians under the Protestant missions and civilization the more remarkable is the present condition of the populations of the same race, who had the good fortune to fall under the sole influence of the Catholic Church. The Gambier Islands and Wallis and Futana in the South Pacific are a striking contrast to-day with Hawaii. In the first named group the condition of affairs, when Catholic missioners landed there, at the very time when their collegues were forbidden to enter Hawaii, was almost identically the same as in the kingdom of Kamehameha. The race was the same, with similar language, institutions, and superstitions. Shortly before, an energetic chief had brought the four islands under one ruler, as Kamehameha did in Hawaii. Cannibalism and the tabu had full sway in Gambier as in the larger group, and the visits of foreign ships and the demoralization consequent on intercourse with worthless members of the civilized world were as well known to the Gambiers as to Honolulu. The Catholic priests were received by the natives as Bingham and Thurston were by Kahumanu, and the whole population received baptism within a few years.

Their teachers, however, were far from counting their work ended with the baptism of their converts. They introduced habits of labor hitherto unknown, as the old monastic apostles of northern Europe had done a thousand years ago, and they taught by word and example the necessity of Christian morality as well as Christian faith. They did not, it is true, attempt to change the policy or national customs of the natives where consistent with Christianity, nor did they seek to build up a tinsel imitation of a European kingdom or secure the lands of the islands for commercial development; but under the sway of the Catholic Church

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the native population has steadily grown in numbers and in material prosperity, and at the present moment they form the only branch of the Polynesian race which can be fairly said to live and thrive.

To briefly sum up the results of the Protestant missions in Hawaii, it can be said that getting practical control, both intellectual and political, of a heathen race seeking for religious instruction, they have only succeeded in building up a wealthy colony of a few hundred planters and merchants in the islands they professed to evangelize. The population whose conversion was their nominal object has welcomed them, and in two generations it has all but perished. The survivors, for the greater part, have rejected any form of the doctrines they once received so readily, and where they have not received the Catholic faith they have practically ceased to be Christians. This, at least, is the burthen of the complaints of the descendants of the missionaries against the native ruler whose throne they have lately overturned for their own benefit. This may be enterprise or business success, but it is not Christianizing a nation; and Hawaii is a striking example of the long asserted fact that to the Catholic Church, and to her alone, belongs the true mission work of Christianity.

BRYAN. J. CLINCHE.

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THE TRUE ACCOUNT OF THE MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP SEGHERS.

[Rev. Francis Barnum, S. J., a Missionary in Alaska, having been convinced that all published accounts of the death of the heroic Archbishop Seghers were defective, and in many minor points inaccurate, has exerted himself during the last two years to ascertain on the spot, and, as far as possible, from eye-witnesses, all the details of the last days of the saintly prelate. This sketch is now published as valuable material for the future historian.]

IT is necessary in order to present a full and clear account of this lamentable occurrence, to review very briefly the events connected with the foundation of the Catholic mission in the Territory of Alaska.

* * * * * * *

In the year 1875 the Rt. Rev. J. Clut, O.M.T., Bishop of Athabaska (Mackenzie), made a long journey through Alaska. He entered the Territory by way of the Porcupine River at the head-waters of which, near a trading post known as La Pierre's House, there is a portage to the Mackenzie. On arriving at Nukloroyet, he joined the traders, Messrs. Harper and McQuestin, with whom he descended the Yukon. Bishop Clut sailed from St. Michael's for San Francisco, but he left his companion in Alaska, who wintered at a little place in the Yukon delta, called Kutlik. Bishop Seghers having the jurisdiction over Alaska, wrote to Rome in respect to this, and Bishop Clut received a note of disapproval.

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In the year 1877 Bishop Seghers, accompanied by the Rev. J. Mandart, made a preliminary visit of observation to Alaska, with the view of founding a mission there. They sailed from San Francisco on the steamer of the Alaska Commercial Company, and landed at St. Michael's on Norton Sound. They started to reach the Yukon, *via* Unalaklik River, at the head of which there is a portage. They were occupied during six days in this toilsome labor, as the portage is long, and they had to carry all their goods themselves. They ran out of provisions, and were forced *to live on crows*.

There was a box of books among their things, and as it was very heavy, they resolved to *cache* it. Later on, when coming down the Yukon, the archbishop spoke of this to Father Tosi, and said that he still remembered the exact spot in the portage where he had buried this box of books. They reached the

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Yukon just as the boats of the traders were passing up. They made signals, but only the last boat perceived them. This belonged to a man named Jean Baudouin, who took the party on board and brought them to Nulato, where they arrived on the 5th of August.

The bishop bought a little log-cabin from an Indian named Kereka. The price of this episcopal residence was ten dollars. This house was afterwards washed away by one of the summer floods. They endured many great privations during the winter; neither of them had the least skill in cooking, and they were unable to make bread. They visited a great deal of the country, and when the river opened they returned to St. Michael's. Before leaving Nulato the bishop assembled the Indians, and assured them that he would return the following year, and found a permanent mission there. On reaching Victoria, B. C., disappointing news awaited him. He found that he had been promoted to the Archiepiscopal See of Portland, Oregon, and this obliged him to relinquish his arrangements regarding Alaska.

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In 1883 Archbishop Seghers, accompanied by the Rev. P. F. Hylebos, visited the Eternal City, and obtained permission from the Supreme Pontiff to return to Victoria, which See was then vacant. He was accordingly reappointed to his former diocese on March 7, 1884, and immediately resumed his long-delayed plans for a mission on the Yukon. His inability to fulfil the promise which he had made to the Indians of Nulato had always been a source of deep regret to him, and he often spoke of it. However, it was not until 1886 that the archbishop was finally able to put his project into execution. It was his wish that the new mission should be confided to the care of a religious order. With this view he applied to several without success, but finally the Jesuit Fathers of the Rocky Mountain Mission agreed to accept it. Two fathers were detailed by the Superior General, the Rev. J. M. Cataldo, to proceed to Victoria. When the steamer on which they were was due, the archbishop watched for it from the cupola of his residence. As soon as he descried it entering the harbor, he hastened down to the dock. He was the first on board, and ran to embrace the two priests.

On the 13th of July, 1886, Archbishop Seghers embarked on the steamer *Ancon*, accompanied by the Rev. Pascal Tosi and the Rev. Aloysius Robaut, of the Society of Jesus. The archbishop wrote to Cardinal Simeoni informing him of his intention of setting out for Alaska, and this letter was mailed on the morning of the departure of the party. The *Ancon* sailed from Victoria at noon. The commander, Captain Carroll, not only showed the

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archbishop's party every possible attention during the voyage, but, moreover, insisted upon defraying the expenses of their passage in order to testify his interest in their undertaking.

They had a hired attendant with them named Francis Fuller. This man had been employed at De Smet Mission in Idaho, where he had heard about the Alaskan enterprise, and expressed a desire to join it. He was subject to hallucinations, and constantly imagined he was pursued by enemies. Father Tosi had objected very strongly to having Fuller in the party on this account, but he was overruled by the archbishop, who said: "That when once in Alaska Fuller would certainly believe himself to be in safety." Nevertheless, the *Ancon* had scarcely left the dock when Fuller told Father Robaut that his enemies had succeeded in following him up, and were then actually on board of the steamer.

The *Ancon* arrived at Juneau, July 19th, where she remained one day. The party called on Father Altoff, the parish priest, and on his recommendation the archbishop engaged a Canadian named Antoine Prevost to accompany them as cook. The next day the *Ancon* reached Chilcat, the terminus of the route. Here the party took leave of Captain Carroll, and entered upon the difficult portion of their long journey.

Their course to the head-waters of the Yukon led across the mountain-range, and this they were obliged to traverse on foot. At the Chilcat trading-post, which is generally known as Healey's Place, a number of Indians were engaged to carry the provisions of the party over the "Divide." The chief turned out to be most arrogant and unreasonable. A discussion arose concerning some detail of the contract, in which the chief became very insolent, and gesticulated with his forefinger so close to the face of the archbishop as to oblige him to move backwards several times. Healey, fearing that some trouble might arise, got his rifle, and calling to the white men around, said: "Look out, boys! If he touches the archbishop I will shoot him!" This is the origin of the report that the archbishop had received from the Indians a slap in the face. During their passage up the mountains the party had to ford a number of glacial streams. Five of these were very deep and wide, and, of course, icy cold. At one the archbishop had a most narrow escape from being carried off by the current. On the 26th of July they reached Crater Lake, which is one of the sources of the Yukon. The archbishop mentions this as a coincidence, for his first view of the Yukon in 1877 was also on this same date.

On reaching Lake Lindeman they set about building a raft. One day while engaged at this work, Father Tosi went to where Prevost was cooking to get some scraps for an Indian. Prevost com-

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plaining of neuralgia, Father Tosi told him to go to the tent and try to sleep, adding that he would call him in time to prepare supper. At four o'clock Father Tosi went to call him as he had promised, but there was no sign of Prevost. He walked around the little camp shouting for him. The archbishop was a short distance away, reading his breviary, and he, too, began to call for Prevost. Father Tosi took his gun and went on a longer circuit, firing frequently. At two o'clock the next morning he arose and went back about ten miles, but without succsss. Two miners, named Burke and S. Wade, joined in the search. For three days they waited and sought, and then concluded that the man had deserted. Notice was sent back to Healey's, but nothing was ever heard of Prevost. He was a despondent man, who had failed in business. He took nothing with him at the time of his disappearance except a small revolver of the bull-dog pattern. This occurrence gave the archbishop much distress.

When the raft was finished, they loaded it up and floated down to the outlet of the lake. The stream connecting with the next lake, consists of a series of rapids, which necessitates a portage. At Lake Lindeman the archbishop's party had joined a number of prospectors, and when they arrived at Lake Bennet, an arrangement was made, that the archbishop's party would transport all the provisions over the portage, and in return for this service, the miners would build a scow for them. They were occupied during ten days with this severe labor, as there were fully 5000 pounds weight to be transported.

After a delay of several weeks, a clumsy scow was constructed, in which they started on their perilous voyage. The many exciting incidents of this arduous journey, and the terrible privations endured, have been already made known. After passing the chain of lakes, they descended the Lewes River to the famous Miles Cañon, one of the great natural wonders of Alaska. Once more they had to carry all their goods across the portage, and then came the exciting episode of running their empty boat through the Cañon. Fuller was at the helm and Father Robaut attended the oars. Just as the boat was ready, the archbishop stepped in and seated himself in the bow, with his watch in his hand. The rest of the party protested against his exposing himself to the danger, but he was too bold a leader to be deterred by peril. In fact the archbishop never seemed to care what risks he ran.[1] Word being given, the boat started and in an instant it was swept off by the foaming waters into the gloomy recesses of

[1] "I would not see my own party jeopardize their lives without sharing their danger."—*Letter to Father Jonckau.*

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the Cañon. After a fearful transit, which lasted three minutes and twenty-five seconds, the boat happily reached the quiet pool far below. On the 7th of September the party reached the trading post of Harper, which is at the junction of Lewes and Stewart's. They found some fifty prospectors camped here for the winter.

Here the unfortunate decision was made, that the party should divide. The reasons which led to this hasty determination are as follows; Harper informed the archbishop that a Rev. Mr. Parker, with his wife and family, were then at St. Michael's, and that they were coming up the river in the summer to settle at Nulato. This news produced a great effect upon the archbishop. He had already passed a winter at Nulato, and had promised the Indians there to return to them. He was, therefore, intensely eager to reach there without the least delay. On the other hand, he felt that he ought not to neglect the interests of those Indians along the upper portion of the river. The only solution appeared to be a division of the party. Father Tosi, as well as Father Robaut, was greatly opposed to the idea, but submitted to the wish of the archbishop. It was accordingly settled that the two priests should remain at Harper's till the spring, and that then they should proceed to Nukloroyet. The archbishop and Fuller were to endeavor to reach Nulato, a distance of 1100 miles, if possible before the river closed; if this could not be accomplished they were to finish the journey on sleds. So impatient was the archbishop to arrive at Nulato that on the following day, September 8, 1886, after having said Mass, he set out. Tears were flowing from his eyes, when the two priests knelt before him for his parting blessing. As the skiff was pushed off from the shore, Father Tosi's last words were, "Fuller, take good care of the archbishop." The swift current bore the boat rapidly away. It was their last sight of their zealous noble-hearted saintly leader, Charles Seghers, whose life-blood was soon to mingle in the icy waters of that mighty river, which for so many years had been the constant goal of all his aspirations.

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Before leaving Harper's place, the archbishop took advantage of an opportunity afforded by a miner, who was returning, to send a letter to Victoria. This letter was addressed to his Vicar-General, Very Rev. J. J. Jonckau, and contained a full account of the journey thus far. In it the archbishop made several allusions to Fuller, always styling him "Brother Fuller." Fuller never was a coadjutor brother in the Society of Jesus, and the archbishop, who was most intimate with the Jesuits of the Rocky

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Mountain Mission, was well aware of this; nevertheless, through his kindness of heart he generally gave Fuller that title.

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It was already far too late in the season to attempt so long a trip on the river, for it must be remembered that their route through this desolate frigid region, extended within the limits of the Arctic Circle. The archbishop experienced immense difficulties, as his little boat was constantly in danger of being crushed by the great masses of floating ice, and over and over again they narrowly escaped destruction. Finally, when well-nigh worn out by privation, cold, and fatigue, they succeeded in reaching the trading post of Nukloroyet.[1] This was as far as it was possible for them to go, and so they were obliged to delay until the river closed and sufficient snow fell to render it suitable for sled-travel.

About this time Fuller became very morose, and began to act with the greatest insolence towards the archbishop. Fuller soon became very intimate with the trader, whose name was Walker. There were two prospectors wintering at the port, and Fuller used to talk a great deal with them, always complaining about the archbishop. Walker was bitterly opposed to Catholic missions in the country, and the sympathy and evil counsels of these men served to render Fuller all the more excitable. The archbishop perceived this, and decided to go to Tozikakat, which is situated at a short distance from Nukloroyet. On arriving there, he wished to erect a small log-cabin, but was thwarted by Fuller who obstinately refused to perform the least work. After a sojourn there of two weeks the party were obliged to return to Nukloroyet. On the way the archbishop noticing that one of the Indians who accompanied them was poorly clad, and suffering, as the weather was exceedingly severe, gave him one of the native fur coats, called a parki. This simple act of generosity was greatly misconstrued by Fuller, who told his friends, on arriving at Nukloroyet, that he had discovered the archbishop bribing the Indians to injure him.

On another occasion Fuller was collecting some firewood, and, meeting with the miners, he began to complain of having such work to do. They told him not to work any longer. He then returned to the house, and told the archbishop if he needed firewood to go and cut it himself, then breaking out into a violent passion he seized a rifle and aimed it at the archbishop. The prelate rose up perfectly calm, and folding his arms stood erect

[1] Badly rendered on the maps as Nuklukahyet.

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with his eyes fixed upon Fuller, who lowered the weapon and went out.

Archbishop Seghers, now fully convinced that he was no longer safe in company with Fuller, endeavored to persuade Walker to go with him as far as Nulato. As Walker would not consent, he then did all in his power to prevail upon one of the miners to accompany him. His entreaties and offers were in vain; their sympathies were with Fuller, and both refused to go. Finding it hopeless to obtain another white companion, the archbishop set out with two Indians, named Sen-né-toh and Koi-ha-toy, who attended to the dog-teams. Fuller's insolent behavior continued. At Melozikakat, the trader, a Russian named Korkorin, was so indignant at the manner in which Fuller acted that he said afterwards "that if it had not been on account of his age and infirmities he himself would have gone with the archbishop."

The journey to Nulato by sled usually occupies ten days, and was drawing near its close. It was a Friday evening when the party camped for the last time on the bank of the frozen river. Only a short day's travel yet remained, and the archbishop, who was eager to arrive at Nulato for Sunday, speaking of this, remarked: "God be praised! it is the last day." Fuller said afterwards that he supposed the archbishop meant by this that it was the last day for him, thinking that the archbishop was going to kill him.

The spot where this last camp of Archbishop Seghers was made is near the base of a lofty point jutting out from the north bank of the river. It is known as Yis-setla-toh or Wolf-head Point, and is not very far above the place where the Koï-klot-zena[1] enters the Yukon. The Indian guides expected to find a barrabora here, but they made the mistake of looking for it along the north bank. They discovered, however, one of the little summer cabins, such as are occupied during the salmon fishery, and it was in this miserable, deserted hut that the apostle of Alaska met his death.

A native Alaskan house is one of the most wretched dwellings used by men. It consists merely of a square pit covered with a rough roof of sods, in the centre of which is a smoke-hole. The fire is made on the floor, and around three sides the ground is left a few inches higher, thus forming the sleeping-places. The interior is always dark, damp, ill-ventilated, and indescribably filthy. The archbishop spread the bear-skin which formed his travelling bed on one of the ledges. The two Indians occupied the opposite one, while Fuller slept near the archbishop. He arose at a very early hour and secured his rifle, which was at the

[1] This tributary appears on the map under the corruption of Koyukuk.

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bottom of his sled, and came back to the house. Next he busied himself at the fire, and then awakened Koihatoy and sent him to fill the teakettle with ice. Sennetoh, who was also awake, had his head still under the blanket, when he heard Fuller kick the archbishop and tell him to get up.[1] At this rude summons the archbishop sat up. He wore a squirrel-skin parki, and had just passed an arm through a sleeve when Fuller, pointing his rifle at him, fired the fatal shot. The bullet entered the heart, and death was instantaneous. The archbishop had not uttered a word from the moment he was awakened. Sennetoh instantly sprang up, and wrested the rifle from Fuller's hands just as he was about to fire a second time. At that moment Koihatoy came running in, and both the Indians asked Fuller if he intended to kill them also. He replied: "No; I only wanted to kill that bad man." The body was left just as it had fallen, and the three men went on down to Nulato.

There the news immediately created an intense excitement. The Indians were just departing for a hunting expedition when they heard it, so they all returned at once to the village. The archbishop had made himself so much beloved during his stay that they were furious at hearing that he was murdered while returning to them. They decided at once to shoot Fuller, and would have certainly carried out their intention had it not been for the interference of the trader. When these Nulato Indians afterwards heard the result of the trial at Sitka they greatly regretted that they had allowed themselves to be influenced. On the other hand, the Koiklotzena Indians considered that Fuller was right because the white men let him off.

During the winter of 1877–78, when the archbishop was at Nulato, he lived, as has been already stated, in a house belonging to an Indian named Kereka. This man was particularly devoted to the archbishop, and as soon as he heard of the murder he took his dog-team, and accompanied by a man named Vanka (John) started up to Yissetlatoh to bring back the body. Fuller went along with them. In the meanwhile, a half-breed woman living across the river at the barrabora where the archbishop had expected to stop, having heard the report of the rifle, went over on the following day to see what had happened. She discovered the body, but seeing that it was a white man, she was frightened and said nothing about it. The lower extremities were covered with

[1] Some accounts have it that Fuller said: "One of us two has to die, and you are best prepared." If so, Fuller himself must have stated this later, since the *only* witness of the murder was Sennetoh, and it is not likely that he, knowing only a few common words of English, could have reported the above expression.

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snow, which she brushed away, and then spread the blanket carefully over it.[1]

When Kereka arrived, the field-mice which abound in Alaska had gnawed away the flesh above the eyes. The Indians imagined at first that this was the mark of the bullet. This gave rise to the erroneous report that the archbishop had been shot in the forehead. The body was brought down to Nulato, and it remained for one day in the sled until a coffin was made, which was done by an Indian called Vaska (Basil). The blood-stained breviary of the archbishop was also enclosed in the coffin, which was then deposited in an outhouse of the trading-post, where it remained two weeks before it was forwarded to St. Michael's. In the meantime, the two guides Sennetoh and Koihatoy had returned to Nukloroyet.

During the time spent at Nulato, Frederickson, whose sympathies were all with Fuller, allowed him full possession of the archbishop's effects. Fuller first read the diary of the archbishop, but every reference to him was written in French; however, he must have noticed the following entry: "To-day I wrote to Father Cataldo." This letter, which would be apt to contain some allusions to him, must have been abstracted, for it was not found with the various other letters which the archbishop had ready to be mailed at St. Michael's, and which were all mentioned in the diary. The archbishop had a general letter of introduction from the central office of the Alaska Commercial Company in San Francisco to the various local agents. Fuller took this, saying that it would be needed by him at St. Michael's.

A train of three sleds set out from Nulato to convey the body to St. Michael's. With one sled were Fuller and a miner known as Peter Johnson. Two Indians, To-nul-toh and Manuska,[2] had the second. The third sled, which bore the coffin, was drawn by six dogs, and was conducted by the faithful Kereka and Vanka. During the winter, communication between Nulato and St. Michael's is carried on by a route leading directly across the country to Unalaklik on Norton Sound, and from there across the Sound to the island on which St. Michael's is situated. This journey lasts generally from eight to ten days. On arriving at St. Michael's they were met by Henry Neuman, the chief agent of the A. C. Co. Fuller's first words to him were: "I have brought Archbishop Seghers." Neuman looked around and then asked: "Where is he?" Fuller answered: "He is here in a sled; I have killed him." He then presented the letter of introduction,

[1] This same woman was present on the occasion when the Jesuit Fathers erected a memorial cross at Yis-setla loh, Aug. 28, 1892.

[2] Properly Vanuska, a Russian diminutive of Ivan (John), as Johnny.

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and announced that the killing had been done in self-defence. The same remarkable success still attended him. His statement was readily accepted; *he was made welcome and admitted to the table of the officers of the trading station.*

One of the clerks, however, displayed considerable indignation. This man's name is Waldron and he is from the State of New York. For many years he has been in the employ of the Fur Co., and knows these Indians perfectly. It is to Mr. Waldron's credit that he positively refused to accept Fuller's statements. He said to him, "I do not know you or anything about this case, but I say that there are not goods enough in this warehouse to bribe an Indian to kill a white man, who had never injured him." Nevertheless, Fuller had the effrontery to exhibit a couple of little sacks containing sugar and tea, which he declared were bribes given by the archbishop to induce an Indian to kill him. Fuller used to talk a great deal with Mr. Waldron, and seemed most anxious to convince him that the archbishop had been fully determined to kill him, and that the act was only legitimate self-defence. Waldron demanded to be informed what proofs Fuller had of the archbishop's intention. Fuller's reply was "that just as they were starting from Harper's place he overheard Father Tosi whisper to the archbishop, 'Be sure and make away with that man, Fuller, before you get down to Nulato.'" During another conversation with Waldron, when asked if he was in holy orders, Fuller replied, "No, I am not good enough yet to be made a priest; after a few years I will be." He said also "that the fact of shooting the archbishop did not trouble his conscience in the least, but that he always felt much remorse for a thing which he had done some years before." When asked what this was, he abruptly changed the subject and left the room.

The rough coffin was enclosed in zinc and deposited in the old Russian church. Mr. Waldron made this zinc case in which the coffin was enclosed. Just as they were ready to place the coffin in it, Fuller strongly insisted upon opening the coffin in order to dress the body in the episcopal robes, but the agent, Mr. Neuman, positively refused to permit this be done.

While at St. Michael's Fuller wrote a letter to Walker informing him of what he had done, as Walker had said to him, "Get rid of that man and it will be the end of the Catholics in this country."[1]

[1] In the summer, when a little steamer, which brought down the various traders, reached Nukloroyet, Walker showed this letter to Harper and also to a Rev. Mr Ellington, an Anglican minister from the Mackenzie. Both declared positively that the letter contained the most damaging evidence. Mr. Ellington asserted, "That according to the laws of England this letter was sufficient to hang Fuller without any further testimony."

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Walker answered Fuller's letter, and he also was equally incautious in his remarks. He realized it too late and said several times that "he would give a thousand dollars to have his letter back." When Walker reached St. Michael's, some misunderstanding arose between the two, and Fuller threatened the former saying: "Remember that if you do not keep your word and help me through, I have your letter still." Walker being alarmed, a compromise was effected and the two men exchanged and destroyed their incriminating letters.

When Fuller arrived at St. Michael's an Episcopalian minister with his wife and family, and also a schoolmistress, were wintering at the agency. This was the Rev. Mr. Parker, of whom Harper had spoken, when the archbishop arrived at his place. The ladies were rendered so very nervous by the presence of the murderer, that Agent Neuman decided to send Fuller away.

A Canadian, named Jean Beaudouin, who was better known as Johnny, was then at St. Michael's in the employ of the company. He was a former pupil of St. Mary's College, Montreal. During the archbishop's first visit, Beaudouin had met him and rendered him much service. Neuman appointed Johnny to conduct Fuller to Andreieffski, where he was to pass the remainder of the winter. This was the nearest post, and is on the Yukon at the head of the delta. Johnny related that while they were at Andreieffski, every Friday night Fuller would have fearful attacks of frenzy. During these paroxysms he would run around the house screaming that he had to reach Nulato in time for Sunday. When the ice broke, Johnny who was engineer of one of the river-boats belonging to the company, brought Fuller along with him, on his trip to Anvik, whither he went to meet the traders, and convey them to St. Michael's.

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During all this time Fathers Tosi and Robaut had remained at Harper's place, near the mouth of the Stewart River. They endured the utmost privations. The cold was very great, often reaching eighty degrees below zero. As soon as the river opened, they set out for Nukloroyet, according to their instructions, where they expected to rejoin the archbishop. On their way down, when near Fort Yukon, a deserted post of the Hudson Bay Co., they received the appalling news of the murder of their leader. In this terrible emergency, the only thing which remained for them to do, was to continue the journey down to St. Michael's.

They felt confident that another father would arrive in Alaska, as both the archbishop and Father Tosi had urged Father Cataldo to send one. The steamer *Dora* reached St. Michael's June 20, 1887, but no father was on board, and what was still more distressing,

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there was not a letter to any one of the party. It was then decided that Father Robaut should remain in Alaska, and that Father Tosi should go down to San Francisco on the return trip of the *Dora*, which sailed June 28, 1887.

Meanwhile, Mr. Parker, the minister who had wintered at St. Michael's, where he met Fuller and surely knew perfectly well that the man was not a priest, had written to Ounalaska, "that one of the priests had assassinated the archbishop." This report was sent overland to Nushagak. Mr. Parker subsequently denied that he wrote this, but thought that his wife did it!

The *Dora* reached Ounalaska about ten o'clock at night. The U. S. Revenue Cutter *Bear* was then in port, and the captain went on board the *Dora* at once to inquire about the assassin of the archbishop. A meeting of the white men was then held in the office of the agent, and Father Tosi made a statement of facts. A warrant for the arrest of Fuller was then made out, and on the following morning the *Bear* sailed for St. Michael's, where she arrived in the afternoon, July 7, 1887. There had been some talk of lynching Fuller, but the scheme failed on account of the small number of whites. As soon as the revenue cutter anchored, a file of marines came ashore in the first boat. They marched up the hill to the agency, and the officer in charge inquired where Fuller was. His tent was pointed out, and when the officer entered it, Fuller was feigning to be asleep. He was handcuffed and brought on board of the cutter. This arrest produced a profound impression upon the simple natives, many of whom were so terrified that they fled from the village.

The *Bear* left St. Michael's the next day, and proceeded on her regular annual cruise to Point Barrow. On her return to Ounalaska, Fuller was transferred to another cutter, called *The Rush*, and taken to Sitka. When the various traders along the Yukon came down to meet the steamers at St. Michael's, in order to deliver their peltry, and to obtain their annual supplies, the precaution had been taken of bringing Sennetoh and Koihatoy. These two men were the only witnesses of the murder. While they were at St. Michael's, awaiting the coming of the *Bear*, Walker, who was determined to prevent them from going to Sitka, succeeded in frightening Koihatoy to such a degree, that the poor simple creature managed to escape to the mainland, and made his way back on foot. Sennetoh, however, remained steadfast, and was taken to Sitka with Fuller.

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The remains of the archbishop, which had been deposited in the old Russian church, were an object of much solicitude to the fathers. At the opening of spring, the coffin was moved into

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the old fort, as the church was to be demolished. This fort is nothing but a very small octagonal block-house, erected during the Russian period and styled by them a redoubt. St. Michael's Redoubt is the full name by which this post was formerly known. The fathers fully expected that the remains of one so illustrious as the archbishop would be received without difficulty on either of the steamers. Such, however, was not the case. Father Tosi endeavored, in vain, to prevail upon the captains of the Dora and the St. Paul, but neither would consent to convey the remains to San Francisco.

The last steamer, which called at St. Michael's that season, was the revenue cutter, which came for the arrest of Fuller. Father Robaut, who was then alone (Father Tosi having already departed on the S. S. Dora) entreated the captain to transfer the remains, a favor which this officer most bluntly refused to grant. This being the last opportunity of the year, Father Robaut was obliged to bury the body. The funeral took place July 10, 1887 and was attended by all the whites at St. Michael's. The grave was fenced in, and marked with a cross, which was made by a Russian exile, named Romanoff.[1] Father Robaut composed an inscription, and Mr. Greenfield did the lettering on the cross. This gentleman was always most kind and attentive to the fathers, while he remained in Alaska, and all were sorry when he decided to leave the Territory.

Owing to the vigorous measures taken by Col. Robert J. Stevens, U. S. Consul at Victoria, B. C., the Government despatched the following year, a naval vessel called the *Thetis* to convey the remains of Archbishop Seghers to Victoria. It was already very late in the season when the *Thetis* reached Norton Sound. St. Michael's had assumed its lonely winter aspect. The river-boats had long since departed, and the little trading post was deserted by all except the household of the agent. It was September 11, 1888, when the remains were exhumed, and taken on board, and the Thetis sailed at once for Victoria, where the last funeral rites were performed November 16, 1888. The commander of the *Thetis*, Captain Emory, won the thanks and esteem of all by the manner in which he carried out his instructions. This gentleman is a devout Catholic. Consul Stevens received a public address of thanks from the clergy and laity of the Diocese of Victoria for his kind offices.

It may be added that Walker had a most miserable ending. He went down to San Francisco in 1891, intending to return to

[1] When the archbishop left St. Michael's after his first visit in 1878, he brought with him a young daughter of Romanoff, and placed her under the care of the Sisters of St. Anne in Victoria, where she still remains.

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Alaska the following season, but he died there from excessive dissipation. He had always led a reckless and intemperate life, and his death occurred during a violent attack of delirium tremens. Two of his children remain in the care of the fathers at Holy Cross Mission.

For six years, the ground that had been sanctified by the blood of Archbishop Seghers, the noble-hearted founder of the Alaska Mission, remained undistinguished by monument or other sign. But it was a cherished wish of Father Tosi, the superior of the mission, that some memorial should be erected to mark the spot; and in the year 1892 it was found possible to carry out this design.

As has been said, the site where this terrible event took place is at the base of a lofty point known as Yis-setla-toh or Wolf-head Point. It is on the north bank of the Yukon, at a short distance from where the Koiklotzena (Ko-i-klót-ze-nah) enters the great river. This is one of the most important tributaries of the Yukon and bids fair to surpass the famous Forty Mile Creek, as a gold-bearing district. The name of this river has been distorted into Koyukuk, and is not the only instance Alaskan maps present of slovenly transliteration of native names.

The place where the murder was committed is not far from Nulato. When, therefore, the annual supplies for our mission there were sent up this year, it was considered a favorable opportunity for carrying out Father Tosi's wish concerning a memorial. The supplies for our various stations are distributed by means of a little tow-boat called the *St. Michael*, formerly owned by the Alaska Commercial Company. Father Tosi purchased this steamer, together with three small barges. Through the kindness of Father Sasia, Brother Thomas Power was sent to Alaska to take charge of this steamer. Brother Power is a practical engineer who has served on several steamships running from San Francisco. The greater part of the short Alaskan summer is taken up by the various trips from St. Michael's Post on Norton Sound to the missions along the Yukon. Father Ragaru, who has the direction of the Nulato Mission, had a large cross and pedestal of framework partly finished when the *St. Michael* arrived.

As soon as the freight was discharged, the *St. Michael* set out from Nulato with two barges in tow, carrying the party which had come to assist at the ceremony. Rev. J. Treca, acting superior during the absence of Father Tosi, accompanied by Fathers Ragaru, Robaut and Barnum, occupied one barge. On the second were Sister Mary Prudence and Sister Mary Anguilbert, with seven or eight native girls from our school at Holy Cross. Several of the larger boys of the school were along as assistants on

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the steamer. It was late at night when we reached Yis-setla-toh. Owing to a long sand-bar in the river, the steamer had been obliged to run some distance from the exact spot. Early the following morning, Sunday, August 26, 1892, Father Robaut and Father Ragaru hunted around until they found the place where they supposed stood the old barrabora in which the archbishop was killed. We all proceeded to the place which they indicated, and the boys cleared away what little undergrowth there was except one wild rose-bush, which the Sisters wished should remain. A portable altar was arranged, and Father Treca said Mass. When it was concluded, the altar was moved back a few yards, and while Father Ragaru and Father Barnum said Mass, some of the crew were employed in bolting the framework together and setting up the cross. When this was finished, the altar was brought and placed directly in front, and Father Treca performed the ceremony of blessing the cross. He then made a short address, stopping after every sentence, so as to allow one of the boys who stood beside him to interpret what he said. The presence of the steamer had attracted a few straggling Indians who happened to be in the neighborhood. Among them was the woman who had first discovered the body of the archbishop, and who had cleared away the snow and wrapped the blanket over it. When Father Treca ended his address, Father Robaut, who had been the travelling companion of the archbishop, then said Mass. The altar-furniture was then packed up, and having plucked from the little rose-bush a number of leaves as souvenirs of the occasion, the party returned to the boats, and were soon on their way back to Nulato.

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THE TRUTH CONCERNING THE DISENFRANCHISEMENT OF CATHOLICS IN RHODE ISLAND.

ALTHOUGH the truth concerning the so-called disenfranchisement of the Catholics in Rhode Island was told nearly a century ago, it does not seem to have made much impression upon the minds of those who are interested in the study of such questions. The inquiry that was issued by Mr. Sidney S. Rider as No. 1 of the second series of the "Rhode Island Historical Tracts," was confined to two hundred and fifty copies, so that its circulation is now naturally restricted to a certain clique of local book collectors. The facts that have been brought to light, however, are of such a nature as to be worthy the attention of every student of American history, and for that reason they are introduced to a wider circulation through the pages of the REVIEW.

The statement that Maryland was the first colony where the ideal policy of religious liberty and freedom of conscience was inculcated, has received general credence. In an address delivered before the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1882, Mr. William A. Wallace stated that "Maryland was colonized by Roman Catholics, and it is due to truth to say that Calvert, Lord Baltimore, was the first in the history of the Christian world to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice and not by the exercise of power."

While we should like to admit that this statement was true, it is but due to historical fact that the credit should be given to Roger Williams. According to Bancroft, the Maryland oath "was devised in 1648, and not before," while, in 1636, Roger Williams wrote, with his own hand, the compact that stands at the head of the first record book of Providence Plantation, and in this preamble each citizen was assured of religious liberty, as he was compelled to bind himself "to be obedient to the orders of the majority *only in civil things*."

Yet, notwithstanding this compact, the charge has been made and reiterated that as soon as the charter had been obtained and liberty of conscience had been granted to all citizens, regardless of their religious belief, the founders of the colony proceeded to undo their work by enacting a law proscribing the Roman Catholics, denying them the elective franchise and all the rights of citizenship.

If such a charge can be sustained, it introduces Roger Williams

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in a new character, for we must admit that no one who was not a hypocrite and an adept in the intricacies of double dealing could ever have been guilty of such inconsistencies.

To believe that Mr. Williams would permit the passage of such a law makes an unusual demand upon our credulity. The student of history who has made even a superficial examination of his character would hesitate to believe him guilty. In all of the writings that he has left he shows that he had a perfect comprehension of the difference between civil liberty and religious liberty, and in his "Letters"[1] he presents his views in the clearest manner, illustrating them, that they may be more explicit, by likening a commonwealth to a ship. Mr. Williams says:

"There goes many a ship to sea with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth as a human combination, or society. It hath fallen out sometimes that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks may be embarked in one ship; upon which supposal I affirm, that all the liberty of conscience that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges—that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews or Turks be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship, nor compelled from their own particular prayer or worship, if they practice any. I further add that I never denied, that notwithstanding this liberty, the commodore of the ship ought to command the ship's course, yea, and also command that justice, peace and sobriety be kept and practiced, both among the seamen and all passengers. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their services, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help in person or purse, toward the common charges, or defence; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace or preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any should preach or write that there ought to be no commanders nor officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters, nor officers, nor laws, nor orders, nor corrections nor punishments; I say I never denied but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel and punish."

Here are definite opinions clearly defined. As Mr. Rider sums up the matter: "With him (Mr. Williams) it was clear that a person might be bound to support a civil government and at the same time remain in complete possession of his religious liberty, and yet not be an officer in the government." Still we are asked to believe that after preaching these tenets of perfect liberty the founder of the colony of Rhode Island put them into practice by

[1] p. 279.

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demanding that the Papist, the Turk and the Jew should abjure their religious opinions and swear an oath professing Protestant Christianity before they should be permitted to enter the ship or the commonwealth.

As has been said, however, there is practically no truth in the charge. It is a mountain of misrepresentation with a single grain of fact as its foundation. As the manuscript records of the period are still in existence, perfect and unmutilated, it will not be a difficult matter to prove the truth of all the assertions that are now made.

The charge that the founders of the colony had no sooner obtained the charter from King Charles II., in which perfect religious liberty was guaranteed, than they proceded to violate it by proscribing Roman Catholics, is believed to have originated with Mr. George Chalmers. On page 276 of his "Political Annals" (London, 1780), he says:

"Amidst the satisfaction occasioned by the obtention of the great object of the wishes of every one, an assembly composed agreeably to the Charter was convened in March, 1663. Among a great variety of ordinances which the circumstances of the colony required, and which were enacted, one for declaring the privileges of his Majesty's subjects is remarkable. It enacted that no freeman shall be imprisoned or deprived of his freehold or condemned but by the judgment of his peers or by the law of the colony; that no tax shall be imposed or required of the colonists but by the act of the General Assembly; that all men of competent estate and of civil conversation, Roman Catholics only excepted, shall be admitted freemen, or may choose or be chosen colonial officers." Mr. Chalmers, therefore, continues: "What abundant reflections does this ordinance afford to the wise! Nothing is assuredly more incongruous than for a corporation created with special powers to endeavor by its own act to acquire privileges inconsistent with the patent which gave it existence. Yet that law plainly designed as its great charter is manifestly repugnant to the grant. By it none were at any time thereafter to be molested for any difference in 'matters of religion.' Nevertheless, a persecution was immediately commenced against the Roman Catholics, who were deprived of the rights of citizens and of the liberties of Englishmen."

On page 284, Mr. Chalmers says: "The act before mentioned excluding Roman Catholics from the privileges of freemen was carefully concealed. It ought to be remembered that the representatives of none of the colonial governments during those days, especially of those which talked the most of religion, are to be implicitly relied on." So stands Mr. Chalmer's charge, and it was

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iterated and reiterated by the writers who followed him. Mr. Holmes, in his "Annals," says that such a law was enacted in 1663. The statement is repeated in the "Address to the Agricultural Society of Philadelphia," which was delivered by Mr. Rawle in 1818, and, during the same year, Mr. Verplanck alluded to it in his address before the New York Historical Society. Rhode Island's historian, Mr. Arnold, admits the fact and says: "The disabling clause had crept, no one knows how or when, in the act which defined the requisites of citizenship" (vol. ii., p. 490). Mention has already been made of the address that was delivered before the Pennsylvania Historical Society by Mr. Wallace, but, in 1873, while speaking before the same society, Mr. Craig Biddle said: "The mild and pious Roger Williams, who denounced the ecclesiastical tyranny of Massachusetts and fled into the wilderness to avoid its intolerance, does not appear to have been able to impress his views to their fullest extent on the province of Rhode Island, of which he was the founder, for, in the oldest printed copy of the laws now extant, the Roman Catholics are excepted from the enjoyment of freedom of conscience. It has been well said that intolerance formed a part of the very atmosphere of those times, and no one, not Luther or Calvin or Cranmer could escape its subtle infection."

These are but a few of the quotations that might be made. Since 1780, when Chalmers's statement was first given to the public, writers and speakers have been pleased to make use of these words as a means of attack on the reputation of Roger Williams, but as they may be said to represent the charge against him no more citations will be necessary.

If this law was passed at the session of 1663, however, it must have been with the knowledge if not the sanction of Mr. Williams. In 1636 he wrote the compact that stands in the first record book of the Colony, and he was actively interested in all legislative matters until 1677, when his political history ends. He was a member of the General Assembly in the term when the charter that is alleged to contain this proscription of Catholics, was accepted, and yet we shall show that he was entirely innocent of the charge with which he has so often been reproached.

After Mr. Chalmers's statement was made, it remained unquestioned until 1818, when Mr. Robert Walsh, Jr., began to doubt its authenticity. He referred the matter to United States Senator Burrill, and he forwarded the query to Judge Eddy, who was then Secretary of State of Rhode Island. Judge Eddy made a careful search of the records, and the result of his investigation appears on page 431 of "Walsh's Appeal." Here he says: "I have formerly examined the records of the State from its first settlement with a

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view to historical information, and lately from 1663 to 1719 with a particular view to this law excluding Roman Catholics from the privileges of free men, and can find nothing that has any reference to it, nor anything that gives any preference or privileges to men of one set of religious opinions over those of another until the revision of 1745." Again in referring particularly to the session of 1663, Judge Eddy says: "The proceedings of this session are entire; there is not a word on record of the act referred to, purporting to have been passed at this session."

This throws a new light on the question, and demands the fullest investigation. No one can deny that this proscriptive clause appears in some of the printed "Digests of the Laws of Rhode Island," and that in these digests it is declared that the law was enacted in 1663. If this is not sure, when was the law enacted? and why does it appear under its false colors in the later digests? To answer these questions that naturally suggest themselves it will be necessary to follow in the footsteps of Judge Eddy and Mr. Rider, and refer to the legislative history of Rhode Island.

At various times since the institution of the Colony there have been published revisions of the laws of the Commonwealth. There is a manuscript digest of 1705. The first to be put in print bears the date of 1719, and it was in this book that the proscription clause first appeared. Mr. Rider holds that Judge Eddy was hampered in his investigations by the lack of available information. He explains: "Mr. Eddy refers to the digest of 1745 for the reason that he had never seen the previous digests of 1710 and 1719. He knew that there had been published a digest of 1719, and it may be that he brought his researches down to that year because of that fact."

However that may be, the two digests have now been found and may easily be examined. In the edition of 1719 the incriminating law appears as follows:

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly of this Colony and by the authority of the same it is hereby enacted that no Freeman shall be Taken and Imprisoned or be deprived of his freehold or liberty or free customs, or outlawed or exiled or otherwise destroyed, nor shall be passed upon, judged or condemned but by the lawful judgement of his peers, or by the law of this Colony, and that no Aid, Tax, Tailage or Custom, Loan, Benevolence, Gift, Excise, Duty or Imposition whatsoever shall be laid, assessed, imposed, levied, or required of, or on any of his Majesties subjects within this Colony, or upon their estates upon any manner of pretence or colour whatever, but by the Act and Assent of the General Assembly of this Colony.

"And no man of what estate and condition soever shall be put

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out of his lands and tenements nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited nor banished, nor anyways destroyed, nor molested without being for it brought to answer by due course of Law; and that all rights and privileges granted to this Colony by his Majesties Charter be entirely kept and preserved to all his Majesties subjects residing in or belonging to the same; and that all men professing Christianity and of competent estates and of civil conversation who acknowledge and are obedient to the civil magistrate though of different judgements in Religious Affairs (*Roman Catholicks only excepted*) shall be admitted Freemen and shall have liberty to choose and be chosen Officers in the Colony both military and civil."

This law appears under the head of "Laws made and Past by the General Assembly of his Majesties Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England begun and held at Newport the first day of March, 1663."

The law appears, with but minor alterations, in the Digests of 1719, 1730, 1745 and 1767. In 1783 it was repealed by the General Assembly and at that time it was stated that the law had been enacted in 1663.

As we have now found a permanent foundation to work upon, by locating the law in the first printed Digest let us go back through the years when the laws existed only in the manuscript state. At the January session, 1704, a committee was appointed to prepare these laws that they might be printed. Another committee was appointed in June, 1705, "to view over and perfect said laws," and this manuscript, which is known as the Digest of 1705, is now on file at the office of the Secretary of State, but the incriminating law *does not appear in it.*

No other attempt to publish the laws was made until 1716 when the Assembly appointed a committee for this purpose. In 1717 another committee was appointed and in 1718 Richard Ward was authorized to "proceed to transcribe and fit the laws for the press *with marginal notes thereon.*" This was done and the Digest of 1719 was printed, but, as Mr. Rider says: "There is no record of the enactment or re-enactment of the Digest of 1719 by the General Assembly. Hence it must follow that all propositions which had not, before the publication, been enacted in legal form and had become laws, did not by the fact of publication among genuine laws become themselves genuine. That there were cases of this kind is clearly proved by the action of the General Assembly at its very next (September) session. At that time it appointed a committee consisting of Governor Cranston, Lieutenant-Colonel William Coddington and Richard Ward to correct the errors of the press committed in printing the laws of the colony, and to get

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them printed.[1] This extraordinary action shows two things: 1. That there were gross errors; 2. So gross, and so numerous as to justify the General Assembly in having the *errors* printed to accompany the genuine laws. I cannot discover that this project was carried out; if it was, no copy of the *errors* is known to exist.

As the Digest of 1719 was not confirmed, all of the additions were spurious, and, as the religious test for citizenship was but one of these annotations, it was not a law. The committee that was appointed to transcribe the laws had no legislative powers and no such act had ever been passed by the General Assembly.

The question that now arises is as to the cause that led the committee to make such an amendment. In 1665 it would have been clearly illegal, as at that time King Charles II. sent a commission to Rhode Island with five propositions. The second proposition was as follows: "That all men of competente estate and of civill conversation who acknowledge and are obediente to the civill magistrate though of differing judgements, may be admitted to be freemen and have liberty to choose and be chosen officers both civil and military." According to the *Rhode Island Colonial Record*[2] this was the law that was enacted in 1665 and not in 1663 as has been generally stated. The words *professing Christianity* and *Roman Ca holics only excepted*, that were inserted without legislative authority in the Digest of 1719, did not appear in the proposition from the king, nor would he have permitted such a law to have been passed, as it would have been in conflict with the laws of England, and as Mr. Chalmers says: "The corporation had been empowered to make laws that should not be repugnant to the jurisprudence of England" Again, Blackstone says: "But it is particularly declared by statute[3] that all laws, by-laws, usages and customs which shall be in practice in any of the plantations repugnant to any law, made or to be made in this Kingdom relative to the said plantation shall be utterly void and of none effect." Although it was the latter part of the eighteenth century before either Chalmers's or Blackstone's works appeared, the same law was in existence and had been provided for in the charter of the colony of Rhode Island.

This clause in the charter read that the power to make laws was conferred upon Rhode Island colonists, provided "such laws be not contrary, and repugnant unto, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws of the Realm of England." But this clause that made the proscriptive law positively illegal under the reign of Charles II., or in 1665, made its insertion actually compulsory in 1719.

At that time no Catholic could hold a seat in Parliament; they

[1] *R. I. Col. Rec.*, vol. iv, p. 257.

[2] Vol. ii, p. 112.

[3] 7 and 8 Will 3, chap. 2.

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were not permitted to inherit or purchase land, and none could enjoy any of the rights of citizenship unless they were Protestants.

The Rhode Island charter conferred upon every subject of the colony all the "Liberties and Immunities of Free and Natural Subjects, born within the Realm of England," but the hated Catholics who had no rights in England could not, by law, expect any better treatment in Rhode Island.

These anti-Catholic laws went into effect in England on June 24, 1716, but in the colonies the time was extended to the 24th of June, 1717. Here we have the story of the Digest of 1719. The laws of Rhode Island were in conflict with the laws of England and it would be necessary to revise the statute. In 1715 the committee was appointed and in 1719 the work was completed. Acting in harmony with the laws of England the committee had inserted the proscriptive clause and by an error of annotation the entire law, as it stood in the 1719 Digest, was credited to the session of 1663, while the mooted words "*professing Christianity*" and "*Roman Catholics only excepted*," had but recently and of necessity been inserted.

Yet these laws were never confirmed and not until 1830, when a new Digest was prepared, did the proscriptive clause go into effect, only to be repealed at the first opportunity. By an oversight the error of date remained unchanged and the characters of the broad-minded founders of the colony have therefore been attacked and besmeared by those careless writers and orators who did not take the trouble to investigate their assertions.

In Rhode Island, however, the proscription of Catholics was very different to what it was in England under the laws with which the Digest of 1716 was supposed to harmonize. Mr. Chalmers says: "Nevertheless a persecution was immediately commenced against the Roman Catholics, who were deprived of the rights of citizens and of the liberties of Englishmen." We have already shown that no such law existed in the colony until the laws of England made its enactment compulsory, as Rhode Island could not include the Roman Catholics in the list of freemen in the face of the direct demand of the charter, and we will now briefly consider the charge that the Catholics were persecuted in the colony and that their liberty of conscience was restricted. In his address before the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Mr. Biddle says: "In the oldest printed copy of its laws now extant, the Roman Catholics are excepted from the enjoyment of freedom of conscience."

In Rhode Island, on the contrary, the Catholics were received with the greatest favor permissible under the charter. According to the English statute, an English Catholic could not hold or inherit land; in Rhode Island a Catholic was permitted to hold land.

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A Rhode Island Catholic who held property in England was compelled to forfeit it; in Rhode Island his right to his land was protected. In England he could have held no office, either civil or military; in Rhode Island any military office was open to him. In other words he was permitted to enjoy freedom of conscience and was only prevented from becoming a freeman by the laws of England. That is the persecution to which Catholics were subjected in Rhode Island. While Massachusetts and other colonies were acting in union against the Catholics and the Quakers the broad spirit of Roger Williams always remained as the predominating force in the colony, so that the oppressed of every faith and race were assured of a safe home if not a hearty welcome on the shores of Narragansett Bay. JOHN RICHARD MEADE.

DE STVDIIS SCRIPTVRAE SACRAE.

VENERABILIBVS FRATRIBVS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBVS ARCHIEPISCOPIS ET EPISCOPIS VNIVERSIS CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM ET COMMVNIONEM CVM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBVS LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALVTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

PROVIDENTISSIMUS Deus, qui humanum genus, admirabili caritatis consilio, ad consortium naturae divinae principio evexit, dein a communi labe exitioque eductum, in pristinam dignitatem restituit, hoc eidem propterea contulit singulare praesidium ut arcana divinitatis, sapientiae, misericordiae suae supernaturali via patefaceret. Licet enim in divina revelatione res quoque comprehendantur quae humanae rationi inaccessae non sunt, ideo hominibus revelatae, *ut ab omnibus expedite, firma certitudine et nullo admixto errore cognosci possint, non hac tamen de causa revelatio absolute necessaria dicenda est, sed quia Deus ex infinita bonitate sua ordinavit hominem ad finem supernaturalem.*[1] Quae *supernaturalis revelatio, secundum universalis Ecclesiae fidem*, continetur tum *in sine scripto traditionibus*, tum etiam *in libris scriptis*, qui appellantur sacri et canonici, eo quod *Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti, Deum habent auctorem, atque ut tales ipsi Ecclesiae traditi sunt.*[2] Hoc sane de utriusque Testamenti libris

[1] Conc. Vat. *sess.* iii., *cap.* ii. *de revel.* [2] *Ibid.*

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perpetuo tenuit palamque professa est Ecclesia: eaque cognita sunt gravissima veterum documenta, quibus enuntiatur, Deum, prius per prophetas, deinde per seipsum, postea per apostolos locutum, etiam Scripturam condidisse, quae canonica nominatur[1], eamdemque esse oracula et eloquia divina[2], litteras esse, humano generi longe a patria peregrinanti a Patre caelesti datas et per auctores sacros transmissas[3]. Iam, tanta quum sit praestantia et dignitas Scripturarum, ut Deo ipso auctore confectae, altissima eiusdem mysteria, consilia, opera complectantur, illud consequitur, eam quoque partam sacrae theologiae, quae in eisdem divinis Libris tuendis interpretandisque versatur, excellentiae et utilitatis esse quam maximae.—Nos igitur, quemadmodum alia quaedam disciplinarum genera, quippe quae ad incrementa divinae gloriae humanaeque salutis valere plurimum posse viderentur, crebris epistolis et cohortationibus provehenda, non sine fructu, Deo adiutore, curavimus, ita nobilissimum hoc sacrarum Litterarum studium excitare et commendare, atque etiam ad temporum necessitates congruentius dirigere iamdiu apud Nos cogitamus. Movemur nempe ac prope impellimur sollicitudine Apostolici muneris, non modo ut hunc praeclarum catholicae revelationis fontem tutius atque uberius ad utilitatem dominici gregis patere velimus, verum etiam ut eumdem ne patiamur ulla in parte violari, ab iis qui in Scripturam sanctam, sive impio ausu invehuntur aperte, sive nova quaedam fallaciter imprudenterve moliuntur.—Non sumus equidem nescii, Venerabiles Fratres, haud paucos esse e catholicis, viros ingenio doctrinisque abundantes, qui ferantur alacres ad divinorum Librorum vel defensionem agendam vel cognitionem et intelligentiam parandam ampliorem. At vero, qui eorum operam atque fructus merito collaudamus, facere tamen non possumus quin ceteros etiam, quorum sollertia et doctrina et pietas optime hac in re pollicentur, ad eamdem sancti propositi laudem vehementer hortemur. Optamus nimirum et cupimus, ut plures patrocinium divinarum Litterarum rite suscipiant teneantque constanter; utque illi potissime, quos divina gratia in sacrum ordinem vocavit, maiorem in dies diligentiam industriamque iisdem legendis, meditandis, explanandis, quod aequissimum est, impendant.

Hoc enimvero studium cur tantopere commendandum videatur, praeter ipsius praestantiam atque obsequium verbo Dei debitum, praecipua causa inest in multiplici utilitatum genere, quas inde novimus manaturas, sponsore certissimo Spiritu Sancto: *Omnis*

[1] S. Aug. *de civ. Dei*, xi. 3.

[2] S. Clem. Rom. 1 ad Cor. 45; S. Polycarp ad Phil. 7; S. Iren. *c. haer.* ii. 28, 2.

[3] S. Chrys. *in Gen. hom.* 2, 2; S. Aug. *in Ps.* xxx., *serm.* 2, 1; S. Greg. M. ad Theod. *ep.* iv. 31.

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Scriptura divinitus inspirata utilis est ad docendum, ad arguendum, ad corripiendum, ad erudiendum in iustitia, ut perfectus sit homo Dei, ad omne opus bonum instructus.[1] Tali sane consilio Scripturas a Deo esse datas homnibus, exempla ostendunt Christi Domini et Apostolorum, Ipse enim qui miraculis conciliavit auctoritatem, auctoritate meruit fidem, fide contraxit multitudinem[2], ad sacras Litteras, in divinae suae legationis munere, appellare consuevit: nam per occasionem ex ipsis etiam sese a Deo missum Deumque declarat; ex ipsis argumenta petit ad discipulos erudiendos, ad doctrinam confirmandam suam; earumdem testimonia et a calumniis vindicat obtrectantium, et Sadducaeis ac Pharisaeis ad coarguendum opponit, in ipsumque Satanam, impudentius sollicitantem, retorquet; easdemque sub ipsum vitae exitum usurpavit, explanavitque discipulis redivivus, usque dum ad Patris gloriam ascendit.—Eius autem voce praeceptisque Apostoli conformati, tametsi dabat ipse *signa et prodigia fieri per manus eorum*,[3] magnam tamen efficacitatem ex divinis traxerunt Libris, ut christianam sapientiam late gentibus persuaderent, ut Iudaeorum pervicaciam frangerent, ut haereses comprimerent erumpentes. Id apertum ex ipsorum concionibus, in primis Beati Petri, quas, in argumentum firmissimum praescriptionis novae, dictis veteris Testamenti fere contexuerunt; idque ipsum patet ex Matthaei et Ioannis Evangeliis atque ex Catholicis, quae vocantur, epistolis; luculentissime vero ex eius testimonio qui ad pedes Gamalielis Legem Moysi et Prophetas se didicisse gloriatur, ut armatus spiritualibus telis postea diceret confidenter: *Arma militiae nostrae non carnalia sunt, sed potentia Deo.*[4]—Per exempla igitur Christi Domini et Apostolorum omnes intelligant, tirones praesertim militiae sacrae, quanti faciendae sint divinae Litterae, et quo ipsi studio qua religione ad idem veluti armamentarium accedere debeant. Nam catholicae veritatis doctrinam qui habeant apud doctos vel indoctos tractandam, nulla uspiam de Deo, summo et perfectissimo bono, deque operibus gloriam caritatemque ipsius prodentibus, suppetet eis vel cumulatior copia vel amplior praedicatio. De Servatore autem humani generis nihil uberius expressiusve quam ea, quae in universo habentur Bibliorum contextu; recteque affirmavit Hieronymus, ignorationem Scripturarum esse ignorationem Christi:[5] ab illis nimirum extat, veluti viva et spirans, imago eius, ex qua levatio malorum, cohortatio virtutum, amoris divini invitatio mirifice prorsus diffunditur. Ad Ecclesiam vero quod attinet, institutio, natura, munera, charismata eius tam crebra ibidem mentione occurrunt, tam multa pro ea tamque firma prompta sunt argu-

[1] II. Tim iii., 16-17. [2] S. Aug. *de util. cred.* xiv., 32. [3] Act. xiv. 3.
[4] S. Hier. *de studio Script.* ad Paulin. *ep.* liii. 3. [5] *In Is. Prol.*

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menta, idem ut Hieronymus verissime edixerit: Qui sacrarum Scripturarum testimoniis roboratus est, is est propugnaculum Ecclesiae.[1] Quod si de vitae morumque conformatione et disciplina quaeratur, larga indidem et optima subsidia habituri sunt viri apostolici: plena sanctitatis praescripta, suavitate et vi condita hortamenta, exempla in omni virtutum genere insignia; gravissima accedit, ipsius Dei nomine et verbis, praemiorum in aeternitatem promissio, denunciatio poenarum.

Atque haec propria et singularis Scripturarum virtus, a divino afflatu Spiritus Sancti profecta, ea est quae oratori sacro auctoritatem addit, apostolicam praebet dicendi libertatem, nervosam victricemque tribuit eloquentiam. Quisquis enim divini verbi spiritum et robur eloquendo refert, ille, *non loquitur in sermone tantum, sed et in virtute et in Spiritu Sancto et in plenitudine multa.*[2] Quamobrem ii dicendi sunt praepostere improvideque facere, qui ita conciones de religione habent et praecepta divina enuntiant, nihil ut fere afferant nisi humanae scientiae et prudentiae verba, suis magis argumentis quam divinis innixi. Istorum scilicet orationem, quamtumvis nitentem luminibus, languescere et frigere necesse est, utpote quae igne careat sermonis Dei,[3] eamdemque longe abesse ab illa, qua divinus sermo pollet virtute: *Vivus est enim sermo Dei et efficax et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti, et pertingens usque ad divisionem animae ac spiritus.*[4] Quamquam, hoc etiam prudentioribus assentiendum est, inesse in sacris Litteris mire variam et uberem magnisque dignam rebus eloquentiam: id quod Augustinus pervidit diserteque arguit,[5] atque res ipsa confirmat praestantissimorum in oratoribus sacris, qui nomen suum assiduae Bibliorum consuetudini piaeque meditationi se praecipue debere, grati Deo affirmarunt.

Quae omnia Ss. Patres cognitione et usu quum exploratissima haberent, nunquam cessarunt in divinis Litteris earumque fructibus collaudandis. Eas enimvero crebris locis appellant vel thesaurum locupletissimum doctrinarum caelestium,[6] vel perennes fontes salutis,[7] vel ita proponunt quasi prata fertilia et amoenissimos hortos, in quibus grex dominicus admirabili modo reficitur et delectetur.[8] Apte cadunt illa S. Hieronymi ad Nepotianum clericum: Divinas Scripturas saepius lege, imo nunquam de manibus tuis sacra lectio deponatur; disce quod doceas . . . . . sermo presbyteri Scripturarum lectione conditus sit;[9] convenitque

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[1] *In Is.* liv. 12. [2] I. Thess. i. 5. [3] Ierem. xxiii. 29.
[4] Hebr. iv, 12. [5] *De doctr. chr.* iv. 6, 7.
[6] S. Chrys. *in Gen. hom* 21, 2; *hom.* 60, 3; S. Aug. *discipl. chr.* 2.
[7] S. Athan *ep. fest.* 39.
[8] S. Aug. *serm.* 26, 24; S. Ambr. *in Ps.* cxviii., *serm.* 19, 2.
[9] S. Hier. *de vit. cleric.* ad Nepot.

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sententia S. Gregorii Magni, quo nemo sapientius pastorum Ecclesiae descripsit munera: Necesse est, inquit, ut qui ad officium praedicationis excubant, a sacrae lectionis studio non recedant.[1] —Hic tamen libet Augustinum admonentem inducere, Verbi Dei inanem esse forinsecus praedicatorem, qui non sit intus auditor[2], eumque ipsum Gregorium sacris concionatoribus praecipientem, ut in divinis sermonibus, priusquam aliis eos proferant, semetipsos requirant, ne in insequentes aliorum facta se deserant.[3] Sed hoc iam, ab exemplo et documento Christi, qui *coepit facere et docere*, vox apostolica late praemonuerat, non unum allocuta Timotheum, sed omnem clericorum ordinem, eo mandato: *Attende tibi et doctrinae, insta in illis; hoc enim faciens, et teipsum salvum facies, et eos qui te audiunt.*[4] Salutis profecto perfectionisque et propriae et alienae eximia in sacris Litteris praesto sunt adiumenta, copiosius in Psalmis celebrata; iis tamen, qui ad divina eloquia, non solum mentem afferant docilem atque attentam, sed integrae quoque piaeque habitum voluntatis. Neque enim eorum ratio librorum similis atque communium putanda est; sed, quoniam sunt ab ipso Spiritu Sancto dictati, resque gravissimas continent multisque partibus reconditas et difficilores, ad illas propterea intelligendas exponendasque semper eiusdem Spiritus "indigemus adventu,"[5] hoc est lumine et gratia eius: quae sane, ut divini Psaltae frequenter instat auctoritas, humili sunt precatione imploranda, sanctimonia vitae custodienda.

Praeclare igitur ex his providentia excellit Ecclesiae, qua, *ne caelestis ille sacrorum Librorum thesaurus, quem Spiritus Sanctus summa liberalitate hominibus tradidit, neglectus iaceret*,[6] optimis semper et institutis et legibus cavit. Ispa enim constituit, non solum magnam eorum partem ab omnibus suis ministris in quotidiano sacrae psalmodiae officio legendam esse et mente pia considerandam, sed eorumdem expositionem et interpretationem in ecclesiis cathedralibus, in monasteriis, in conventibus aliorum regularium, in quibus studia commode vigere possint, per idoneos viros esse tradendam; diebus autem saltem dominicis et festis solemnibus fideles salutaribus Evangelii verbis pasci, restricte iussit.[7] Item prudentiae debetur diligentiaeque Ecclesiae cultus ille Scripturae sacrae per aetatem omnem vividus et plurimae ferax utilitatis.—In quo, etiam ad firmanda documenta hortationesque Nostras, iuvat commemorare quemadmodum a religionis christianae initiis, quotquot sanctitate vitae rerumque divinarum scientia floruerunt, ii sacris in Litteris multi semper assiduique fuerint.

[1] S. Greg. M., *Regul. past.* II., 11 (*al.* 22); *Moral.* xviii., 26 (*al.* 14).
[2] S. Aug. *serm.* 179, 1. [3] S. Greg. M., *Regal. past.* III., 24 (*al.* 48).
[4] I. Tim. iv., 16. [5] S. Hier, *in Mich.* I. 10.
[6] Conc. Trid. *sess.* v, *decret. de reform.* 1. [7] Ibid. 1–2.

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Proximos Apostolorum discipulos, in quibus Clementem Romanum, Ignatium Antiochenum, Polycarpum, tum Apologetas, nominatim Iustinum et Irenaeum, videmus epistolis et libris suis, sive ad tutelam sive ad commendationem pertinerent catholicorum dogmatum, e divinis maxime Litteris fidem, robur, gratiam omnem pietatis arcessere. Scholis autem catecheticis ac theologicis in multis sedibus episcoporum exortis, Alexandrina et Antiochena celeberrimis, quae in eis habebatur institutio, non alia prope re, nisi lectione, explicatione, defensione divini verbi scripti continebatur. Inde plerique prodierunt Patres et scriptores, quorum operosis studiis egregiisque libris consecuta tria circiter saecula ita abundarunt, ut aetas biblicae exegeseos aurea iure ea sit appellata.—Inter orientales principem locum tenet Origenes, celeritate ingenii et laborum constantia admirabilis, cuius ex plurimis scriptis et immenso Hexaplorum opere deinceps fere omnes hauserunt. Adnumerandi plures, qui huius disciplinae fines amplificarunt: ita, inter excellentiores tulit Alexandria Clementem, Cyrillum; Palaestina Eusebium, Cyrillun alterum; Cappadocia Basilium Magnum, utrumque Gregorium, Nazianzenum et Nyssenum; Antiochia Ioannem illum Chrysostomum, in quo huius peritia doctrinae cum summa eloquentia certavit. Neque id praeclare minus apud occidentales. In multis qui se admodum probavere, clara Tertulliani et Cypriani nomina, Hilarii et Ambrosii, Leonis et Gregorii Magnorum; clarissima Augustini et Hieronymi: quorum alter mire acutus extitit in perspicienda divini verbi sententia, uberrimusque in ea deducenda ad auxilia catholicae veritatis, alter a singulari Bibliorum scientia magnisque ad eorum usum laboribus, nomine Doctoris maximi praeconio Ecclesiae est honestatus.—Ex eo tempore ad undecimum usque saeculum, quamquam huiusmodi contentio studiorum non pari atque antea ardore ac fructu viguit, viguit tamen, operâ praesertim hominum sacri ordinis. Curaverunt enim, aut quae veteres in hac re fructuosiora reliquissent deligere, eaque apte digesta de suisque aucta pervulgare, ut ab Isidoro Hispalensi, Beda, Alcuino factum est in primis; aut sacros codices illustrare glossis, ut Valafridus Strabo et Anselmus Laudunensis, aut eorumdem integritati novis curis consulere, ut Petrus Damianus et Lanfrancus fecerunt.—Saeculo autem duodecimo allegoricam Scripturae enarrationem bona cum laude plerique tractarunt: in eo genere S. Bernardus ceteris facile antecessit, cuius etiam sermones nihil prope nisi divinas Litteras sapiunt.—Sed nova et laetiora incrementa ex disciplina accessere *Scholasticorum*. Qui, etsi in germanam versionis latinae lectionem studuerunt inquirere, confectaque ab ipsis *Correctoria biblica* id plane testantur, plus tamen studii industriaeque in interpretatione et explanatione collocav-

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erunt. Composite enim dilucideque, nihil ut melius antea, sacrorum verborum sensus varii distincti ; cuiusque pondus in re theologica perpensum ; definitae librorum partes, argumenta partium ; investigata scriptorum proposita ; explicata sententiarum inter ipsas necessitudo et connexio : quibus ex rebus nemo unus non videt quantum sit luminis obscurioribus locis admotum. Ipsorum praeterea de Scripturis lectam doctrinae copiam admodum produnt, tum de theologia libri, tum in easdem commentaria ; quo etiam nomine Thomas Aquinas inter eos habuit palmam.—Postquam vero Clemens V decessor Noster Athenaeum in Urbe et celeberrimas quasque studiorum Universitates litterarum orientalium magisteriis auxit, exquisitius homines nostri in nativo Bibliorum codice et in exemplari latino elaborare coeperunt Revecta deinde an nos eruditione Graecorum, multoque magis arte nova libraria feliciter inventa, cultus Scripturae sanctae latissime accrevit. Mirandum est enim quam brevi actatis spatio multiplicata praelo sacra exemplaria, *vulgata* praecipue, catholicum orbem quasi compleverint : adeo per id ipsum tempus, contra quam Ecclesiae hostes calumniantur, in honore et amore erant divina volumina.—Neque praetereundum est, quantus doctorum viorum numerus, maxime ex religiosis familiis, a Viennensi Concilio ad Tridentinum, in rei biblicae bonum provenerit : qui et novis usi subsidiis et variae eruditionis ingeniique sui segetem conferentes, non modo auxerunt congestas maiorum opes, sed quasi munierunt viam ad praestantiam subsecuti saeculi, quod ab eodem Tridentino effluxit, quum nobilissima Patrum aetas propemodum rediisse visa est. Nec enim quisquam ignorat, Nobisque est memoratu iucundum, decessores Nostros, a Pio IV ad Clementem VIII, auctores fuisse ut insignes illae editiones adornarentur versionum veterum, Vulgatae et Alexandrinae ; quae deinde, Sixti V eiusdemque Clementis iussu et auctoritate, emissae, in communi usu versantur. Per eadem autem tempora, notum est, quum versiones alias Bibliorum antiquas, tum polyglottas Antuerpiensem et Parisiensem, diligentissime esse editas, sincerae investigandae sententiae peraptas : nec ullum esse utriusque Testamenti librum, qui non plus uno nactus sit bonum explanatorem, neque graviorem ullam de iisdem rebus quaestionem, quae non multorum ingenia fecundissime exercuerit ; quos inter non pauci, iique studiosiores Ss. Patrum, nomen sibi fecere eximum. Neque, ex illa demum aetate, desiderata est nostrorum sollertia quum clari subinde viri de iisdem studiis bene sint meriti, sacrasque Litteras contra *rationalismi* commenta, ex philologia et finitimis disciplinis detorta, simili argumentorum genere vindicarint.—Haec omnia qui probe ut oportet considerent, dabunt profecto, Ecclesiam, nec ullo unquam providentiae modo

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defuisse, quo divinae Scripturae fontes in filios suos salutariter derivaret, atque illud praesidium, in quo divinitus ad eiusdem tutelam decusque locata est, retinuisse perpetuo omnique studiorum ope exornasse, ut nullis externorum hominum incitamentis eguerit, egeat.

Iam postulat a Nobis instituti consilii ratio, ut quae his de studiis recte ordinandis videantur optima, ea vobiscum communicemus, Venerabiles Fratres. Sed principio quale adversetur et instet hominum genus, quibus vel artibus vel armis confidant, interest utique hoc loco recognoscere.—Scilicet, ut antea cum iis praecipue res fuit qui privato iudicio freti, divinis traditionibus et magisterio Ecclesiae repudiatis, Scripturam statuerant unicum revelationis fontem supremumque indicem fidei; ita nunc est cum Rationalistis, qui eorum quasi filii et heredes, item sententia innixi sua, vel has ipsas a patribus acceptas christianae fidei reliquias prorsus abiecerunt. Divinam enim vel revelationem vel inspirationem vel Scripturam sacram, omnino ullam negant, neque alia prorsus ea esse dictitant, nisi hominum artificia et commenta: illas nimirum, non veras gestarum rerum narrationes, sed aut ineptas fabulas aut historias mendaces; ea, non vaticinia et oracula, sed aut confictas post eventus praedictiones aut ex naturali vi praesensiones; ea, non veri nominis miracula virtutisque divinae ostenta, sed admirabilia quaedam, nequaquam naturae viribus majora, aut praestigias et mythos quosdam: evangelia et scripta apostolica aliis plane auctoribus tribuenda.—Huiusmodi portenta errorum, quibus sacrosanctam divinorum Librorum veritatem putant convelli, tamquam decretoria pronuntiata novae cuiusdam *scientiae liberae*, obtrudunt: quae tamen adeo incerta ipsimet habent, ut eisdem in rebus crebrius immutent et suppleant. Quum vero tam impie de Deo, de Christo, de Evangelio et reliqua Scriptura sentiant et praedicent, non desunt ex iis qui theologi et christiani et evangelici haberi velint, et honestissimo nomine obtendant insolentis ingenii temeritatem. His addunt sese consiliorum participes adiutoresque e ceteris disciplinis non pauci, quos eadem revelatarum rerum intolerantia ad oppugnationem Bibliorum similiter trahit. Satis autem deplorare non possumus, quam latius in dies acriusque haec oppugnatio geratur. Geritur in eruditos et graves homines, quamquam illi non ita difficulter sibi possunt cavere; at maxime contra indoctorum vulgus omni consilio et arte infensi hostes nituntur. Libris, libellis, diariis exitiale virus infundunt; id concionibus, id sermonibus insinuant; omnia iam pervasere, et multas tenent, abstractas ab Ecclesiae tutela, adolescentium scholas, ubi credulas mollesque mentes ad contemptionem Scripturae, per ludibrium etiam et scurriles iocos, depravant

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misere.—Ista sunt, Venerabiles Fratres, quae commune pastorale studium permoveant, incendant; ita ut huic novae *falsi nominis scientiae*[1] antiqua illa et vera opponatur, quam a Christo per Apostolos accepit Ecclesia, atque in dimicatione tanta idonei defensores Scripturae sacrae exurgant.

Itaque ea prima sit cura, ut in sacris Seminariis vel Academiis sic omnino tradantur divinae Litterae, quemadmodum et ipsius gravitas disciplinae et temporum necessitas admonent. Cuius rei causâ, nihil profecto debet esse antiquius magistrorum delectione prudenti: ad hoc enim munus non homines quidem de multis, sed tales assumi oportet, quos magnus amor et diuturna consuetudo Bibliorum, atque opportunus doctrinae ornatus commendabiles faciat, pares officio. Neque minus prospiciendum mature est, horum postea locum qui sint excepturi. Iuverit idcirco, ubi commodum sit, ex alumnis optimae spei, theologiae spatium laudate emensis, nonnullos divinis Libris totos addici, facta eisdem plenioris cuiusdam studii aliquandiu facultate. Ita delecti institutique doctores, commissum munus adeant fidenter: in quo ut versentur optime et consentaneos fructus educant, aliqua ipsis documenta paulo explicatius impertire placet.— Ergo ingeniis tironum in ipso studii limine sic prospiciant, ut iudicium in eis, aptum pariter Libris divinis tuendis atque arripiendae ex ipsis sententiae, conforment sedulo et excolant. Huc pertinet tractatus *de introductione*, ut loquuntur, *biblica*, ex quo alumnus commodam habet opem ad integritatem auctoritatemque Bibliorum convincendam, ad legitimum in illis sensum investigandum et assequendum, ad occupanda captiosa et radicitus evellenda. Quae quanti momenti sit disposite scienterque, comite et adiutrice theologia, esse initio disputata, vix attinet dicere, quum tota continenter tractatio Scripturae reliqua hisce vel fundamentis nitatur vel luminibus clarescat.—Exinde in fructuosiorem huius doctrinae partem, quae de interpretatione est, perstudiose incumbet praeceptoris opera; unde sit auditoribus, quo dein modo divini verbi divitias in profectum religionis et pietatis convertant. Intelligimus equidem, enarrari in scholis Scripturas omnes, nec per amplitudinem rei, nec per tempus licere. Verumtamen, quoniam certa opus est via interpretationis utiliter expediendae, utrumque magister prudens devitet incommodum, vel eorum qui de singulis libris cursim delibandum praebent, vel eorum qui in certa unius parte immoderatius consistunt. Si enim in plerisque scholis adeo non poterit obtineri, quod in Academiis maioribus, ut unus aut alter liber continuatione quadam et ubertate exponatur, at magnopere efficiendum est, ut librorum partes ad interpretandum selectae

[1] 1 Tim. vi., 20.

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tractationem habeant convenienter plenam: quo veluti specimine allecti discipuli et edocti, cetera ipsi perlegant adamentque in omni vita. Is porro, retinens instituta maiorum, exemplar in hoc sumet versionem vulgatam: quam Concilium Tridentinum *in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, praedictationibus et expositionibus pro authentica* habendam decrevit,[1] atque etiam commendat quotidiana Ecclesiae consuetudo. Neque tamen non sua habenda erit ratio reliquarum versionum, quas christiana laudavit usurpavitque antiquitas, maxime codicum primigeniorum. Quamvis enim, ad summam rei quod spectat, ex dictionibus Vulgatae hebraea et graeca bene eluceat sententia, attamen si quid ambigue, si quid minus accurate inibi elatum sit, inspectio praecedentis linguae, suasore Augustino, proficiet.[2] Iamvero per se liquet, quam multum navitatis ad haec adhiberi oporteat, quum demum sit commentatoris officium, non quid ipse velit, sed quid sentiat ille quem interpretetur, exponere.[3]—Post expensam, ubi opus sit, omni industria lectionem, tum locus erit scrutandae et proponendae sententiae. Primum autem consilium est, ut probata communiter interpretandi praescripta tanto experrectiore observentur cura quanto morosior ab adversariis urget contentio. Propterea cum studio perpendendi quid ipsa verba valeant, quid consecutio rerum velit, quid locorum similitudo aut talia cetera, externa quoque appositae eruditionis illustratio societur: cauto tamen, ne intiusmodi quaestionibus plus temporis tribuatur et operae quam pernoscendis divinis Libris, neve corrogata multiplex rerum cognitio mentibus iuvenum plus incommodi afferat quam adimenti —Ex hoc, tutus erit gradus ad usum divinae Scripturae in re theologica. Quo in genere animadvertisse oportet, ad ceteras difficultatis causas, quae in quibusvis antiquorum libris intelligendis fere occurrunt, proprias aliquas in Libris sacris accedere. Eorum enim verbis, auctore Spiritu Sancto, res multae subiiciuntur quae humanae vim acieinque rationis longissime vincunt, divina scilicet mysteria et quae cum illis continentur alia multa; idque nonnunquam ampliore quadam et reconditiore sententia, quam exprimere littera et hermeneuticae leges indicare videantur: alios praeterea sensus, vel ad dogmata illustranda vel ad commendanda praecepta vitae, ipse litteralis sensus profecto adsciscit. Quamobrem diffitendum non est religiosa quadam obscuritate sacros Libros involvi, ut ad eos, nisi aliquo viae duce, nemo ingredi possit:[4] Deo quidem sic providente (quae vulgata est opinio Ss. Patrum), ut homines maiore cum desiderio et studio illos perscrutarentur, resque inde operose perceptas mentibus animisque altius infigerent; intelli-

[1] *Sess.* iv. *decr. de edit. et usu sacr. libror.*

[2] *De doctr. chr.* iii. 4.

[3] S. Hier. ad Pammach.

[4] S. Hier. ad Paulin. *de studio Script., ep.* liii., 4.

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gerentque pracipue, Scripturas Deum tradidisse Ecclesiae, qua scilicet duce et magistra in legendis tractandisque eloquiis suis certissima uterentur. Ubi enim charismata Domini posita sint, ibi discendam esse veritatem, atque ab illis, apud quos sit successio apostolica, Scripturas nullo cum periculo exponi, iam sanctus docuit Iranaeus:[1] cuius quidem ceterorumque Patrum doctrinam Synodus Vaticana amplexa est, quando Tridentinum decretum de divini verbi scripti interpretatione renovans, *hanc illius mentem esse declaravit, ut in rebus fidei et morum, ad aedificationem doctrinae christianae pertinentium, is pro vero sensu sacrae Scripturae habendus sit, quem tenuit ac tenet sancta Mater Ecclesia, cuis est iudicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum sanctarum; atque ideo nomini licere contra hunc sensum aut etiam contra unanimem consensum Patrum ipsam Scripturam sacram interpretari.*[2]—Qua plena sapientiae lege nequaquam Ecclesia pervestigationem scientiae biblicae retardat aut coërcet; sed eam potius ab errore integram praestat, plurimumque ad veram adiuvat progressionem. Nam privato cuique doctori magnus patet campus, in quo, tutis vestigiis, sua interpretandi industria praeclare certet Ecclesiaeque utiliter. In locis quidem divinae Scripturae qui expositionem certam et definitam adhuc desiderant, effici ita potest, ex suavi Dei providentis consilio, ut, quasi praeparato studio, iudicium Ecclesiae maturetur; in locis vero iam definitis potest privatus doctor aeque prodesse, si eos vel enucleatius apud fidelium plebem et ingeniosius apud doctos edisserat, vel insignius evincat ab adversariis. Quapropter praecipuum sanctumque sit catholico interpreti, ut illa Scripturae testimonia, quorum sensus authentice declaratus est, aut per sacros auctores, Spiritu Sancto afflante, uti multis in locis novi Testamenti, aut per Ecclesiam, eodem Sancto adsistente Spiritu, *sive solemni iudicio, sive ordinario et universali magisterio*,[3] eâdem ipse ratione interpretetur: atque ex adiumentis disciplinae suae convincat, eam solam interpretationem, ad sanae hermeneuticae leges, posse recte probari. In ceteris analogia fidei sequenda est, et doctrina catholica, qualis ex auctoritate Ecclesiae accepta, tamquam summa norma est adhibenda: nam, quum et sacrorum Librorum et doctrinae apud Ecclesiam depositae idem sit auctor Deus, profecto fieri nequit, ut sensus ex illis, qui ab hac quoquo modo discrepet, legitima interpretatione eruatur. Ex quo apparet, eam interpretationem ut ineptam et falsam reiiciendam, quae, vel, inspiratos auctores inter se quodammodo pugnantes faciat, vel doctrinae Ecclesiae adversetur.—Huius igitur disciplinae magister hac etiam laude floreat oportet,

[1] *C. haer.* iv., 26, 5.

[2] *Sess.* iii., *cap.* ii., *de revel.*: *cf.* Conc. Trid. *sess.* iv., *decr. de edit. et usu sacr. libror.*

[3] Conc. Vat. *sess.* iii., *cap.* iii., *de fide.*

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ut omnem theologiam egregie teneat, atque in commentariis versatus sit Ss. Patrum Doctorumque et interpretum optimorum. Id sane inculcat Hieronymus[1], multumque Augustinus, qui, iusta cum querela, Si unaquaeque disciplina, inquit, quamquam vilis et facilis, ut percipi possit, doctorem aut magistrum requirit, quid temerariae superbiae plenius, quam divinorum sacramentorum libros ab interpretibus suis nolle cognoscere![2] Id ipsum sensere et exemplo confirmavere ceteri Patres, qui divinarum Scripturarum intelligentiam, non ex propria praesumptione, sed ex maiorum scriptis et auctoritate sequebantur, quos et ipsos ex apostolica successione intelligendi regulam suscepisse constabat[3].—Iamvero Ss. Patrum, quibus post Apostolos, sancta Ecclesia plantatoribus, rigatoribus, aedificatoribus, pastoribus, nutritoribus crevit[4], summa auctoritas est, quotiescumque testimonium aliquod biblicum, ut ad fidei pertinens morumve doctrinam, uno eodemque modo explicant omnes: nam ex ipsa eorum consensione, ita ab Apostolis secundum catholicam fidem traditum esse nitide eminet. Eorumdem vero Patrum sententiae tunc etiam magni aestimanda est, quum hisce de rebus munere doctorum quasi privatim funguntur; quippe quos, non modo scientia revelatae doctrinae et multarum notitia rerum, ad apostolicos libros cognoscendos utilium, valde commendet, verum Deus ipse, viros sanctimonia vitae et veritatis studio insignes, amplioribus luminis sui praesidiis adiuverit. Quare interpres suum esse noverit, eorum et vestigia reverenter persequi et laboribus frui intelligenti delectu.—Neque ideo tamen viam sibi putet obstructam, quo minus, ubi iusta causa adfuerit, inquirendo et exponendo vel ultra procedat, modo praeceptioni illi, ab Augustino sapienter propositae, religiose obsequatur, videlicet a litterali et veluti obvio sensu minime discedendum, nisi qua eum vel ratio tenere prohibeat vel necessitas cogat dimittere.[5] quae praeceptio eo tenenda est firmius, quo magis, in tanta novitatum cupidine et opinionum licentia, periculum imminet aberrandi. Caveat idem ne illa negligat quae ab eisdem Patribus ad allegoricam similemve sententiam translata sunt, maxime quum ex litterali descendant et multorum auctoritate fulciantur. Talem enim interpretandi rationem ab Apostolis Ecclesia accepit suoque ipsa exemplo, ut e re patet liturgica, comprobavit; non quod Patres ex ea contenderent dogmata fidei per se demonstrare, sed quia bene frugiferam virtuti et pietati alendae nossent experti.—Ceterorum interpretum catholicorum est minor quidem auctoritas, attamen, quoniam Bibliorum studia continuum quemdam progressum in Ecclesia habuerunt, istorum pariter commentariis suus tribuendus est honor, ex

[1] *Ibid.*, 6, 7.
[2] Ad Honorat., *de utilit cred.*, xvii., 35.
[3] Rufin., *Hist. eccl.* ii., 9.
[4] S. Aug. c Iulian., ii., 10, 37.
[5] *De Gen. ad litt.*, l. viii., c. 7, 13.

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quibus multa opportune peti liceat ad refellenda contraria, ad difficiliora enodanda. At vero id nimium dedecet, ut quis, egregiis operibus, quae nostri abunde reliquerunt, ignoratis aut despectis, heterodoxorum libros praeoptet, ab eisque cum praesenti sanae doctrinae periculo et non raro cum detrimento fidei, explicationem locorum quaerat, in quibus catholici ingenia et labores suos iamdudum optimeque collocarint. Licet enim heterodoxorum studiis, prudenter adhibitis, iuvari interdum possit interpres catholicus, meminerit tamen, ex crebris quoque veterum documentis[1], incorruptum sacrarum Litterarum sensum extra Ecclesiam neutiquam reperiri, neque ab eis tradi posse, qui, verae fidei expertes, Scripturae, non medullam attingunt sed corticem rodunt.[2]

Illud autem maxime optabile est et necessarium, ut eiusdem divinae Scripturae usus in universam theologiae influat disciplinam eiusque prope sit anima: ita nimirum omni aetate Patres atque praeclarissimi quique theologi professi sunt et re praestiterunt. Nam quae obiectum sunt fidei vel ab eo sequuntur, ex divinis potissime Litteris studuerunt asserere et stabilire; atque ex ipsis, sicut pariter ex divina traditione, nova haereticorum commenta refutare, catholicorum dogmatum rationem, intelligentiam, vincula exquirere. Neque id cuiquam fuerit mirum qui reputet, tam insignem locum inter revelationis fontes divinis Libris deberi, ut, nisi eorum studio usuque assiduo, nequeat theologia rite et pro dignitate tractari. Tametsi enim rectum est iuvenes in Academiis et scholis ita praecipue exerceri ut intellectum et scientiam dogmatum assequantur, ab articulis fidei argumentatione instituta ad alia ex illis, secundum normas probatae solidaeque philosophiae, concludenda; gravi tamen eruditoque theologo minime negligenda est ipsa demonstratio dogmatum ex Bibliorum auctoritatibus ducta: "Non enim accipit (theologia) sua principia ab aliis scientiis, sed immediate a Deo per revelationem. Et ideo non accipit ab aliis scientiis, tamquam a superioribus, sed utitur eis tamquam inferioribus et ancillis." Quae sacrae doctrinae tradendae ratio praeceptorem commendatoremque habet theologorum principem, Aquinatem:[3] qui praeterea, ex hac bene perspecta christianae theologiae indole, docuit quemadmodum possit theologus sua ipsa principia, si qui ea forte impugnent, tueri: Argumentando quidem, si adversarius aliquid concedat eorum, quae per divinam revelationem habentur; sicut per auctoritates sacrae Scripturae disputamus contra haereticos,

[1] Cfr. Clem. Alex. *Strom* vii., 16; Orig. *de princ.* iv., 8; *in Levit. hom.* 4, 8; Tertull. *de praescr.* 15, *seqq.*; S. Hilar. Pict. *in Matth.* 13, 1.

[2] S. Greg. M. *Moral.* xx., 9 (al. 11).

[3] *Summ. theol.*, p. i., q. i., a. 5 ad 2.

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et per unum articulum contra negantes alium. Si vero adversarius nihil credat eorum quae divinitus revelantur, non remanet amplius via ad probandum articulos fidei per rationes, sed ad solvendum rationes, si quas inducit contra fidem.[1]—Providendum igitur, ut ad studia biblica convenienter instructi munitique aggrediantur invenes: ne iustam frustrentur spem, neu, quòd deterius est, erroris discrimen incaute subeant, Rationalistarum capti fallaciis apparataeque specie eruditionis. Erunt autem optime comparati, si, quâ Nosmetipsi monstravimus et praescripsimus via, philosophiae et theologiae institutionem, eodem S. Thoma duce, religiose coluerint penitusque perceperint. Ita recte incedent, quum in re biblica, tum in ea theologiae parte quam *positivam* nominant, in utraque laetissime progressuri.

Doctrinam catholicam legitima et sollerti sacrorum Bibliorum interpretatione probasse, exposuisse, illustrasse, multum id quidem est: altera tamen, eaque tam gravis momenti quam operis laboriosi, pars remanet, ut ipsorum auctoritas integra quam validissime asseratur. Quod quidem nullo alio pacto plene licebit universeque assequi, nisi ex vivo et proprio magisterio Ecclesiae; quae *per se ipsa, ob suam nempe admirabilem propagationem, eximiam sanctitatem et inexhaustam in omnibus bonis fecunditatem, ob catholicam unitatem, invictamque stabilitatem, magnum quoddam et perpetuum est motivum credibilitatis et divinae suae legationis testimonium irrefragabile.*[2] Quoniam vero divinum et infallibile magisterium Ecclesiae, in auctoritate etiam sacrae Scripturae consistit, huius propterea fides saltem humana asserenda in primis vindicandaque est: quibus ex libris, tamquam ex antiquitatis probatissimis testibus, Christi Domini divinitas et legatio, Ecclesiae hierarchicae institutio, primatus Petro et successoribus eius collatus, in tuto apertoque collocentur. Ad hoc plurimum sane conducet, si plures sint e sacro ordine paratiores, qui hac etiam in parte pro fide dimicent et impetus hostiles propulsent, induti praecipue armatura Dei, quam suadet Apostolus,[3] neque vero ad nova hostium arma et praelia insueti. Quod pulcre in sacerdotum officiis sic recenset Chrysostomus: "Ingens adhibendum est studium ut *Christi verbum habitet in nobis abunda*nter:[4] neque enim ad unum pugnae genus parati esse debemus, sed multiplex est bellum et varii sunt hostes: neque iisdem omnes utuntur armis, neque uno tantum modo nobiscum congredi moliuntur. Quare opus est, ut is qui cum omnibus congressurus est, omnium machinas artesque cognitas habeat, ut idem sit saggittarius et funditor, tribunus et manipuli ductor,

[1] *Ibid.*, a. 8.
[2] Conc. Vat., *sess.* iii., *c.* iii., *de fide.*
[3] Eph. vi, 13, *seqq.*
[4] *Cfr.* Col., iii., 16.

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dux et miles, pedes et eques, navalis ac muralis pugnae peritus: nisi enim omnes dimicandi artes noverit, novit diabolus per unam partem, si sola negligatur, praedonibus suis immissis, oves diripere."[1] Fallacias hostium artesque in hac re ad impugnandum multiplices supra adumbravimus: iam, quibus praesidiis ad defensionem nitendum, commoneamus.—Est primum in studio linguarum veterum orientalium simulque in arte quam vocant criticam. Utriusque rei scientia quum hodie in magno sit pretio et laude, eâ clerus, plus minusve pro locis et hominibus exquisita, ornatus, melius poterit decus et munus sustinere suum; nam ipse *omnia omnibus*[2] fieri debet, paratus semper *ad satisfactionem omni poscenti rationem de ea quae in ipso est spe*.[3] Ergo sacrae Scripturae magistris necesse est atque theologos addecet, eas linguas cognitas habere quibus libri canonici sunt primitus ab hagiographis exarati, easdemque optimum factu erit si colant alumni Ecclesiae, qui praesertim ad academicos theologiae gradus aspirant. Atque etiam curandum ut omnibus in Academiis, quod iam in multis receptum laudabiliter est, de ceteris item antiquis linguis, maxime semiticis, deque congruente cum illis eruditione, sint magisteria, eorum in primis usui qui ad sacras Litteras profitendas designantur.—Hos autem ipsos, eiusdem rei gratiâ, doctiores esse oportet atque exercitatiores in vera artis criticae disciplina: perperam enim et cum religionis damno inductum est artificium, nomine honestatum criticae sublimioris, quo, ex solis internis, uti loquuntur, rationibus, cuiuspiam libri origo, integritas, auctoritas diiudicata emergant. Contra perspicuum est, in quaestionibus rei historicae, cuiusmodi origo et conservatio librorum, historiae testimonia valere prae ceteris, eaque esse quam studiosissime et conquirenda et excutienda: illas vero rationes internas plerumque non esse tanti, ut in causam, nisi ad quamdam confirmationem, possint advocari. Secus si fiat, magna profecto consequentur incommoda. Nam hostibus religionis plus confidentiae futurum est ut sacrorum authenticitatem Librorum impetant et discerpant: illud ipsum quod extollunt genus criticae sublimioris, eo demum recidet, ut suum quisque studium praeiudicatamque opinionem interpretando sectentur: inde neque Scripturis quaesitum lumen accedet, neque ulla doctrinae oritura utilitas est, sed certa illa patebit erroris nota, quae est varietas et dissimilitudo sentiendi, ut iam ipsi sunt documento huiusce novae principes disciplinae: inde etiam, quia plerique infecti sunt vanae philosophiae et rationalismi placitis, ideo prophetias, miracula, cetera quaecumque naturae ordinem superent, ex sacris Libris dimovere non verebuntur.—Congrediendum secundo loco cum iis, qui suâ physicorum scientia abusi, sacros

[1] *De sacerd.*, iv. 4. [2] I. Cor., ix., 22. [3] I. Petr., iii., 15.

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Libros omnibus vestigiis indagant, unde auctoribus inscitiam rerum talium opponant, scripta ipsa vituperent. Quae quidem insimulationes quum res attingant sensibus obiectas, eo periculosiores accidunt, manantes in vulgus, maxime in deditam litteris iuventutem; quae, semel reverentiam divinae revelationis in uno aliquo capite exuerit, facile in omnibus omnem eius fidem est dimissura. Nimium sane constat, de natura doctrinam, quantum ad percipiendam summi Artificis gloriam in procreatis rebus impressam aptissima est, modo sit convenienter proposita, tantum posse ad elementa sanae philosophiae evellenda corrumpendosque mores, teneris animis perverse infusam. Quapropter Scripturae sacrae doctori cognitio naturalium rerum bono erit subsidio, quo huius quoque modi captiones in divinos Libros instructas facilius detegat et refellat.—Nulla quidem theologum inter et physicum vera dissensio intercesserit, dum suis uterque finibus se contineant, id caventes, secundum S. Augustini monitum, ne aliquid temere et incognitum pro cognito asserant.[1] Sin tamen dissenserint, quemadmodum se gerat theologus, summatim est regula ab eodem oblata: Quidquid, inquit, ipsi de natura rerum veracibus documentis demonstrare potuerint, ostendamus nostris Litteris non esse contrarium; quidquid autem de quibuslibet suis voluminibus his nostris Litteris, idest catholicae fidei, contrarium protulerint, aut aliqua etiam facultate ostendamus, aut nulla dubitatione credamus esse falsissimum.[2] De cuius aequitate regulae in consideratione sit primum, scriptores sacros, seu verius Spiritum Dei, qui per ipsos loquebatur, noluisse ista (videlicet intimam adspectabilium rerum constitutionem) docere homines, nulli saluti profutura;[3] quare eos, potius quam explorationem naturae recta persequantur, res ipsas aliquando describere et tractare aut quodam translationis modo, aut sicut communis sermo per ea ferebat tempora, hodieque de multis fert rebus in quotidiana vita, ipsos inter homines scientissimos. Vulgari autem sermone quum ea primo proprieque efferantur quae cadant sub sensus, non dissimiliter scriptor sacer (monuitque et Doctor Angelicus) ea secutus est, quae sensibiliter apparent[4] seu quae Deus ipse, homines alloquens, ad eorum captum significavit humano more.—Quod vero defensio Scripturae sanctae agenda strenue est, non ex eo omnes aeque sententiae tuendae sunt, quas singuli Patres aut qui deinceps interpretes in eadem declaranda ediderint: qui, prout erant opiniones aetatis in locis edisserendis ubi physica aguntur, fortasse non ita semper iudicaverunt ex veritate, ut quaedam posuerint, quae nunc minus probentur. Quocirca studiose dignoscendum in illorum interpretationibus,

[1] *In Gen. op. imperf.*, ix., 30.
[2] *De Gen. add. litt.*, i., 21, 41.
[3] S. Aug. *ib.*, ii., 9, 20.
[4] *Summa theol.*, p. i. q. lxx. a 1 ad 3.

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quaenam reapse tradant tamquam spectantia ad fidem aut cum ea maxime copulata, quaenam unanimi tradant consensu; namque in his quae de necessitate fidei non sunt, licuit Sanctis diversimode opinari, sicut et nobis, ut est S. Thomae sententia.[1] Qui et alio loco prudentissime habet; "Mihi videtur tutius esse, huiusmodi, quae philosophi communiter senserunt, et nostrae fidei non repugnant, nec sic esse asserenda ut dogmata fidei, etsi aliquando sub nomine philosophorum introducantur, nec sic esse neganda tamquam fidei contemnendi doctrinam fidei praebeatur."[2] Sane, quamquam ea, quae speculatores naturae certis argumentis certa iam esse affirmarint, interpres ostendere debet nihil Scripturis recte explicatis obsistere, ipsum tamen ne fugiat, factum quandoque esse, ut certa quaedam ab illis tradita, postea in dubitationem adducta sint et repudiata. Quod si physicorum scriptores terminos disciplinae suae transgressi, in provinciam philosophorum perversitate opinionum invadant, eas interpres theologus philosophis mittat refutandas.—Haec ipsa deinde ad cognatas disciplinas, ad historiam praesertim, iuvabit transferri. Dolendum enim, multos esse qui antiquitatis monumenta, gentium mores et instituta, similiumque rerum testimonia magnis ii quidem laboribus perscrutentur et proferant, sed eo saepius consilio, ut erroris labes in sacris Libris deprehendant, ex quo illorum auctoritas usquequaque infirmetur et nutet. Idque nonnulli et nimis infesto animo faciunt nec satis aequo iudicio; qui sic fidunt profanis libris et documentis memoriae priscae, perinde ut nulla eis ne suspicio quidem erroris possit subesse, libris vero Scripturae sacrae, ex opinata tantum erroris specie, neque eâ probe discussa, vel parem abnunt fidem. Fieri quidem potest, ut quaedam librariis in codicibus describendis minus recte exciderint; quod considerate iudicandum est, nec facile admittendum, nisi quibus locis rite sit demonstratum: fieri etiam potest, ut germana alicuius loci sententia permaneat anceps; cui enodandae multum afferent optimae interpretandi regulae; et nefas omnino fuerit, aut inspirationem ad aliquas tantum sacrae Scripturae partes coangustare, aut concedere sacrum ipsum errasse auctorem. Nec enim toleranda est eorum ratio, qui ex istis difficultatibus sese expediunt, id nimirum dare non dubitantes, inspirationem divinam ad res fidei morumque, nihil praeterea, pertinere, eo quod falso arbitrentur, de veritate sententiarum quum agitur, non adeo exquirendum quaenam dixerit Deus, ut non magis perpendatur quam ob causam ea dixerit. Etenim libri omnes atque integri, quos Ecclesia tamquam sacros et canonicos recipit, cum omnibus suis partibus, Spiritu Sancto dictante, conscripti sunt; tantum vero abest ut divinae in-

[1] *In Sent.* ii., *dist.* ii., q. i., a. 3.

[2] *Opusc.* x.

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spirationi error ullus subesse possit, ut ea per se ipsa, non modo errorem excludat omnem, sed tam necessario excludat et respuat, quam necessarium est, Deum, summam Veritatem, nullius omnino erroris auctorem esse.—Haec est antiqua et constans fides Ecclesiae sollemni etiam sententia in Conciliis definita Florentino et Tridentino; confirmata denique atque expressius declarata in Concilio Vaticano, a quo absolute edictum: *Veteris et novi Testamenti libri integri cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in eiusdem Concilii* (Tridentini) *decreto recensentur, et in veteri vulgata latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis suscipiendi sunt. Eos vero Ecclesia pro sacris et canonicis habet, non ideo quod sola humana industria concinnati, sua deinde auctoritate sint approbati; nec ideo dumtaxat, quod revelationem sine errore continent; sed propterea quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti, Deum habent auctorem.*[1] Quare nihil admodum refert, Spiritum Sanctum assumpsisse homines tamquam instrumenta ad scribendum, quasi, non quidem primario auctori, sed scriptoribus inspiratis quidpiam falsi elabi potuerit. Nam supernaturali ipse virtute ita eos ad scribendum excitavit et movit, ita scribentibus adstitit, ut ea omnia eaque sola quae ipse iuberet, et recte mente conciperent, et fideliter conscribere vellent, et apte infallibili veritate exprimerent: secus, non ipse esset auctor sacrae Scripturae universae. Hoc ratum semper habuere Ss. Patres: Itaque, ait Augustinus, quum illi scripserunt quae ille ostendit et dixit, nequaquam dicendum est, quod ipse non scripserit: quandoquidem membra eius id operata sunt, quod dictante capite cognoverunt[2]: pronunciatque S. Gregorius M.: Quis haec scripserit, valde supervacanee quaeritur, quum tamen auctor libri Spiritus Sanctus fideliter credatur. Ipse igitur haec scripsit, qui scribenda dictavit: ipse scripsit qui et in illius opere inspirator extitit[3] Consequitur, ut qui in locis authenticis Librorum sacrorum quidpiam falsi contineri posse existiment, ii profecto aut catholicam divinae inspirationis notionem pervertant, aut Deum ipsum erroris faciant auctorem. Atque adeo Patribus omnibus et Doctoribus persuasissimum fuit, divinas Litteras, quales ab hagiographis editae sunt, ab omni omnino errore esse immunes, ut propterea non pauca illa, quae contrarii aliquid vel dissimile viderentur afferre (eademque fere sunt quae nomine novae scientiae nunc obiiciunt), non subtiliter minus quam religiose componere inter se et conciliare studuerint; professi unanimes, Libros eos et integros et per partes a divino aeque esse afflatu. Deumque ipsum per sacros auctores elocutum nihil admodum a veritate alienum ponere potuisse. Ea valeant universe quae idem

[1] *Sess.* ii., *de revel.*

[2] *De consensu Evangel.*, l. i., c. 35.

[3] *Praef. in Iob.*, n. 2.

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Augustinus ad Hieronymum scripsit: "Ego enim fateor caritati tuae, solis eis Scripturarum libris qui iam canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorum scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam. Ac si aliquid in eis offendero litteris quod videatur contrarium veritati, nihil aliud quam vel mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non assecutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse non ambigam[1]."

At vero omni graviorum artium instrumento pro sanctitate Bibliorum plene perfecteque contendere, multo id maius est, quam ut a sola interpretum et theologorum sollertia aequum sit expectari. Eodem optandum est conspirent et connitantur illi etiam ex catholicis viris, qui ab externis doctrinis aliquam sint nominis auctoritatem adepti. Horum sane ingeniorum ornatus, si nunquam antea, ne nunc quidem, Dei beneficio, Ecclesiae deest; atque utinam eo amplius in fidei subsidium augescat. Nihil enim magis oportere ducimus, quam ut plures valideresque nanciscatur veritas propugnatores, quam sentiat adversarios; neque res ulla est quae magis persuadere vulgo possit obsequium veritatis, quam si eam liberrime profiteantur qui in laudata aliqua praestent facultate. Quin facile etiam cessura est obtrectatorum invidia, aut certe non ita petulanter iam traducere illi audebunt inimicam scientiae, fidem, quum viderint a viris scientiae laude nobilibus summum fidei honorem reverentiamque adhiberi.—Quoniam igitur tantum ii possunt religioni importare commodi, quibus cum catholicae professionis gratia felicem indolem ingenii benignum Numen impertiit, ideo in hac acerrima agitatione studiorum quae Scripturas quoquo modo attingunt, aptum sibi quisque eligant studii genus, in quo aliquando excellentes obiecta in illas improbae scientiae tela, non sine gloria, repellant.—Quo loco gratum est illud pro merito comprobare nonnullorum catholicorum consilium, qui ut viris doctioribus suppetere possit unde huiusmodi studia omni adiumentorum copia pertractent et provehant, coactis societatibus, largiter pecunias solent conferre. Optima sane et peropportuna temporibus pecuniae collocandae ratio. Quo enim catholicis minus praesidii in sua studia sperare licet publice, eo promptiorem effusioremque patere decet privatorum liberalitatem; ut quibus a Deo aucti sunt divitiis, eas ad tutandum revelatae ipsius doctrinae theasaurum velint convertere.—Tales autem labores ut ad rem biblicam vere proficiant, insistant eruditi in iis tamquam principiis, quae supra a Nobis praefinita sunt; fideliterque teneant, Deum, conditorem rectoremque rerum omnium, eumdem esse Scriptuararum auctorem: nihil propterea ex rerum natura, nihil

[1] *Ep.* lxxxii., 1.. *Et crurius alibi.*

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ex historiae monumentis colligi posse quod cum Scripturis revera pugnet. Si quid ergo tale videatur, id sedulo submovendum, tum adhibito prudenti theologorum et interpretum iudicio, quidnam verius verisimiliusve habeat Scripturae locus, de quo disceptetur, tum diligentius expensa argumentorum vi, quae contra adducantur. Neque ideo cessandum, si qua in contrarium species etiam tum resideat; nam, quoniam verum vero adversari haudquaquam potest, certum sit aut in sacrorum interpretationem verborum, aut in alteram disputationis partem errorem incurisse: neutrum vero si necdum satis appareat, cunctandum interea de sententia. Permulta enim ex omni doctrinarum genere sunt diu multumque contra Scripturam iactata, quae nunc, utpote inania, penitus obsolevere: item non pauca de quibusdam Scripturae locis (non proprie ad fidei morumque pertinentibus regulam) sunt quondam interpretando proposita, in quibus rectius postea vidit acrior quaedam investigatio. Nempe opinionum commenta delet dies; sed veritas manet et invalescit in aeternum.[1] Quare, sicut nemo sibi arrogaverit ut omnem recte intelligat Scripturam, in qua se ipse plura nescire quam scire fassus est Augustinus,[2] ita, si quid inciderit difficilius quam explicari possit, quisque eam sumet cautionem temperationemque eiusdem Doctoris: Melius est vel premi incognitis sed utilibus signis, quam inutiliter ea interpretando, a iugo servitutis eductam cervicem laqueis erroris inserere.[3]—Consilia et iussa Nostra si probe verecundeque erunt secuti qui subsidiaria haec studia profitentur, si et scribendo et docendo studiorum fructus dirigant ad hostes veritatis redarguendos, ad fidei damna in iuventute praecavenda, tum demum laetari poterunt dignâ se opera sacris Litteris inservire, eamque rei catholicae opem afferre, qualem de filiorum pietate et doctrinis iure sibi Ecclesia pollicetur.

Haec sunt, Venerabiles Fratres, quae de studiis Scripturae sacrae pro opportunitate monenda et praecipienda, aspirante Deo, censuimus. Iam sit vestrum curare, ut qua par est religione custodiantur et observentur: sic ut debita Deo gratia, de communicatis humano generi eloquiis sapientiae suae testatius eniteat, optataeque utilitates redundent, maxime ad sacrae iuventutis institutionem, quae tanta est cura Nostra et spes Ecclesiae. Auctoritate nimirum et hortatione date alacres operam, ut in Seminariis, atque in Academiis quae parent ditioni vestrae, haec studia iusto in honore consistant vigeantque. Integre feliciterque vigeant, moderatrice Ecclesia, secundum saluberrima documenta et exempla Ss. Patrum laudatamque maiorum consuetudinem: atque talia ex temporum cursu incrementa accipiant quae vere sint in

[1] III Esdr., 4, 38.
[2] Ad Ianur. *ep.*, lv. 21.
[3] *De doctr. chr.*, iii. 9, 18.

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praesidium et gloriam catholicae veritatis, natae divinitus ad perennem populorum salutem.—Omnes denique alumnos et administros Ecclesiae paterna caritate admonemus, ut ad sacras Litteras adeant summo semper affectu reverentiae et pietatis: nequaquam enim ipsarum intelligentia salutariter ut opus est patere potest, nisi remotâ scientiae *terrenae* arrogantia, studioque sancte excitato eius *quae desursum est* sapientiae. Cuius in disciplinam semel admissa mens, atque inde illustrata et roborata, mire valebit ut etiam humanae scientiae quae sunt fraudes dignoscat et vitet, qui sunt solidi fructus percipiat et ad aeterna referat: inde potissime exardescens animus, ad emolumenta virtutis et divini amoris spiritu vehementiore contendet: *Beati qui scrutantur testimonia eius, in toto corde exquirunt eum.*[1]

Iam divini auxilii spe freti et pastorali studio vestro confisi, Apostolicam benedictionem, caelestium munerum auspicem Nostraeque singularis benevolentiae testem, vobis omnibus, universoque Clero et populo singulis concredito, peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XVIII. novembris anno MDCCCXCIII., Pontificatus Nostri sextodecimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

[NOTE.—The official translation of this important encyclical and a commentary which is now preparing by a competent theologian, will appear in the April number of the REVIEW.—EDITOR.]

[1] Ps. xviii. 2.

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Scientific Chronicle.

MONEY.

"Gold is the root of all evil,
Although it shines with a glittering hue;
It has caused many a lad to lose his part,
Whose mind and heart was e'er so true."—*Old Song.*

We have not given the above quotation precisely as a specimen of the "sublime" in poetry (though truth is always one element of the sublime), nor yet as an example of remarkably good grammar; but we have given it—in the exact words in which we often heard it in our childhood—for the sake of the truth it contains.

"Gold" (meaning money) "is the root of all evil." Ah! is it, indeed? It seems, nevertheless, to have brought forth some good fruit, and a portion, at least, of the evil seems to be necessary evil, so that we must try to bear with it as best we may.

The Philosophers (with a big P, please) tell us that "man is born to live in society." With this proposition, rightly understood, we have no quarrel. From it radiate out, like the spines of an *echinus*, a host of consequences, some of greater, some of less importance.

The only one of them with which we have to do here is the necessity of *exchange of goods* between individuals and between communities.

Man is clearly a compound, being partly spiritual and partly material; and as he is not self-sufficing in either part, he has needs, as to both of his component parts, which only others can supply. In what follows we are dealing not with the question of his spiritual, but only of his material needs; and, indeed, with but one even of these, viz., the need of exchange of material goods between man and man.

From this point of view man needs, first of all, food; and, next, raiment and shelter. The primal, earthly source of all material goods is the inorganic deposit which exists in the earth itself and the organic products which it brings forth. But these cannot be procured and put into useful shape without labor. True, in some parts of the tropics one has but to stretch forth the hand and grasp the food already waiting; while the need of shelter is almost null, and the less said about "raiment," the better it is described. A fig-leaf will suffice for every-day wear; while for state occasions, the addition of an effete silk-hat, strayed or stolen from civilization, crownless or brimless though it may be, or a castaway shoe, worn as a hat, will lend lustre and dignity enough for a whole tribe. Labor there is scarcely needed and scarcely known. This, however, is the exception, and is applicable to only a very small part of the human race, and to the most degraded and savage part at that.

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But, for the most part, the civilized man must work for the food which is to build up and maintain his bodily powers and for the raiment and shelter which are to defend him against the attacks of the elements. These are his real, natural, fundamental needs; whatever is beyond these is either supplementary to them or else is an artificial need or a downright luxury. Now it is a constant fact of history that the higher the degree of civilization (as the word is commonly used), the greater the number of these artificial needs, and the more urgent they become; so that after a comparatively short time they can scarcely be distinguished from real, genuine necessities. "Habit is a second nature" whose demands soon become nearly if not fully as imperious as those of her older sister, Number One, herself.

A principle underlying all that follows is what is called "the economy of labor." Suppose, as they do in the fairy tales, that a few hundred young persons were exiled to an uninhabited island. They are healthy and strong, but no one of them has yet learned a trade; the good *genius* of the place, however, is on hand and will give to each one whatever instruction in trades, arts, or sciences he may ask. Now if each one chose to be absolutely independent of all the others in everything, and consequently to be his own farmer, blacksmith, shoemaker, miller, baker, carpenter, mason, wheelwright, carder, spinner, weaver, tailor, metal-worker, clock- and watchmaker, artist, and a thousand other things, useful or ornamental, would there not be an immense waste of labor? Even if each one knew how to manufacture everything from a pin to a steam-engine, work, on the small scale of mere individual effort, could not be done or managed economically, and in many cases could not be done at all. But, say you, he would do his work by machinery. Yes, if he had the machines; but without the help of others he could neither "make the machines nor the machines that make them." Besides, what we have implicitly supposed above—viz., that in a lifetime one man could learn all the details of every trade and occupation—can be by no means granted. But, even supposing that there were time enough, no one ever has the universality of talent and taste necessary for the mastery of all trades theoretically, and much less practically. Men are not built that way, and we must take them as we find them.

There would, therefore, have to be a mutual helping on all hands; or, rather, some would have to practice one trade and some another; but each would work for the common good of all, in which, at the same time, his own greatest good would be included. The millers would have to grind for all, the shoemakers would have to make shoes for all, the farmers would have to farm for all, and so on of all the rest. Each one would have to give to all the others whatever they night need of the products of his industry and receive from them, in return, whatever he himself might need. This is *barter*, in its widest sense. In this mutual exchange of value for value, labor is economized and the greatest good of all secured. When our exiles have reached this stage they have become a community.

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But now it may, and very often must, happen that the butcher will have supplied to the blacksmith and his family (heavy meat-eaters) a quantity of meat of greater value than that of the odd jobs which the blacksmith had done for him. What is to be done, then? Why, the blacksmith will probably be in the same predicament with respect to, say, the shoemaker, and the shoemaker with respect to the tailor, and so on through the various ramifications of the trades and manufactures. Naturally, then, they will swap off all around, each one giving what he does not, and receiving what he does need. If, even after this clearing-house operation, some have yet on hand more of a certain commodity than is needed by any one, they will try to preserve it till a demand arises.

This system of exchanging might answer for a small community, but when the community has become large, the very act of making the exchanges becomes a labor in itself; then some one takes this up as *his* trade and becomes a keeper of stores of goods, *i.e.*, a "storekeeper." He obtains his food and raiment by retaining a certain small portion for himself each time he effects an exchange; and this is perfectly just, since he labors for the good of others by doing a part of their necessary work. So far, it is barter pure and simple, in which an object of real value is exchanged for another of equal value.

How long this system prevailed among the sons and daughters of men we are not prepared to state, nor is it, except historically, a question of much moment. Certain it is, however, that at a pretty early date a better system was introduced, for we find it mentioned incidentally in the oldest documents extant, the Bible among others. It was crude, indeed, at first, but was much improved in the course of time, though it has its difficulties and dangers even yet, and they are giving the world a heap of trouble in these latter days—we mean the system of *buying and selling*, strictly so called; that is, of exchanging things of value for *money*.

In this system, instead of exchanging horses for herrings, lumber for lamp-shades, potatoes for planing-machines, bottles for boot-jacks, jack-knives for nightingales, books for broomsticks, pins for pianofortes, and so on to the end of the unending list of things useful or useless, all of which entails a vast waste of labor, space, and time, some one (may his name, though unknown, be forever blest) struck upon the happy idea of substituting something which would *represent* value and which would be the go-between in the transferring of values, or which would be, in other words, the medium of exchange. This is money.

The word money is said to have been derived from the Latin word *monere, to remind*, whence *moneta, a reminder*, or money. The world would now be a great many per cent. better off if it had not forgotten the original meaning of the term, and the original office of the thing, money. It ought to *represent* value, be a *reminder* of value, but its own intrinsic value should have nothing to do with its value as a representative.

The intrinsic value of anything in this word depends on its power of

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ministering to some need (taking that word in its very widest sense) of the individual or of the race. Everything which a man can make use of has, therefcre, its own intrinsic value, which value depends on the properties and qualities of that thing.

A pound of beef or a peck of good potatoes (alas, how rare!) have a definite nutritive value, and no fluctuations of the money-market can ever alter that one jot or tittle. A yard of cloth has just so much covering power, and gold up or gold down will not change it. Gold, too, has its uses in the arts, and its value in them depends on its properties. A pound of it will serve to gild just so much surface to such a thickness. It will make a cup of just such a size, and the financial condition of the country or of the world will have no influence on its value for those or for similar purposes. The same is true of everything of which man makes use from the spider-web to the rhinoceros; from the cat's-tails of the swamp to the cedars of Lebanon; from the tadpole in the ditch to the telegraph-pole on the highway. They all have their values, differing in degree but not in kind, and therefore those values may all be represented by any arbitrarily chosen standard or medium of exchange.

That standard is called money. Gold has no exclusive right to hold that place, and, as a matter of fact, it has not always held it, nor does it hold it universally even now.

It has not always held it; for, silver, tin, lead, platinum, copper, brass, bronze, iron, nickel, potatoes, tobacco, hides, cattle, nails, silk, salt, tea, slaves, codfish, bullets, wampum, logwood, sugar, soap, leather, shells of mollusks, etc., have at different times and in different places been used as money. It must not be thought that when these things were used there was question of mere barter, for barter is essentially a free exchange on both sides to supply the actual wants of each, while these things were used for money, and as such were legal tender, and the creditor was obliged to accept them in payment of all debts, at the will of the debtor. A man might sell or not, as he pleased, but if he chose to sell, he must accept in payment the legal tender of the country. Gold did not, therefore, always hold the place of a standard.

It does not hold it universally now; for out of forty-one countries enumerated in the "Report of the U. S. Mint" for 1892, fourteen use gold alone as their standard; fifteen, silver alone, and twelve both gold and silver. Twenty-nine are therefore monometallist and twelve bimetallist; but of this more anon.

To be theoretically perfect as a standard:

1. The medium of exchange should not be used for any other purpose.
2. It should be issued in proper quantities.
3. It should be practically indestructible.
4. It should be light, rather than heavy.
5. It should be exclusive.

These five points require some elucidation.

1. We have said that the medium of exchange should not be used

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for any other purpose, for, to be true to its name, "Standard," it must *stand*. Its value must remain fixed. If it be used in the arts, its value will fluctuate according to the demand there is for it, and the demand will vary according to the whims, the fancies, the fashions of the passing hour. By depriving our standard of every other function except that of "medium of exchange," we rid ourselves at one stroke of a great cause of monetary troubles—that is, its fluctuations in value. But it may be objected that it would be impossible to do so. We shall see a moment later that it may be made possible.

2. It should be put forth in such quantities only as will suffice, but fully suffice for its sole object—*i.e.*, for a medium of exchange in all business transactions. The absurd phrase we hear so often now, "money-market," would disappear, and crises brought on by stringency or by looseness would be unknown. Can this be done? We shall see in good time. .

3. The material of the standard should be practically indestructible. It will be handled by all sorts of hands, from those of the boarding-school miss, to those of the hard-handed sons of toil. It will be kept for long periods of time, under all sorts of conditions, favorable and unfavorable, and it must not wear away, nor rust, nor rot, nor undergo spontaneous disintegration. Hence, it should neither be too soft, nor too friable, nor too brittle; neither should it melt too easily, nor be liable to be destroyed by fire or water. These conditions exclude all organic substances such as wood, paper, tobacco, cabbages, etc., and many inorganic substances such as gems and quasi-precious stones; and many even of the metals, as lead, zinc, iron, tin, magnesium, antimony, mercury, and the whole list of the rarer metals and of the metalloids. About the only things left to choose from, therefore, are gold, silver, platinum, copper and aluminum. We shall discuss their respective merits presently.

4. It would be well, other things being equal, if the material of our standard were light rather than heavy. It has to be carried about a good deal, and to be transported from place to place in large quantities, and hence the lighter it is, within certain reasonable limits, the better. But this, though desirable, is not an essential requisite.

5. It should be exclusive—*i.e.*, there should be one standard, and but *one*. Here the monometallists and the bimetallists begin to cross swords. The attempt to maintain two standards, each fluctuating according to its haps or mishaps at the mines, or according to the amount of rainfall on the meadows or sunshine on the hilltops, is radically wrong; and all efforts of legislators to fix the ratio *one* to *sixteen*, or *one* to *twenty*, or anything else, must end, as they have always ended, in dismal failure. This double standard idea has been, and is still, the ever-flowing source of "a sea of troubles," and will always be so unless our law-makers "take up arms and end it." To show this, let us make a comparison. In the noble art of tailoring, the yard is the standard of length. Now we expect to find that standard-unit the same every day of the year, and every year of the century; yea, for all time. No

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matter how cloth, or ribbon, or gimcracks may vary in quantity or quality, the seller demands that the yard be always and everywhere a yard, and nothing more; the buyer just as emphatically demands that it be a yard and nothing less, and they both are right. It would be absolutely absurd to use any other unit of length as a standard unless it were a known, unvarying, aliquot part or multiple of that one. Gold and silver cannot be forced to bear such a relation to one another. Now, just as it is with the yardstick, so should it be with money; the standard should be one and invariable. If the relative values of commodities go up or down on account of their scarcity, or their abundance, or for any other reason, then let them go up or down, or sideways, if you like, but leave the unit of exchange severely alone.

Given, then, the five conditions, and we know of no other essential ones, our money system should be perfect.

Is this not, however, all mere Utopian longings, good enough to dream about, but unattainable in practice? We think not, but by means of the little scheme outlined below, we believe it could be easily and satisfactorily achieved.

The first thing to be done would be to select some one substance as a standard, and withdraw it completely and irrevocably from all use in the arts, so that it would have no market value. We ought to be ready and willing to make the sacrifice of one for the sake of the others, or rather for the sake of the trade, commerce and business transactions of the country, not to say of the whole world.

What substance shall that one be? We have already seen that about the only substances suitable for the purpose would be either gold, silver, platinum, copper or aluminum. As far as their inherent properties are concerned, any one of them would be fairly suitable. But other considerations, which we must examine in detail, spring up. Thus each of the first four has been, and is still so extensively used, and has become so necessary for all sorts of purposes that it could not well be taken. In the United States alone the amount of gold coined in 1892 was valued at $35,500,000; the value of that used in the arts in 1891 was $19,700,000, or considerably over one-third of the whole The nominal value of the silver coined in 1892 was $15,000,000; the value of that used in the arts in 1891 was $9,600,000, again more than one-third of the total. This for one year, and it does not look so bad. What then? Shall we withdraw either this gold or this silver from the arts, and use it solely for money? You say no, and we say no, too, but for a stronger reason. What reason? The same, but more of it.[1]

Let us look at this from another point of view. The amount of gold coin in the United States on July 1, 1892, was estimated at about $700,000,000, and that of the silver coin at nearly $500,000,000. The amount of these metals, however, stored away in jewelry, watches, plate, bric-a-brac, etc., must enormously exceed this, and cannot be esti-

[1] Oh, we forgot! The possible error committed by comparing the coinage of one year with the industrial concerns of another year was unavoidable, as we could not obtain the statistics of both. It does not matter much, however.

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mated. Neither this gold nor this silver could by any possibility be called in. And, besides, the quantity of coin in existence increases very slowly, because when worn it is remelted and coined again, but this does not increase its quantity. On the other hand, the precious metal which has been once used in the arts, and has by that use received a value far beyond its intrinsic worth, will rarely return to the melting-pot, but the quantity so segregated will increase from day to day almost continuously; and this renders the difficulty of recalling it insurmountable.

Neither is copper nor platinum available. Copper is the basis of brass —and how could we get along without plenty of brass?—And both copper and platinum are absolutely necessary for electrical purposes. Every one of the four named has, then, been already too extensively applied to other uses to admit of its being recalled and set apart exclusively for the manufacture of money.

The only one left, therefore, is aluminum. With it, fortunately, the case is quite different. It has, or by alloying can be made to have, all the necessary qualities, as every one who understands its metallurgy will admit. But it is especially lucky in this, that it has not been so extensively used for other purposes as to be indispensable to them. Its withdrawal from the arts would occasion no great hardship, especially if done now. It would be manufactured by the government alone, and it would be made a misdemeanor, crime, felony (or what you please), to have any of the metal in one's possession. This ought to be no more onerous than the law we have now, which prohibits us, under a penalty of $5000 fine and fifteen years' imprisonment at hard labor, from having in our possession any of the paper intended for the manufacture of our currency, or worse yet, any imitation of it. And yet, we, the people, for our own safety have enacted this law, and we pat ourselves approvingly on the back and think that we have done well. So we have; and if we call in all the aluminum of the country, and pass a like law for it, we may legitimately pat ourselves with both hands, for we shall have done a deed doubly good; for we shall have secured the triumph of monometallism, and made our standard of money absolutely invariable.

The only arguments that have any weight in favor of bimetallism are, first, that gold is too precious to be used for coins of low denominations; and, secondly, that there is not enough of gold in the world to go round; and that consequently it must be supplemented by silver. These arguments are convincing, so long as we are determined to remain in the chaotic condition of putting a market-value on gold and silver, and allowing that value to depend on an infinity of uncontrollable causes. This is standardizing our standard by a standard that cannot possibly be made to stand. What left-handed wisdom gone to seed!

But, with aluminum, in the plan which we suggest, no such difficulties could arise.

In the first place, it would be neither precious nor non-precious; or, it would be either precious or non-precious, according to the point of view. It would be precious as money (medium of exchange); precious

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according to the inscription stamped on its face. Consequently, the smallest coin, the dollar say, could be made of any convenient size, as large as our present quarter for example; for lower denominations (fifty cents, twenty-five cents, fifteen cents, ten cents) give us back our dear old "shin-plasters," but make them, and always keep them, worth their face value, and no lying allowed. We need nickels for "fare, please," and the boys must have their 'pennies" for tossing and the girls theirs for candy and chewing-gum. These subsidiary coins are too insignificant to derange the plans of mice or men. The present paper currency is very convenient, and when kept up to the standard, as it could easily be when the standard itself is a real standard, it would be perfectly safe and would often be preferred to coin. If used for any other purpose than for coined money, aluminum, in the hands of any one except the government, would be legally non-precious; yea, verily, worthless; ay, more, a felony.

In the second place, there could always be aluminum enough to go round and to be held in reserve for emergencies; for, the supply of the raw material of which to make it is unlimited, and, when used for money only, the government could buy up the present aluminum plants, and, if necessary, extend them; and the metal could then easily be manufactured in sufficient quantities. With these two points settled, bimetallism would not have a leg left to stand on.

Another advantage would be, that counterfeiting would be rendered much more difficult than it is now. We can imitate pretty well the heaviness of gold, but it would be far more difficult to imitate the lightness of aluminum; and, besides, a man may now have any amount of gold and silver in his possession and no one can molest him; while, under the proposed aluminum plan, the possession of an ounce of the uncoined metal would be *prima facie* evidence of fraud and dishonesty. Hence the hazard of counterfeiting would become doubly great.

To bring about this change might take perhaps two or three years, and there need be no sudden shock, no derangement of business. As soon as each $1,000,000 of aluminum money was ready, it could be put into circulation, and that much gold and silver coin retired, melted down, and transferred to industrial uses. Those who have stores of the quondam precious coins will be glad to get rid of them for something that is to be as immovable as the eternal hills, and those who have none —well, they will be no worse off than before, and no injustice or injury will be done to any one.

Let it be done now, and let King Al. reign over all before the end of this century. With him enthroned, all the difficulties arising out of past and present money-systems would vanish as mist before the rays of the morning sun.

But, now ariseth on the calm, still air the voice of the objector.

"All this," says he, "might do for one country if it were alone in the world. But we are not alone, and as 'man is born to live in society,' so the different nations must pull together. Other nations would not accept the substitute, and so the whole scheme would fail."

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To this we answer, that it makes little difference to us whether other nations accept it or not. If they do, it is their gain; if they do not, it is their loss. But whether they do or not, neither our relations with them, nor their relations with us, would be deranged. But, the objection is that they would not accept, and on these lines it must be met.

Well, when foreign nations are our creditors and want gold or silver, we shall send it to them; and we can do this the more easily as there will now be more of it available. We shall not then expend, as we foolishly do now, a vast amount of labor on it, merely to put it into the shape of coin, afterwards to be melted down and recoined under foreign dies. We shall buy it in bars from the refineries as we do now, weigh it out to them as Abraham did in his day, and send it to them for what it may be worth.

To pay our debts abroad, in 1892, we exported:

Gold (U. S. coin),	$42,841,963
Silver (" "),	126,682
Total coin exported,	$42,968,645
But we received back again, in coin,	15,592,012
Thus making the net export, in coin,	$27,376,633
(Which probably went to the pot to be remelted.)	
Also, Gold (not in U. S. coin),	$7,463,570
Silver (" " "),	33,773,880
Total export, not coin,	$41,237,450

Now, why could we not have paid, in uncoined metal, those twenty-seven odd millions just as well as we did the other forty-one millions? Foreign nations have no especial yearnings for the "Liberty-heads," "Spread-eagles," "Indian-heads," "Coats-of-arms," or "Stars" stamped on our pieces of money, and they are perfectly willing to take our gold and silver in hunks and chunks. Why then should we not be willing to let them have it just so?

When, on the contrary, foreign nations are our debtors we might accept either gold or silver, or anything else we could agree on; or, we might insist on getting aluminum, and its value, by weight, would correspond to the value of our coins, minus a percentage only just large enough to cover the cost of coinage. When shipped to individuals, it would be declared at the custom house, turned over to the government, and paid for by the latter on the spot.

But, a better plan would be to get the principal nations to adopt aluminum as the standard, fixed and unvarying the world over, in the same way as we have already proposed for our own country. Then, the weight of the coins could be made absolutely the same everywhere, and they would differ only in their images and superscriptions; the images being such as would suit the taste of each nation, and the superscriptions such as each people could pronounce without danger of spasms.

Under this plan, when money passed from one country to another, it

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need not be recoined, but might be allowed to pass current there and everywhere else, just as well as at home.

The plan, then, is feasible. Who will take it up?

With our modern advances in the means of conveyance and of communication between distant lands, the bonds which unite different countries are being drawn closer and closer, and the necessity of some uniform system of exchange is making itself felt every day more and more.

The propitious time to set about establishing it is now, ere yet the last of the available metals has had such an attack of the "intrinsic-value" disease as to render it unfit to be the standard.

That metal is aluminum, and it seems almost providential that it has been kept in retirement so long, just as if it were waiting for the opportunity to come forth and fill the important post which it alone is fitted to fill.

Long live King Al! T. J. A. FREEMAN, S. J.

THE SCIENCE OF MECHANICS.[1]

THIS work is not, and was not intended to be, a text-book; nor is it a novel. It presupposes, in those who would take it up, a pretty fair knowledge of the ordinary college course of mechanics, and a good deal more than the mere desire to while away a leisure hour at the sea-side. Neither is it a guide to the practical application of mechanical principles to machinery, nor yet a professedly mathematical development of those principles. From these stand-points we have plenty of treatises, and perhaps to spare, some good, some bad, some merely colorless.

The title of the present work has the somewhat rare merit of describing correctly not merely what the work professes to be, but what it really is—"a critical and historical exposition." It is historical, in the sense that it begins with the earliest records, and proceeds orderly downwards to the present time in such a way as to show the influence each set of ideas has had on the ones that came later. As to its being critical, no one, we fancy, who carefully reads its five hundred and twenty-one pages will have any doubts; one might perhaps be tempted to say that it is at times hypercritical. The foundations of the science are examined in detail, and, it must be said, with much cleverness.

While not denying the value of mathematical analysis, the author thinks, and we heartily agree with him, that it is well at times to look at the science of mechanics from its physical side also; especially as we find that the earliest investigators, those who may be said to have

[1] *The Science of Mechanics. A Critical and Historical Exposition of its Principles*, by Dr. Ernest Mach, Professor of Physics in the University of Prague. Translated from the German by Thomas J. McCormack.

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laid its foundations, did, as a matter of fact, often have recourse to physical rather than to mathematical processes and explanations. Later developments have frequently proceeded in the opposite way; and this is well, too, but the starting point was, with good reason, physical. An example, taken from the book itself, will render clear what is here meant. Thus, if a chain were suspended over two pulleys, hanging loosely between them, what form would it take? The physical answer is that it would take on such a form as would bring its centre of gravity to the lowest possible point. The mathematical answer is simply the analytical equation of the curve.

In his Preface (page eight), the author puts forth an idea which he seems to claim as original, viz., that the office of science is "economy of thought," and the same idea is elaborated very fully towards the end of the book. We care little about priority of discovery, but the idea itself requires a word of explanation.

When, in the course of experimentation, we have solidly established some law, or when, in the process of reasoning—say on some mathematical problem—we have arrived at a general formula, we set that down, and, considering it as an acquired truth, we use it as a stepping-stone to further advances. That truth having been captured, we need not, when we have occasion to use the law or formula again, go over the steps of the process by which we first reached it; and even the steps themselves may no longer be present to our minds; but we have the result, and it would not be economy, but a waste of time and thought to reason ourselves every time, along the same old track again, from the same old beginning. To take an example: Suppose that a person has become convinced, as occasionally happens, that "in a right-angled triangle the sum of the squares on the sides about the right-angle is equal to the square on the hypothenuse." Now, if he intends to prosecute his studies much further, he will find that he will need this theory many a time later on in his mathematical life. Economy of thought in this case will consist in holding on to that theorem, without giving himself any further trouble about the process by which it was reached. So, in algebraic work, a single letter is sometimes used to represent the outcome of a long train of closely serried thoughts. The "*e*" of the Naperian logarithms is of this class.

Indeed, every experience gained and every formula obtained in the whole range of science, serves precisely this purpose, to be a round in the ladder by which to gain another round above. What matters it personally to the one who has gained a certain height if the rounds below be removed? Yet they must not, of course, be removed, nor should the one who is above pull the ladder up after him, for others are to mount also; and even the one who is already up must, especially if he be a teacher, descend time and time again to show his pupils the way, and lead them by the hand.

This principle of "economy of thought," is of special value to the *investigator* in all branches of science; but the experienced *teacher* well knows that it is better to be too lavish (within reasonable limits)

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rather than too economical in his exposition of things scientific, while at the same time he will endeavor both by word and example to show his pupils how to economize the precious power of thought.

In the "Introduction" a distinction is pointed out between mechanical experience and mechanical science. No doubt, from the very dawn of the human race men learned how to aid their own feeble powers by means of mechanical devices and appliances. The pictures of ancient Egypt and Assyria show this, but as far as we can now ascertain, these appliances and devices were crude and imperfect. Scientific mechanics, in which the true theory of machines is explained, did not come to the front until a much later date.

But it is time to take a look at the "Science of Mechanics" in detail. The work before us is divided into five chapters.

Chapter I. treats of "The Development of the Principles of Statics," as applied to solids, liquids and gases.

Chapter II. treats of "The Development of the Principles of Dynamics," in which the names of Galileo, Huygens and Newton figure conspicuously.

Chapter III. treats of "The Extended Application of the Principles of Mechanics, and the Deductive Development of the Science."

Chapter IV. treats of "The Formal Development of Mechanics."

Chapter V. treats of "The Relation of Mechanics to the other Departments of Knowledge," specifically to physics and physiology.

The first sixteen pages of Chapter I. are devoted to the discussion of the lever. This is a very important matter, and we shall dwell on it rather more lengthily than on some other parts.

The father of scientific mechanics, Archimedes, of Syracuse, in Sicily (287–212 B. C.), in treating of this subject, lays down two principles which he seems to consider as self evident. They are:

"1. Magnitudes of equal weight acting at equal distances (from their point of support) are in equilibrium."[1]

"2. Magnitudes of equal weight acting at unequal distances (from their point of support) are not in equilibrium, but the one acting at the greatest distance sinks."

From these assumptions he deduces the following proposition:

"3. Commensurable magnitudes are in equilibrium when they are inversely proportional to their distances (from the point of support)."

Concerning the truth of these propositions no one has the faintest shadow of a doubt; but what about their foundation? Is the first proposition really self-evident? Is it provable *à priori?* Or is it simply a fact ascertainable and ascertained only by experience?

If we have understood aright, we believe that most of the great investigators, among others, Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), Stevinus (1548–1642), Galileo (1564–1642), Huygens (1629–1695), Lagrange (1736–1813), have taken the first proposition either as self-evident, or

[1] Of course Archimedes meant the weights to act on opposite sides of the support, and in the same plane with it.

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at least as a fundamental fact of experience; in either case, as incapable of further demonstration.

(The second proposition needs no special mention, since it is virtually contained in the first.)

The first having been admitted, these investigators, in imitation of Archimedes. applied themselves to the task of deducing the third. Our author, too, seems to admit the first proposition, on the ground of "instinctive perception," but he is not satisfied with the methods by which Archimedes and the others deduce the third. He believes that they have unconsciously relied on something which, to his mind, is more fundamental yet—*i.e.*, the principle of "*moments.*" We know, of course, that by "moment" is meant the product of a force into the perpendicular let fall from the axis of rotation upon the line of direction of the force.

On pages twenty-one and twenty-two the author gives his own view of the case, saying: "That equilibrium exists if we lay a cord, subjected at both sides to equal tensions, over a pully, *is perceived without difficulty.* . . . The motion that might be supposed possible cannot in this case be precisely determined or defined by any rule whatsoever; no motion will therefore take place." Just so. But this is not a whit more evident than is Archimedes' first proposition, and, from our own experience in teaching, we would be inclined to think it even less evident. It seems to have been brought in here merely to show the derivation of the concept of "moments." If this cord-over-a-pulley arrangement explains "moments," it is because "we perceive without difficulty" that there is equilibrium when the lever-arms are equal, and the forces (acting against each other) likewise equal. Now this is *precisely* Archimedes' first proposition. If the principle of moments be assumed as true, then Archimedes' principle follows; if Archimedes' principle be taken for granted, then the principle of moments (in the case of equal lever-arms) follows. Either one or the other *must be taken as an axiom* (*experimental or à priori*); it matters little which, but we prefer that of Archimedes.

Now comes the deduction from the first to the third principle. We have said that in this Dr. Mach is satisfied with the methods neither of the ancients nor of the moderns. His own explanation is as follows: "Let us examine a so-called wheel and axle, of wheel-radius 2 and axle-radius 1, provided, respectively, with the cord-hung loads 1 and 2; an apparatus which corresponds in every respect to the lever of Archimedes. If, now, we place about the axle, in any manner we may choose, a second cord, which we subject, at each side, to the tension of a weight 2, *the second cord will not disturb the equilibrium.*" After some reasoning, perfectly valid, from these premises, the author concludes thus: "The decisive factors are, then, the products of the weights into the respective perpendiculars let fall from the axis on the direction of the pulls; in other words, the so-called statical moments."

Now let us just refer back to the last words which we have italicized, "*the second cord will not disturb the equilibrium.*" Certainly not, if we

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admit Archimedes' first principle; otherwise it will. And, moreover, this explanation *supposes* that a wheel of radius 2 with weight 1, and axle of radius 1 with weight 2, "corresponding in every respect to the lever of Archimedes," is already in equilibrium before the second cord is applied; a supposition which is clearly a begging of the whole question. The good doctor must be joking.

No; give us Archimedes' first principle as "a highly imperative *instinctive perception*," and from this the full principle of the lever, including the principle of moments and the centre of gravity, can be deduced by the very demonstrations which Dr. Mach criticises and rejects. Afterwards, the mode of action of the other so-called mechanical powers, as the Inclined Plane, Screw, Pulley, Wheel-and-Axle, Toothed Wheel, and Wedge, can readily be deduced; and what more do we want?

The principle of the "composition of forces," as expressed in the law of the parallelogram of forces, comes up next for discussion. Stevinus arrives at this principle very ingeniously (for the case of forces at right angles to each other) by applying the principle of the inclined plane; but this method seems to be hardly fundamental enough to suit our author, and he refers to Newton and Varignon (more than a hundred years later) for a more convincing proof, but which he even still considers as derived from experience. Stevinus' deduction to the case of forces not at right angles to each other is, as the author states, not very clear. Taking for granted, however, the special case of forces at right angles as admitted, our author supplies what seems to be a perfectly clear and valid deduction to the general case.

"Daniel Bernoulli (1700–1782) was of opinion that the proposition of the parallelogram of forces was a *geometrical* truth independent of physical experience." Dr. Mach gives Bernoulli's proof, and then proceeds to find flaws and objections to no end, and finally picks it to pieces and scatters the fragments to the winds. We are strongly inclined to think that in this case the doctor is quite right, and we are content to leave the matter as it stands.

Nearly thirty pages are devoted to the discussion of "virtual velocities." The principle itself was first remarked by Stevinus in connection with his investigations on the equilibrium of pulleys. The conclusion to which his experiments led him was: "*Ut spatium agentis ad spatium patientis, sic potentia patientis ad potentiam agentis.*" Our way of expressing this is: "The power is to the weight as the space described by the weight is to the space described by the power." We stick to this faithfully. Yet in cases of equilibrium (with which statics properly deals) there are no motions, and therefore no spaces described, and therefore no velocities. Have we then lost our bearings? Not yet, for it must be remembered that a machine does not cease to be a machine because it happens to be at rest, and that the relations of its parts among themselves remain the same as when it is in motion. If, therefore, we make the smallest possible (infinitesimal) displacement at the power-end of a machine and see what displacement that causes at

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the weight-end (resistance-end, work-end), we then shall know the relation between the power and the weight when the machine is at rest, and also the further, inverse relation of the spaces described when the machine is in motion. Now virtual velocities are not actual velocities (rates of motion), but merely the components, in the direction of the forces, of the displacements spoken of above.

After Stevinus, Galileo showed that the principle of virtual velocities (or virtual displacements) was applicable to the case of the inclined plane; Torricelli (1608–1647) connects it with the "centre of gravity," and John Bernoulli (1667–1748) showed its universal applicability to all cases of equilibrium.

James Bernoulli (1654–1705), Newton (1642–1726), Lagrange (1736–1813), and others have endeavored to get at the root of virtual velocities; but Dr. Mach, after duly reviewing and commenting on their labors, comes to the conclusion that there is in the principle simply the instinctive recognition of a fact; that fact being that heavy bodies, of *themselves*, move only downwards. This does, indeed, seem to bring it a little nearer to an instinctive perception, but at the same time it brings in the idea of *work*, which to most men can hardly be called instinctive; and, besides, it takes the question out of statics and transplants it in dynamics, where our readers will probably be very glad to leave it for the present.

The mechanics of liquids is next in order. Here, again, we find our old friend Archimedes to the fore. The story of his semi-accidental discovery of the principle of the loss of weight of bodies immersed in liquids, of his consequent absence of mind in regard to his toilet, and of his jubilant "εὕρηκα, εὕρηκα—I have found it, I have found it," as related by Vitruvius, is well known to all; then, starting from this fact of the buoyancy of liquids, he seeks to reason back to the cause, and, it must be said, succeeds fairly well; but we are not a little surprised to see it intimated that Archimedes knew of the sphericity of the earth.

As far as we know now, little more was done in the theory of hydrostatics till the 16th century, and by that time even the meaning of Archimedes' researches was lost. Stevinus, however, discovered, or rather rediscovered, by a method of his own, the most important principles of hydrostatics and the deductions therefrom; his experiments and demonstrations are still in use in our text-books on hydrostatics.

"Galileo endeavored to account for the equilibrium of liquids in connecting vessels (and the phenomena connected therewith) by the help of the principle of virtual displacements," but his method of applying the principle was erroneous, for he did not notice that any displacement of levels is accompanied by a displacement of the centre of gravity and a consequent destroying of the equilibrium. Indeed, Galileo seems to have had the knack of sometimes saying the right thing, but of half spoiling it by trying to bolster it up with irrelevant reasons; and this will be found, when the world has at last become honest, to have been the cause of all his well-known troubles.

Pascal (1623–1662), poor fellow, employs the same principle as Galileo

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did; but by first making abstraction of the weight of the liquid, he manages to steer clear of Galileo's error. Still, Dr. Mach thinks that even he did not get down quite to bed-rock. His own view is that the idea of the transmission of pressure equally in all directions in a liquid is an immediate instinctive perception; yet we have often found it very difficult to get that *instinctive perception* into the minds of even very intelligent pupils. If animals have no instinct, but only reason (as modern pretended scientists would have us believe); and if men have no reason, but only instinct (as others, equally scientific, seem to hint); would it not be a wise thing for us to try and make some bargain with that more favored race of dogs and centipedes, looking towards a fairer division of the "honors?"

The mechanics of gases was totally unknown to the ancients. It was not until the seventeenth century that the physical properties of air were first systematically investigated, and though these investigations did not contribute much that was new to the science of mechanics, yet they gave a great stimulus to science generally.

The names most famous in these researches are those of Otto von Guericke (1602–1686), the sturdy Burgomaster of Magdeburg, the inventor of the air-pump; Evangelista Torricelli (1608–1647), who discovered atmospheric pressure; Blaise Pascal, who confirmed and extended Torricelli's discovery; Edmonde Mariotte (1620–1684) and Robert Boyle (1627–1691). who discovered, independently of each other, the law of the relation of volume to pressure.

The existence of other gases besides air was not known until the middle of the next century, but the principles of mechanics apply to them all, just as they do to liquids and solids if we but take into account their immensely greater compressibility.

We have reviewed this first chapter somewhat in detail, believing that the reader would thereby obtain a better idea of the author's ways and methods, than by skimming too lightly over the whole. From the rest of the book we shall merely signal out a few points in which especially we feel obliged to dissent from the author's opinions.

In spite of the lengthy argument by which he tries to show that Newton is wrong, and that there can be no such thing as "absolute" rotation, we are by no means won over, and the answers he makes to the objections of Streintz are to us anything but convincing. After all that has been said on the matter, is there anything unscientific in supposing the existence of a universe composed of only two bodies, A and B, both liquid? If they are at rest (call that rest absolute, or relative, or what you please), and if we neglect the slight deformation due to mutual attraction, both bodies will be spheres. If, now, A be made to rotate on an axis perpendicular to the line which joins the centres of A and B, the mere visual phenomena will be the same as if A were left at rest and B made to revolve in the opposite direction in the plane of the former equator of A. No sane mathematician will dispute this. The Doctor, however, will say that in either case there is only the relative motion of one body with respect to the other. This we deny. For, there is an-

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other phenomenon which will not be the same under each of the suppositions. In the first case the body A will cease to be a sphere and become a spheroid, and every mathematician knows that this is demonstrated *entirely independently of the existence or non-existence of the body* B. In the second case, we know that the body A will not be deformed. This is proved (negatively), because no one can assign any reason why it should; and, positively, because the form of A is independent of the existence or non-existence, the presence or absence, and therefore of the position of B relatively to A. What does bring about the deformation in A is the centrifugal force due to its own real, absolute rotation, with which B has nothing whatsoever to do, so much so, that if B were to pass out of existence A would not be obliged to come to a halt and lose its spheroidal form, just for want of a companion to show off to. The counter-assertion, therefore, of Dr. Mach, that "when a body moves relatively to the fixed stars, centrifugal forces are produced; when it moves relatively to some different body and not relatively to the fixed stars, no centrifugal forces are produced," is simply untenable. And his triumphant question: "Can we fix Newton's bucket of water, rotate (he means revolve) the fixed stars, and *then* prove the absence of centrifugal forces?" is mere twaddle. We cannot, indeed, make the fixed stars revolve, but, if we have any sense, we can tell what would not happen, as far as this case is concerned, if we could make them revolve; and these are not "the arbitrary fictions of our imagination," but solid sense.

Neither can we admit that "there is no *cause* nor *effect* in nature," nor, "cause and effect are things of thought (merely)." If there are actions in the universe then there are causes, and if actions *do* anything then there are effects. If we place two square blocks in contact, on a rough table, and then push the first one in the proper direction, both blocks will move forward. Now it is simply idle, especially for a man who makes a boast of having got rid of "metaphysical obscurities," to say that the pressure of the hand is not the cause of the movement of the first block; and equally idle to say that the movement of the second block is not caused by the movement of the first, Paul Carus and his monism to the contrary notwithstanding. What takes place in the case of the blocks shows also that a thing may be cause with respect to one thing and effect with respect to others; and hence we are *instinctively* impelled to look back in all cases, if perchance we may find the prior cause. And this is precisely the office of true science, of all the sciences, each in its own sphere, to get back to the ultimate causes of whatever *is*. This is precisely what Dr. Mach has labored to do throughout his whole work on "The Science of Mechanics." Moreover, if there be no causes, the question which he asks (passim), in italics, too, "*Why?*" is not only idle, it is foolish; for, the answer must be, if the answer can be found, "B-e-c-a-u-s-e."

The second section of Chapter IV., entitled: "Theological, Animistic, and Mystical Points of View in Mechanics," should never have found a place in this work. No doubt some of the remarks are correct and

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just, but others are false and calumnious. To say that Galileo was a "noble martyr to science," is demonstrably false, and the demonstration has been given so often that we are aweary of it. To say that Giordano Bruno was a "noble martyr to science," is ridiculous. To say that "we have a long catalogue of the sins of the Church against progress," is a calumny. To say that "no engine was too base for the Church to handle against science," is ignorant biogtry. To criticise Euler for mixing, in his private correspondence with his pupil, theological, mathematical, and philosophical questions, is, to say the least, impertinence. We suppose that the plea on which these and similar assertions were admitted, is that they belong to the historical aspect of the subject. If so, they should first be true historically, and fair, critically; and this is by no means the case. And even if they were true they do not belong to the "History of Mechanics," and, therefore, to say the least, they are woefully out of place.

Apart from these blemishes the work is an excellent one, suggestive, full of thought, and showing signs of deep critical acumen, and is well worth a careful, studious, critical perusal. The work reads as smoothly as if it had been originally written in English, a merit which is often conspicuously absent in translations, and we have the testimony of Dr. Mach himself that the translation is accurate and faithful.

T. J. A. FREEMAN, S. J.

TRANSPARENT LEATHER.

The *Popular Science News*, quoting the *Magasin Pittoresque*, says that transparent leather may be manufactured as follows:

"After the hair has been removed from the hide the latter, stretched upon a frame, is rubbed with the following mixture:

	Parts.
"Glycerole (20° B.),	1000
Salicylic acid,	2
Picric acid,	2
Boric acid,	25

"Before the hide is absolutely dry it is placed in a room in which the rays of the sun do not penetrate, and is saturated with a solution of bichromate of potash. When the hide is very dry there is applied to its surface an alcoholic solution of torquoise shell, and a transparent aspect is thus obtained. This leather is exceedingly flexible. It is used for the manufacture of toilet articles, but there is nothing to prevent it from being used for foot-gear, and, perhaps, with fancy stockings, shoes made of it would not prove unpleasing to the sight. They would at least have the advantage of originality."

As we have not yet had the opportunity to manufacture any of this leather, and as none of it has come to hand, we are still in the dark as to whether it is really transparent (like glass, for example), or only semi-

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transparent, or merely translucent. If it be truly transparent will it, therefore, land us back again in the age of leather bottles? If so, we enter our protest right here against the "deadly picric acid." And, again, will not the "Cinderellas" become too numerous for the few "Princes" we have left?

But, speaking seriously, this leather-glass or glass-leather, if it can be made to stand the weather will be a grand thing for windows, skylights, green-houses, etc. . . . . Who ever saw a skylight that didn't leak? Let us by all means have the transparent leather.

SUGAR FROM COTTON SEED.

"In Witu, East Africa, they are making sugar from cotton seed that is said to be fifteen times sweeter than that made from Louisiana sugar-cane." So says the *Scientific American Supplement.*

We are not in the "Economical Science" business, but we cannot help remarking how the vaporings of Malthus and his crew dissipate themselves into nothingness, one by one. The human race was threatened with extinction because it was increasing so fast, that there would soon not be food enough to supply us all with a square meal even once a day. As we have just said, we are not in the economy business, and we are not going to plunge into the depths of that unfathomed gulf; we rise merely to remark that, just at the moment when the world is getting very sour, some one discovers a sugar fifteen times sweeter than what we had of yore. And so we are safe on that score for a long time to come. And so it will be with other things, when the real need arises. Be just and fear not, Malthusians, for God is not going to forget his own world yet awhile.

T. J. A. FREEMAN, S. J.

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Book Notices.

MINIATURES FROM VATICAN MANUSCRIPTS. Edited and illustrated by Stephen Beissel, S. J. Containing documents for a history of the art of miniature. Freiburg un Breisgau: Herder. 1893. Folio, pp. 59, with thirty phototype plates. (Text in German and French.) Price, $6.75.

The treasures of the Vatican archives seem inexhaustible. We receive at frequent intervals large consignments of documents, such as the *Regesta* of the Popes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, volumes of nunciature reports of the sixteenth century, volumes of the general printed catalogues, etc. Within a short time a little army of writers like De Rossi, Ehrle, Muentz, Pflug-Harttung, de Volhac, Battiffol, Carini, and others have written on the origin, vicissitudes, administration, and formation of the Pontifical archives. And yet they are, for the most part, no more than the papal records since the middle of the fifteenth century. Of all the preceding ages only a few volumes have been preserved; the internal dissensions of the city under Frederic II., the transfer of the papacy to Avignon, and the long absence from Rome of the central administration of Christendom, brought about the dispersion of the most marvelous and important collection of documents that the world has ever seen. Even the few ancient relics of the period before Innocent III. were poorly known and rarely seen until Leo XIII., by a munificent act, opened the archives to the scholars of all nations. Since then, not only great voluminous undertakings have made their appearance, but a daily increasing number of most interesting monographs on history, geography, politics, finance, art, and political economy, all of which present to the reader the fullest and most curious original information concerning the mediæval society. The work of Father Beissel is a notable example of this latter class. It presents a series of forty-three phototype miniatures in thirty plates, taken from Vatican manuscripts whose age varies from the fourth or fifth to the fifteenth century. Thus the average reader may form an idea of the elegant art of miniature as it was practised in Christian society, east and west, during a period of a thousand years. The plates, very beautiful in execution, are accompanied by a lengthy text which explains the history of these specimens of the miniaturist's art, and gives in detail interesting information concerning the coloring, design, grouping, draping, and other artistic minutiæ.

In the brief space of sixty folio pages the writer has compressed a satisfactory account of the artistic decoration of many manuscripts, otherwise well-known to the learned world for their intrinsic value. Thus he passed in review three ancient Virgils and a Terence, written between the fourth and the ninth centuries, a tract on land surveying, probably of the fourth century, and the famous roll containing the book of Josue, which is over thirty feet in length and was copied, it seems, in the seventh century. With the Genesis Excerpts and the medical tract of Dioscorides at Vienna, and the Gospels of Rabulas at Florence, these are the oldest miniatured manuscripts in existence, and are of incalculable value for the history of art in the early middle ages. Less subject to retouch and less accessible to vicissitudes of light and weather than

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mural paintings, the miniatures have often come down in the exact state in which they left the hand of the original artist. It is easy to see how important the ancient ecclesiastical miniatures are for the details of Church art and architecture in the earliest period of Christianity. In fact, several of the details of the most ancient Virgils have a striking similarity to the frescoes of the Catacombs, and show us from what source and by what insensible transitions the traditions of classic art passed over into the Church circles.

Very interesting are the miniatures of the Greek and Latin manuscripts of the early Middle Ages Father Beissel has selected several specimens from Latin gospels, calendars, sacramentaries, etc., which permit us to follow the evolution of the art of illuminating manuscript in the Carolingian epoch. Byzantine influence in coloring and composition and Nish influence in design and ornamentation are distinctly traceable in the illuminations of this period, as we might expect from what we otherwise know of the literary and religious movements which informed the contemporary culture.

Among the Vatican Greek manuscripts the *Topographia Christiana* of Cosmos Indicopleustes and the beautiful *Menologium* which furnished the text for the splendid edition of Cardinal Albani, show the skill of the Byzantine illuminator at its best. The pictures of the former are, unhappily, in too dilapidated a condition to permit successful photography, but the four hundred and thirty miniatures of the latter repay us for this loss, and in the abundant details of dress, furniture, and architecture bring before us a vivid picture of the Byzantine world under Basil II. († 1025). Another masterpiece of mediæval Greek art is the manuscript of the *Ladder of Paradise*, by John Climacus. Its accurate, portrait-like heads, the grace, vigor, and variety of its numerous miniatures compel the admiration of the beholder.

Out of the illuminated Vatican manuscripts of the later Middle Ages (eleventh to the fifteenth century) Father Beissel has selected a number of scriptural texts—a tract on the Crusades, the work of Frederic II. on falconry, a copy of the Decretals, some breviaries, the so-called Bible of Pinturicchio, a copy of the Divina Commedia, and some *Livres d'heures*. The great Bible of Farfa, an eleventh century manuscript, presents us with an admirable pictorial life of Christ in ninety-four scenes, placed before the section that contains the New Testament. The Old Testament is also liberally decorated, and the whole manuscript offers one of the most complete cycles of religious art, worthy of being ranked with the bronze column of Hildesheim, the four marble columns of St. Mark's, and the miniatures of the Gospel of Gotha. "The manuscript," says our author, "is one of the most important points of contact between the Carolingian and the Gothic art, and one of the best proofs of the steady evolution of that great branch of Italian art, which begins in the classic time and culminates in the Gothic."

The Italian artists, indeed, were henceforth the great masters of miniature, as is clearly proven by the magnificent illuminations of the Pinturicchio Bible. So perfect are these little gems of the painter's art that Séroux d'Agincourt attributed them to Perugino, Cosimo Roselli, or Pietro di Cosimo. This beautiful three-volume manuscript has a worthy rival in a contemporary copy of the *Divina Commedia*, the first half of which contains illuminations from the hand of an unknown Florentine, and the second half masterpieces of the celebrated Giulio Clovio. These precious books were written for popes, emperors, and kings, and have never been equalled in the annals of book-making. They are contemporary with the discovery of printing, an event which closed the career

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of the mediæval illuminator, as far as the decoration of books was concerned.

The work of Father Beissel is a valuable contribution to the history of mediæval art. It is not so large or so costly so the great works of Comte Bastard or the facsimiles of Westwood and Gilbert, but it is conscientiously executed by a man who brings to his task the knowledge gained by numerous solid studies on mediæval art and architecture. It is at once modest and scientific, and can only confirm the reputation of its author. If read in connection with the easily-accessible works of Frantz on Christian Painting and Bayet on Byzantine Art, it will serve to increase the reader's veneration for those heroic pioneers of modern progress—the mediæval monks who handed down the torch of culture and learning from generation to generation, in times when such constant tradition of the fruits of the intellect was no easy task, as the quaint old copyist, Jonathan, tells us in a manuscript gospel of the eighth century:

> Qui scribere nescit, nullum putet esse laborem.
> Tres digiti scribunt, duo oculi vident,
> Una lingua loquitur, totum corpus laborat,
> Et omnis labor finem habet, et praemium ejus non habet finem.

T. J. S.

Old and New Lights on Columbus. By *Richard H. Clarke, LL.D.* New York: Richard H. Clarke. 1893.

In the midst of the tributes paid to Columbus by all the nations, and especially by our own country, and in which Catholics have so cordially united, the well-timed book of Dr. Richard H. Clarke is another Catholic tribute. In this instance the homage is from the field or department of American Catholic history, and represents the moral, social, religious, and intellectual aspects from which American Catholics know and honor Columbus. Strange as it may seem, the very occasion of this great Columbian jubilee has been made the opportunity by some for questioning everything good which has been said of the great Catholic navigator, and of repeating everything bad which the tongue of calumny had uttered against him. It is difficult to understand the animosity with which the subject has recently been treated after four hundred years, or to admit the good taste of selecting the quadri-centennial celebrations for assailing the hero of the hour, and for offending the sensibilities of a grateful nation. At all events a vindication of Columbus from an American source had become a necessity, and we rejoice that the honorable task has been undertaken by a Catholic, and that the author should be one so well and favorably known to the American public, and especially to the Catholic portion of it, as is Dr. Clarke. It must have been to him a grateful task, for he was invited to it by the requests of eminent members of the Catholic hierarchy, clergy, and laity. It is a pleasure to say, after a careful perusal of the work, that it not only sustains but enhances the high reputation already won by Dr. Clarke as an historian, and that its execution, both in a literary and historical point of view, fully justifies the appeals made to the author to undertake it.

Of course, much of the book had to be given to the oft-repeated story of Columbus, but it is a story that never loses its charm and freshness. Sympathy between the author and his subject adds much to the interest with which the reading public receives a work. In this case the author is an admirer and eulogist of the illustrious mariner. To this circum-

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stance is due, in a great measure, the success of the undertaking. Dr. Clarke discusses the controverted passages in the life of Columbus with a keen and sympathetic pen, and he relates the early and adventurous periods of the Admiral's career with a zest and ardor that give the charm of freshness to the career of a hero who had already a hundred biographers. Modern investigation has, however, added considerably to the success of this effort, and we find in the pages of this book the results of the most recent and learned research into the history of this remarkable man, concerning whose career so many controversies have taken place. Judge of this fact from the circumstances that as many as twenty-two places have claimed the honor of being his birth-place, and as many as five hundred portraits claim to be his genuine likeness. Dr. Clarke, following the great majority of writers and the preponderance of testimony, awards the honor to Genoa as the birth place of Columbus; and on the subject of portraits, as he has given in his book a very fine steel engraving of the Admiral, after the celebrated D'Orchi portrait, we presume he prefers this as the most authentic of the five hundred portraits. With all the old accounts well sifted and related, especially the Admiral's studies, his religious and Catholic zeal, his early sea-faring life, his enthusiasm, his rebuffs and disappointments, his ultimate successes and triumphs, his subsequent struggles, wrongs, and misfortunes, the ingratitude he received, his poverty, in fine, and his neglected death, there is ample new and valuable matter in the book to justify the attractive title of "Old and New Lights on Columbus."

There are some portions of Dr. Clarke's book which invest it with peculiar interest and value. One of these is the powerful and convincing refutation of the calumny uttered by Harrisse and Winsor that Columbus, when he left Portugal for Spain, deserted his wife and his children (except Diego who accompanied him), and never saw them again. The manner in which the author disposes of this charge should cause it never to be uttered again. Again, and even more important, an entire chapter is devoted to the refutation of the charge that the relations of Columbus with Beatrix Enriquez were not sanctioned by marriage, and to the production of proofs of the legitimacy of his marriage with that lady. This part of the book is of intense interest. Perhaps it is liable to the criticism of being forensic rather than purely literary and historical, and it may read more like a lawyer's brief than an historical narrative. But at all events this chapter is replete with erudition drawn from every source, and gives a clear view of the canon law of the Church and of the civil law in their bearing upon the case of Columbus and Beatrix. But the literature of this chapter is as pleasing as the legal erudition is instructive. The parallel drawn in it between the case of Columbus and Beatrix and that of the Moor and Desdemona in Shakespeare's Othello, is a delightful episode that proves the historian to be skillful at producing a fine dramatic effect. We hope this able paper on the much-disputed question of the second marriage will effectually settle the controversy. There is also in Dr. Clarke's book a cogent and successful defence of Bishop Las Casas against the common charge of having been the originator of African Slavery in America. The account of the cause and manner whereby the New World was named America after Americus Vespucius instead of Columbia after Columbus, is equally interesting as it is instructive. These are some only of the "new lights" which Dr. Clarke has thrown upon the life of Columbus. It would be impossible for a book notice to give an adequate idea of this important contribution to literature. It is a work which no one will regret reading for himself, and thus judging of its merits.

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MEDIÆVAL. RECORDS AND SONNETS. By *Aubrey de Vere.* London: MacMullan & Co. 1893.

A new volume of poems from the veteran pen of Mr. De Vere, is always a welcome announcement to the lovers of poetry—but especially to the lovers of the Catholic muse. The present volume is meant to continue the author's illustration of Church-Epochs, the first instalment of which appeared a few years ago, under the title of *Legends and Records of the Church and the Empire.* However full of suggestion for poetic treatment was the early life of the Church, a richer field for such illustration is found in that mediæval period which furnished Kenelm Digby with the materials for his magnificent prose-poem, the *Mores Catholici.* Mr. De Vere gives us, in his preface, a rapid but elegant sketch of the influences that pervaded that epoch, and flowed from it down to the more modern progress which followed. The lofty ideals of those ages, symbolized in their architecture, painting, sculpture, but especially and best of all, in the flowering of the sweetest virtues, in that loyal devotion to throne and altar; that proud humility, that dignified submission to lawful authority—traits which our own age possesses in such slight degree—all this could surely suggest valuable matter for poems full of enduring interest and inspiration. It is needless to say, that Mr. De Vere has done his work well. He shows us how poetry, better than even fiction or history, can seize on the baffling elements of beauty in an event, or an epoch, and can crystallize them into a gem, which absorbs that beauty, only to intensify it in the reflection. As its title indicates, the volume is divided into two sections—the first, and by far the larger of which, is devoted to mediæval themes. "The Infant Bridal," published already, finds reprint here, because of its appropriateness to the general subject of the section—but its own beauty and interest could alone suffice for its insertion. "The True Humanity," the subject of much unfavorable comment, is also reprinted. The second section consists of twenty-four sonnets; and here, lovely tributes of admiration are paid to to the memory of Newman, Manning, Browning, Tennyson, and the hero of Molokai, Father Damien.

The reader of this volume will, perhaps, agree with us, that Mr. De Vere's greatest successes have been made in the two most difficult forms of verse in the language: the Heroic verse—"blank" verse, and the Sonnet. The former, without rhyme, requires an especially happy combination of force and dignity to invest it with a rhythm and cadence which still stands in lieu of the adornment of rhyme; the latter, revelling in rhyme, but rigidly unyielding in form, requires both a skilful selection of a theme which can be sufficiently exhausted in fourteen lines, and a ready adroitness in fitting the theme, naturally, into its strait-jacket of rhyme and metre. It is in these difficult forms that Mr. De Vere seems to be most at ease—an ease that is the result of laborious and thorough mastery of form and expression. H. T. H.

GESCHICHTE DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Verhältnes von Bibel und Wissenschaft von Dr. Aemilian Schöpfer: Brixen. 1893.

This learned work of the Tyrolese professor comes most opportunely to illustrate the Papal encyclical "On the Study of Scripture"; for though written before the appearance of the Pontifical document, it is thoroughly imbued with the spirit which Leo XIII. is anxious should inspire all the teachers of the candidates for the priesthood, viz., a profound reverence for the Word of God allied to a perfect acquaintance with the theories, hypotheses and opinions of the cultivators of natural science and the "higher criticism."

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The object of the author is to write the history of the People of God before the coming of the Redeemer. This, of course, has often been done before; but it is a history which must be rewritten at frequent intervals, owing to the ever-shifting attitude of the adversaries of revelation. There is a considerable amount of truth in the declaration which he quotes from that staunch defender of the faith, de Broglie: "It is high time that the Catholics should enter fully upon the momentous questions regarding the Pentateuch and the history of Israel. It is high time to defend a territory which is in imminent risk of being conquered by our enemies." The fact is that the Catholics, secure of their position, have looked on with perhaps too languid an interest whilst the heterodox of different degrees of heterodoxy have been wrangling among themselves, and whilst the "scientists" have been putting forth a thousand antagonistic theories, each one of which possessed but an ephemeral existence. Catholic theologians become intensely interested whenever an objection is presented to them which is tangible and substantial; but they have scant desire to fight windmills and shadows. If our adversaries would say their last word on biblical subjects and let us know just where they stand, we could form our ranks to oppose them. But how can one "strike at them with a partisan," so long as, like Hamlet's ghost, they are here, they are there, they are gone. We are not trained to this guerrilla sort of warfare, and whilst not a few of our controversial writers have done some good service against the Rationalists, the majority of us have not taken the trouble to learn the merits of the quarrel. The generation succeeding us, however, will have to enter upon this combat, for Rationalism is growing into a science and is gradually sapping the foundations of revelation.

The present work, written for theological students, is admirably adapted to prepare the reader for the defence of the truth. The author has placed himself firmly upon the Catholic doctrine of the inerrancy of Holy Writ, and this position gives him the greater freedom in weighing the merits of whatever is advanced by unbelievers as fact or opinion. We need but quote his opening declaration of "guiding principles." 1. "There can be no antagonism between the *truth* of natural science and the *utterances* of Holy Writ. 2. Should such antagonism seem to exist, this is either *apparent* and will be dissipated by an accurate explanation of terms, or the fault will be found to lie either with the expounder of Scripture or with the expounder of natural truth. That is to say, either the biblical exegetist has without sufficient warrant pronounced his exposition the undoubted *sense* of Scripture, or the scientist has passed off as certain truth a mere hypothesis or subjective opinion. 3. Every exposition of Holy Writ which antagonizes an undeniable *fact* of nature cannot be the true sense inspired by the Holy Ghost, and must be abandoned. The ascertained results of the natural sciences (and their hypotheses too, if cautiously handled) are an excellent aid towards establishing the true sense of Scripture or at least towards rejecting false senses. 4. Any assertion of a scientist which stands in open contradiction to the true sense of Scripture, is false. 5. Many difficulties will vanish if we remember that Bible and Science view the self-same object from a different standpoint. Science is intent upon widening the horizon of natural knowledge and devotes itself to the study of secondary causes. Holy Writ is concerned with the salvation of human souls and seeks throughout the First Cause."

The learned author adheres faithfully to these Catholic principles all through his treatise. The present volume carries the sacred history down to the end of the Pentateuch. The author promises to publish the remaining portion within a year.

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ELEMENTARY COURSE OF CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE BEST SCHOLASTIC AUTHORS. Adapted from the French of *Brother Louis of Poissy* by the Brothers of the Christian Schools. New York: P. O'Shea. 1893.

It is no easy task to bring down philosophy to the intelligence of the uninitiated. Yet how can any one lay claim to the possession of an ordinary education who is ignorant of the art of reasoning, and of the fundamental truths regarding God, the world and the human soul? It is the most deplorable feature of modern systems of education that logic and metaphysics are either relegated to the most obscure and inferior position in the curriculum or are made conspicuous by their absence. They are in fact two branches of learning which demand such earnestness of study and such concentration of thought that they cannot fit into any system which aims only at skimming over the surface of things and shrinks from facing the problem of ultimate causes. If it be true that a superficial education is liable to lead men away from religion, it certainly becomes the duty of Christian teachers in these days of "universal enlightment," or rather of universal presumption and self-conceit, to see to it that those who have been entrusted to them should not leave school without at least an elementary knowledge of the laws of reasoning, the criteria of certitude, the means of detecting sophistries, the limitations of material forces, the attributes of the human soul and of the Creator, and man's duties towards God, his neighbor and himself.

That the elementary knowledge of these supreme truths can be imparted within brief compass and in an easily intelligible manner is evidenced by a glance at the little book which lies before us. Brother Louis's treatise deserves all the enconiums which have been showered upon it by those whose commendation is most to be desired. The Supreme Pontiff, Pius IX., of happy memory, wrote the author a very flattering letter shortly after the appearance of the book; it was translated into Latin by a dignitary high in position at the papal court; and we can heartily endorse his words of praise. "Although charged during seventeen years," he says, "with the duty of teaching philosophy to young men, I shall never regret having undertaken this translation, because, in my opinion, there can be found in no other work anything more methodical, more exact, or more useful."

The book, in fact, aims at giving to beginners, in shape as popular as the subject-matter will admit, the essential principles of the good old philosophy of the scholastics, especially of the great leader of Catholic thinkers, St. Thomas Aquinas. Though a short abridgement of four important branches, Logic, Metaphysics, Natural Theology, and Ethics, it is by no means superficial or sketchy, but by an admirable economy of words and mastery of thoughts, it presents the outline of a *complete* course of philosophy, putting the student in position to fill up the outline by later and more exhaustive study.

We recommend the work to our high schools, academies and colleges, and also to those who, in various ways, are endeavoring to give to the less favored of our young men and women the advantages of university extension.

We must finally congratulate the publisher upon the typographical neatness of the book.

WETZER UND WELTE'S KIRCHENLEXICON. Second edition, 89th number. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. 1893.

The latest number of this great work, which has engaged the collective labors of Catholic Germany for several years, brings the Lexicon down to the letter *N* and the beginning of the ninth volume. To say that this

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Lexicon is indispensable to the Catholic student, being absolutely without a rival in any language, is to state its importance in the mildest terms. Would it not be advisable and feasible to issue a *Latin* edition of it? This might satisfy the large number of thelogical students who are unfamiliar with the German, biding the time when a similar work will issue from the Catholic University of America.

The present number contains an exhaustive and candid article by Felten on *Nepotism* and another by Funk on *Nestorius and the Nestorians.*

THE DAWN OF ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE: Italy from the Congress of Vienna, 1814, to the Fall of Venice, 1849. By *William Roscoe Thayer.* Two volumes. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1893.

The author has drawn his information chiefly from anti-Papal sources. If the tree is to be judged by its fruits, we doubt whether modern Italy should be regarded as redounding to the glory of the great "Liberators" and their methods. We hope our author will survive to correct many grave errors into which he has fallen.

LEHRBUCH DER DOGMATIK. Von *Dr. T. H. Simar, Bischof von Paderborn.* Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. 1893. Price $3 85.

Another edition of this valuable treatise on Dogmatic Theology. Would that we possessed a similar work to put into the hands of educated English laymen! That a solid essay like this should have passed so soon into athird edition sufficiently demonstrates the need of and demand for such works.

INSTITUTIONES THEODICEÆ, SIVE THEOLOGIÆ NATURALIS SECUNDUM PRINCIPIA S. THOMÆ AQUINATIS AD USUM SCHOLASTICUM. Accommodavit *Josephus Hontheim, S. J.* Freiburg and St. Louis: B. Herder. 1893. Price $3.

An exhaustive treatise, in 831 pages, large octavo, on Natural Theology, grappling with all the questions, old and new, bearing on this very important subject.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

BLESSED GERARD MAJELLA, LAY BROTHER OF THE CONGREGATION OF THE MOST HOLY REDEEMER. A Sketch of his Life and the Many Wonderful Favors Obtained Through His Intercession. Translated from the Italian. With Portrait. Fr. Pustet & Co.: New York and Cincinnati.

VENERABLE MOTHER M CAROLINE FRIESS—First Commissary-General of the School Sisters of Notre Dame in America: A Sketch of her Life and Character, by *P. M. Abbelin,* with an Introduction, by Rt. Rev. J. L. Spalding, D.D. St. Louis: B. Herder. 1893.

VADE MECUM. A Prayer- and Hymn-Book for Colleges, Academics and Sodalities. By a Father of the Society of Jesus. Fourth edition. B. Herder. 17 South Broadway, St. Louis. Price 45 cents.

THE ILLUSTRATED CATHOLIC FAMILY ANNUAL FOR 1894, with Calendars calculated for different parallels of latitude and adapted for use throughout the United States. New York: Catholic School Book Company.

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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC

QUARTERLY REVIEW

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THE COMING KINGDOM OF CHRIST.

THE kingdom of Christ is the Catholic Church. The kingdom of Antichrist is the kingdom of his great enemy, Satan, represented by his emissaries and servants, warring against the ministers and servants of Christ. In a special and particular sense the Antichrist is the chief one among these ministers of Satan, and his kingdom is the organized earthly power founded in opposition to the Catholic Church, and waging war against it under the headship of this rival and enemy of Christ, who seeks to usurp the dignity and dominion of the true Christ, and is therefore called the *Anti*christ.

The kingdom of Christ has already come and has endured for nearly two thousand years. Therefore, we can only speak of it as yet to come, in the sense of a wider extension and universality and an increase in the intensity of its action upon mankind. It is the more general and common opinion of interpreters of the prophecies that the great Antichrist and his kingdom are yet to come. Many are disposed to think that his coming is near at hand, and that the way is being prepared for him by a wide and increasing anti-christian movement of all the evil elements and forces, intellectual, moral and social, within and without nominal Christendom. Those who take this dark and forboding view of the future of Christianity and the Catholic Church look back on their past history as the fulfilment of the principal promises and prophecies of Holy Scripture respecting the reign of Christ in the Church on the earth. The period of prosperity and glory is supposed to have begun with the reign of Constantine, and to have lasted a thousand years, after which a decline set in, and the Church entered on a new warfare with the evil powers, which are

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at present threatening to gain the upper hand and to culminate in the disastrous epoch of the Antichrist.

Of course, if this be the true view of the progress of events, the kingdom of Christ cannot be said to be coming, that is, advancing on a steady line of progress toward a development which shall surpass anything in its past history. On the contrary, the kingdom of Christ must be said to be going, receding before the advancing kingdom of Antichrist. The triumph of Christ and the Catholic Church can only be looked for, in the final *coup d'etat*, when the Lord will come to judge the world and consummate his kingdom in the heavens. Such an event is above the historical plane, and is not in the line of progressive development from the beginnings of the kingdom of Christ on the earth through successive stages to the final fulfilment by a complete explication of all that is virtually contained in the Church in its original constitution as one, holy, catholic and apostolic.

It is not, however, absolutely certain that Antichrist is still to come, and that the course of time is preparing the way for him. If his kingdom has come and reached its acme, already, and is now passing away, it is possible to regard the course of events in the present age as a preparation for the coming kingdom of Christ. The question as to which of the two kingdoms is waning, and which is waxing, is most momentous and interesting.

Evidently, if we can reasonably hope that the kingdom of Antichrist is passing away, and the kingdom of Christ drawing near, the prospect is bright and encouraging, and a strong stimulus is given to all efforts for the propagation of the faith and the promotion of the sacred cause of the Catholic Church.

We wish to present some arguments in favor of this hopeful view. But we do not intend to advocate the cause of those who imagine that a millenium is at hand, during which Christ will reign personally on the earth, or to predict the coming of an ideal state, in which the members of the Church will be all saints, and the world be changed into a kind of paradise. The kingdom of Christ has come in all places and times in which the Catholic Church has been planted and has flourished. When it is planted and flourishes everywhere in the world, its virtual catholicity will become actual, and its development will be complete, the reign of Christ will become universal.

This is all that we contend for as the coming kingdom of Christ. It is only an outline sketch, which any one who is able and disposed to do so, may fill in with pictures in detail, drawing to any extent possible on his imagination. The outline embraces the reconciliation of Eastern schismatics and Western Protestants to the Catholic Church; the conversion of the Jews; the downfall of

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Mohammedanism and the conversion of its deluded votaries; and the conversion of the heathen nations. One religion and one church, the only and the dominant religion, throughout the world. Is it an extravagant supposition, that Christ, through the Catholic Church, may, in a not very distant future, extend his reign in the world, and bring about a result which approximates to a conversion of all nations to Christianity absolutely universal?

If we look at the prospects of accomplishing these great results by the efficiency of the efforts actually made at the present time, and according to the appearance of things within and without the sphere of Christianity, we cannot see any clear evidence that the Catholic Church is likely to achieve any great and universal victory over the hostile powers arrayed against her. The conversion of England, of Russia, of the Jewish people, of the Mohammedans of India, Asia and Africa, looks like an impossibility. The most that has been done, during the present and the foregoing centuries, since Christianity reached its present limits, has been the conversion of some few millions out of the thousand million of non-Christian inhabitants of the globe. The gain of the Catholic Church from non-Catholic sects has been, up to this time, relatively small, and the loss, from the lapse of baptized children of the Church into practical, or even formal and avowed, unbelief, has been considerable. A dark and discouraging view of the condition and prospects of Catholic and Christian peoples, and of all the rest of mankind, can easily be made to appear plausible. And, of course, to those who take this view, any hope of a great religious amelioration of the state of the world, at large, unless it be after the lapse of long ages, or unless a second advent of Christ be expected, must seem to be visionary.

Yet if we look back on past epochs in history, we find that several times, the outlook seemed far more hopeless, shortly before the dawn of a brighter day. In the time of Antiochus, before the Maccabees arose to contend against the oppressors of Judah and Jerusalem, the fortunes of the Church and the religion of God seemed to be desperate. On Good Friday, the hope of redemption through Christ seemed to be extinguished in His death. When the apostles were sent forth, when Herod Agrippa laid violent hands on the Church in Jerusalem, when Nero broke out into raging persecution, when Peter was crucified and Paul beheaded, when the Roman imperial monsters slaughtered Christians by the million, when Diocletian thought to have destroyed Christianity,—the reign of Constantine and the conversion of the Roman Empire, if foretold by some Christian seer of enthusiastic faith, would have seemed to the majority of Christians as the baseless fabric of a vision, and would have been scouted with derision by heathen

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philosophers. During the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, the triumph of the Church over heresy and barbarism seemed very improbable. St. Jerome, and many other enlightened and devout men, thought that the end of the world was near. Things looked dark in the tenth century, in the sixteenth, in the eighteenth, and in the nineteenth, when Pius IX. was despoiled of his royalty by the base traitor and usurper Victor Emanuel. They do not look nearly so dark now; and although some forebode great coming disasters, yet black clouds at evening do not hinder the dawning of a bright day on the morrow.

The place for a devout Jew to look, in order to find reasons for confidence and hope, was in the writings of the prophets. The source of hope and confidence for the early Christians was in the predictions and promises of Christ. For all Christians down to our own day, the intentions and promises of our Lord Jesus Christ, as made known through the Holy Scriptures, especially in the prophecies, furnish the ground and rule of our belief and hope in regard to His kingdom on the earth.

These prophecies are chiefly contained in the Apocalypse. There is a very general sentiment that this is a sealed book, and that whoever ventures on any explanation of its mysteries, will meet the fate of a rash explorer who wanders into the labyrinth of the catacombs without a guide or a clue. It certainly becomes an inquirer into these sublime and obscure revelations of St John, to be very modest and very cautious in proposing his own private views or conjectures. Yet, where the most learned and wise interpreters are his guides, it does not seem altogether rash, and may not be entirely useless, to seek for some light on the future destinies of the Church from these and other prophecies of the Holy Scripture. For what purpose have they been given? What is their utility? Some of them are in themselves to a certain extent clearly intelligible. Others have the key and the interpretation which unlocks their emblematic sense given in the sacred context itself, as in the visions recorded in the Book of Daniel. In the beginning of the Apocalypse, the whole book is entitled, "The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave to Him to *make known to His servants*, the things which must shortly come to pass . . . . Blessed is he who *readeth* and *heareth* the words of this prophecy."

Our immediate object of inquiry is the question whether Antichrist has come already, or is yet to come.

The decision of this question depends in great measure on the answer to a more general question, viz., whether the greater portion of the prophecy relates to events of the past eighteen centuries, or still remains to be fulfilled in the future. It is obvious that we should take our departure in investigating obscure and

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disputed portions of prophecy from those portions which are clear and interpreted by constant tradition and a general consent of fathers and doctors.

The grand prophetic outline of the universal history of the world, during the past twenty-five centuries and until the final consummation, includes four great empires, the Assyrian, Medo-Persian, Grecian and Roman, and a fifth monarchy, which is the Kingdom of Christ. The prophecies of St. John relate to the times of the last of the four earthly universal empires and the period succeeding its downfall, and the division of its territory; and have chiefly respect to the fifth monarchy, the Catholic Church founded by Jesus Christ. No one doubts that the book sealed with seven seals shown to St. John contained the complete history of events occurring in the great conflict between Satan and Christ during the period elapsing between his first and second coming. It cannot be supposed that the momentous series of events in historical Christianity between the reigns of Clement I. and Leo XIII., did not fill up a large portion of this mysterious volume.

Bossuet has given an interpretation of the first twenty chapters of the Apocalypse, which presents the epitome of historical events during the centuries which have elapsed since the Christian era began, as the commentary which explains the mystic figures and symbols of the book sealed with seven seals, opened one after the other by Jesus Christ, the Lion of the tribe of Judah. It would be very interesting to give a summary of this commentary of Bossuet, but our space will not permit this to be done. Suffice it to say that he explains the fall of Babylon to denote the downfall of the Roman empire, and the millenium to signify the whole period of historical Christianity.

Before endeavoring to find the place of Antichrist in history, let us consider what manner of personage he is represented to be by a certain number of learned and eminent expositors of the prophecies, who look on him as an adversary who is yet to come.

The idea which these writers have formed of Antichrist is, in brief, that of a man who is, as far as their imagination has been able to frame such a monstrous conception, an Incarnate Satan. A base-born, obscure individual, of whom Satan has taken full possession from an early period of his life, he becomes first a petty prince, at the same time pretending to be a prophet and a wonder-worker, and by successive, rapid strides of imposture and conquest, a mighty monarch in the East, and at last, the universal despot of all mankind, over whom he reigns as temporal and spiritual monarch, having his seat in Jerusalem and its magnificently rebuilded temple. He suppresses all open and public exer-

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cise of the Christian religion, and of all other religions, and causes divine worship to be paid to himself, as the Messiah and Vicegerent of God on the earth. His reign continues, after his final conquest of the whole earth, for the space of three years and a half, after which the Lord, with his angels and saints, suddenly and visibly descends from heaven, destroys him and his chief followers, overthrows his kingdom, and, after a short interval allowed to the great mass of his former subjects that they may repent and embrace the true faith, celebrates the grand closing ceremony of the Last Judgment, and consummates his own eternal kingdom in the heavens.

It requires a great deal of credulity to believe that such a series of revolutions and conquests could be effected within a single generation. It is morally and physically impossible that an impostor like this supposed Antichrist should run such a career, so long as Russia, Germany, France, England and America remain in their present state, or continue on the actual lines of historical development. The prophetic descriptions of the great empires in the Book of Daniel, when translated into history, become something very different from the superhuman and preternatural aspect which they present in the visions of the seer. All things have gone on in the world, heretofore, according to a natural and human mode, under the operation of natural laws. The action of God, and of superhuman powers, both good and evil, has been mostly secret and hidden; the breaking in of the supernatural upon the course of events in a manifest and striking manner has been rare and seldom There is no conclusive reason for supposing that the order of divine providence will not remain essentially the same to the end. Now, the sudden appearance and domination of Antichrist as delineated above, is an unprecedented and unparalleled irruption of the infernal world into the domain of human history, followed by a still more extraordinary descent of the celestial powers upon the earth, which breaks all regular order and progress of the acts and scenes of the human drama, depriving it of its unity and continuity of plan.

Moreover, all the mightiest and most disastrous outbreaks of evil powers in the past are regarded only as types and precursors of this dreadful coming of Antichrist. Reflect upon the wars of Vespasian and Adrian against Judea and the Jews; the invasions of the Roman empire by the Huns and Goths; the devastations of Genghis Khan and Timour; the ruin in Christendom effected by the Mohammedan Saracens and Turks; the disasters inflicted on the Catholic Church by heresy; and the ten bloody persecutions of the heathen Roman emperors—and then try to imagine a scene of horror and misery on the whole surface of the earth, of

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which all these are only the preludes and adumbrations. All this compressed into the lifetime of one man, who has kindled this universal conflagration, backed by Satan and all the hosts of the infernal regions.

To make all this credible, it is necessary that it should be clearly revealed, so that the interpretation of the prophecies on which this view is founded shall show itself, by intrinsic evidence, to be morally certain, or to have the sanction of Catholic authority in such a degree as to command our assent. Such, however, is not the case. The fabric has been constructed from speculations, conjectures and creations of the imagination, erected upon the foundation of certain texts of Scripture and certain traditions. All the authority it can claim is human. We are perfectly free to discard it as incredible. And, if we can find another interpretation of the prophecies concerning Antichrist, which is more probable, and is in harmony with the ordinary course of history, it is both permissible and rational to give it the preference.

There are some prophecies in the New Testament concerning Antichrist which are expressed in plain language, quite different from the figurative style of the Apocalypse. These are the best and most luminous interpretation we can have of other prophecies which are obscure. One of these is contained in the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians.

"Now, we ask you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together under Him, that ye be not soon moved from your understanding, nor terrified, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as sent from us, as if the day of the Lord were at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means; for unless *the apostacy first take place, and the man of sin, the son of perdition, be revealed, who opposeth, and who is lifted up above all that is called God, or is worshiped, so as to sit in the temple of God, showing himself as if he were God.* Remember ye not, that when I was with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth, that he may be revealed in his own time. For, the mystery of iniquity already worketh, only that he who now holdeth, hold till he be taken out of the way. And then, that wicked one shall be revealed whom the Lord Jesus shall kill with the breath of His mouth, and shall destroy by the manifestation of His presence: whose coming is according to the working of Satan with all power, and false signs, and prodigies, and in all deceit of iniquity to those who perish: because they received not the love of truth, that they might be saved".[1]

St. Paul insinuates, in this passage, that the temporary obstacle to the revelation of Antichrist, who is here designated by the title

[1] C. ii., 1–10.

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of the man of sin, according to the teaching of the Fathers, will be removed before a very long time has elapsed. The Fathers say, also, that the power obscurely designated as "he who holdeth," was the Roman empire. The downfall of the empire would, therefore, be speedily followed by the appearance of Antichrist. And this could not be distinctly expressed, because of the increased fury which such an announcement would awaken against the Christians.

St. John, in his Second Epistle, speaks in some respects even more distinctly than St. Paul of the character and near approach of Antichrist.

"Little children, it is the *last hour;* and as ye have heard that the Antichrist cometh, there are even now many Antichrists; whence we know that it is the last hour. . . . . Who is the liar, but he that denieth that *Jesus* is the *Christ? This is the Antichrist, who denieth the Father and the Son.* Every one who denieth the Son hath not the Father, he who confesseth the Son hath the Father also. . . . . In this is the spirit of God known: every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God, and every spirit that divideth Jesus is not of God, and *this is Antichrist,* of whom ye have heard that he cometh, and now *he is already in the world.*"[1]

Comparing these passages from St. Paul and St. John with each other, we obtain several very clear ideas concerning Antichrist and his place in history. St. John declares that the last hour of the world had already arrived. That is to say, its last great epoch had commenced, the final chapter of its history, the series of events which was to proceed with an unbroken continuity to the consummation of all things by the second coming of the Lord. Furthermore, that the preparation for the coming of Antichrist, the most formidable enemy of Christianity, had begun, as coeval with the beginnings of the great work of Christ in the Catholic Church.

This corroborates and confirms the statement of St. Paul, that the manifestation of Antichrist was only held back by some great power, whose downfall was approaching. When this obstacle was removed, an apostacy, a tremendous enterprise of the power of evil, to overthrow Christianity and to establish in its place a rival Antichristian kingdom, would be inaugurated and obtain great power in the world.

The Antichristian principles already working, were those heresies which corrupted and denied the true doctrine of the Incarnation. The formal, essential falsehood of the Antichristian system would be the denial of the Blessed Trinity, the One True God of the Catholic faith; the substitution of another God in his

[1] Ch. ii., 18–23; iv., 2, 3.

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place, the denial of the Divinity of Jesus Christ, and the proclamation of an *Antichrist*, claiming to supersede him, to usurp his authority, to establish a new and more perfect religion on the ruins of Christianity, a religion, however, essentially immoral, false and impious, having for its author the great adversary of God and man, and for its prophet an impostor. This rival, Antichristian kingdom, having its beginnings in the very first age of Christianity, must necessarily be developed simultaneously with its growth and extension, be coeval with the period of its greatest power and magnitude, confront it in a terrible warfare as its chief and last enemy, and be overthrown in its final triumph, when Christ shall conquer by putting all enemies under his feet, and deliver up his kingdom to the Father.

St. John, in the Apocalypse, declares that it was the revelation of "the things which must *shortly* come to pass;" and again that "the time is at hand." That is, his predictions will begin to be accomplished immediately, and have a continuous fulfillment through the coming ages, which are "the last hour" of the world, before the dawn of the Day of Eternity.

It is reasonable, therefore, to endeavor to find in the mystic emblems of the Apocalypse, the foreshadowing of the course of events through the second and the succeeding centuries of Christian history, as Bossuet has done. And if we find in those centuries any historical facts corresponding to the predictions of the coming of Antichrist, we may conclude that these facts are the true interpretation of the prophecies.

The epoch in which we are to expect to find the manifestation of Antichrist is the one closely following the downfall of the Roman Empire. In A.D., 476, the Western Empire came to its end, and a little more than 100 years from that time, A.D., 612, Mohammed began the publication of the Koran. When the first seal of the mystical volume of the Apocalypse was opened, St. John saw "a white horse; and He who sat thereon had a bow, and a crown was given Him, and He went forth, conquering, that He might conquer."[1]

Without any doubt, this is Jesus Christ, going forth to conquer the world through the Gospel and the Catholic Church.

When the second, third and fourth seals were opened, St. John saw three other horses with their riders, evidently representing three hostile forces going forth to contend against Christ and His Church. The first of these three antagonists was mounted on a red horse and is interpreted by the best expositors, to represent the bloody persecutions of the heathen Roman emperors. The second, mounted on a black horse, is interpreted of the heresies

[1] Ch. vi., 2.

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which arose after the first great conflict with heathenism was over. The third enemy, riding a pale horse, is interpreted of Mohammedanism. This being the last, it is reasonable to conclude, that when the rider on the white horse has conquered this enemy, the last great conflict is over, and the final decisive victory has been gained.

If we find the specific and distinctive marks of Antichrist in Mohammed, and in the history of Mohammedanism a clear and positive counterpart of the prophecies concerning the Antichristian kingdom, it is a just conclusion that they should be identified with each other; and that we have found the true solution of the "mystery of iniquity."

Mohammed denied all relation of paternity and filiation in the Godhead, the divine nature and Sonship of Jesus Christ, his supremacy and dominion, the entire religion which he founded,—and claimed superiority for himself over Jesus, over all prophets and messengers of God in past times, over all angels and created beings. He pretended to be a lawgiver and a founder of the final, universal religion and kingdom of God in the world; to teach and govern in the name of God, with plenary and absolute divine authority. It is needless to remind those who have read history, of the extensive and disastrous conquests of Mohammedanism in Christendom, and of the imminent danger which threatened Europe of the total extinction of the Christian religion and civilization.

The coming of Antichrist is believed by Catholic expositors of high authority to be foretold by the prophet Daniel, under the figure of a little horn on the head of the Grecian beast, and also by St. John, under the figure of a little horn on the head of the Roman beast. The two figures can be referred to the same object, if we regard the Antichristian kingdom as arising within the bounds of the Roman Empire, and in that part of it which was formerly subject to the dominion of Alexander. Daniel assigns to this kingdom of Antichrist a period of three years and a half, as also does St. John; Daniel adds to the three years and a half, a supplementary month of thirty days, and again he speaks of another forty-five days to follow, and subjoins: "Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh unto a thousand three hundred and thirty-five days."[1]

There is good reason to believe that in this reckoning, a day stands for a year. That is, the duration of the reign of Antichrist is 1260 prophetic years in which a year consists of 360 days. The beginning of this period may be, and usually has been regarded as the year of the Hegira, A.D., 622, which would place its close at A.D., 1865. But it may be reckoned as the year of

[1] Dan xii., 12.

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the capture of Jerusalem and the setting up of the "abomination of desolation" in the Holy Place, by the erection of the Mosque of Omar on the site of the temple. In this case, the period of Antichrist closes in the year 1879; the additional thirty years, which seem to denote the time of the completion of the destruction of the Antichristian kingdom, bring us to 1909, and the 1335 years are completed in A.D., 1954.

If, however, the years are reckoned as natural years of 365 days, the period of 1260 years will end either in 1882, or 1896, the period of 1290 years in 1912 or 1926, and the period of 1335 years in 1957 or 1971. There is another period given in the Book of Daniel, of 2300 years, or according to another reading, of 2200 years, which terminates at the great event called "The Cleansing of the Sanctuary." It is not certain at what date this period begins. If, as seems probable, it begins with the reign of Alexander, its close will fall somewhere within the twentieth century.

There is always a designed obscurity about these Chronological prophecies. God does not intend that men should be able to know with precise accuracy the times and seasons of future events. So much as this is clear, however, that the period of Mohammedanism is less than fourteen centuries from the seventh century, and that when it has passed away, will come a great triumph of the kingdom of Christ.

The certainty of this future triumph, must not, however, be made to depend absolutely upon the identification of Mohammed with Antichrist. This certainty stands firm upon its own separate and independent basis. Many of those who regard Antichrist as yet to come, expect a triumph of the Church before his appearance. All believe in the conversion of the Jews and of the great mass of mankind, between the downfall of Antichrist and the end of the world.

If, however, the whole trend of events in the world is now preparing for Antichrist, a preceding triumph of the Church can only be partial and of short duration. A triumph following his destruction is cut off from continuity with the historical development, progress and extension of Christianity in the world. It has a wholly supernatural and miraculous character and aspect. The conviction that Mohammed is Antichrist, and that therefore his kingdom is rapidly passing away into extinction, drives away the dreadful spectre of an infernal invasion of the Kingdom of Christ which intervenes between past and present history and the latter age of the world. We are free to look forward to an extension and triumph of Christianity going on, continuously from the present, in lines of historical, intellectual, moral and social develop-

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ment, by a progressive movement, toward a result which will be, in the future, the outcome of the past. It is not that miracles will be wanting, and that even some stupendous miracles will not be necessary for the conversion of Jews and Pagans. But these supernatural interventions will not over-ride and thrust out of the way the ordinary course of divine providence.

It is time, now, to consider the reasons for a certain expectation of the coming of the Kingdom of Christ in the world.

Those who are familiar with the Scriptures are aware that they are throughout full of the idea that the world belongs to God, is under His merciful providence, and is destined to become His Kingdom. Jesus Christ has redeemed all mankind, and has established His Church as a universal world-religion, a *Catholic* Church. The commission he gave to His Apostles was universal, for the whole world, and for all time. He declared that the time would come, when there should be "One Flock and One Shepherd." St. Paul writes to the Corinthians,[1] "He must reign until He put *all enemies under His feet.* And the enemy death shall be destroyed last; for He hath put all things under His feet. And whereas he (the Psalmist) saith: all things are put under Him, undoubtedly, He is excepted who put all things under Him. And when all things shall have been subjected to Him, then also the Son Himself will be subject to Him who subjected all things to Him, that God may be all in all."

The Apostle most clearly teaches that Christ has received as man, a mediatorial temporal kingdom as Head of the Church, which is distinct from His divine sovereignty. In this capacity, He goes forth, conquering that He may conquer; subduing, one after the other, every hostile power until the time of the general resurrection, when the present order of providence shall pass away, and the eternal order of the universe shall be consummated.

In Nabuchadonosor's vision of the statue with a golden head and feet of iron and clay, he saw a small stone roll from the mountain and strike the feet of the statue, which fell down, was pulverized, and its dust blown away. "But the stone that struck the statue became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."[2] The prophet explained to the king what this figure signified: "In the days of these kingdoms, the God of Heaven will set up a kingdom that shall never be destroyed, and His kingdom shall not be be delivered up to another people; and it shall break in pieces and shall consume all these kingdoms; and itself shall stand forever."[3]

The word and promise of God are sufficient to give us a firm

[1] Cor. xv., 25-28. [2] Daniel ii., 35. [3] *Ibid.*, 44.

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faith that the conversion of the world will be accomplished, however difficult or even impossible it may appear to us.

As for the conversion of the millions of nominal Christians, in the West and the East, who are separated from the communion of the Catholic Church, although it certainly does appear difficult, yet it cannot be truly said to appear impossible, or even altogether improbable.

There is no need to waste time in proving that Protestantism is surely and rapidly declining, and is already in a moribund condition. This is loudly proclaimed, sometimes with lamentation, at other times with exultation, by Protestants and by unbelievers. As the sects break up and founder, their members must either be reabsorbed into the Catholic Church, or be swept into infidelity. The conversions of the last half century are numbered by thousands. It is not so much their number as their quality which is significant. There is every reason to expect that they will be very much increased during the next half century. There are intelligent non-Catholics who openly proclaim their conviction that the Catholic religion will become dominant in the United States. Why not, then, in England, Germany and Scandinavia?

As for the Eastern schismatics much might be said of hopeful prospects for their reconciliation, especially when the curse of Turkish tyranny and Mohammedan superstition has been removed. We cannot linger on this part of the question, but must turn to another more serious and difficult topic, the conversion of the Jews.

There is nothing more explicitly and distinctly foretold in Holy Scripture than the ultimate conversion to Christ of the Jewish people

Their own prophets are full of predictions of the restoration of Jerusalem and the Jewish nation. It may not be possible to determine how far the most of these prophecies have a literal sense, or one which is figurative of the triumph of the Catholic Church.

Some prophecies are, however, so clear as to admit only of a literal interpretation.

In the Second Book of Maccabees there is an account taken from a lost book called "The Descriptions of the Prophet Jeremias," of the following most remarkable occurrence:

"It was also contained in the same writing, how the prophet, being warned by God, commanded that the tabernacle and the ark should accompany him, till he came forth to the mountain where Moses went up, and saw the inheritance of God. And when Jeremias came thither, he found a hollow cave, and he carried in thither the tabernacle, and the ark, and the altar of incense, and so stopped the door. Then some of those who followed him

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came up to mark the place, but they could not find it. And when Jeremias perceived it, he blamed them, saying: The place shall be unknown *till God gather together the congregation of the people, and receive them to mercy. And then the Lord will show these things, and the majesty of the Lord will appear; and there shall be a cloud as it was also showed to Moses.*" [1]

The Prophet Malachi foretold, speaking in the name of God: "Behold, I will send you Elias the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord. And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers; lest I come and strike the earth with anathema." [2]

Elias has not died, nor has he been translated to heaven. It is the unanimous tradition of the Catholic Church that he will reappear before the end of the world, to preach to the Jews and convert them. There is a similar tradition that Enoch is also living, and will reappear, with Elias, to preach to the nations. It is a very common opinion that these are the two witnesses of the Apocalypse, slain by Antichrist and afterwards raised from the dead. But this is not certain and not admitted by Bossuet and some other learned men.

It is written in the prophecy of Daniel: "But at that time shall Michael rise up, the great prince who standeth for the children of thy people; and a time shall come such as never was from the time that nations began even until that time. *And at that time shall thy people be saved.* Every one that shall be found written in the Book." [3]

St. Paul, in much plainer and more ordinary language, free from the mystical figures of prophetic speech, foretells clearly and unmistakably the future conversion of the Jewish people.

"I say, then, hath God cast away his people? God forbid. . . . . God hath not cast away his people whom He foreknew. . . . . I say, then, have they so stumbled that they should fall? God forbid. But by their offence salvation is come to the Gentiles, to excite those to emulation. Now, if the offence of them be the reconciliation of the world, what shall the receiving be but life from the dead? And they also, if they abide not still in unbelief, shall be grafted in; for God is able to graft them in again. For, if thou wast cut out of the wild olive tree and, contrary to nature, wast grafted into the good olive tree, how much more shall they be grafted into their own olive tree? For, I would not have you ignorant, brethren, of this mystery (that you may not be wise in your own conceit) that blindness in part hath happened in Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles come in, and so all Israel be saved, as

[1] ii., 1–8. [2] iv., 5, 6. [3] xiii., 1.

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it is written: Out of Sion shall come the Deliverer, and shall turn away impiety from Jacob."[1]

So far as the ultimate conversion of the Jewish people is concerned, the sense of this chapter is too plain to need a word of comment But what does the apostle mean in the passage: "What shall the receiving be, but life from the dead?" When the Jews, as a people, under the direction of their rulers, rejected Christ and Christianity, they were abandoned by God, driven forth from Jerusalem and Judæa, and scattered through the world. The Church was transferred to the Gentiles, and spread through the Roman empire. Thus, "their offence was the reconciliation of the world." Their receiving, that is, their conversion, the apostle declares, shall be the cause of a benefit to the nations, so much greater than the effect of the preaching of the apostles, that it is like a universal resurrection. It seems indeed, at first sight, that the conversion of the Jews is foretold as to take place only after the multitude of the nations shall have embraced the faith. But may we not explain the language of St. Paul in the sense that the conversion of the Jews will not take place *until* the time has come for the gathering of all nations into the Church? When that time arrives, the conversion both of the Jews and of the heathen nations will be accomplished. And may not the Jewish people, after their conversion, play a principal and important part in the universal extension of the kingdom of Christ in the world? This interpretation is necessary in order to preserve the parallel between the rejection of the Jews as the occasion and precedent condition of the conversion of the Roman empire, and their reception as the occasion and precedent condition of the general conversion of the nations, which will be like a resurrection from the dead.

The final conversion of the Jews is certain, on the authority of Holy Scripture.

The conversion of the nations in general is rendered equally certain by the same authority. "Blindness in part hath happened in Israel, *until the fulness of the Gentiles comes in.*" This sentence suffices, by itself, to make the matter certain. It can be corroborated by many other clear announcements to the same effect from the prophecies of Holy Scripture. But this is not necessary.

If, therefore, we are warranted in the conclusion that the kingdom of Antichrist is passing away, and near its end, we may confidently expect the coming of the kingdom of Christ as near at hand. We may look forward with a reasonable hope to the twentieth century as the age in which the triumph of the Catholic Church will at least be inaugurated and carried far forward to its complete fulfilment.

[1] Romans, xi.

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The late glorious Pontiff, Pius IX., gave expression to his own confident belief in this approaching triumph, in a letter which he addressed to Mgr. Lachat, dated April 27, 1876.

"God is now taking the dross out of the crucible so as to render his people free from all alloy, and once more to clothe the Church for which Our Lord delivered Himself up with beauty resplendent with glory. And when God shall have accomplished this, he will remove the rod of his justice from the Church, and that his divine name may no longer be blasphemed, he will give her victory, a victory far more brilliant than her sufferings have been terrible. May this triumph not be delayed!"

The prospect of the approaching triumph of the Church, and the coming of Christ's kingdom in the world, is inspiring and encouraging in the highest degree. It ought to stimulate the zeal and enthusiasm of all Christians to labor for the accomplishment of these grand results, the regeneration of Christendom, and the conversion of the great mass of mankind on whom the light of faith has not yet shone.

We may expect that God will pour down an abundance of his divine graces both on Christians and on unbelievers, and that those miracles, even of a stupendous character, which are necessary and have been foretold, will not be wanting. But, it is by the co-operation of the free-will of men with the workings of divine providence, and the inspirations of grace, that the work must be accomplished. The Church must be militant even to the end. Evil spirits, and wicked or worthless men, will always be in opposition to the cause of God. We are not to expect that God will make Christians of unbelievers, or saints of Christians, by a *coup de grace*, and an exercise of coercive, irresistible power, under which they will remain as mere passive instruments in his hands. The religious and moral reformation of careless, unworthy, vicious and degraded Christians must be effected by strenuous efforts in many directions, by a multitude of men and women devoted to apostolic and philanthropic works. The social and moral evils existing in countries which are nominally Christian, may well appal even the most hopeful and optimistic minds. Any project to remedy these evils, especially in the great and over-populous cities, seems to be a Utopian dream. Let one think for a moment, of the idea of making the mass of vicious and miserable human beings who are at the bottom of the social order in London, Paris, Berlin, New York,—decent, moral and practically Christian!

It is not the lowest and most miserable class in nominally Christian countries, which alone needs to be reformed and evangelized. A very great number of the more educated and wealthier classes,

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both of those who are reckoned among Catholics, and of those who are included among the adherents of the various Protestant sects, are in no sense practical Christians, but are living in neglect of any kind of religious observance. Even if they keep up a decent appearance of civic and social morality which saves them from open disgrace, they are frivolous, indifferent, in many cases deeply infected with sin and immorality. Unbelief, open or secret, skepticism, even atheism, are widely prevalent. Millions of the population of countries nominally Christian, are no better than heathens. The coming of the kingdom of Christ, must, therefore, first of all, consist, in a regeneration of that which by a euphemism, is called Christendom. There must be a general conversion from schism, heresy, infidelity, to morality, faith, practical religion and moral virtue. This is necessary, in order that the Catholic Church may have the moral power which is requisite for the conversion of the world.

The greatest evil and the most serious obstacle to the prosperity and extension of the Catholic Church has always been the wickedness of bad, and the apathy of careless, Christians. They have either but little life in them or none at all. In the latter case, so long as they have not lost faith, though they belong to the body of the Church, they make no part of its soul. The life of the Church is in its living members, who have faith, hope and charity, and in the highest sense in the saints. The vigorous and healthy state of the body of the Church is in proportion to the ratio of living, to dead, sickly and moribund members.

Notwithstanding the large number of degenerate and unworthy Catholics, who are a scandal to their profession, the Catholic Church has a host of worthy members in all her provinces, even those which are the most devastated by impiety and indifference.

The episcopate is worthy of the best ages of the Church. And back of the thousand bishops there is the great army of the priesthood, full of exemplary, zealous and learned warriors and laborers in the sacred cause of God.

The religious orders flourish, and to a considerable extent, though in diminished numbers, continue those works of the contemplative and active life, either in the older communities or in newer and more modern forms of association which were so extensive and abundant in the medieval period.

The religious congregations of women, most of which are of modern origin, reckon their numbers by the hundred thousand, and they are societies of saints. There is a great multitude in the secular walks of life, who manifest their faith by their good works, and at least, strive to be sincere penitents and to become reconciled to God.

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Bands of apostolic men and missionaries, scattered through the world, within the bounds of Christendom, and in heathen nations, labor devotedly for the conversion of sinners and unbelievers. All kinds of institutes for works of education and of charity spring up and multiply everywhere. Our century has not been wanting, either, in martyrs, whose blood has watered the soil, who are bearing their palms among the great heroes of the past, and who are interceding for the heathen nations.

In the vindication of the Catholic Church and religion against all kinds of enemies, a host of combatants for the truth and against error and falsehood have contended valiantly and victoriously all along the line. In history, philosophy, and theology, the defense of the Catholic Church against aggressors, and the refutation of pseudo-science has been triumphant. It is true that the work is not absolutely complete, and that there is need for further effort in several directions. But a large and increasing number of intelligent and learned champions of the faith are engaged in the work, and are constantly extending the bounds of that genuine science which is in harmony with the faith.

Outside of the visible body of the Church, there are thousands who cherish all that is left to them of the Christian institutions. They sincerely strive to serve God, they have genuine piety and virtue, and are implicitly Catholics. Thousands among the heathen, doubtless, have the moral virtues, the upright intentions, and, according to their imperfect light, the religious sentiments, which entitle them to be called virtual Christians, and prepare them for the light of faith and the visitation of grace.

It is evident that the condition and prospects of the Catholic Church have changed decidedly for the better within the last century. There is a vast field open within and without the limits of Christian civilization. This field is white for the harvest. The conviction that the kingdom of Christ is coming and the kingdom of Antichrist passing away will encourage and invigorate all who are laboring in this field. The prospect of the great triumph of the Catholic Church in the next century is brilliant and entrancing. The closing chapters of the Apocalypse, describing the coming down of the city of God upon earth, surpass in sublimity and splendor, not only all the eloquence and poetry of classic authors, but all other inspired pages of the Holy Scripture.

Without doubt, this city of God, in its consummate and perennial splendor, is Heaven. Nevertheless, the building of it, and its inchoate splendor, belong to this world. It is far more in accordance with the analogies of divine providence, to suppose that the kingdom of Christ will go on, subduing all enemies, and taking entire possession of the world, so that the transition and met-

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amorphosis of the earthly into the heavenly kingdom will be the completion of the conquest of Christ and the Church militant, gained over heresy, infidelity, and heathenism, than to imagine Antichrist victorious until a sudden, irresistible exercise of divine power breaks in upon the world to destroy him.

Some reasons have been given, though not as fully developed as they might be, for the belief that the last one of the great monsters rising out of the abyss to make war u| on the Church has nearly run his course and is on the eve of being swallowed up by the burning lake; that the great statue with the golden head and iron legs is tottering to its fall. Nothing remains to be accomplished, save the final triumph of Christ and His Church, the last epoch in the history of Christianity. The chief ground for confidence that this triumph is at hand, is not in any forecast of the future as indicated by signs in the present. It is in the promises of Christ, and the power of God. The young and generous aspirants to the priesthood in the Catholic Church, who may reasonably expect to live for forty or fifty years to come, may hope to see these promises far on the way to their fulfillment.

In fact, we may see that their fulfillment has already begun, and read in the history of the second half of the nineteenth century, the promise of what will come in the twentieth and in all the time which will remain before the end of the world.

AUGUSTINE F. HEWIT.

[The October number of the "Dublin Review" contains a very admirable article by that distinguished Oriental scholar, Mgr. de Harlez, on Mohammedanism. The interesting volume prepared by Major Wingate from the MSS. of F. Ohrwalder gives a graphic account of the latest sanguinary and loathsome phase of Mohammedanism, the conquest and devastating ruin of the Soudan by the Mahdi.]

A. F. H.

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THE TRANSFER OF THE INDIAN BUREAU TO THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

THE most formidable difficulty in the way of a just, proper and efficient administration of Indian affairs arises from the vast expanse of country over which the various tribes are scattered and the great distances between them and the centre of administration at Washington. This obstacle is far less formidable to-day than it was fifty or sixty years ago, when the Indian Bureau was first organized and the first Indian Commissioner appointed. At that early period most of the country west of the Mississippi river, and a great deal of it east of the sources of that river, was occupied almost exclusively by Indians, many of whom had never seen a white man, and even forty years afterwards, when the commissioner was required, by act of Congress, to embody in his annual report those "of all agents or commissioners issuing food, clothing or supplies of any kind to Indians, stating the number of Indians present and actually receiving the same," he could have made but a very poor census of the number existing in that vast region, especially as the average Indian has—or, rather, had in those days—almost as much opposition to census-taking as is said to have existed amongst the Jews of old.

Some one has wittily said of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, that the moment they set foot upon shore, "they fell upon their knees, and then upon the aborigines," and from that day to this the story has been a uniform one in regard to the contact between the whites and the red men. Imposition, cruelty, deceit, treachery and triumph on the part of the whites; resistance, a brave struggle, craftiness, loss of original character, demoralization and defeat on the part of the red man. There is but little variation in the details of the story as told by the white man himself. The Indian resisted long and gallantly, but the treachery of the white man, his rum and his religion were too much for the Indian. He had to yield at last, retreating farther and farther back as the white man advanced, giving up foot by foot the land he once called his own, and recognizing at last the bitter fact that the white man was destined to be his master and was far superior to him in driving a bargain and in the means of driving him off his hunting-ground.

One of the most pathetic things I ever heard was told by the late Mr. William Welsh, of Philadelphia, whose labors in the cause of the poor red man are well known.

Delegations are frequently brought in from the tribes of the West to see the Great Father and tell him their grievances.

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These delegations do good by teaching the Indians the power, numbers and wealth of the white man.

On one occasion a large delegation of Sioux was brought east, and during their travels a grand reception was given them in the Academy of Music, in Philadelphia. The Indians were placed upon the stage, where a number of distinguished gentlemen made speeches to an audience which packed the large building from pit to gallery. Whilst the speaking was going on, Mr. Welsh noticed one of the chiefs seated at the back of the stage, with his head between his hands, his whole air showing dejection and sorrow.

With great difficulty Mr. Welsh, by means of an interpreter, drew from him the cause of his sadness. He said that some years before a delegation had been sent east from his tribe. They came back with such marvelous stories of the number of whites they had seen, the great cities they had passed through, the steamboats and railroads they had travelled on, that the Indians at home would believe nothing they said, and declared the whites had put bad medicine in their heads, and they could tell nothing but lies. The speaker was then a young and ambitious warrior, and he made a speech to his tribe, telling them he understood how the delegates had been so badly deceived by the whites; that when they met a crowd of them, and started ahead again, the whites slipped around a hill, and confronted them again and again, so that the Indians counted the same whites over and over. He begged them, when another delegation was called for, to send him east, and when he got back he would bring them the truth; that the whites could not fool him in that way! Years passed by, and another delegation was called for. His people remembered his speech, and selected him as a delegate. When he left camp he decided to keep an account of all the whites he saw, and providing himself with a stick, he commenced to notch upon it every white man he met. This was an easy matter as long as he was passing through the sparsely settled frontier, but after a while the cabins (teepies, as he called them) began to increase in number, and instead of notching down the people, he concluded to keep an account of the cabins, and estimate the number of people in each. But the cabins grew in number very fast as he approached the railroad, and on reaching that he found a town with many more cabins in it than all he had yet seen. They then got on the cars, and passed through town after town, each one larger than the last, and our poor bewildered Indian commenced to notch down the towns instead of the cabins. At length he reached Omaha, where he rode through miles of town, then Chicago, Washington, New York and Philadelphia; and now he realized the truth of what the former delegates had

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reported; and when he found that he should have to go back to his people and make the same report, and that they would say of him, as they had said before, that the white people had put bad medicine in his head and he could not tell the truth, it made him very sad and filled him with sorrow.

Whilst this long struggle between barbarism and the *barbarous* "pioneers of civilization" was going on, the army, as represented by small posts scattered through the Indian country, played an important, though usually a subordinate, part. These frontier posts, garrisoned generally by a handful of officers and soldiers, were the gathering points in the wilderness for the floating whites and the wandering red men. The character of this floating white population, as is well known to all who have served on the frontier, was not representative of the *highest* type of civilization, and the effect was demoralizing in the highest degree to both soldiers and Indians. Conflicts between the whites and Indians were of common occurrence, and, generally, the results of the introduction of the vile "fire-water" by the whites, and the use of it by both whites and Indians.

The killing of a white man, the wounding of an Indian in a drunken brawl, the conflict of white and red men over the possession of a squaw, the theft of a horse or cow, sufficed to set the frontier aflame with war, and when war came, the soldiers were usually expected to adopt the side of the white men, and fight in a cause of wrong and injustice. The result of this state of things was to saddle upon the army the charge of demoralizing the poor Indian, when, in fact, the disposition to protect him existed, without the power to do it. For, whenever an Indian agent was on the ground, the jurisdiction of all matters relating to Indians was vested in the agent. It frequently happened that the agent, transferred from the midst of civilization, where his greatest claim for appointment to office was his ability to manipulate a parcel of ward politicians had never before been outside of his county or State, and knew nothing of the frontier, of the wild characters he was destined to meet there, and especially ignorant of the Indian, his character, modes of thought, principles of action, and wild recklessness—especially when under the influence of whiskey. All these things go a great way in determining what kind of an administration at the agency is about to follow. There are no human beings on earth possessed of a quicker faculty for (in western phraseology) "sizing up" a man placed in authority over them than Indians. Innately honest themselves, they will detect (in a very few days) whether or not their agent is honest and disposed to fairly in conducting their affairs. A great deal of this faculty is due to their extreme caution and suspicious dispositions in dealing

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with subjects the prime elements of which they do not understand. Ignorant of the white man's language, and of the art of writing, justly suspicious of the ability of the average so-called "interpreter" to convey properly to the white man his ideas, or to him those of the white man, the Indian is extremely averse to going through the process of "touching the pen" (signing a treaty), which is to bind him in some mysterious way to a contract over the execution of which he never has any control, and the interpretation of which is *always* to his disadvantage. He speedily finds out by observation, not only the honesty or dishonesty of an agent, but as to whether he is just, fair, and zealous in his conduct of affairs. When once his confidence is gained, he is as trustful and faithful as a little child. On the contrary, if the agent is not one calculated to inspire this kind of confidence, he can never gain it, and will always be looked upon with suspicion and fear; and when despairing of getting their rights in any other way, the Indians conclude to go to war, the first one on whom they wreak their vengeance will, in all probability, be the agent himself.

A remarkable instance of the firmness with which Indians will retain their confidence in a white man, even to the extent of protecting him when all other white men's lives are at their mercy, came under my observation very early in life, when a young officer stationed in Florida. At the post where I was serving (Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay), was a Captain Casey who had, for a number of years, made the Seminole Indians a close study. He became well versed in their ways, their modes of thinking, and methods of acting; well acquainted with their chiefs and many others, and was frequently called upon to communicate between them and the government authorities. He became, in this way, very closely associated with them, learned a great deal of their language, and much more of their manners and customs. He early made it a matter of principle *never* to deceive them, never to promise a thing he was not able to fulfil, or never to allow them to first discover his inability to carry out a promise when circumstances took out of his hands the power to do so, but to warn them beforehand of his inability to do what he had promised. In this way he won their unbounded confidence in his integrity and honesty.

Tampa, Florida, now a city of some 15,000 inhabitants, was then a little hamlet with a few hundred people. The Seminoles broke out into hostilities, troops were sent into the country, and all the white settlers had to gather together and fortify themselves. A white man could not show himself beyond the limits of the town of Tampa without the risk of being shot by lurking Indians, whose presence was never known till the crack of a rifle revealed it to the victim. After one more truce was patched up and hostilities

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ceased, Indians commenced again to come into Fort Brooke and visit Captain Casey. On one of these occasions one of the Indian visitors informed Captain Casey that he had seen him once during the "late war." He eagerly asked where, and was told the place, and on looking at his diary kept at the time, he found the Indian was correct, and that he had been at that very place, several miles outside of Tampa, when no other man would dare to have gone there. He told the Indian "that was at a time when almost every man who went outside of Tampa was sure to be shot. Why did you not shoot me?" "Oh," was the reply, "we knew you were our friend. An Indian does not kill his friend."

What a sermon this should be to those who profess to believe there is no good Indian but a dead one, and that the live ones are entirely destitute of any of the better attributes of humanity.

The average white man is not as quick in detecting a lie as an Indian, and once the Indian is convinced that the white man talks to him with "a forked tongue," there is an end forever of all confidence on his part. He is almost as rigid in his condemnation as children are, and in the minds of many is classed as a child, but the classification is true only in part.

Until 1849, the Indian Bureau was in the War Department, but its agents, including the commissioner, were not appointed by the War Secretary, and were usually selected with no reference whatever to peculiar fitness, but bestowed (under the pernicious system of the times) as a part of the spoils of political success. As a money-making matter, the agencies, with the low salary given, were not a success, and could not be so long as the agent was honest and faithful. Hence, the government was put in the position of offering a premium to dishonesty. Everybody knows how weak humanity is when the opportunity to make money is protected by absolute immunity from detection. The agencies were generally far removed from the centres of civilization. An agent on the pay of $1500 or $2000 would be obliged to transport himself and family, if he had one, to the agency, where he would live, cut off from all society, exposed to all sorts of deprivations for a period of four years, perhaps less, and, like the western inn-keeper, accused of charging too high for his accommodations, the agent replies to any one criticizing too closely his actions: "Do you suppose I came out here to a country like this for *my health?*" No, he goes out there and undergoes *worse* privations and more of them than the army officer for at least a comfortable living, and sometimes he adheres to honest principles. But just think of the temptation to which he is subjected. He has to do with a simple, child-like race, perfectly ignorant of all business matters, extremely suspicious of anything connected with the "talking paper" of the

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white man, though ready to "touch the pen" as a receipt for goods in sight and to be paid over to him after that process is gone through with, but receipting, so far as he can tell, for ten times the amount he gets, and *if* one-tenth of what he receipts for is given to him, *who will ever know the difference?* Only when it comes to a matter of food is his knowledge any greater, and then it amounts only to this, that he knows the quantity is not sufficient to keep his wife and children from starving, and "there is no game to be had." The agent's reply, that he gets all the Great Father sends him, satisfies neither his hunger nor his sense of justice. For he sees the wife and children of the agent are covered by a roof and are clothed and well fed, and he has a grievance against the Great Father who is so far away. The records are full of the reports of such cases, and of the fact that the Indians do not get *all* the Great Father sends them or tries to send them.

Previous to 1849, when the War Department had control, the army regulations prescribed that where there were no agents, post commanders should act as agents for the Indians, and when there were agents, commanding officers on the frontier or in the Indian country were required "to lend them aid in furthering the views and intentions of the Indian agents" in the vicinity. When troubles arose from any of the various prolific causes which existed, it is easy to see how disastrous to the poor Indian a lack of accord between the agent and the army officer was bound to become, especially as, when the poor starving Indian came to the post, laid his complaint at the feet of the commanding officer, and pointed to his emaciated women and children, the commander ordered food to be issued to the poor wretches from the army stores, as he was empowered to do by the regulations, the breach between the army and the Indian Bureau was sure to be widened, for it was invariably said, even by the Indians, that the army could and would do what the agent could but would *not* do—feed starving women and children.

Sometimes this failure was due to the agent, but more frequently to causes over which he had little or no control. Even when his requisitions for supplies were timely and sufficiently ahead, it not infrequently happened that they failed to reach the points needed in time to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. In the more inclement parts of the great northwest, where the winters are excessively severe and the snow falls very deep, requisitions for the supplies required by the military, local merchants, and others have to be made in such a way as to insure the arrival of stores *before* they are needed; before the water-ways are closed by ice or the roadways by snow. Woe be to any one concerned in the requisitions for purchase or forwarding of such sup-

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plies, if behind in his work. If the merchant be the owner, the result is, his profits on the shipment of goods are lost for that season. If the stores belong to the army, and the troops are in consequence shut off from food or clothing, a disturbance follows, which attracts the attention of the whole country, and somebody is held to a responsibility which renders a second case of the kind almost an impossibility; but, if the goods belong to the Indian Bureau, *nobody* seems to be responsible, and the poor Indians are the only people to suffer.

We have had frequent occasions, when serving on the frontier, to note the fact that when Indian supplies were most needed they were not on hand. It was not an unusual thing, when slow moving ox-trains (much used in the northwest) were caught in a heavy snow blizzard, for the teamsters to unhitch their teams, leaving the great wagons (coupled two and three together) standing in the road where the storm overtook them. The oxen are allowed to wander off at will to paw off the snow in search of food vital to them, to be recovered only after long search if the cessation of the storm and the condition of the roads permit the journey to be resumed. But it sometimes happens that these wagons spend the whole winter where they halted, guarded sometimes by a single man, sometimes by nobody. If a chance traveller on the stage-road should have the curiosity to ask what the snow-bound wagons were loaded with, the reply was but too apt to be "Indian supplies."

If a contractor for the transportation of army supplies was unfortunate enough to meet with those delays, he was compelled by the army "system" to prove conclusively that the delay was no fault of his; not only that he tried to avoid the storm when it came, but that he had travelled the required number of miles every day *preceding* the storm. How the contractor for the transportation of Indian supplies was held accountable, we have not the means of stating, but, judging from the lack of system then existing in the Indian Bureau in numerous other directions, we fear about the only important result of the delay occasioned by the storm would be the sufferings of the Indians themselves.

The defalcations, dishonesties, lack of system, and sufferings of the Indians at length reached such a point as to attract the attention of the whole country, and loud cries were heard from all parts, "Transfer the Indian Bureau to the War Department." A fruitful source of complaint was the poor quality of the food furnished the Indians, and the charge was freely made that the contractor, as well as the government, appeared to act on the principle that anything was *good enough for the Indian.*

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Yielding to the pressure, the government decided to appoint *officers of the army* to inspect not only the supplies delivered to the Indian Department, but these supplies when issued to the Indians. Now, the friends felt, our poor wards will get good food and good clothing, for our army officers are honest and will not be parties to fraud. But their confident predictions were not justified by the result, and they did not understand clearly how powerless even honesty is in the presence of greed and fraud protected by a bad system. Inspection by army officers, though not a complete success, served to develop some of the weak points in the defective system of the Indian Bureau. In one case, an ill-concealed attempt to bribe an army inspector was reported and fell upon deaf ears. In another, a wealthy contractor laughed in his sleeve, and whispered among his cronies how he fooled an army inspector who had placed his brand of inspection on a lot of flour presented to him for examination. The quality of the flour was acceptable and the bags duly branded. But the flour was *double* bagged, and the outside (branded) bag was removed and afterwards made to do duty once more, perhaps many times, on inferior flour. But, it will be objected, how was such a trick possible when *all* the goods received had to be inspected. That is the weak point in the system. All were *supposed* to be inspected, but all *in fact* were not. When the agent or the contractor wanted supplies inspected, the army inspector at a neighboring post was notified; but he was not always notified, and it apparently made no difference in regard to the receipt of the goods by the agent. We once asked a Secretary of the Interior if it was imperative that *all* goods received by agents should be inspected. He replied, nonchalantly, "No! that no imperative rule of that kind could be made, for the reason that sometimes agents *had* to receive goods when no inspector could be had." He did not seem to realize the fact that under such a system army officers, who were supposed to be the instruments for stopping fraud, ought not to be held responsible where such a wide door for fraud was left open.

Smugglers, as is well-known, watch till the officers of the law are out of the way, and then run in their cargoes of contraband goods.

The inspection of the issues of these supplies was upon the same level as that for their reception. The army inspector, when he arrived upon the ground where the goods were to be issued, found the Indians assembled ready to receive them. The goods were brought out of the storehouses and piled up ready for distribution. The inspector was looked upon as introducing an innovation when he proposed to verify the quantity of goods for distribution by the invoice which he had to certify as a correct statement of the goods

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actually issued. "But how," asked the agent, "am I to drop from my return the food and clothing I have been issuing to Indians about the agency during the past three or four months?" "That is a question," was the reply, "which you must settle with the Indian Commissioner in Washington. I am here *now* to certify to *how much* of these things you issue to these Indians *here present*, and have nothing to do with your issues at any other time." How the agent dropped from his return the articles the army inspector would not permit to be placed over his certificate of issues it is difficult for an army officer to see, viewing the matter as he does from the standpoint of the "system" under which he has been brought up.

It should be observed that the system pursued in Indian affairs previous to 1849, under the direction of the War Department, *was not changed at all* when they were transferred to the Interior Department. Most of the agents, as well as the Indian Commissioner, were appointed from civil life, just as they are now, and the system of supplies and responsibility for them followed in the army was not applied to Indian affairs, and about the only difference between the manner of conducting Indian matters before and after 1849 was, that they were carried on under a different head in Washington, with an attempt to correct the abuses of a bad system by using sometimes army officers to aid in the duties of superintendents and agents in the distribution of goods, annuities, etc.

As an exemplification of how matters were conducted, it may be well to give an account of how goods were distributed to the Indians. One of the superintendents of Indian affairs resided in Saint Louis. Each year he would notify the commander of a post out on the Arkansas route to New Mexico that he would be at his post on a specified day to distribute the annuities. Word of this fact would be sent out to the Indians, and when the day came the whole valley of the Arkansas river would be filled for miles with the camps of the assembled Indians. The goods were distributed in the presence of the army commander, who was required by orders to be a witness to it. The Indians, if the distribution was liberal, were in great good humor, but did not hesitate to say they would "shake hands" with the soldiers *here*, but would not bind themselves to "shake hands" with the soldiers on the Laramie route, nor those down in Texas. Then the superintendent would depart for Fort Laramie where the same process would be gone through with, the Indians "shaking hands" with the soldiers there, but repudiating any friendship with those guarding the Arkansas route or the Texas country. The result was, that the next year, when the Indians assembled to receive their annuities from a beneficent government, some of those present were seen to wear the

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overcoats of soldiers of that government killed in defending some other route!

To exemplify the difference between the army system and the way of doing things in the Indian Department forty odd years ago, the case of the Seminole Indians in Florida may be cited: When, in 1849, the Indian Bureau was transferred from the War Department, the Florida Indians were in hostilities, and a considerable military force was in the State to protect the settlers, with orders to accomplish the removal of the Seminoles. In consequence of this condition of affairs, those Indians were not transferred to the Interior Department until two years later. During the intervening period, every effort was made to induce the remnant of the tribe in Florida to emigrate to the West, and the question of forcing them out by making war against them was finally abandoned, and charge of them was transferred to the Interior Department in 1851. Previous to that time, Captain Casey, heretofore referred to, was placed in charge of them as agent. Whenever he had any money to turn over to Indians, his methods were marked by the utmost publicity. His custom was to invite a number of people to be present, citizens as well as army officers, and in their presence the money was counted out and delivered to the Indians in the most public way, so that no one could dispute the *fact*. In sending Indians to the West where payments of money were not to be made until they reached the country west of Arkansas, he pursued the same plan, and in public the amount due each Indian was counted out, placed in a bag marked with the proper name, and these bags of coin packed in a strong box fastened with two pad-locks. The box with one key was placed in charge of the Indians; the other key given to the officer in charge of the Indians. On their arrival West, the box was opened in the presence of all, and each Indian given his bag of money just as it left Tampa Bay.

In 1851, the Interior department appointed a "special agent to proceed to Florida for the purpose of effecting, by judicious arrangements and efforts, the removal of the Seminole Indians." In the event of these efforts not succeeding, it was stipulated that "nothing but your *actual and necessary expenses* will be allowed, the whole, *in no event*, to exceed the sum of $10,000." If the agent succeeded in his efforts in removing them, or any portion of them, a "liberal allowance" was to be made by the department. This "liberal allowance" was to consist of the commuted sum of $10,000, which was to cover "*all the expenses* of *every* description, including those personal to yourself from the commencement of the service, and a given sum of $800 for every warrior and $450 for each woman and child emigrated, which sums were "to cover *all other expenses and demands whatever.*"

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The agent went to Florida, and after expending some $2000 in taking Billy Bowlegs and some other Indians to Washington, and over $12,000 in bringing in a delegation from the West to persuade Billy and his people to emigrate, he succeeded in inducing twelve men and twenty-four women and children, many of whom were picked up on the coast outside the country occupied by the Indians, to go West. In December, 1852, the agent reported to the department the failure of the emigration scheme, and in the following May he was relieved of his trust. This scheme, which was to cost the government not to exceed, as an experiment, over $10,000, and if successful, wholly or in part, not to exceed, in addition to the $10,000, the authorized per capita for emigrated Indians, actually cost the government, in the end, nearly $50,000 for emigrating these thirty-six Indians; for the agent charged, not only the $10,000 (which, as has been shown, was to cover *all expenses of every kind*), but, in addition, he charged *all* his personal expenses of every kind—mileage at 10 cents a mile, and $5 a day, for his own services for over two years, during which he was supposed to be engaged in emigrating Indians, and *still* claimed the per capita for the Indians sent West! and even then brought the government in his debt over $17,000.

The commission of an officer of the army who should attempt to put such an account of double entries in against the government would not be worth a ninety-days' purchase.

We have endeavored in this paper to demonstrate the absolute necessity of having in the Indian bureau a system of administration similar to that prevailing in the army. We are, ourselves, thoroughly convinced that a good system far outweighs in importance the character of the agents employed to carry it out. In other words, we would rather trust the welfare of the government and the Indians in the hands of poor agents, under a good system, than in the hands of good agents under a poor system.

For the benefit of non-military readers, it may be well to state in what our army system consists, and it can be done in very few words. It is essentially this. Every want of the military body is, by timely anticipation, provided for by requisitions. The army does not always get all it wants, and many things are asked for which it never gets; but it asks *in time*, and always gets what is sent it *before* it is needed, so that even the most remote posts seldom suffer in respect of food, clothing, or other essentials. The system of purchasing, forwarding, and issuing, are all so well guarded and arranged, that abuses of any kind are always the exceptions. Coupled with this, is a system of *responsibility*, under which every individual in whose keeping money or property is placed, cannot rid himself of a cent or a pound, except by the rigid means provided by

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laws and regulations, and this responsibility ensures the receipt by every member of the military body of *everything appropriated for them by Congress, and it can be used for no other purpose.* Of course, there are trap holes, as there are in all human systems. Rogues exist in all walks of life, but few will dispute the fact that a rogue in the army runs greater risks than anywhere else, and that, when detected, the penalties are far greater than almost anywhere else.

In discussing this subject of the transfer of the Indian Bureau, many bitter and absurd things have been said and written against the army, and many charges have come out against the military which never would have seen the light but for the supposed desire of army officers for the transfer, and the intense opposition to the transfer of a bureau in which great political patronage was available, and the popular idea (derived from all past experience) that the dealings of the government with a rude and barbarous people furnished the means of making money compared with which a rich gold-mine was far in the rear. Whereas, the records teem with evidence that, whilst army officers seldom hesitate to express the opinion that a transfer to army control was desirable, and calculated to ensure just and righteous dealings with the Indians, the protection of the government, and the certainty of the Indians getting everything Congress appropriates for them, they have generally shown an indisposition to the transfer, from a well-grounded fear that the army would run too much risk of being defiled by contact with such a service.

The charges made against the army, of demoralizing the Indians, forcing them into brutal wars, lacking in disposition to advance the welfare of the Indians, a lukewarmness in teaching them to cultivate the soil, acquire wealth and advance themselves in the arts of civilization, might have some standing if those who make such charges could establish a single case where (when the army was placed in undisputed control) the results to the Indians were not directly the opposite of demoralization, satisfactory to the Indians, and advanced their condition far beyond anything they had ever experienced, or if a *single instance* could be cited where the army (when beyond the control of civil agents) ever inaugurated a war with the Indians of any kind. Every officer and enlisted man knows, from sad experience, that Indian wars are the most trying and unsatisfactory of all wars; that the work is harder, the exposures and dangers greater, the successes more uncertain and unsatisfactory, the triumphs more rare and incomplete, the penalties of defeat more horrible, the rewards of triumph more meagre.

So well recognized are these facts that in the army a saying prevails that *glory*, in time of peace, consists of "being shot by a

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squaw from behind a stump, and having one's name spelled wrongly in the newspapers." By "in time of peace" is meant the time when no war but *Indian war* is going on. These wars add nothing to the reputation of those engaged in them except with the few who are cognizant of the excessive toil, exposure and devotion of the army, the hard fighting with a foe, until recent years, far our superiors in the use of the rifle—recklessly placed in the hands of the Indians—and the horrible fate of those who fail. The many, whilst willing enough to applaud success, blindly condemn, in unmeasured terms, the failures which, in *nine cases out of ten*, are bound to occur either outright or as incomplete successes in a vast region where, from the smallness of the army, small forces are generally pitted against immensely superior numbers as perfectly acquainted with the country, the water-holes and fastnesses, as the buffalo and antelope occupying the same regions.

In reviewing what we have written in this paper (prepared at the request of the Editor of the CATHOLIC QUARTERLY), we find that we must invite attention to the fact that most of the paper relates to the *past*, not the *present*, condition of the Indian Bureau. Twenty or thirty years ago, had we been asked the question of the desirability of transferring the Indians to the War Department, we would have answered unhesitatingly, "Yes," and that the transfer would undoubtedly be for the welfare of the Indian, the protection of the government and the avoidance of future wars, and we presume most officers would have answered in the same way; but if asked the same question to-day, we should feel disposed to answer that such a transfer would be somewhat like shutting the door after the escape of the steed.

During that period great changes have taken place in the conditions surrounding the Indians. The vast regions then occupied by the Indians and a few military posts has been traversed by numerous railroads. These railroads, besides bringing the agencies and the military posts in closer communication with each other and with the centres of civilization, have done more to settle the Indian question than *all* other causes in the course of a century. By these roads and the settlement of the country which followed their construction, the vast herds of buffaloes, which constituted the travelling "commissariat" of the Indians, have been literally wiped off the face of the earth. All other game animals have been very much reduced, and the Indians, in place of being able to roam at will over this vast region, camping every night on the edge of this ample supply of food and clothing, are restricted to reservations, where they must be fed or must starve. Most of the Indian wars in modern time have been the results of the demands of the Interior Department on the War Department to use the army in compelling the Indians to stay on these reser-

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vations. The two great struggles of 1876 in the Yellowstone region, during which the Custer massacre occurred, and the one with Chief Joseph and his Nez Perces in the following year, in Idaho and Montana, are both noted instances of war originating in that way. Perhaps there never was, in all our Indian transactions, a grosser instance of injustice and wrong than in the case of Chief Joseph and his tribe. By the action of the government, this chief and his people (all of whom proudly boasted they had never shed the blood of a white man from the time they first came in contact with the Lewis and Clarke expedition, in 1805, took charge of its horses, kept them all winter, and turned them back to the great explorers the following spring, fat and in good condition for crossing the mountains on their return trip, to the day when they were compelled to leave the favorite valley where they had lived so long and guaranteed to them by treaty twenty odd years before) were forced to go on a reservation they had never agreed to occupy, and, with a bitter sense of wrong, burst into hostilities with a people they had maintained peaceful relations with for more than two generations.

But great as have been the changes of the Indians' surroundings and their relations with the Indian Bureau, the changes in the bureau itself have been greater still, and its records furnish a very full confession of judgment and give every well-wisher of the Indians strong hopes for justice and right in the future. By these it is shown that great and radical changes in the administration of Indian affairs have taken place in late years.

Formerly, each agent had charge of the disbursement of the funds appropriated for his agency Now these disbursements are very much restricted and controlled.

Formerly, almost all money was spent in making open market purchases. Now, purchases are made by contract and paid for through the Treasury Department, as in the army.

Formerly, agents were the sole judges of the necessities for the purchases. Now, they have to submit their requisitions and estimates to Washington for approval.

Formerly, "straw bids" were common, by means of which the same man, under a different name and with a higher bid, might become a contractor. Now, an effectual barrier has been interposed, so that any bidder who fails to do what he offers forfeits a certain deposit he is required to make.

Formerly, contracts were so drawn that contractors could and *did habitually* take advantage of the necessities of the Indians to force agents to accept inferior grades of goods. Now, contracts are so drawn as to entail upon contractors heavy loss if they fail to carry out their contracts in good faith.

Formerly, agents hired as many employees as they saw fit, pay-

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ing such salaries as they chose. Now, authority has to be obtained in Washington, and legal limits are fixed to the amounts to be expended for employees.

Formerly, agents' accounts were not settled for years. Now, they are settled quarterly.

Formerly, funds were sent agents quarterly, though they had not settled their accounts for years. Now, no money is sent, even for the payment of employees, until the agents' accounts are received in Washington.

Formerly, unexpended balances were carried over from year to year. Now, they are covered into the Treasury at the end of each fiscal year.

Formerly, agents expended property as they pleased. Now, reasons have to be given, and authority obtained from Washington, before expenditures can be made.

Formerly, supplies were issued to and receipted for by the chiefs. Now, each head of a family receipts for himself. It is the same with annuity moneys.

Formerly, flour was received by agents without inspection. Now, it is inspected both before shipment and after its arrival at the agency.

Formerly, beef cattle were received by the agent on an estimate of the weight of the whole herd by the *agent* and the contractor's *herder* selecting two or three head, weighing them, and striking an average. A process similar to one said to have been formerly used in the west when weighing apparatus was not handy or perfect. In that, hogs were placed on on side of the scales and rocks on the other, and then—they guessed at the weight of the rocks. Now, the agent must receive on a weigher's certificate.

Formerly, Indian traders charged whatever price on their goods they chose. Now, prices are fixed in Washington.

Formerly, Indians were imposed upon with brass checks and store tickets. Now, this is forbidden, and nothing but money is allowed.

These and various other changes have been made, and with the proper administration of this system there need be no difficulty in detecting fraud and reforming abuses.

A very little examination of the above is required to show that the Indian Bureau is now conducted on essentially the same system as prevails in the army.

In the controversy attending the proposition for transfer, sweeping charges have been made on both sides which are not always strictly correct.

Army officers, witnesses frequently of the most outrageous frauds and imposition upon Indians whom they have known well for years, and perfectly powerless to interfere, have sometimes con-

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demned the whole system of the Indian Bureau and denounced all agents as unprincipled sharks. This wholesale condemnation is not just, for most of us have, in the course of frontier service, known exceptions. I can recall two noted exceptions of agents whose faithful, zealous, and intelligent administrations have, in spite of the bad system under which they labored, left monuments behind them which will testify to their honesty and worth as long as a red man survives on this continent.

Agents and other officers of the Indian Bureau have, on their side, retorted by general charges against army officers which are known to be untrue by the army and most other people, who, from experience on the frontier, have had opportunities enough to qualify them as competent witnesses. Unfortunately, many good, conscientious people, intensely interested in the welfare and Christianization of the Indians, and without any of the qualifications of witnesses, have joined their voices in condemnation of the transfer. But this bitter controversy has produced at least one good result, in calling the attention of the people of the United States to the facts in the case; and hence has followed the great changes we have referred to in the system of the Indian Bureau, and the question of the transfer has lost most of its importance. For with the system as it now exists, and a faithful enforcement of its requirements, with a better plan in selecting agents, many of whom are now officers of the army, familiar with the army system, ready and willing to carry it out, the prospects of dealing out justice and right to the Indians, protecting them from imposition and the government from fraud, are now brighter than ever in the history of this country, and justifies the hope that this Indian question will cease to be a burning shame to the United States.

The system is not as perfect as the one in the army, where it has existed for so many years, and has had more officials on the spot to carry it out, but it is such a vast improvement over the former total *lack* of system as to promise important results in the future, provided it is persisted in and perfected as the defects are developed. If this is not the case, the well wishers of the Indians and the advocates of an honest administration will see additional cause to regret the transfer was not made to the War Department forty years ago.

Insisting upon a change in the system governing our Indian affairs is a thing of long standing in the army, as will be seen by any of our readers sufficiently interested in the subject by consulting the *Journal of the Military Service Institution*, No. 6, of volume ii., 1881, where the subject is extensively discussed.

J. G.

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THE AGE OF THE HUMAN RACE ACCORDING TO MODERN SCIENCE AND BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY.

PART IV.

THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN ACCORDING TO THE BIBLE.

After a long and tedious, but nevertheless necessary, excursion into the domains of history, astronomy, physical geography and prehistoric archæology, we are at the long last prepared to discuss the question of Scriptural chronology. This portion of our subject however, although fully as important as that which precedes, can, fortunately, for the reader, be disposed of much more briefly. But this is not because of any certainty respecting the data of Biblical chronology, or because the Church has rendered any decision regarding the question of the antiquity of our race. In some respects, at least, the chronology of the Bible is almost as vague and as uncertain as the various chronologies which we have been considering, while, as regards the Church, she is committed to no system of chronology and has defined nothing concerning the antiquity of man. As the learned and pious Abbé le Hir well observes, "Biblical chronology floats in an undecided state; it pertains to the human sciences to determine the data of the creation of our species. But let scientists await irrefragable proofs; let them avoid exaggerations and illusions, and let them not give as certain, facts that are only probable, or no facts at all. When certitude in this respect shall have been acquired, all discussion will be at an end, because all divergence shall have ceased."[1] Sylvestre de Sacy, one of the ablest authorities on the subject, goes further and says "There is no Biblical chronology." Of substantially the same opinion are Hettinger, Valroger and Lenormant, all of whom are noted for their learning and their devotion to Holy Church. Cardinal Manning in his "Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost"[2] expresses the same view when he declares that "No system of chronology is laid down in the sacred books."

What may be said of Biblical chronology, may likewise, so far as the Scriptures are concerned, be affirmed of the vexed question of the antiquity of man. There is nothing certain about it, and scientists and apologists have, therefore, all the latitude in the discussion of the subjects that the certain facts and discoveries of profane science may demand. "It is an error to believe," as the erudite Mgr. Meignan truly remarks, "that the Catholic faith

[1] *Etudes Religieuses*, p. 511. [2] P. 165.

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restricts the existence of man to a period that does not go beyond 6000 years. The Church has never pronounced on a question so delicate."[1]

The difficulties here suggested, contrary to what many suppose, are by no means new. They have been recognized from the earliest ages of the Church. St. Jerome was so impressed with their magnitude that he abandoned altogether the task of establishing a system of chronology for the Old Testament. And the difficulties that beset all attempts at fixing the chronology of the Bible were acknowledged by other Fathers and commentators as well as by St. Jerome. More than a century and a half ago Des Vignoles in his learned work on "Chronology of Sacred History" tells us that he collected upwards of two hundred different calculations, the shortest of which gives but 3383 years from the creation of the world[2] to the birth of Christ, whilst the longest reckons 6984 years. This makes a difference of thirty-five centuries. And Des Vignoles did not take account of all the chronological calculations that had been made, but only of the principal ones. D'Ortous de Mairan, a distinguished astronomer of the last century, arrived at a similar result. Having examined seventy-five distinct chronological systems, he found that the lowest estimate placed the date of the creation of the world at 3700 years B.C., while the highest fixed it at 7000 years. Since his time the number of systems of Biblical chronology that have been excogitated and promulgated has greatly augmented. During the past few decades, especially, Scriptural scholars have been unusually active in their endeavors to clear up at least some of the difficulties that have so long puzzled chronologists. The discoveries of Assyriologists and Egyptologists have thrown a flood of light on many disputed points, but there are innumerable problems which are yet unsolved, and which will probably ever remain as much of an enigma as they are at present.

Indeed, no one who has not made a special study of questions like the one we are now discussing has the faintest conception of the countless obstacles encountered by the chronologist in his particular branch of science. A simple illustration is the colossal work of the Benedictines of Saint Maur, entitled "L'Art de Verifier les Dates." This remarkable monument of labor and erudition appeared in 1750 in a single quarto volume. In less than a century it was so augmented as to make no less than thirty-eight volumes.

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[1] *Le Monde et l'Homme Primitif selon la Bible*, p 163.

[2] The majority of chronologists, until the present century, confounded the time of the creation of the world with that of the creation of man, because they were of the opinion that the one was separated from the other by only six days of twenty-four hours each.

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The causes of the difficulties and discrepancies occurring in Scriptural chronology are manifold. In the first place, the Old Testament, as is well known, comes to us through three different channels, viz.: the Hebrew text, the Samaritan text, and the Greek version of the Septuagint. In respect of their divers chronologies these three sources are hopelessly at variance with one another. Many attempts, it is true, have been made to reconcile them with each other but they seem to be utterly irreconcilable.[1] Nor have we any intrinsic reason for preferring any one of them to the others. All have had and still have their defenders.

The chief, if not the only difficulties, worth mentioning here, occur in the genealogical lists of the patriarchs from Adam to Noah, and from Noah to Abraham. According to the Samaritan text the interval between Adam and Noah and the Deluge amounted to 1307 years; according to the Hebrew, from which we obtain our Vulgate, it was 1656, while according to the Greek or Septuagint version it was 2242 years. In like manner, the time that elapsed between the Deluge and the calling of Abraham was, according to the Samaritan, Hebrew and Greek sources, respectively 1017, 367 and 1147 years. Thus the three texts in the order named would yield 2329, 2023 and 3389 years for the period intervening between the creation of Adam and the call of Abraham. But the Septuagint has a number of variants in the genealogies of both the antediluvian and postdiluvian patriarchs. For antediluvian times, Eusebius gives a total of 2242 years; Julius Africanus, 2262; Clement of Alexandria, 2148; Josephus, 2156. From the Deluge to Abraham, Eusebius reckons 945 years; Theophilus of Antioch, 936; George Syncellus, 1070; Julius Africanus, 940; Clement of Alexandria, 1175; Josephus, 993. "These variants," as Darras well observes, "constitute for the general chronology of the first two epochs of history a difficulty, which probably will never be solved." The figures, however, which we have given are those ordinarily accepted.

As a consequence of these different elements and variants divers figures have been obtained by the supputations of chronologers for the period that elapsed between the creation of Adam and the beginning of our era. The modern Jews fix the date of creation at 3761 years B.C.; Scaliger at 3950; the learned Jesuit, Petavius, at 3983; Usher at 4004; Clinton at 4138; the new edition of the "Art of Verifying Dates" at 4963; Hales at 5411; Jackson at 5426; the Church of Alexandria at 5504; the Church of Constantinople at 5510; Vossius at 6004; Panvino at 6311; the Alphonsine Tables at 6984. The mean date assigned by the

[1] St. Augustine says anent this matter, *De quibus rationem aut nullam aut difficillimam reddunt*, and his words are as true to-day as when they were first penned.

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earlier Ecclesiastical writers fixes the date of the creation of the world at 5500 years before our era. Origen makes it 5000 years, while Eusebius places it at 5300, and Julius Africanus at 5562 years. Adding the highest of these numbers to 1893, the time since the coming of Christ, we have, as the age of our race, a period that embraces no less than 9000 years.

These figures, which are only a few of those that might be adduced, are amply sufficient to exhibit the total lack of certainty that obtains in the chronology of the earlier history of mankind.

Owing to the labors of Joseph Scaliger, who laid the foundations of modern chronological science, the chronology of the Hebrew text has generally prevailed since the sixteenth century. Before his time, however, the chronology of the Septuagint predominated. During the first six centuries of our era it was used by both Greek and Latin ecclesiastical writers. It is still employed by the Greek Church, and retained in the Roman Martyrology, which places the date of the creation at 5199 years before the coming of Christ.

But notwithstanding the efforts of Scaliger and his followers to give vogue to the Hebrew Chronology, the Septuagint, even before the imperative demands of modern science were made, still counted many defenders among modern scholars. Among these were Isaac Vossius, Morin, Cappell, the learned religious of Citeaux, Father Perrone, and the erudite ecclesiastical historian, Cardinal Baronius. The latter, while fully recognizing all the difficulties of the question, avowed his preference for the chronology of the Septuagint as being more in accordance with the traditions of the Church. Many of the earlier Fathers adopted it for a similar reason. They perceived, as we do to-day, the difficulty of reconciling the chronology of the Vulgate with the histories of Egypt and Chaldea. The most distinguished modern advocate of the Samaritan text was the celebrated German Egyptologist, Lepsius, who followed it in his learned work on the "Chronology of the Egyptians."

For some unexplained reason, the chronological system of Usher, the Protestant Archbishop of Armagh, has found its way into the English versions of the Bible, and many there are who believe that the dates given at the heads of some of the chapters belong to the original Scriptures, whereas all students of Holy Writ are well aware that the inspired authors of the Sacred Record gave no such dates.

The Church has always permitted her children full liberty of opinion regarding the much controverted question of Biblical chronology. The Council of Trent, which issued so many wise decrees respecting the Canonical Scriptures, left the subject of the number of generations of patriarchs, together with their respective

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ages, an open question to be settled, if possible, by historians and scientists. Biblical chronology, as such, has no bearing on dogma, and for this reason the Church has never given the matter any attention, and most likely never will.

It is perfectly manifest that the genealogical tables of but one of the three texts, Hebrew, Greek, and Samaritan, can be correct. The other two must, therefore, be erroneous. Which one is right and which are wrong will most likely ever remain a matter of dispute. "Some chronologists," says Bergier, "think that the Hebrews have shortened their chronology; others are of the opinion that the Seventy have lengthened the period of time from Adam to our Lord; while others again give their preference to the Samaritan text." But none of these three opinions are susceptible of demonstrative proof. The arguments advanced by critics in favor of any of these divers opinions are at best serious—never decisive.

But it is not certain that any of the three texts give the exact figures contained in the autographic copy of Genesis by Moses. If two of the texts are manifestly erroneous, in so far as they refer to the genealogical lists of the patriarchs, it is far from certain that the third is not likewise incorrect. It is impossible to prove that the original figures have not been altered by copyists, either intentionally or through inadvertence, and hence we have no warrant for concluding, as is so often done, that even the oldest copy of the Pentateuch in existence contains the exact numbers written by Moses. For this reason it is that Mgr. Meignan does not hesitate to declare that "The precise date of the apparition of man on earth cannot be determined with certitude."

If the alterations were but few, and of but small moment, we should be justified in fixing the date of the creation of Adam somewhere between 4000 and 7000 years B.C.,—a wide margin, it is true,—and of placing the age of our race at between 6000 and 9000 years. This we may assume until evidence is forthcoming to the contrary.

But just here we are confronted with another and, if anything, a more serious difficulty. Are we sure that the lists of the antediluvian and postdiluvian patriarchs are complete? Have we any positive evidence that they are not fragmentary, and that there are no *lacunæ* in them? Far from it. On the contrary, there are grave reasons for believing that many links in the chain are lacking, and that the catalogue of the descendants of Adam in a direct line to Abraham is probably incomplete. It must be said, however, that there is no direct evidence in Genesis of such gaps. It is furnished rather by passages from other portions of the Old and New Testaments, and made more plausible by extrinsic considerations based on the declarations of science and history.

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"The genealogies of the Bible," observes M. Wallon, "having for object to give us the filiation of men and not the succession of time, and being able therefore to suppress intermediaries, no calculation can, with any degree of certainty, go beyond Abraham.[1] In another place the same judicious writer asserts that "The chronology of the Bible can be established only by genealogical lists. But the Orientals, in their genealogies, have a care for only one thing,—to follow the direct line without attaching special importance to intermediaries. Thus, whole generations are suppressed, and, as a consequence, years and even centuries are taken from our calculations." Long ago, before the advance of science indicated the necessity of an extension of time for the patriarchal age, Father Lequien wrote as follows: "It is possible that Moses deemed it proper to make mention of only ten of the principal patriarchs who lived before the Deluge, and of ten others who lived between this epoch and Abraham, omitting the others for reasons to us unknown, as St. Matthew has done in the genealogy of our Lord, and as the authors of the book of Ruth and of the first book of Paralipomenon have done in that of David and in that of the high priests.[2]

To the instances adduced by Lequien, Vigouroux cites others. Thus, "even in the Pentateuch Laban the *grandson* of Nachor is called his son, through the omission of the name of Bathuel, his father. Jochabed, the mother of Moses, is called the *daughter of Levi*, although Levi was certainly dead a long time before her birth. In the first book of Paralipomenon, Subael, a contemporary of David, is spoken of as the *son of Gerson*, who was the son of Moses, and lived many ages before. In the third and fourth books of Kings, as well as in the second book of Paralipomenon, Jehu is named the *son of Namsi*, notwithstanding he was his grandson. In Esdras, Addo, who was the grandfather, is called the father of Zachary. Our Saviour, as is well known, is often spoken of as the son of David. The Gospel of St. Luke, according to the Septuagint, contains in the genealogical tree of our Lord, as all are aware, a name—that of Cainan—which is wanting in the genealogical list of St. Matthew, and which is not found at all in the Hebrew and Samaritan texts."

A far more striking example of the existence of *lacunæ* in genealogical trees is afforded by St. Matthew. From the list of the ancestors of our Saviour he excludes, and to all appearances intentionally, three well-known royal names, Ochozias, Joas, and Amasias.[3] This suppression is the more specially deserving of attention inasmuch as it may enable us to detect the motive of the

[1] *La Sainte Bible Résumée*, tome i., p. 435.

[2] Quoted by Vigouroux in the *Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, October, 1886, p. 371.

[3] It is to be noted that in spite of this triple suppression the evangelist uses

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systematic omission of a number of links in the genealogical chain. It seems, indeed, to have been for mnemotechnic reasons. As the genealogical tables were learned by heart, numerous expedients were resorted to in order to facilitate the labor of the memory and to enable it to retain the dry lists of names. With this object in view, and indicating at the same time his method of procedure, the Evangelist has subdivided the entire series into three groups of fourteen members each. And because the second would have had seventeen in lieu of fourteen members, which would have destroyed the economy of distribution, he eliminates three of them. "We may suspect," continues Vigouroux, "an analogous mnemotechnic reason for the two patriarchal genealogies. They seem, indeed, to be based on even a more simple system. They each one reckon before and after the Deluge ten names, the number easiest to remember, the number which corresponds to the ten fingers of the two hands, and that, too, on which the decimal system is founded the world over."

The decimal number, then, of the patriarchs before and after the Deluge, and the custom of the Orientals often to suppress intermediate members in their genealogical lists, all authorize us to admit the possibility of hiatuses in the enumeration which Moses makes of the direct descendants from Adam to Abraham. But if this be so, the date of the creation of man may go back much farther than has hitherto been believed, because it would then be necessary to extend it by the duration of the life of all those personages omitted in the catalogues of Genesis. The epoch, consequently, of the apparition of man on the earth is entirely uncertain, not only because we are ignorant of the true figures written by the author of the Pentateuch, as we have already seen, but also, and more especially, because we do not know what may be the number of hiatuses in the genealogical series. If the alteration of figures can affect the antiquity of man only to a limited extent, it is quite otherwise with the omissions of whole generations, because, if these omissions be numerous, the date of the first man may be put back many centuries.

In consulting, therefore, only the Bible, we are left in a state of complete uncertainty regarding the antiquity of our race. It is possible that according to the actual Hebrew text, it is but six thousand years; it is possible, that it is eight thousand years, according to the Septuagint; it is also possible to suppose that it dates back much farther by reason of the lacunæ which we are justified in assuming to exist in the genealogical trees. Such is

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the word *genuit—Joram genuit Oziam*—although Ozias was the son of Amasias. This proves that the Hebrews, like the Orientals generally, did not always employ this expression in its strict sense. The word is the consecrated term always employed in genealogical lists, and may signify mediate as well as immediate filiation.

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the final conclusion to which we are led by a critical study of the Sacred Text—uncertainty and ignorance.[1]

These views of the distinguished Sulpician are shared by many other modern exegetists whose erudition is as profound as their orthodoxy in matters of dogma is unquestionable. Among these may specially be mentioned the learned Jesuits, Fathers Bellynck,[2] Knabenbauer[3] and Brucker.[4] Father Bellynck declares emphatically that "There does not exist any chronology in the Bible. The genealogies of our Sacred Books," he goes on to say, "from which a series of dates has been deduced, present occasional gaps. How many years are missing from this broken chain? We cannot tell. It is therefore permitted to science to put back the deluge as many years as science may judge necessary." Father Brucker maintains the existence of gaps in the list of postdiluvian patriarchs in order to account for the various ethnologic and linguistic types of humanity that are known to have been formed during the interval between the Flood and the time of Abraham. Hence he does not hesitate to assert that "We are free to add to the vulgar date of the Deluge as many centuries as serious and scientific reasons may demand."

It may be urged that such opinions contravene the teaching of the Church regarding the Divine inspiration of the Scriptures. Reusch observes in reference to this matter that "The chronological statements of the Old Testament certainly do not belong to the things which God has revealed, but to those which Biblical historians have recorded on the authority of tradition or of older records; and from a religious point of view the question as to the period that elapsed between the Deluge and the time of Abraham and Moses is of no more importance than the age of the patriarchs,"[5] which, the same writer avers, "is in no way directly and necessarily connected with the religious truths of the Bible. In all that belongs," continues Reusch, "to what is revealed in Holy Scripture of the *res fidei et morum*, or is closely and necessarily connected with them, we know that the Church's interpretation is right, and that therefore no new interpretation of anything essential is admissible. But in matters only distantly connected with doctrine, such as purely historical, geographical, scientific, and also chronological statements, the Biblical expressions are not always so clear and unmistakable, and thus they may be, and have been

[1] *Loc cit.*, pp. 372 *et seq.*

[2] *Etudes Religieuses*, Art. "Anthropologie," April, 1868.

[3] *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*, Art. "Bibel und Chronologie." 1874. pp. 362-372.

[4] *La Controverse*, Art. "La Chronologie des Premiers Ages de l' Humanité," March, 1886 and "Quelques Eclaircissements sur la Chronologie Biblique," September, 1886.

[5] *Natur und Bibel*, English Translation, vol. ii., p. 254.

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differently interpreted; therefore, as regards these points, new interpretations may be considered.[1]

The learned Sulpician, the Abbé de Foville, gives in a nut-shell, the Catholic doctrine on the subject when he declares that "The Bible, indicates in a measure which suffices for its divine scope the chronological order of the facts which it relates. But the Holy Spirit not having inspired it in order to found or cast light upon the science of chronology, we should not seek in it a detailed and precise chronology, a complete system of dates accurately indicated, methodically connected, and perfectly preserved."[2]

The Abbé Bourgeois, the distinguished archæologist, and, to the day of his death, an ardent champion of Tertiary man, is not less positive when he affirms that "the text of the Bible is brief and obscure; geology and prehistoric archæology, notwithstanding some truths which have been acquired, are not less obscure in respect of many essential points. Why establish premature concordances, and not rather wait for light, with the well-founded confidence that scientific truth can never be opposed to religious truth?"

Modern science has certainly discovered nothing that should in the least change or weaken our faith or shake our confidence in any of those verities which the Church proposes for our belief. Only those who are ill-informed, or who take a one-sided view of the discussion that has engaged our attention in these pages, see in the question of the antiquity of man any cause for apprehension as to the ultimate results to which a thorough ventilation of the subject will lead. Learned archæologists and theologians like the Abbés Bourgeois and Delaunay and Valroger, who devoted the best years of their lives to the study and elucidation of this and cognate subjects, never came across anything in their investigations, and they were always in the front rank of the scientific movement, to discourage them or to cause them to think, even for a moment, that science and religion are irreconcilable. Far from it. The lives and the works of these pious and erudite advocates of our holy faith afford us a striking illustration of the liberty of thought permitted to the Catholic investigator in matters of science and speculation. When Abbé Bourgeois thought he had demonstrated the existence of Tertiary man by his discovery of the flint flakes at Thenay, he saw no reason for rejecting the Scriptural chronology, and still less for impugning the authenticity and inspiration of the Bible as held by the Church. Granting that the flints discovered by him were fabricated by rational beings, might not such beings belong to a distinct species from that descended from Adam—a species extinct before the time of our first ancestor, and a species, consequently, about which the Scripture is silent? Nay,

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 255. [2] Quoted in *The Catholic World*, vol. xl., p. 449.

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even, may there not have been many species of the genus *Homo*-pre-Adamites, who lived and died before the apparition of Adam and the race of which he is the father? Neither the Abbé Bourgeois nor the Abbé Delaunay saw in this hypothesis anything contrary to Catholic dogma. It is something that does not come within the purview of Scripture—which deals only with the Adamic species—and which does not in the least militate against any of the truths proposed by the Church for our acceptance. The Abbé Fabre d'Envieu and the Abbé Valroger, a distinguished member of the French Oratory, did not hesitate to advance as a conjectural hypothesis the existence of a race of rational beings—pre-Adamites[1]—distinct from our own, as a means of meeting the difficulty raised by the alleged discovery of Tertiary man.[2] But their theory was not needed, for Tertiary man, as we have seen, is a *chimæra*, and the concurrent testimony of the ablest geologists and archæologists of the day relegates his existence to the limbo of exploded hypotheses and fantastical speculations.[3]

The evidence we have examined regarding the age of our race proves one thing, and proves it most conclusively, and that is, that the question we have been discussing is far from being definitively answered either by Scripture or science, and, according to present indications, it seems improbable that we shall ever have a certain answer regarding this much controverted topic. The testimony of astronomy does not, as such, make either for or against the Biblical chronology, because astronomy as a science was not cultivated until some thousands of years after the advent of man on the earth. The testimony of history, and especially the history which takes us back farthest—the history of Egypt, Assyria, Chaldea and Babylonia—admirably corroborates the testimony of the Bible concerning the antiquity of man. The sciences of linguistics, ethnology and physiology have discovered nothing that is incompatible with the acceptance of the chronology of Scripture as understood by our most competent apologists. The statements of geology and prehistoric archæology are so vague and conflicting and extravagant that nothing definite can be gathered from them beyond the apparently indisputable fact that the age of our species is greater than the advocates of the

[1] It is scarcely necessary to observe that the pre-Adamites of Valroger and his confreres do not come under the category of the pre-Adamites of La Peyriere, whose doctrines in this matter were condemned by the Church. The theory of La Peyriere in a modified form was advocated by the late Prof. Winchell in his voluminous work, *Pre-Adamites.*

[2] The hypothesis was favorably commented on by the eloquent Père Monsabré in his *Conférences de Notre Dame*, pp. 68, 69.

[3] See two letters of the Abbé Delaunay, the learned and zealous collaborator of the Abbé Bourgeois, on the flints of Thenay, and their bearing on Tertiary man, in the appendix to vol. iii. of Vigouroux's *Les Livres Saints et la Critique Rationaliste.*

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Hebrew and Samaritan texts of the Bible have been wont to admit. It may, however, be asserted positively that no certain geologic or archæologic evidence so far adduced is irreconcilable with a chronology that we are warranted in deducing from the known facts and genealogical records of the Book of books. Until other and more conclusive evidence is forthcoming, the chronology of the Septuagint, as read in the light of modern Catholic exegesis, is abundantly competent to meet all the real difficulties respecting the antiquity of man which have been proclaimed to the world with such pomp and circumstance by geologists and archæologists during the past few decades.

The late Abbé Moigno who made an exhaustive study of all the evidence bearing on the question, gives it as his opinion that "the exact date of the creation of man, of his first appearance on the earth, remains entirely uncertain or unknown, but that there would be some rashness in carrying it back beyond 8000 years."[1]

Abbé Hamard, of the Oratory of Rennes, one of the most eminent archæologists of France, says, in reference to this subject, "that it is necessary to adopt the chronology of the Septuagint as affording us notably more time we are convinced, but we fail to see any reason for carrying this chronology beyond the 8000 or 10,000 years which it accords us as a maximum."[2] Father Hewit, C. S. P., writes: "Thus far we have not seen any plausible reason to put back the beginnings of the human race to an earlier period than 10,000 years B.C. We are firmly convinced that a concurrence of proofs from all branches of science bearing on the subject, Scriptural exegesis included, requires the admission of a date for the creation of the human species at least ten or twenty centuries earlier than the vulgar era of 4004 B.C."[3]

The Abbé Vigouroux, who, although conservative, never flinches before a difficulty, says: "We maintain, it is true, that the progress of the civilizations which flourished in Egypt and Chaldea from the times of the most ancient kings whose names are known to us, as well as the discoveries of geologists and palæontologists, demand a longer time than the chronology of the Septuagint allows us; but here all calculation becomes impossible, and we can but say to the archæologists and savants, establish by irrefragable proofs the antiquity of man, and of the people of the earlier ages, and the Bible will not contradict it. Does it not give us to understand that it leaves these questions to the discussion of men, provided they keep within the bounds of sound criticism, when it declares through Ecclesiasticus: *Arenam maris et pluviae guttas et dies*

[1] *Splendeurs de la Foi*, tome ii., p. 612.

[2] *Les Science et l'Apologetique Chretienne*, p. 31. Cf. the article by the same writer on *Adam*, in the *Dictionaire de la Bible*, Publié par F. Vigouroux, fascicule i.

[3] *The Catholic World*, January, 1885, p. 451.

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saeculi, quis dinumeravit?[1] Who hath numbered the sand of the sea and the drops of rain and the days of the world?"

As to ourselves, we incline to a liberal but legitimate interpretation of the version of the Septuagint, and are disposed to attribute to man an antiquity of about 10,000 years. It may be a little more or it may be a little less. Certain it is that there is not as yet a single known *fact* that necessitates an extension of this period. Future research may indeed raise the figure to 12,000 or 15,000, or even 20,000, years, but judging from the evidence now available, and bearing in mind the disposition of many of our most eminent scientists to shorten rather than prolong the age of our species, it seems more likely that the general consensus of chronologists will ultimately fix on a number that shall be below rather than above 10,000 years as the nearest approximation to the age of our race.

The question in reality is one which is to be settled by history rather than by natural science, whatever geologists and archæologists may say to the contrary. It is precisely in questions like this that history, to use the happy expression of Cicero, is not only the *nuntia vetustatis*—"the messenger of antiquity"—but also the *lux veritatis*—"the torch of truth"—without which we must forever hopelessly grope in darkness. Science may adduce facts regarding the age of our race, but history, and history alone, must be their chief and, ofttimes, their sole interpreter. Thus far the conclusions of authentic history and the teachings of Holy Writ respecting the age of the human race are so marvellously concordant that they may be considered as giving testimony that is identical. Aside from certain apparent discrepancies, resulting from lack of information or misinterpretation of fact, there has never been any serious conflict between the two; there is no conflict now; and we are firmly convinced that there will be none in the future, because, from our point of view, a conflict is from the very nature of the case impossible. And we make this declaration, not in the spirit of special pleading; not because we love science less and the Bible more; not because we assume that there is or can be an attitude of hostility on the part of science—we do not mean theory—towards religion; not because we ignore facts or minimize logical deductions from facts observed; but because we are as firmly convinced as we can be of anything that God is the Lord of science; that science is the handmaid of religion; that the two speaking of the same Author, although in different tongues, must voice the same testimony; and that this testimony must be not only unequivocally true but also unequivocally one. We fear not facts—we have been searching for them all our lives,—but experience has led us to distrust theories that are prematurely

[1] *Revue Des Questions Scientifiques*, October, 1886, p. 407. Cf. *Manuel Biblique*, tome i., p. 568, and *Les Livres Saints et la Critique Rationaliste*, vol. iii., p. 547.

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formulated. We welcome now all facts, as we always have welcomed them, bearing on the age of our race, and we are certain that in the long run, when all the necessary facts are reported and co-ordinated, the results will be as harmonious as a certain school would now have us believe they are discordant.

We could not have a more striking illustration of the vagaries to which the unguided human intellect is subject than is afforded by the vacillating and extravagant notions it has entertained regarding the antiquity of man. It has been willing to believe everything as possible and to accept the most manifest absurdities as tenable. For more than a generation past we have been asked to accept as veritable science what was obviously nothing more than a tissue of arrogant and threadbare conceits—a reflection of individual fancy and not a mirror of the facts of nature. Like the spectre of the Brocken, the science of many of our modern "advanced thinkers" is but an empty shadow of their own mind's throwing—a magnified, intangible, evanescent phantom projected on a background of cloud and mist. The theories are, indeed, made plausible to an unsuspecting public, because they are presented with all the enchantments of persuasive speech. For their authors, truth to tell, often possess what St. Augustine characterizes as the *illecebrae suaviloquentiae*. Yet all this is but a specious cloak for uncertainty and ignorance. The inductions from false premises that we are bidden to regard as the last word of science are frequently as hypothetical as the *chimera bombinus in vacuo* of the mediæval metaphysicians. But such is the vogue of much that passes under the name of modern science, not in any one particular part of the earth but the world over, from Copenhagen to Lisbon,

"A Gadibus usque ad Auroram et Gangen."

We must, however, regard it as one of the manifestations of the *zeitgeist* of our generation. For, be it known, the zeitgeist is a capricious being and more changeable than Proteus. It knows how to satisfy its votaries, who, like the Athenians and the strangers that St. Paul addressed on the Areopagus "employed themselves in nothing else but either in telling or in hearing some new thing."[1] But recent events and revelations in every department of science seem to betoken a speedy return to a more serious and a more conservative *régime*. The fin-de-siecle, dilettante man of science is fast losing the prestige he once had, and scientists generally, who have long been traveling in an orbit of great eccentricity, are rapidly returning to perihelion—to that centre of light and truth where flames for all earnest seekers after knowledge the light of science and wisdom.

J. A. ZAHM, C.S.C.

[1] Acts of the Apostles, xvii., 21.

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THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.

ONE ought not to be severely blamed for glorying in the commonplace fact that he had a grandfather; and when certain units of our heterogeneous population gather periodically around the festive board for such mutual congratulation, our sympathies would not be withheld if we did not perceive, too frequently, that though these reunions are truly encouraging to a certain flow of soul, they are apt to degenerate into feasts of rampant and unmitigated unreason. All of the associations that celebrate Forefathers' Day do not err in this regard to an equal extent; nay, some, like that of the real or presumed descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, seldom treat us, nowadays, to many exhibitions of ignorance and prejudice. But there is one society which ever claims the championship in matters of historical legerdemain. The American Huguenot associations annually regale us with grossly exaggerated, and often absolutely false, accounts of the heroic virtues of their reputed ancestors, and of the terrible persecutions, on the part of Catholic France, which caused those heroes to migrate to the New World. Their pet and ever-acclaimed yarn is that which forms the title of this article; and, in its presentation, they systematically eschew all reference to any facts which would justify, at least in the minds of the rulers in the seventeenth century, what seems to us an over-harsh measure. They find a malicious pleasure in descanting on the evils which they declare to have accrued to France from the Huguenot emigration. Thus, we are told that the mother country lost an immense number of worthy citizens, whereas it can be shown that not more than 50,000 Protestants sought a foreign refuge—a half of the number lost at that time in a single campaign in Bohemia. It is asserted that France lost incalculable wealth through the criminated edict, whereas, it is certain that she had never before been so rich in current money, and that her manufactures were quadrupled precisely at that time. We are asked to lament the loss of innumerable soldiers withdrawn from under the flag of the Lilies, whereas, we know that the twenty millions of Frenchmen of that day furnished 500,000 combatants at one time to the armies of the Great Monarch, while foreign nations derived less than 3000 from the Huguenot emigration—a number more than counterbalanced by the 15,000 veteran Irishmen whom, in 1690, the Marshal de Chateaurenaud enrolled, with their arms and baggage, under the Bourbon standard. It shall be our task, in this short paper, to defend the position here occupied, and in start-

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ing upon the work we must remember, with the Duke de Noailles,[1] that the fact before us is one of those the history of which must be traced, like that of an individual, from its very origin, and that its transformations must be followed up to its very end.

Calvin was the Luther of France. Numbers of his emissaries came from Geneva, to declaim against the Pope, the clergy, and real or fancied abuses. The French prelates held numerous councils to oppose this invasion, and the universities proscribed heretical books. The parliaments passed many sentences of death, the kings issued many decrees, but the contagion established itself firmly in nearly every province of the kingdom, and in 1559 Paris beheld a "National Synod of the Reformed Churches of France." At this time the two powerful families of Guise and Montmorency shared all the honors and authority which the court could bestow. Several of the Montmorencies embraced "the religion," as the Calvinists designated their sect, at an early period of its existence —Louise, sister of the famous Constable, and married to Gaspard de Coligny, Lord of Chatillon; her three sons, the Admiral Coligny, the Colonel-General d'Andelot, and the Cardinal Odet de Chatillon,[2] Bishop of Bauvais. The Calvinists could also boast of the accession to their party of the Prince de Condé, who became the commander of the Huguenot forces.[3] Francis, Duke of Guise, opposed this triumvirate with a Catholic one, of which the other members were Anne de Montmorency, uncle of Coligny, and the Marshal de Saint-André. This triumvirate took for its device: "One faith, one law, one king." The Queen, Catherine dei Medici, indoctrinated in the principles of Macchiavelli, now favored one of these parties, then another, according as either became too powerful. Her policy served merely to foment their discord; personal hate, political ambition, and fanaticism, were all confusedly mingled by both factions; and this reflection leads us to animadvert on the absurdity of which so many writers are guilty when they apply the term, "war of religion," to every hostility of those days between the orthodox and heretics, and thus make religion responsible for the consequent effusion of blood. The holy name of religion, well observes M. de Falloux,[4] whether

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[1] *Histoire de Mme. de Maintenon et des Principaux Événements du Règne de Louis XIV.* Paris. 1848.

[2] Odet de Chatillon, Archbishop of Toulouse, and Bishop and Count of Beauvais, was a Cardinal-Deacon, of the Title of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus.

[3] According to Berault-Bercastel, this word is derived from the German *eidgenossen*, signifying "confederated." Some contend that the French innovators assumed this name as the pretended champions of the royal race of Hugues Capet, against the "Lorrains-Guisards," or "Charlins," descendants of Charles of Lorraine.

[4] *Histoire de St. Pie V*, Paris, 1844.

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used in attack or defence, was frequently only a war-cry, well adapted to rally the masses and to captivate their confidence.

On the Ash Wednesday of 1562 the Duke de Guise was at Vassy, in Champagne, and with a number of retainers assisted at Mass in the parish church. During the sacrifice a great noise of psalm-singing in a neighboring farm-house disturbed the worshipers, and the duke sent to the Huguenots a request to be quiet for a quarter of an hour. The messengers were received with insults, and the psalms were vociferated with more energy. Then the indignant Guisards attempted force, and the duke rushed to the spot to preserve peace. Scarcely had he arrived at the door of the farm-house when a heavy stone struck his face, and then, despite his commands, his followers attacked the Huguenots, killing, says the Protestant La Popelinière, forty-two. To his last day Guise insisted that this affair was fortuitous, and that the slaughter was against his will is admitted by the Huguenot sympathizer De Thou, by the Protestant La Popelinière, and by Marcantonio Barbaro, Venetian ambassador at Paris, in his "Relation" to his government for 1565.[1] Throughout the kingdom the Calvinists now demanded vengeance for this massacre, and to this day Protestant polemics urge, in palliation of the atrocities committed by the Huguenots, that those horrors were mere retaliations for the Catholic persecutions initiated at Vassy. But the excesses of the Calvinists had begun before this event. On December 21, 1561, they had driven the bishop, clergy, and nuns from Nîmes, had burnt the holy images in the cathedral, and had turned the edifice into a meeting-house. On December 27th they had destroyed the furniture of the church of St. Medard at Paris, and had tried to burn to death such Catholics as had fled to the belfry. They had dragged thirty-four citizens from the sanctuary, and had exposed them to the outrages of the mob, as we learn from the "Journal" of the minister Deyron, given by Menard in his "History of Nîmes," and also from Mezeray's "Chronological Abridgement."

On the return of Guise to Paris, the citizens received him with enthusiasm; therefore, the jealous Catharine regarded the Huguenot complaints with favor, even resolving to entrust the care of the young King Charles IX. to these sectarians. She wrote from Fontainebleau to Condé: "Come, and save mother and child!" Condé and Coligny wished to profit by the invitation, but, the design transpiring, the Parisians rushed to arms, and by their aid Guise seized the person of the royal child, bidding the mother go

[1] In the *Relations des Ambassadeurs de Venice sur les Affaires de France*, Paris, 1838.

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whither she pleased. One day too late the Condean troops arrived at Fontainebleau, and then, realizing that he had gone too far to recede, the prince prepared for civil war, openly enlisted men against his sovereign, made alliances with England and other powers, and seized Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Tours, Grenoble, and many minor towns. The first civil war (1562–63) produced monsters of cruelty on both sides. The Huguenot Baron des Andrets put Auvergne, the Forez, the Lyonnais, Dauphiny, and Provence to fire and sword, and in order to deaden their sensibilities literally bathed his own children in Catholic blood. If we may believe Brantome, one of his sons, Blaise de Montluc, who became a Catholic, rivalled his parent in cruelty. This war terminated with the assassination of Duke Francis by a Huguenot named Poltrot, who died accusing Admiral Coligny as his instigator, and, according to Berault-Bercastel, Coligny could never repel this accusation. Bossuet holds that when the admiral was informed of Poltrot's design, he gave him 120 scudi to enable him to prosecute it and escape. Certainly, in a letter to Queen Catharine, Coligny admitted that "for the last five or six months he did not strongly" oppose the killing of Guise, and he gave as a reason for said implicit compliance that certain persons had tried to kill himself; and in another letter to Catharine he spoke of the death of the duke as "the greatest benefit that could accrue to the kingdom and to the Church of God, and a personal advantage to the sovereign and to the whole family of Coligny." After the murder of Duke Francis de Guise, Catharine made every effort to secure peace, and in 1563 the Edict of Amboise conferred many privileges on the Huguenots, but did not satisfy them.[1] In 1567, encouraged, says Sismondi, by the rebellion of the Scotch Calvinists against

[1] The free exercise of Calvinistic worship was allowed to the lords high-justiciary in their jurisdictions; the same was permitted to the nobles in their houses; the bourgeois could practice Calvinism in one city in each *bailliage;* and wherever the Huguenots were in the majority their worship was permitted. Several years previously Catharine had asked Pope Pius IV. for concessions to the Protestants, then increasing in number. For instance, she requested the abolition of images, the suppression of the exorcism and of the use of the priest's saliva in baptism; she asked for the Communion under both species for the laity, for a simplification of the ceremonies of the Mass, for the use of the vernacular in the Liturgy; "hoping thereby," she said, "to unite the two Churches." Then the Colloquy of Poissy was held, and here Peter Martyr (Vermiglio) and Theodore Beza were summoned by the Navarrese monarch to combat the Cardinal of Lorraine and Claude Despense; but this dispute, like so many others, availed nothing. The Guisards now excited the ambition of the Navarrese by a promise of the restoration of his lost kingdom; therefore he joined the triumvirate of his former enemies, who permeated the court and neutralized the influence of the queen. Resolved to rule at all hazards, the Medicean diplomat made overtures to Condé, and by the advice of L'Hopital allowed the Protestants to freely exercise their form of worship if they did not disturb Catholic devotions. See Cantù, *Storia Universale*, 10th Ital. edit., b. xv, ch. 24.

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Queen Mary, the French Huguenots again tried to seize the person of their young king while he was sojourning at Meaux. Foiled in this attempt, they besieged their sovereign in his capital, but were defeated in a bloody contest under the walls and compelled to a truce of six months.

In 1568 the second civil war began. The historian, De Thou, most partial to the Huguenots, admits that their atrocities surpassed everything hitherto experienced during these terrible times. Their bloody onslaughts were directed especially against priests and nuns; the savage De Briquemaut wore a necklace made of the ears of priests whom he had murdered. The exasperated Catholics retaliated, and France became a scene of carnage. Finally, when the Prince de Condé had perished, and the Huguenots had been nearly crushed, the Macchiavellian daughter of the Medici signed, in 1570, a treaty favorable to the Protestants. A general amnesty was proclaimed; the rebels were allowed freedom of worship; their confiscated property was restored; they received the privilege of appointing six judges in the parliaments; and La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charitè sur Loire were accorded them as "cities of safety," with the right of naming the governors and controlling the garrisons. But Charles IX., ever remembering the attempt at Meaux, did not heartily approve of these concessions; hence, the Admiral Coligny sought to conciliate the young monarch, obtaining very soon such an influence that the queen-mother feared for her own. She harkened to Henry de Guise, who yearned to revenge his father's murder, and who planned the death of the supposed assassin. Coligny was only slightly wounded, and Catharine rushed to her son, declaring that the Huguenots were on the eve of open revolt, and that they had sworn the death of his majesty. These charges were rendered probable by the past conduct of the sectarians and by the open threats of their leaders; therefore, Charles determined to forestall his enemies, and on August 24, 1572, occurred the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. Henry III., in an endeavor to procure rest for his sorely-tried kingdom, accorded to the Calvinists, in 1576, an edict more favorable than any preceding one, it allowing the public exercise of their worship, granting them full representation in each parliament, and decreeing that such priests and nuns, etc., as had married, were not to be disturbed, while their children were to be held as legitimate. Nevertheless, the Calvinists now constituted themselves into a regular federation, bound, says Simondi, by oath to "a more intimate union, association and fraternity." To counterbalance this, the famous league was devised—a vast association of citizens of every class, under the direction of the Duke de Guise. Henry III., more or less inclined to Calvinism,

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procured the assassination of Guise and his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, in 1588. Then seventy doctors of the Sorbonne decided that Henry had forfeited his crown, and Pope Sixtus V. having excommunicated him, the wretched prince openly threw himself into the arms of his Huguenot friends and of Henry of Navarre, who began a siege of Paris. In 1589 Henry III. was assassinated by Clement, a fanatical friar, instigated by Mme. de Montpensier, a sister of the murdered Guise. Civil war and all its accompaniments again desolated France until the conversion of Henry IV. in 1593. The celebrated Edict of Nantes was issued by Henry IV. in 1598, the parliaments registering it with a clause added by themselves, to the effect that future monarchs would be free to revoke the instrument, if they should deem such action conducive to the good of Church and State. This Edict placed the Protestants on nearly the same footing as the Catholics; the only preference accorded the latter being that their worship could be publicly exercised everywhere, whereas the former could worship publicly only in certain districts. The Catholic worship was to be restored wherever it had been abolished; restitution of all ecclesiastical property stolen by the Huguenots was to be made; freedom of conscience was restored to all; Protestants were to be eligible to all offices. Two documents, also signed by Henry IV., were joined to the Edict. By the first, his majesty promised to pay an annual sum of 140,000 livres toward the support of the Calvinist ministers. By the second, he engaged to entrust the Huguenots, for eight years, with the garrisoning of all the places that they then occupied; the sovereign was to pay these garrisons and to appoint Calvinist governors. Among these places thus rendered practically independent were La Rochelle and Montauban, destined to become the last centres of Huguenot arrogance and rebellion. But the Calvinists refused to abide by their engagements, and it required a long and sanguinary struggle to ensure the enforcement of the article of the Edict of Nantes which stipulated for the restoration of the stolen churches and for the freedom of Catholic worship. In 1685, King Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes, and until the Revolution of 1789 the public exercise of the "reformed" worship was thereafter forbidden in France.

When Louis XIV. resolved to undo the work which a mistaken kindness and a false statesmanship had prompted his great ancestor to effect, he was influenced by the history of Protestantism in his dominions—the history of a rebellious race, which was the torment of its first benefactor in France, which formed a State within the State, which was ever the refuge of every political malcontent, and a constant menace of civil war. And he proceeded, in accord with the opinion of his people, and in harmony with the

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ideas concerning toleration which were in vogue in his day. Certainly those ideas are very different from our own, but our Huguenot friends should make fewer allusions to this matter of religious toleration than is their wont at their annual reunions. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and later when they could, the children of Calvin practiced intolerance to an extent never imagined by the Great Monarch; and in so acting, they but followed the example and injunctions of their master, who, playing the tyrant at Geneva, expelled the sect of the Libertines, burned Servetus at the stake, cut off the head of Gruet, caused the condemnation of Gentile, wanted the Anabaptists to be "treated like brigands," and wrote, in the calm deliberations of his study, pages concerning the treatment of "heretics" which might shame Nero or Diocletian.[1] And do not give us, ye gentlemen of Huguenot descent, the *argumentum ad hominem*. Even were we to grant the truth of your assertion that the Catholics of two centuries ago persecuted as bitterly as any Calvinist of them all, the fact remains that your progenitors should have set the benighted papists a better example. The Huguenots posed as reformers of religion; they claimed that their religion was better than ours. Therefore, they should have shown themselves the better men. Finally, one may ask with an eminent writer of the last century, as the Catholics were in possession, why did the Huguenots trouble them?[2]

Coming now to a consideration of the alleged damage accruing to France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, we propose to show, firstly, that less than 50,000 persons emigrated because of that procedure. Our Huguenot mutual admiration societies proclaim to their fellow-citizens that their glorious ancestors fled from French Catholic persecution, to the number of more than two millions, and to prove this assertion, they can adduce no better authority than a certain "Letter of a Patriot" written in the eighteenth century by an unknown hand, but which appears to have been the work of Voltaire.[3] Now it is a remarkable fact that as we leave this interested eighteenth century pamphleteer, and take up the Huguenot writers in chronological order backward from his time to that of the edict itself, we find the alleged emigrants growing smaller by degrees and beautifully less. Thus Limier[4] puts the number at 800,000; Basnage[5] at less than 400,000; La Martiniere[6]

[1] Michaelis, *Serveti Defensio Orthodoxæ Fidei contra Errores, ubi docetur Jure Gladii coercendos Esse Hæreticos*, edit. 1554.

[2] De Caveyrac, *Apologie de Louis XIV. et de Son Conseil sur la Revocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, Paris, 1758.

[3] *Lettre d'un Patriote sur la Tolerance Civile des Protestants de France.*

[4] *Histoire de Louis XIV.*, vol. iv., p. 289.

[5] *Unité de l'Eglise.*

[6] *Histoire de Louis XIV.*, b. lviii.

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at 300,000; Larrey[1] at 200,000; the contemporary Benoit[2] also at 200,000. But let us hearken to the Huguenot Benoit as he describes the severe precautions taken by the French government to prevent the expatriation of his fellow-religionists, and then judge whether the probable number of the successful was greater than 50,000. "The most secret passes at the frontiers were watched; archers patrolled the high-roads, and other soldiers searched the fields. Rewards were promised to those who would give up a fugitive, and punishment threatened to all who harbored him. The coasts were watched with incredible vigilance; all ships were visited by order of the admiralty; even the fishing smacks were searched; this perquisition was so exact, that it was almost impossible to escape." Barthélemy, who follows the statistics of Benoit with a most critical, though impartial eye,[3] finds that the Huguenots sought asylum only in Switzerland, Brandenburg, the Margravate of Bareth, Denmark, Lunebourg, Hesse, Holland and England; Switzerland was the natural refuge for those who fled from the Lyonnais, the Bourbonnais, Dauphiny, and Languedoc; and 12,100 seems to Barthélemy all that the calculations of Benoit assigned as its quota. About 600 found an asylum in Bareth. When Benoit says that "several thousand found refuge in Hesse," it is evident that the "several" cannot mean more than two or three, from the fact that he assigns to Brandenburg "a very much larger number." Voltaire himself not claiming for Brandenburg more than 20,000, a number which our knowledge of the Sage of Ferney, "writing under the eyes of the great Frederick," justifies us in diminishing by one half. Denmark, being profoundly Lutheran, did not wish any accession of Calvinists, but the queen allowed about fifty families, or 200 persons, to enter. When Benoit comes to the Huguenots of Holland and England, he is very chary of details, but so far as the Netherlands are concerned, we may accept his assertion that there was a project (not fully carried out) to erect a thousand houses for the immigrants, as indicative of the arrival of about 10,000. In regard to England, observes Barthélemy, if her parliamentary registers are reliable, and if the word of William III. in his proclamation of 1689 is to be accepted, not more than 6000 Huguenots there found asylum. As to the Huguenots received in Brandenburg, we have said that Voltaire's estimate of 20,000 should be reduced by one-half, and principally because the Protestant Ancillon, writing on the spot and at the time,[4] accounts only for 9633. Now let the reader consult the above figures taken

[1] *Hist. d'Angleterre, Irlande*, etc., vol. iv., p. 664.
[2] *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. iii., pt. 3, p. 1014.
[3] *Erreurs*, vol. ii., p. 195.
[4] *Histoire des Réfugiés Français dans les États de Brandenburg*, Berlin, 1690.

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from the estimates of a bitter and contemporary partisan of the Huguenot refugees, and he will account for only 48,900. But we cannot close this portion of our article without observing that our Huguenot sympathizers are guilty of a curious freak when they assign 2,000,000 as the number of Calvinists fleeing from the consequences of an edict published in a country which never counted more than a million of those sectarians. When the French Protestants asked the aid of Queen Elizabeth of England, and tendered her their weapons against their native land, they estimated their numbers, "of every kind and condition," at one million;[1] and certainly they would not have falsely represented their population as so trifling, when they were asking a foreign sovereign "to receive the aid of so many soldiers that she would acknowledge their services to be of no small gain." And when the Huguenots threatened Henry IV. because of his delay in issuing the celebrated edict, the monarch ordered De Vic and De Calignon to tell them that "they should be contented with the articles of Nerac and Flex, since the number of their co-religionists *was larger in* 1560 *and* 1577 *than it was at that time.*"[2] Finally, Benoit himself, complaining, in 1680, of the imminent loss of their privileges by the Calvinists, speaks of only "one million as being about to be deprived of said concessions."[3]

Let us now examine the assertion that France lost immense wealth by the emigration of her Huguenots. This loss has been placed at two hundred millions of francs, said to have been carried out of the country by these thrifty citizens. We shall spare the reader all monetary calculations and theories, and merely draw his attention to the well-known pecuniary condition of the emigrants. It is admited by Benoit that so great was the poverty of the immense majority, that they were, for a long time, dependent on the charity of the peoples who admitted them into their territories; this writer details the collections taken up in their behalf, and concerning any sums of money carried by them from home. he says simply that "several had a little money, some more, and some less." Another Huguenot writer, La Martinière, tells us that "in England thousands of the refugees were destitute." Ancillon says that so abject was the poverty of the Brandenburg contingent, that "the elector was forced to care for two thousand in a building erected for that purpose." And this poverty was quite natural, for there were very few "gentlemen" or thriving artisans among the exiles; and such of them as had amassed some money, and then had it in transportable shape, had been obliged

[1] Procès-verbal of the Assembly of Chatelleraud in 1597.
[2] Procès-verbal of the Assembly of Vendome.
[3] *Loc. cit.*, b. xvi., p. 414.

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to spend a great part of it, says Benoit, "in corrupting the guards, admiralty officers, etc.," that they might escape. Again, the few who possessed immovable property were unable to sell it, as a royal decree had invalidated such action. Finally, the registers and other documents of the day prove that in all France there were then only five hundred millions of francs in specie. Now the France of that day had a population of twenty millions; therefore the specie in circulation was twenty-five francs per head. Even supposing, therefore, which is absurd, that the emigrants were as opulent as those who remained in the kingdom, one million and two hundred and fifty thousand francs would have been their quota of specie. This calculation is based, of course, on the supposition that our estimate of the number of refugees—50,000—is correct; but even were we to accept the estimate of Benoit—200,000—the exportation of specie would be only five millions of francs—a sum which France could easily afford, considering the quantity of blood which the Huguenot emigration spared to the veins of her faithful children.

But we are told that the manufacturing interests of France suffered greatly by the emigration of the Huguenots. What does not exist cannot suffer. Now at the date of the revocation the manufactures of France were as yet only in the state of initiatory formation; Colbert, whom Mazarin had recommended to Louis XIV. just as Richelieu had recommended him to Louis XIII. for the glory of France, had only then started French commerce. Hitherto the French had gone abroad for nearly all articles of luxury, and even for many of prime necessity. The tapestries of Flanders had been celebrated for centuries before Beauvais and the Gobelins thought of rivalling them. The fine cloths of Spain, England, and Holland had long been used by the French gentry, and it was not until 1680 that Louviers began to imitate them; the cloths of Sedan had been imitated from foreign productions for many years. And similar admissions must be made concerning nearly every article for the production of which France is now famous. It is worthy of note that Louis XIV. instructed his ambassador to the English court, M. de Comminges, to gather all possible information and hints concerning materials, manufactures, etc; also that he so realized the need of foreign aid in which his country then labored in this regard, that he attracted foreign workmen by liberal treatment, especially by limiting their term of apprenticeship to one year, and by granting to them French naturalization.[1] And at the very time when foreigners were thus invited to aid at their birth, if not indeed to create, French manu-

[1] Letters-patent for the manufacture at Sedan in 1666, art. 167; and for the manufactures at Elbeuf.

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facturing genius, Calvinistic operatives were being excluded from the national establishments—a proof that their work was certainly not needed or even appreciated.[1] Such reflections must convince the reader that the influx of Huguenot operatives was of no very great advantage to the lands that welcomed them, especially since those countries knew much more about their trades, etc., than they themselves knew. M. de Caveyrac, replying, in 1758, to the famous letter of the Huguenot "patriot" already cited, refutes the assertion of that would-be statistician to the effect that the Revocation entailed a surprising decrease in the commerce of Nimes, Lyons, Marseilles, and other great cities of France. He shows that Nimes so increased in size and prosperity after the alleged lamentable event, that a new *enceinte* was deemed necessary, its faubourgs having extended out to the, but lately-distant, walls of the old Romans. The embellishments then effected in the city, at a cost of 1,200,000 francs, he deemed worthy of record, "lest their beauty might lead posterity to believe them to have been a work of the time of Augustus," and the population had doubled. Lyons had 69,000 inhabitants when the Edict was revoked, and when Caveyrac wrote it possessed 200,000. Marseilles, in 1758, was three times as rich and populous as it was in 1685. The city of Rouen had so advanced in manufacturing enterprise that the surrounding peasantry abandoned the cultivation of the soil in order to work in her factories; and a governmental decree had to be issued in 1723 closing these establishments from July 1st to September 15th, so that some attention might be given to the crops. The cities of Lavaur and Puy had become rich, thanks to the labors of their respective bishops, Fontanges and Le Franc de Pompignan, in fostering and co-operating in—the latter with his own hands—the manufacture of silk.[2] By adducing such instances as these, Caveyrac replied to the "patriot" who had asserted that "the oppression of consciences had ruined French manufactures," and they should furnish material for meditation to those who con-

[1] At Rouen, in 1665, only one operative in sixteen could be a Protestant; the manufacturers of Amiens, Autun, and Dijon, would employ no heretic. Paris allowed one Calvinist workman to fifteen Catholics.

[2] John George Le Franc de Pompignan, Bishop of Puy, a brother of the poet of this name, suffered from the calumnies of Voltaire and the Encyclopedistic school; therefore, it is not surprising that history shows him to have been as pious as he was talented. Taking the bobbin in hand, without quitting the pulpit, he sowed the seed of wealth, says Caveyrac, where he had sown those of religion. "In order to establish the manufacture of silk in a mountainous district where only the name of the thing was known, the enterprising founders had to be encouraged; the government was to be rendered favorable to the work, exemptions were to be obtained, emulation was to be excited, confidence was to be inspired, a new people had to be created and rendered apt to the delicate work. M. de Pompignan surmounted every difficulty, for virtue, when united with talent, is ever triumphant."

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template an enlightenment of the public at the next reunions of Huguenot posterity.

We need scarcely do more than refer to the figures which we have established as indicative of the real number of the Huguenots whom the Revocation drove from France, in order to show that this emigration produced very little effect on the military strength of the country. Certainly, of all the evils, if any were entailed, accruing to the kingdom from the criminated measure, this loss of human war material was the slightest, whether the advantages gained be considered or the force that was sacrificed. The 50,000 emigrants may be regarded as forming 10,000 families, each of which would probably consist of a grandparent, a father and mother, and two children; having, therefore, probable sex considered, as well as age, only one person capable or likely to bear arms. Here we perceive that, at the very most, France lost 3333 men capable of fighting her battles. But a more exact method of calculation should be adopted. The 500,000 men of whom the armies of Louis XIV. generally consisted, formed 2½ per cent. of his 20,000,000 of subjects. If, therefore, the 50,000 emigrants had remained at home, and had furnished their proper quota to the armed forces of the nation, the flag would have waved over 1250 more soldiers. And even if we were to admit, with Benoit, that 200,000 persons left the country, their 2½ per cent. share of the military burdens would have enrolled under the standards only 5000 men—a loss, as we have noted, thrice compensated by the 15,000 Irishmen enlisted by Chateaurenaud. The minister Jurieu, a virulent Calvinist, and one ever eager to discover or to fancy punishments falling on France because of the Revocation, says nothing of any regiments, or even companies, of Huguenot refugees in foreign service. Certainly Ancillon assigns enough of these emigrants to the Elector of Brandenburg to form a company of body-guards, one of mounted grenadiers, two of musketeers, and three regiments of infantry; but when this writer enters into details, he accounts for only 9633 refugees in Brandenburg. And if so many of the Huguenots entered the army of the elector, what must we think of "those desert lands of the Prussian king turned into a fertile paradise by the labors of the refugees?" Whence came these agriculturists? And how are we to account for those Huguenots who, according to Ancillon, "formed the foundation, by their industry, of the power of this wise and redoubtable monarch?"[1]

[1] Here we may note that the pretended "patriot" says "that at that time Berlin alone contained more than 20,000 Frenchmen whom despair had sent out of their country." Now Voltaire, to whom a zero more or less was a small matter when it

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The reader may expect us to notice the charge made by philosophistic historians, who, following in the wake of the Duke de Saint-Simon, assert that the noble Mme. de Maintenon was among the foremost in procuring the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. We need only say that La Chaise and Louvois, the most prominent instigators of the measure, were no friends of the pre-eminently charitable and sweet-minded countess, and that Voltaire, the most bitter foe of everything that was dear to her heart, declared: "She had nothing to do with it; that is a certain fact." Again, her correspondence indicates no intervention in this matter on her part, whereas it is filled with recommendations to her brother and other governors to be tolerant to the Calvinists.[1] We find her rejoicing at the conversion of heretics through persuasion and instruction, as when she writes: "In one month a hundred thousand souls have been converted in Guienne; the town of Saintes has abjured through conviction. The king writes daily to the bishops to send missionaries everywhere to instruct and console. . . . . Ought we not to rejoice at this?" We find her, after the emigration of the Huguenots, advising a firm and prudent policy toward those who remained, but she expresses no rigorous sentiments. Naturally, we find her refuting the assertion that the emigration would ruin commerce and industry, and we are not surprised that she rejoices at the defeat of the Camisards, for they were rebels, sold to the foreigner. But not a word do we discover which can be distorted into an expression of desire for severity toward the Huguenots.

REUBEN PARSONS, D.D.

served his purposes to use it one way or the other, gives only 10,000 Frenchmen to Berlin. The truth will be more readily found if we remember that the census of 1755 gives 6654 as the number of Huguenots and their descendants in Berlin.

[1] *Mme. de Maintenon d'après sa Correspondance Authentique*, Paris, 1887

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IRISH SAINTS IN ITALY.

THE position of Ireland towards the universal Church in the early centuries of our era is almost unique in ecclesiastical history. A remote island on the confines of civilization, itself barely redeemed from the darkness of paganism, it begins to irradiate back the light it has just received on the lands nearer its fountain-head, forming the older Christendom. The zeal of its recently converted population overflows the bounds of its encircling seas to meet and combat counter-eddies of new-born heresy and reviving paganism in far distant regions of the continent. To the activity of the Irish missionary monks, whose inundation of other countries was compared by St. Bernard to a flood, were due such great foundations as St. Gall in Switzerland, Jouarre and Jumièges in France, Wurtzburg and Cologne in Germany, together with many other houses in Italy and elsewhere, famous through the Middle Ages for their influence on the religious history of Europe. Ireland gave a Bishop to Lucca in the sixth century, St. Frediano, whose footsteps we shall follow later on; another in the seventh century to Taranto, relapsed into paganism, and reformed by this second apostle, St. Cathaldus; and in the eighth century an Archbishop to Salzburg in St. Virgilius (Fearghil), who converted the Carinthians to Christianity.

It is this curious and little-read chapter of hagiology which Miss Stokes, with eminent qualifications for the task, has selected for illustration, giving us in her recent work, "Six Months in the Apennines, or a Pilgrimage in Search of Vestiges of the Irish Saints in Italy;" what we trust is but an instalment of a series of similar volumes on the religious achievements of her compatriots in other parts of Europe. The spirit of pilgrimage which caused a reflux of religion towards the East, later developed into the wonderful chivalric Epos of the Middle Ages, was, as she points out, the initial motive power which started these saintly itinerants.

"If we take (she says) the lives of these Irish teachers chronologically, we find that many of them set forth as pilgrims to the Holy Land or to visit the tombs of the apostles and martyrs in Rome or elsewhere. Crossing the continent on foot, they fell in with mountaineers and dwellers in the wilderness or in the depths of the forests through which they pierced their way, who had never heard of Christ, or who, if they had been visited by some earlier apostle, had again relapsed into heathenism. And thus the missionary system of the Celtic Church was a development of the

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pilgrim customs of the early Christians. These holy men, having made their pilgrimage, returned to found schools and churches where they had seen most need of such, and where, therefore, their vocation lay."

The wandering spirit which at that date possessed nations and individuals, was thus sanctified by piety, and made conducive to the diffusion of religious truth.

Nor was it less profitable to the cause of material progress. The foundation of a monastic house was in those days generally the first step towards the formation of a civil community, and furnished the nucleus from which it sprang. Institutions sheltered under the ægis of religion formed the only oases of peace in a world of rapine and violence, and arts and industries found a refuge nowhere save under the shadow of the Cross. The religious houses were not alone busy workshops, the centres of production to the neighborhood, but great schools of technical education, where the methods of the various handicrafts were preserved and handed down in the traditions of the establishment. Settlers were attracted by the advantages and immunities thus offered, trade followed in the track of industry, and the town was the creation of the convent. On this phase of mediæval socicty some curious side-lights are thrown in the volume before us, and we see how the wandering Irish monk, Columbanus, became the founder of the picturesque Apennine town of Bobio.

Another development of early Christian devotion, the anchorite life, is illustrated in Miss Stokes' pages. At a time when the temptations of the world were more feared, if not more formidable, than at the present day, the monastery itself did not offer sufficient seclusion for the contemplative spirit, and permanent or temporary refuges were sought in the recesses of the mountains and the hollows of the rocks by many later imitators of the first solitaries. Assisted by local tradition, our authoress has succeeded in tracking many of these hermits to their hiding places, and in identifying the very caves which witnessed their austerities so many centuries ago. It has been with her a labor of love to trace out all their memorials, and thus revivify for us that spirit of earnestness and simplicity which led them to follow the inspired promptings of piety so far afield.

The method pursued by her in the development of her theme is to give in every instance the legendary life of the Saint forming the immediate subject of her study, compiled from the most authoritative sources, proceeding then to illustrate it by an account of her own original researches, archæological and topographical, on the scene of his labors. The life of San Frediano, Bishop of Lucca, identified by many with St. Finnian, of Moville, is the earliest in

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date. Its supposed period from A.D. 500 to A.D. 588, covered some of the darkest hours of Italian history, and the Saint's visit to the country coincided with the terrible famine consequent on the Gothic Wars. He arrived as a simple pilgrim, and remained as a hermit, sharing the solitude of those holy men who had made of the rocky fastnesses of the Monte Pisano a second Thebaïd. But the fame of his sanctity spread from this retreat to the neighboring town of Lucca, and its people, the ranks of whose native clergy had been thinned by war and its consequences, compelled him to accept its vacant bishopric. This was in 565, three years before a fresh disaster befell northern Italy in the irruption of the Lombards. These semi-barbarians professed the Arian heresy, and inflicted on the Church the most tremendous persecution, which, according to Gregory the Great, she had yet undergone.

"Cities (he says) are despoiled, fortresses levelled, churches burned, monasteries for men and women destroyed, and the entire country abandoned by the tillers of the soil, so that the whole land is left to solitude without inhabitants who once lived there in multitudes, but whose place is now filled by wild beasts."

The city of Lucca was amongst those destroyed, and it was the bishop's task to rebuild its walls and reconstruct its cathedral. To him, therefore, it owes its present aspect, as it had been previously under the rule of Rome in her palmy days, a much larger and more considerable place. Over its new masters, the Arian Lombards, the Irish bishop obtained such influence that many were converted to Catholicism and co-operated actively in his good works. He was thus enabled to build or restore no fewer than twenty-eight churches in different parts of Tuscany, including three in Lucca itself. These were San Martino, San Giovanni Battista, and San Frediano, the latter originally dedicated by him to the three deacons, Stephen, Laurence, and Vincent, standing close by the site of the Roman amphitheatre, and doubtless built out of its fragments. The whole religious organization of the country, destroyed by the successive waves of calamity that had swept over it, had thus to be re-created by him, as society was gradually reconstituted on a permanent basis after the last barbarian invasion.

That the temporal interests of his flock were also the subject of his care is proved by the nature of the most celebrated of the legendary miracles ascribed to him. This was no less than the diversion of the waters of the Serchio, previously liable to overflow its bed and cause disastrous inundations, into a new channel, where they flowed with a more equable current. The prodigy is described as follows by St. Gregory in the 9th chapter of the 3d book of his "Dialogues:"

"Nor shall I be silent on this also, which was related to me by

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the Venerable Venanzio, Bishop of Luni. I heard two days ago, for he told me, that at Lucca, a city not far distant from his own, there had lived a bishop of marvellous power, named Frediano, of whom the inhabitants relate this great miracle: That the River Auser (Serchio), running close under the walls of the city, and often bursting from its bed with great force, did the greatest damage to its inhabitants, so that they, moved by necessity, strove to divert its course into another channel, but failed in the attempt. Then a man of God, Frediano, made them give him a little rake, and advancing to where the stream flowed, knelt in prayer. He afterwards raised himself to his feet, and commanded the river that it should follow him, and dragging the rake behind him the waters, leaving their accustomed course, ran after it, making a new bed wherever the Saint marked the way. Whence thus, ever following on, it ceased to do damage in the fields and among the fruit raised by the husbandmen."

This passage was written not long after the event it chronicles, since Frediano died in 588, and the "Dialogues" were in existence between 590 and 604, as they were sent to Queen Theodolinda during the pontificate of the author. The incident, with all its attendant circumstances, has been often represented in art, and Miss Stokes' pencil reproduces for us two pictures of which it forms the subject, one by Fra Filippo Lippi, the other by Aspertini, a pupil of Francia. The legend, which was evidently firmly believed in by contemporaries, admits of a simple and natural explanation. The Saint, who was doubtless far beyond his ignorant people in all the sciences of his day, traced, as we may suppose, a line for the proposed canal, thus achieving by what seemed to them miraculous means the purpose that had baffled their own misdirected efforts. This is the more probable, as he is said to have worked an identical miracle in Ayrshire, turning the Carnoch in similar fashion from its bed. He was evidently a man skilled in the use of tools and all manual arts, for we read that when preaching in the same country "he made with his own hands a cross of marvellous workmanship in honour of blessed Brigida, the Virgin."

Miss Stokes, in addition to visiting and sketching the churches founded by him in Lucca and many parts of the surrounding country, climbed to the Rupe Cavo or Rock Cave on Monte Pisano, where his hermit life had been passed. A small church, consecrated in 1214, stands close to the cave, which was still occupied in 1243, as an existing document attests, by five hermits of the Augustinian order, with a prior at their head. This fact gives color to the statement, found in many early writers, that St. Augustine himself visited and passed some time in these hermit-

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ages on one of his journeys through Italy. Such a probability adds much to the historic interest of the ancient rock dwelling, the author's description of which is the first published for the benefit of English readers. The little church was reached by a steep ascent of about an hour from Ripafratta, and in the enclosure close by was the entrance to the ancient hermitage.

"A great cave (she says), formed by enormous overhanging rocks, garlanded with every imaginable creeper, was before me. The monks had taken advantage of this rock, using it for their roof, building low walls beneath it, which, running into the depths of the cavern, divided it into sections or chambers. The doors were square-headed, and the windows were most curious in their construction—what architects call squints—so that from the inside the inhabitant of the cell could see any one approaching the door from outside without being visible himself. Unfortunately, the darkness was so great that it was impossible to photograph beneath the roof of the cave. On the upper story, as it were, of the cliff, there was a second and even grander cave, in the walls of which, about six feet from the ground, were three distinct minor caves or holes, exactly like that of the bed of St. Kevin at Glendalough. How far these caves penetrated into the rock I could not discover.

"Here, then, was what I had been seeking—a primitive hermitage, a rock cave, an anchorite cell, such as I had read of as existing in Egypt and Syria; such as I had seen in Ireland, but never before on the continent. The magnificent view from the terrace in front of the church must have been that visible from the caves at the time our Irish saint lived there, before it was intercepted by that building. More visible from the great height on which I now stood than they had been from below, the multitudinous ranges of the Carrara mountains rose peak above peak, their semi-translucent, clear-cut marble fissures striking into the soft blue depths of heaven, always seeming to suggest a city of shadowy palaces built by immortal hands; next came the forest-clad mountains among which the eye longed to linger as it passed downwards until it rested by the full-flowing, silver flood of the River Serchio, threading its serpentine way through the valley until it disappears in the narrow chasm that separates it from Pisa."

The beauty of the scene unrolled before them entered doubtless, unconsciously, as an elevating influence into the lives of the anchorites occupying these cells, yet had, we may be sure, little part in determining their choice of an abode. The love of mountain scenery, perhaps a symptom of reaction from excessive civilization, is a passion of entirely modern growth, and to the mediæ-

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val mind it conveyed rather a sense of horror, perhaps from the physical privations, hardships and dangers necessarily in those days associated with a sojourn in its midst. The heights, now occupied by palatial hotels, were then abandoned to the bear and wolf for their habitation, and all the conveniences and pleasures of life were left behind in forsaking the plains. Thus the abode of luxury in one age was that of penance in another, and the eyrie of the hermit of the past would be an object of envy to the worldling of to-day.

The Italian career of St. Finnian of Moville was followed, at a comparatively short interval, by that of his compatriot, St. Columbanus. Born like him of princely or royal parents, nearly half a century later, about the year 543, he, too, received his education in several Irish monasteries, completing his studies for the priesthood in the celebrated one of Bangor, County Down. Here he became inspired with the conviction that he was called to preach the Gospel in other lands, and having, with some difficulty, succeeded in persuading his superior of the genuineness of his vocation, was allowed to depart on his wanderings, taking with him twelve other monks as his companions. One of these was St. Gallus, who founded the far-renowned monastery of St. Gall on Lake Constance, and two others. Lua, or Potentino, and Sigisbert established religious houses, the one in Neustria, the other at Disentis.

Gaul, then divided among Chilperic, Sigisbert and Gontran, the three sons of Clothair, into the kingdoms of Neustria, Austrasia and Burgundy, was the first field of Columban's apostolic labors on the continent. Having obtained from Sigisbert, King of Austrasia, one of his many converts, permission to found a monastery in his dominions, he chose a wild spot on the confines of Burgundy and Alsace, where the ruins of the old castle of Anegrates dominated a defile of the Vosges. Here he composed the rule of his order, founded on that of Bangor, its mother house, and two subsequent foundations, those of Luxeuil and Fontaines, were peopled by the white-robed monks owning allegiance to the ancient Hibernian community.

But the activities of St. Columbanus were more sorely needed elsewhere, and having been expelled from Burgundy by Thierry II., and the famous Brunehault on account of the freedom with which he rebuked the King's irregular life, he with his companions spent three years in evangelizing eastern Switzerland and the country about the southern shores of Lake Constance, after which he passed into Italy and assisted in the conversion of the Arian Lombards. Their king, Agilulph, who had ascended the throne in the year 590, that of St. Gregory's election to the pontificate, was already well disposed to the faith of Rome, en-

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deared to him as that of his consort Theodolinda. The preaching of Columbanus gave the final impetus to his convictions and numbers of his people were converted with him. The scholarly acquirements of the Irish monk rendered him a powerful champion of the orthodox faith and a treatise in which the arguments in support of it were ably marshalled, established his fame as a controversialist of the first order.

But the craving for solitude, so strong in the religious of those days, again asserted itself and Columbanus began to weary of the busy and brilliant life of the Italian cities. His royal patron anxious at least to retain him in his own dominions, promised him a site for a new foundation in any portion of them he might select, and one Jucundus, a chance visitor to the court, having given him a romantic description of the wild but fertile region surrounding Bobio, he claimed from Agilulph the fulfilment of his pledge.

The solitariness of the site promised him the ideal of monastic seclusion of which he was in search, for only the scattered huts of a few poor shepherds were to be seen where the ruins of an ancient basilica still stood in a gorge of the Apennines at the head of the valley of the Trebbia. The lordship of a demesne, extending to a distance of four miles in every direction from the ancient church, was conferred on Columbanus by a royal decree which has been preserved and may be translated as follows:

"The most excellent king, Flavius Agilulphus, to the venerable Columbanus or to his associates:

"We deem that we get a kindly return from Almighty God if the priests in our holy kingdom are enabled to fulfil the vows made in their holy ordination. Therefore by our general order we give to your holy fatherhood the basilica of the holy apostle Peter chief of the apostles, situated at a place called Bobio, with permission in the name of God to dwell there and possess it, and four miles round in every direction either cultivated or uncultivated, except the half of the well which we conceded in a former time to Sondarit; otherwise we grant all those territories which we have named above of the basilica of St. Peter, either to you or to those of yours who have been devoted to you for a possession for all time; for that purpose we charge all our generals, governors of castles, and our officers altogether, that none of them presume to act at variance at any time with the order of our letter. And you, as far as you are able, pray to God night and day for the safety and stability of our kingdom. Given at Mediolanum, in the palace, in the eighth[1] year of our most happy reign.

[1] [Before the old document was transcribed, the numerals, doubtless from the fading of the ink, had become almost illegible and for UIII. we should certainly read XXIII.—ED.]

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"I. Liunus, wrote this at the command of our Lord the king, and of Agiderius his secretary."

The district thus conferred upon the future monastery was then covered with forest affording shelter for the secret practice of the ancient rites of paganism, proscribed by law and abandoned in less remote places. Hence not only the country but its inhabitants had to be reclaimed, imposing a double task of amelioration on the new lords of the soil. The rebuilding of the ruinous church and erection of a monastery from the foundation, was a herculean labor in a region without roads or means of transport and whose uncouth inhabitants furnished no skilled laborers to co-operate in the work. Legend illustrates the danger as well as difficulty encountered in its prosecution in the story of a ferocious bear which rushed out of the thicket and killed one of the oxen engaged in transporting a large log of wood. Columbanus, however, drawn to the spot by the outcries of the driver, made the sign of the cross over the savage beast, commanding him at the same time to put his neck under the yoke in the place of the animal he had slain. The bear not only obeyed on that occasion, but continued for the remainder of his days to submit to be harnessed as a docile beast of burden.

After settling at Bobio, Columbanus spent much of his time in a natural grotto, high up in the face of a cliff among the mountains above the monastery, and here in a small oratory dedicated to St. Michael, he died in 615 at the age of 72. His memory is still held in reverence by the peasantry of the neighborhood and miraculous virtue is attributed to an impression in the rock believed to be the imprint of his hand and resorted to for the cure of diseased joints and limbs.

His remains were eventually transferred to Pavia, but the old church of Bobio where they first rested, preserves a relic of his skull enshrined in a silver bust and is rich in other memorials of him. His knife, bell, and wooden drinking-cup are there shown as objects of veneration, and a series of archaic bas-reliefs on his sarcophagus, commemorates the events of his life with all the *naivete* of primitive art. These designs reproduced by Miss Stokes with graphic fidelity, are of high antiquarian interest. Her discovery of another venerable memorial of the past we will let her narrate in her own words:

"You will remember (she says) that in the diploma of Agilulph, granting the land of Columban for his monastery, the king only granted him the use of half of a well, on the ground that he had granted the other half to some former occupant. When I descended into the garden, I was careful to ask the Parroco to show me the oldest well of the monastery, and what was my delight

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when he led me up through a vineyard to the old boundary wall and there I saw a semi-circular tank, being, indeed, the half well mentioned in the diploma. It projects from the ancient wall of the monastery, which cuts the tank in two parts and the marble of its parapet being reddish in color, or white, veined with red and black, showing against the green, gray, and bronze hues of the moss-grown wall behind with the garlanded vine trellis at one side combine to form a lovely picture for a painter. On asking the Parrocco why the well was semi-circular, he said the other half was outside the wall for the use of the townspeople and so, indeed, I found it when he led me out into the street into the Piazza S. Lorenzo. Upwards of twelve hundred years had passed since, in the eighth year of his reign, king Agilulph had made this curious stipulation in his grant."

This is indeed a strange example of the long survival of custom in Italy. In the countless changes of government and dynasty which have revolutionized the country since, the very fact of Lombard domination has passed into shadowy background of history, yet here we find rights and habits of the people ruled to this day by a charter conferred by one of the kings of those barbarian invaders.

The interest concentrated on the stories of Saints Frediano and Columbanus, the subjects of Miss Stokes' two principal essays, is not diminished when we come to the shorter chapters in which she treats with equal fidelity and care the lives of their fellow-laborers in the same vineyard. The history of St. Sillan, an Irish mediæval pilgrim who died in Lucca, when returning from Rome, is illustrated by a drawing of his beautiful sepulchral effigy, still preserved among the artistic treasures of that city. The ecclesiastical lore, of which Ireland was then the nursery and fountain-head, is exemplified in the visit to the court of Charlemagne of Clemens and Albinus, "two Scots of Ireland," as they are styled by the monk of St. Gall, who recorded the event in the ninth century. These learned travellers, said to have been "incomparably skilled in human learning and in the Holy Scriptures," used to cry to the crowds flocking to the churches, "If any one is desirous of wisdom let him come to us and receive it, for we have it to sell." This form of self-advertisement was not, as it might be deemed at the present day, a device of charlatanry to court notoriety, for Charles when he invaded Italy, summoned Albinus to the city of Pavia, assigning to him the monastery of St. Augustine, that he might instruct the people, in the work of whose conversion from heresy so many of his compatriots had labored with success,

A still more important part was played in the same city, in

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combating the later movement of the iconoclasts, by the learned monk Dungal, whose treatise in refutation of their errors, written in about 825, is still extant. So great was his fame as a teacher, that an edict of Lothair, issued in that year, ordered all students from Milan, Brescia, Lodi, Bergamo, Novara, Vercelli, Tortona, Acqui, Asti, Genoa and Como, to assemble at Pavia in order to prosecute their studies under his superintendence. The acquirements of this remarkable man in secular learning are indicated by his letter, written at the request of Charlemagne, to explain the extraordinary phenomenon of two solar eclipses in the year 810. The Irish monk, then living as a recluse at St. Denis, begins by setting forth the then accepted Ptolemaic theory of the heavens, and goes on to account for the eclipses of the sun and moon, by saying that the zodiac, or space through which the planets revolve, is bounded by two lines, carefully distinguished, however, as imaginary ones.

"A third line drawn between them (he then says) is called the ecliptic, because when the sun and moon during the revolution, happen to be in the same straight line in the plane of this ecliptic, an eclipse of one or the other must necessarily take place; of the sun, if the moon overtake it in its course, *ei succedat;* of the moon, if at the time it happen to be opposite to the sun. Wherefore the sun is never eclipsed except when the moon is in its thirtieth day, and in like manner the moon is never eclipsed except when it is near its fifteenth day. For only then it comes to pass, that the moon, when it is full, being in a straight line with the earth opposite to the sun, receives the shadow of the earth; while in the other case, when the moon overtakes the sun, or is in conjunction, it deprives the earth of the sun's light by its interposition. Therefore, when the sun is eclipsed, the sun itself suffers nothing, only we are robbed of its light; but the moon suffers a real loss by not receiving the sun's light through which it is enabled to dispel our darkness."

Dungal is connected with Bobio by his bequest to the monastery of his theological library, containing many rare and valuable works, copies of which were by the diligence of the monks diffused over the rest of Italy. From this fact it is concluded that he spent his closing years in that retreat, and is buried as Bishop Healy[1] opines, in the crypt, with the other Irish saints and holy men who rest there.

The three concluding subjects of Miss Stokes' series form a group apart, linked together by their associations with the ecclesi-

[1] Insula Sanctorum, or Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars. By the Most Rev. John Healy, D.D. London, Burns & Oates, 1890.

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astical history of Fiesole. Hither came an Irish pilgrim, Donatus of Scotia, accompanied by his faithful disciple, Andrew, at the moment that its inhabitants, having lost their pastor, were so divided as to the choice of his successor that civil war between the rival parties seemed imminent. As Donatus and Andrew were seen approaching the cathedral where a number of people were assembled in prayer for divine guidance in this emergency, the bells were heard to ring, and the lamps seen to kindle of their own accord, while a voice from heaven interpreted the prodigy as signifying that the stranger was their pre-ordained bishop. The dignity was forthwith conferred upon him despite all his remonstrances to the contrary, and he was enthroned and saluted, as the choice of the people. His companion shared his fortunes, and eventually founded a monastery on his own account at San Martino a Mensola, which was subsequently converted into a Benedictine Abbey.

Andrew's sister, the third of the trio, had remained behind in her native land, but was miraculously transported to her brother's deathbed to console him with a last adieu. She became the foundress of a church dedicated to St. Martin of Tours, at Lobaco in the Apennines, and spent the last years of her life in a cave among the desolate heights above it. Here after a life of austerity, she died at a very advanced age in about 870, and the church of Santa Brigida, built at or near the spot commemorates her name. The site of her hermitage, moreover, attracted so many pilgrims and devotees, that the neighborhood, formerly inhabited only by wild beasts, was reclaimed and peopled.

Italy, which we are accustomed to consider in its later aspect, as a centre of culture and refinement to the world at large, is thus shown to have been, in its earlier ages greatly indebted to the learning and piety of Irish pilgrims for its redemption from the semi-barbarism resulting from successive invasions. Its classical traditions forgotten, its language corrupted by the various idioms of its conquerors, its imperfectly accepted faith undermined by the domination of heresy on the one hand, and by the recrudescence of paganism on the other, it was fast relapsing into savagery, when the influence of the Church, and the store of knowledge and zeal she was able to draw upon in foreign lands, once more built up from the fragments of her disorganized society, a new, and more splendid civilization. The conspicuous part taken by a remote island in this work of resuscitation, was a feature in its history which deserved such illustration as it has received in the volume before us.

ELLEN M. CLERKE.

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SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION, EXACT AND INEXACT.

IN the most recent monument of pontifical wisdom which Leo XIII. has issued on the Study of the Sacred Scriptures, the following sentence occurs: "Since there are those who, besides having the grace of the Catholic faith, are gifted by a benign Providence with a happy talent (for the pursuit of science external to the Holy Scriptures), and they can lend much assistance to the cause of religion, every one should choose for himself a suitable line of research amid the studies which are brought to bear with such animosity on Scriptural interpretation; that each one attaining a degree of excellence in his own line, they may turn the arms of a perverted science into weapons of defence, not without glory to themselves."

The science thus proposed for our attainment is the slow result of a special and profound scientific formation. This formation, which suits mature men, more or less specialists in their departments, is a very different thing from that general process of instruction for the young which is rather ostentatiously paraded as a "scientific education." Beyond the fact that the courses are really derived from the subject-matter of the sciences, there is little that is scientific about it. As an education, it is utterly unscientific. Even as a qualification for entering on some useful career of life, it is dubiously useful in one way and is positively harmful in another.

For a commercial life, merchants tell us that mere apprenticeship in a business and any style of preparatory instruction which partakes of the character of apprenticeship will not serve the purposes of modern business; since, in the ever-changing conditions of trade now-a-days, there must be a much higher degree of mental culture brought into service, better capacities for reasoning and a wider power of observation, than the mere technical lessons of past experience or any other form of apprenticeship can possibly supply. For the higher courses of science we hear it averred by medical authorities, by mathematicians, chemists, astronomers, that a preparatory training in chemistry, mathematics and other such courses, to the prejudice of literary and classical training, throws into their advanced classes a set of unformed, unawakened minds, who are quickly left behind by other students not "coached" for these specialties, but educated "all round." For the more advanced courses of literature and philology, scientific though these may be in no small degree, the same incapacity results from the

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so-called "scientific" education. And it is evident that for literature in its proper sense, for the art of writing and of speaking, for the cultivation of taste and criticism, there is no training whatever in such a system; while the talents for philosophy and theology are out of question altogether. Hence it appears, on the strength of concordant testimony, which we may have occasion to refer to more particularly before we close, the scientific method of education is but dubiously useful as an introduction into any of the "useful" careers of life.

It is positively hurtful in many ways It takes up the time and place of a genuine system of culture. It narrows the field of vision and cramps the faculties, so that when the expansive and elastic period of life is passed, and youths have become men, they cannot, however much they desire it, pick up the lost culture and acquire a liberal way of thinking, nor can they even possess themselves with credit of the fruits of other liberal minds. The inquiry is made: How can I supply the want of a liberal, a literary, a classical education? The answer is: You cannot; it is too late. How can I befit myself for logic or philosophy? The reply must be: An apprentice who has graduated into a mining school or a chemist's laboratory, or into the office of a civil engineer or an architect, cannot handle logic or philosophy; for the rest of his life he must drift helplessly about among the theorics of newspaper scribblers and review writers, and take his chances there where his lot has been cast. It has been cast in the conditions of his environment, and he will remain the creature of it in his mature age, as he was the victim of it in the plastic time of his youth.

There was no reason why any system of Catholic education that pretends to be a true method of culture should ever have thrown itself into the scientific form. In the United States we are not in the grip of a State bureau of public instruction. Careers are not barred by examinations that have emanated from the peculiar conceptions of very peculiar men. We are under no constraint to form our pedagogical views on the wisdom of that pedagogical literature, tons of which do not seem to contain as much practical or theoretic wisdom as may be found in a dozen pages of old Quintillian. One thing there is in the air, and that we must charge with many of the educational phenomena which appear in the annual publications called catalogues; it is the notion of competition.

Now, competition is very good if there is anything worth while competing with. It was the soul of education in the great universities of the Middle Ages. It animated the centres of literary education which covered several countries of Europe before the great revolution. It is the life of learned societies to-day, whatever be

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the specialty which marks them. It should be an incentive to enhanced excellence and increased efficiency among institutions of sound education. But what place has it, amid systems or institutions that are unsound in their methods and unsatisfactory in their results?

In point of fact, the method of pedagogical instruction prevalent in this country is that which is called, in a general way, the "scientific." It is the same which has been pointed out as a triumph of Prussian educational tactics. But Prussian authorities, who regarded it awhile with favor, or at least tolerated it, have retreated from their position. It is the same which has been recorded as the advance of science in French programmes of instruction. But French programmes have been changing every few years, and now, in the course of one unfortunate century, the twenty-first programme has been imposed on an unfortunate people. In England a similar scientific movement has begun in the face of a storm of protests, and it would appear as if the protests were being rapidly justified by results; for it is a question whether the possession and use of the English language itself will adorn the culture of the future, if only the results which are now threatening continue to work themselves out to a final issue.

In the light of these facts, we may examine with profit what is meant by the prevalent system of education; what is meant by a true scientific method; and how far, by correct means and sound views, we may co-operate in this new world, the world of the future, with the purposes expressed in the interests of all high education, when Leo XIII. calls for men of excellent science to turn the arms of attack on divine revelation into weapons of defence.

I.

We have before us several expositions of the modern method. The title of the first explains itself: "The Culture Demanded by Modern Life; a series of addresses and arguments on the claims of scientific education; with an introduction on mental discipline in education, by E. L. Youmans, 1881." The choice part of this volume is the introduction, written by the editor. He selects all that suits his purpose from the two dozen addresses which follow, and he has selected them all for a purpose. His style suits his purpose. He declaims. With no little credulity, he amasses whole paragraphs of great names, of events, of epochs, to prove what he intends, whether they prove it or not. Mathematics, which forms the purest form of true science, he rails against, because it has always held a place of honor in traditional systems of culture. Metaphysics is so far within his ken that he knows its name, to buffet it. Logic he is innocent of, both in theory and in practice.

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But in all the odd gymnastics which his polemical vein leads him to indulge in through the fifty-six pages of his contribution to modern pedagogics, two things stand out with marvelous plainness: one thing which he does not want, and another thing which he does. He wants no grammar nor literature. He does want biology and chemistry. The literary specimen before us is an admirable product of the modern instructed mind. It is fluent and disconnected; it skims subjects and slips over difficulties, and it appears wondrously profound; at due intervals he turns round and contradicts what he said before, and, above all, he revels in the vague.

It is only one specimen. A swarm of such books are in the air, which is made dismal by their presence. Their authors labor under a radical impossibility of seeing anything but what comes within their limited sphere of vision. They look through the tube of a telescope or a microscope, and talk of the vast field which they see there. That is called "science"; the rest, which they do not see, is dubbed literature, or metaphysics, or religion, or whatever name they write their book against. They look through their tube, and their tube is fixed, and they are looking with one eye. Thus we have "The Conflict of Science with Religion." Or, as in the case before us, we have "Scientific Education."

Prof. Youmans is far from being unknown in the scientific world. Besides publishing a well-known text-book on chemistry, he has contributed to the cause of our enlightenment his labors as editor of the *Popular Science Monthly*, that same publication which has given a place of honor, these late years, to Dr. Andrew White's "New Chapters in the Warfare of Science (with Religion)." The fraternity of views between the doctor and the professor, between the author and the editor, should prepare us to expect a kinship of methods, as in fact we find to be the case; the same accumulation of nebulous statements, *cirrus*, *cumulus* and *nimbus*, as they speak in the science of the clouds, which, gathering over the devoted head of religion here, or literature there, at last discharges its thunderbolt at the name they have set up to smite. Then the sky clears up and science smiles serene. Two dozen addresses in the volume before us radiate their benignant illumination on scientific education. And the system, as summed up by the professor, stands forth illumined in this guise:

First, object-lessons for the child, as the means of developing a faculty of observation, by getting into the mind a set of facts from without. Then mathematics, not as a mental discipline, but as a mere key to "universal science;" or else physics, which cultivates the reasoning faculty to the practice of broad inductions, including "generalizations, by which wide-reaching principles replace or

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represent an infinitude of details"; or else chemistry, which, with physics, not only cultivates in the child the faculty of wide inductions, but also, like physics and mathematics together, "affords a discipline in deductive reasoning." Then we pass on to the study of the biological sciences, botany, zoology, physiology, geology. Here the theorist becomes eloquent, and glows with his subject. For here we have passed out of the range of exact sciences and have entered on the inexact. Experiment or active observation, which played so important a part in physics and chemistry, and enabled a broad inductive mind to "compel a revelation of nature's secrets," is now greatly limited, and "sources of error become more numerous and fallacies more insidious," and hence "a subtler exercise of the reason is demanded—more circumspection in weighing evidence and checking conclusions, and a severer necessity for suspension of judgment." Thus, "reasoning from analogy is practiced, a powerful but perilous mode of proceeding; one which we are compelled constantly to adopt in our mental treatment of the concerns of life, and for which biological studies are eminently suited to give the requisite discipline. Another advantage of these studies is the comprehensiveness of their classifications." To meet the manifold emergencies of our social experience, we need "such a training in the fundamental organic sciences as shall constitute a thorough biological discipline."

This is a true liberal education for the boy's mind, which is now rendered able to cope with higher studies. "The discipline and the knowledge conferred by study of the preceding group of sciences form the true preparation for that higher class of studies, mental, moral, political, and literary, which completes the course of a true, liberal education." "Physiology passes insensibly into psychology, the central science, upon which hinge logic, sociology, political economy, history, ethics, æsthetics, and literature."

In all this vast scheme of science, proposed as a pedagogical training for the young, there is no overloading of the mind, because "the student is not expected to grasp the details of the various sciences, but only to master their leading principles. At least one science, however, should be thoroughly acquired by every well-educated person—should be carried into detail, pursued experimentally, and pushed to its boundaries." That is to say, in a somewhat different sense from what Leo XIII. means, every well-educated person should be a chemist, or physiologist, or physicist, or the like. Secondly, "this scheme is not too extended, because its arrangement economizes mental power in the highest degree." This is an interesting statement; for it means that the mental discipline afforded is copious and well conceived. He explains it, therefore: "Wasting no force for mere discipline, it gives

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the entire energies of the mind to the direct attainment of knowledge." That is to say, it affords no mental discipline whatever, but merely busies itself with heaping up facts in the mind.

And what about language in all this? Ah! that is only a vehicle of thought, a mere tool. And, "the sensible mechanic remembers that his tools are for nothing but use, and hence spends the least possible time in grinding and polishing them." That is true, when the man has the tools and is using them. But how is the young scholar to get his tools, this vehicle of thought, this art of arts, this power of expression, which reacts so logically and artistically on the development of thought itself, that a finished style is considered to be the accomplished expression of a finished mind? Not a word in reply except this piece of vagueness: "So much of the study of languages, and in such forms as are necessary to its intelligent use, is demanded in education; but, while this places the study upon explicit grounds of utility, by the principle of utility should it be limited." Hence, the student is to get it where he can; but, above all things, he is to use it; for it does really seem that this Professor acknowledges language to be somehow useful and necessary. But that is only a by-play. It is nature that educates—chemistry and biology. And he indulges in the usual hopes: "When nature becomes the subject of study, the love of nature its stimulus, and the order of nature its guide, then will results in education rival the achievements in science in the fields of its noblest triumphs." And so forth. His own achievement he entitles, "Mental Discipline in Education."

II.

After this sample of the results of scientific education on a modern mind, we proceed in the next place to a much wider field, and mean to exhibit the outcome of such pedagogics in popular education. This we shall do with the help of another modern mind, that of the President of Harvard, who has unbosomed himself recently in the *Forum* on the topic, "Wherein Popular Education has Failed."[1] But, as the intellectual lineaments of these and other pedagogical authorities favor one another somewhat remarkably, we pause a moment to characterize the family likeness, which belongs to the school of science, exact and inexact.

The true notion of science is the knowledge of things by their causes or principles. Thus, leaving philosophy and logic aside, which treat of the ultimate principles of all things mental and physical, we observe that mathematics is the only perfect science, because from a few self-evident axioms regarding quantity it de-

[1] *Forum*, December, 1892.

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duces by perfectly rational steps an endless number of relations and properties affecting all forms of quantity. Every step is perfectly intelligible to the reasoning mind. No person can demonstrate a proposition of Euclid without the most perspicuous use of deductive reasoning, otherwise called the syllogism; and every one can perform a few of the simpler demonstrations in plane geometry. It is only when processes are gone through which have been elaborated by others, with methods and terms and formulas to be applied according to definite set rules, that mathematics loses its character of a true science, at least for pedagogical purposes, and becomes a mere art. Thus, arithmetic, as learnt and practiced, thus algebra, and all the higher forms of geometry, are applied as technical arts. A few principles underlying them are more or less understood; a formula, which issues forth at the end, is "interpreted"; but all between the beginning and the end is a matter of practice, adroitness, and patience.

These are also called exact sciences, because they deal with abstract relations which the various notions of quantity include in themselves, without application to any subject-matter. The moment a relation of quantity is considered in some definite matter—as by astronomy, in the stars and planets; by physics, in the attributes of matter, such as heat and light; by chemistry, in the combination of elements that go to make up bodies—the mathematical calculation is liable to error, since there is introduced a question of fact. And fact depends upon fallible observation. Still, astronomy and physics generally are sufficiently accurate to merit the title of exact sciences. But chemistry is scarcely a science at all; it has no general principles to fall back on, either deductive or inductive; that is to say, it never deduces anything from a general principle set down, and it never discovers by induction from facts any premises which it can use as principles, except in the partial, limited processes, by which it finds out the definite properties of some definite element; and, having tabulated them, thenceforth it uses its table.

To be sure, chemists endeavor to cure the radical vice of their craft by going behind what they observe and talking about the ultimate constituents of matter—atoms and forces. But in this they are no longer chemists; they are playing at metaphysics, and a sorry figure they make of it. "Physics, beware of metaphysics!" cried Newton. But all in vain. There would be only a a moderate amount of chemistry to-day in the world, there would be little biology, and absolutely no theory of evolution, were it not for the unquenchable thirst of mankind to drink at the springs of metaphysics and satisfy a burning desire regarding their origin and destiny, in a certain philosophical way of their own.

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As to all the forms of biology, they are utterly unscientific, outside of some mathematical calculations, and some other chemical processes, which are so far scientific as chemistry itself is, and no more. Biologists understand nothing whatever about life in the organic body or life in the organic cell. Chemistry itself enters into a cloud of enigma when it mixes with life in the protoplasm. The biological chemist falls back on explanations which do not belong to his specialty, and he becomes, as usual, a metaphysician; and neither metaphysics nor biology derives profit from the performance.

When economical or social science is touched there is still a minute point of contact with science properly so called. It is because all things material—even men, who have material bodies—present a side of their being to the calculations of mathematics. They can be counted, weighed, measured. Their births and their deaths, their external acts and vicissitudes, all lend themselves to calculation; and as men are uniform in their nature, if conditions also are uniform, or are reduced in any given social problem to some common denomination, which can furnish a basis to a mathematical calculation, of course an arithmetical or algebraic reckoning can be set up. Thus, a life insurance company exploits the statistical tables of mortality, and reckons its chances. And all the science that is to be found in political or social economy is just the amount which serves the purposes of the calculating clerks in an insurance office or a secretary in the Bureau of the Interior.

For drawing out the mind of the young and enabling it to put two and two together with logical accuracy, the science of plane geometry according to the method of Euclid has always held a place of high honor. That method uses no technical formulas or algebraic processes, but argues from plain principles, by plain steps, to evident conclusions. It is the perfect demonstrative method of the logical syllogism, and it avails itself of other forms of logical argument which are reducible to the syllogism. Hence, for the admirable discipline which it furnishes in the way of accurate thought, no pupils of either sex need be dispensed from performing a few of the simpler demonstrations. The train of reasoning here is called "deductive," because it advances from premises which implicitly contain the inference to the inference which stands out distinct from the premises. And the principles or premises themselves are already in the child's mind, as, for instance, the notion of a line, an angle, a triangle. So that this form of mathematics satisfies the requirements of education, which means "drawing out" the faculties by the strength which is native to them and on subject-matter which is more or less domesticated with them.

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Carried too far, it is notorious that mathematical methods exert a cramping influence on the mind. They do not include any elements of positive fact, and they are prone to engender a contempt for the slow and uncertain observation or "induction" of facts. Facts are extremely variable; where the factor of life intervenes, as in all biology, they are dim in their outline; and if free-will interposes, as in all science pertaining to ethical and social life, the facts themselves are positively uncertain. Still, these same ethical and social phenomena are the most interesting and important affairs in the universe. Here the mathematical bent plays havoc with all problems. It must needs lay down its axioms and its definitions, its postulates and its principles; it must construct its geometrical plans, and if any mortal men or methods, any histories of human kind or political forms of government do not fit into the plan, so much the worse for them. Pascal, himself an eminent mathematician, remarks: "It is rare that mathematicians are observant, or that observant minds are mathematical, because mathematicians would treat matters of observation by rule of mathematics, and they make themselves ridiculous by attempting to commence with definitions and principles."

To this is added another inconvenience, which has much to do with bringing about the present disorganized state of society, moral and political. Entering with his mathematical qualifications into the field of philosophical, social, and political problems, the mathematician must adopt some positive premises or other, on which his mathematical mill is to work. Now, it is a matter of the veriest chance what premises or principles he will adopt; for he is lacking in the acumen which other studies impart to the mind for discerning the value of complicated phenomena, historical data, philosophical truths, religious principles, or, as in the case before us, the factors of true education. In his helplessness, he accepts, passively, the principles floating about in the air, or the suggestions whispered to him by his passions. As Dugald Stewart has observed, "In the course of my own experience, I have not met with a mere mathematician who was not credulous to a fault; credulous not only with respect to human testimony, but credulous also in matters of opinion; and prone, on all subjects which he had not carefully studied, to repose too much faith in illustrations and consecrated names."[1] Then, his premises being taken, though at hap-hazard, his mill begins to work. Never does it grind more pitilessly than when the mathematical faculty has been highly cultivated by the sublime forms of analysis. And it grinds exquisitely. A scientific writer tells us, with some complacency,

[1] *Youmans*, Introduction, p. 12, note.

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that "mathematical analysis is often compared to a mill; throw in the wheat and you will get flour; granaries might groan with the richest harvests without helping much the stomachs of men, if the grain could not be turned into flour."[1]

Now, we just remarked that this mathematical bent had much to do with bringing about the revolutionary state of society which marks the present century. Given the principles of the Revolution, the geometrical spirit accorded perfectly with the tendencies of men who delighted in abstract generalities, and in figures without substance, and who wanted nothing less than the substance of things that were, the facts which constituted society as it was, the traditions which had built it up, and the forms of education which had been handed down by Christian practice and antecedent. The ascendency of mathematical philosophers over the movements preparatory to the great revolution is an unquestioned fact in history. The Voltairian encyclopædists took their philosophy from the times, and repaid it by bringing their geometry into everything. Mathematical chemists, in particular, seem to have been irrepressible then, as they are dominant now. D'Alembert would have it, that, "if geometry were taught to children betimes, he doubted not but that prodigies, and precocious talents of this kind (that is, of his own kind), would be more frequent." The mathematical chemists, who posed as statesmen in the *Corps Legislatif*, proposed that the young generations, now belonging to the revolution, should be brought up on problems of algebra and the nomenclatures of plants and animals. For this advance, however, the times were not yet ripe; and the inventors of the new pedagogics themselves dropped the project for awhile. Chaptal, who was put in charge of the new device, called "Public Instruction," by the Consul Napoleon, laid it down, that "anatomy and physiology ought to be the *basis* of all education; and, if such had been the line of march in the ages which have gone before us, we should never have seen unbridled imaginations create imaginary worlds (of religion and God), and substitute phantoms for realities. . . . . The resemblance between our physical structure and the greater part of the beings of nature, marks well enough our place (the same as Professor Huxley's conception of "Man's Place in Nature"); and shows us what we ought to think of those prerogatives (of spirituality, immortality, and morality), which the delirium of ignorant pride has attributed to the human species," etc.[2]

[1] Moutier, "La Thermodynamique;" *Revue des Questions Scientifique*, t. xx., p. 188, "L'Application de l'Analyse Mathematique aux autres Sciences," par Franc. Iniguez.

[2] *De L'Université Nouvelle, Fille Ainée de la Revolution.* 1828. "Documents Concernant la Comp. de Jesus," tome iii., p. 25.

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Progress, arrested awhile, in those days of simplicity, was not to be balked in the long run, nor has it been; and the plans proposed by such mathematicians, or chemists, or constitutional bishops, or madmen, as D'Alembert and Bancal, Talleyrand and Grègoire, Lepelletier and Robespierre, have worked their way steadily amid revolutionized generations, until "classical and literary studies giving way to scientific courses, then scientific courses to industrial applications, there has been a steady movement from the compass to the plough, from mathematics to industrial arts, from the sciences themselves to the brute matter which they merely number and measure. . . . . As abstract sciences, geometry and algebra, when they are taken as the exclusive means of culture, make men forget the Gospel and morality, revelation and history; as sciences applied, they make men think only of matter."[1]

This spirit is little, and it is irreligious, and, because irreligious, it sinks into the differential category of the infinitesimally little. Shut up in its formulas from first to last, the moment its credulity takes infidelity into its calculations as one of the blindest of its formulas, its mill goes on grinding and grinding long after the last particle of logic or sense has passed through; and, when a century has run its course, the product is indescribable.

It is not the true scientific spirit that is irreligious. All the great founders of modern science have been most religiously-minded in their own way. Galileo, the father of modern mechanics; Copernicus, Kepler, and Newton, the prominent figures in the science of astronomy; Boyle and Pascal, the active spirits in developing hydrostatics, have all been led, in their search for God's laws impressed on nature, to bow with increased reverence before the divine wisdom which invented and impressed such laws.[2] These were inductive minds, gifted with the talent of finding out nature. And had Darwin set himself to find out nature in truth, there is little reason to fear that he would have died an atheist. But he set himself to find out a falsehood, and he got it, because he put it there.

Other minds which are not inductive in their bent, and which have not been refreshed, after a struggle through the twilight of their weak conceptions, with the sudden revelation, like a broad sunlight, of God's evident providence and His palpable presence, may rehearse the same inductive processes, as children can do, and feel none of that overpowering grasp of the Mightier Mind which lifted up the original discoverer to catch a glimpse of the

[1] P. Arsène Cahour, d. C. d. J., *Des Études Classiques et Des Études Professionelles*, 1853, p. 25.

[2] Compare W. Whewell, *Astronomy and General Physics Compared with Reference to Natural Theology*, 1836, part iii., "Religious Views."

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infinite. And, as to deductive processes, those which start with principles or formulas, and thenceforward merely turn them inside out and up and down, and create sciences of perfect truth, but all abstractions, their effect seems to be to create a craving for the formula everywhere, whether it can be had or not. Formulas that know nothing of shades and tints, of conditions, persons, and times, must be made to comprehend the science of life, society, politics, in all their varied and manifold relations, as if everything were on a plane of only two dimensions, or on a line of only one direction, or at a point which has neither length nor direction nor magnitude. Said Laplace: "An intelligence which, at a given instant, should know all the forces by which nature is urged, and the respective situation of the beings of which nature is composed, if moreover it were comprehensive enough to subject these data to calculation, would include in the *same formula* the movements of the large bodies of the universe and those of the smallest atom." So far correct. He adds: "Nothing would be uncertain to such an intelligence, and the future not less than the past would be present to its eyes"—a statement which requires modification if free will is included. But a formula knows of no such modification, and the little mind will not tolerate adjustment. Hence, when this same mathematician was appointed by Napoleon to the Ministry of the Interior, he gave no satisfaction. "He searched for subtleties in every subject," wrote the emperor in his personal memoirs; "he carried into his official duties the spirit of infinitesimally small quantities; he apprehended no question under its proper point of view."

We have seen that the mathematical or "scientific" bent is, of itself, a narrow and mechanical turn of mind; it disqualifies for liberal views of life, and for the sciences which treat of human affairs. We have added the important consideration that, as it takes its principles somewhere, and then only rigidly applies them and deduces consequences from them, if the principles are wrong, like that of infidelity, or revolution, or socialism, or anything similarly perverse, it will need only time and opportunity for all kinds of perverse conclusions to establish themselves in the mind and to propagate themselves around in the mass of society. We add here only one further consideration as bearing, in particular, on the subject of theoretic education or pedagogics. It is that, among the false principles thus assumed, one which stands conspicuous is the idea of utility which aims at ready results, at products ready-made, like manufactured articles; which fights shy of thorough mental discipline because that takes time, and produces its fruits only at a remoter period in the training of developed faculties; and which, finally, in the spirit of envy at the splendid results

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of a truly developing or liberal education, does not scruple to appropriate the name of "liberal" to itself, and so gloss over the narrowing, belittling, and slip-shod processes of its own utilitarian instruction.

We could quote at length illustrations of this utilitarian fallacy from the Introduction of Prof. Youmans, whose plea we considered awhile ago. But, as we go on now to President Eliot, we quote from the former only a passage or two. He says: "In the world of business, where results become quickly apparent, and wrong policy works speedy disaster, the notion of discipline *for* a special activity, and not *through* it, could not be entertained, and it only lingers in the world of education because the effects are more remote, complex, and indefinite." This means that every child should be worked as an apprentice from the first in the line of activity which he is to follow in after-life—"discipline *through* a special activity"; and he need not have his faculties developed all round to make him a qualified man, whatever his future line of life may happen to be; this he calls "discipline *for* a special activity." The reason he gives is worthy of his school. It is, that when a man is already a man, and has his business in hand, there is no question any longer of developing his faculties all round; he had better mind his business. Therefore the child, who is yet in the formative process, whence are to issue results in the future, "more remote, complex, and indefinite," should also mind some business, though he has none yet, and should leave education alone, as if he had got it already. He is to be put up quickly, like a ready-made article, duly packed and addressed. He is on the same footing as the ten-year-old boy working in the coal-mine, and using up a constitution which he has not yet acquired. That is the utilitarian principle of education.

We may also give an illustration of the infidel tendency in the American chemist's mind. Mathematician as he is, he decries pure mathematics, in the same breath with which he berates literature and grammar. Both mathematics and grammar, he says, "begin with the unquestioning acceptance of data—axioms, definitions, rules; both reason deductively from foregone assumptions, and therefore both habituate to the passive acceptance of authority—the highest mental desideratum in the theological ages and establishments, which gave rise to the traditional curriculum." This is very interesting. A scientific man runs down the purest form of science, because the scientific habit of mind which it engenders is precisely in accordance with theology, religion, and faith! A splendid testimony from the infidel!

We may add another passage, to show the breadth of mind, and accuracy of historical lore, which graces the utilitarian and infidel

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mind of an analytical chemist. He dismisses the traditional system of liberal culture, because it comes down from ancient times, when it was summed up in the Trivium and Quadrivium, as they were called; that is to say, grammar, logic, and rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music—making seven branches or arts in all. And he deliveres his argument thus: "The predominant culture of modern times had its origin, more than eight hundred years ago, in a superstition of the middle ages. A mystical reverence was attached to the number *seven*, which was supposed to be a key to the order of the universe. That there were seven cardinal virtues (!), seven deadly sins, seven sacraments, seven days in the week, seven metals, seven planets, and seven apertures in a man's head, was believed to afford sufficient reason for making the course of liberal study consist of seven arts, and occupy seven years." The gentleman seems to be talking seriously.

At all events, he is terribly in earnest, when he despatches all intuitive processes of the scientific mind, and cries out: "The primary question is, What are the facts, the pertinent facts, and all the facts which bear upon the inquiry? This is the supreme step; for, until this is done, reasoning is futile; and it may be added that, when this is done, the formation of conclusions is a comparatively simple process." Whereupon he performs the extremely simple process of requiring the facts of biology as the true discipline of the mind in education, without paying much attention to the facts of the question, or entangling himself in superfluous reasoning.

III.

Eleven years later than the publication of Prof. Youmans' pretentious claims, President Eliot of Harvard has come forward to examine results. His verdict is sufficiently intimated in the title of his article, "Wherein Popular Education Has Failed." According to his presentation, it seems to have failed utterly. And this is the more noteworthy as coming from one, who by the weight of his authority and the activity of his pen has been a power for many years in the cause of utilitarian education. Yet, not to be too sombre in his view of the situation, he sets it off with a couple of relieving features. One is the possibility that certain agreeable facts in our present state of society may be in part due to popular education, as now carried on. The other is the conviction which he expresses, that, if the means are adopted which he proposes for the improvement of such education, an amelioration may follow in the results. It so happens that the means which he suggests are not substantially different from the principles in actual opera-

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tion. Still he concludes hopefully, in the usual style: "Such are some of the measures which we may reasonably hope will make popular education in the future more successful than it has been in the past in developing universal reasonableness."[1] Universal reasonableness! The tone is certainly modest. It is no longer a glorious sunshine of intellectual results, but a bit of common reasonableness that will be thankfully received!

The eminent president, himself a chemist, reviews in several gloomy pages all the expectations that had been entertained regarding the fruits of popular education; and all of which have been frustrated. "Public education should mean the systematic training of all children for the duties of life; and it seems as if this systematic training could work almost a revolution in human society in two or three generations, if wisely and faithfully conducted. Why has it not? It seems to provide directly for a general increase of power to reason and, therefore, of actual reasonableness in the conduct of life. Why is it possible to doubt whether any appreciable gain has thus far been made in these respects?" "Disquieting questions," as he calls them!

Still he claims that the "indictments against universal education as a cure for ancient wrongs and evils leave out of sight great improvements in social condition which the last two generations have seen." Accordingly, he tabulates a number of "beneficent changes" regarding the mitigation of human miseries in prisons and elsewhere; the formation of habits of industry by savings-banks and the like; improvement in the condition of wage-earners, touching their income, lodging, food, clothing, "and the means of education for their children." By-the-way, it is hard to see how this last is a "beneficent change" if "popular education has failed." He notes how superstitions have been abolished, and civil order extended over regions once desolate or dangerous; how family and school discipline have been mitigated within two generations, "and how all sorts of abuses and cruelties are checked and prevented (?) by the publicity of modern life, a publicity which depends on the universal capacity to read." So that the villainies perpetrated by the press, promulgated and communicated to simple populations, are among the "beneficent changes" of the time! He recalls that all business now-a-days is conducted on trust and mutual confidence, which is protected by the "publicity" of the press; that the United States have spread across a continent, that Italy has been made one nation, etc.; that the different classes of society and the different nations have lately made some approach towards realizing the general truth of the New Testament saying:

[1] *The Forum*, December, 1892.

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"We are members one of another." He adds, conscientiously: "It would not be just to contend that popular education has brought to pass all these improvements and ameliorations." No, it would not be just, at all; for popular education seems to have had nothing to do with any, except those among the "improvements," which are decidedly mischievous. Still, he goes on apologetically: "It has undoubtedly contributed to them all." That we should like to see proved, not assumed; for some perverse minds might assume the very opposite and prove it.

So far there is nothing that has a real bearing on the science of education. But at last, after the weary platitudes, we light upon two sentences that touch education—that prove, as he says, "increased intelligence in large masses of people." This is what we want, and thus it reads: "If war has not ceased, soldiers are certainly more intelligent than they used to be, else they could not use the arms of precision with which armies are now supplied. The same is true of all industry and trade—they require more intelligence than formerly in all the work-people."

Not being gifted with a chemical mind ourselves, we find this astounding. To sight a rifle and pull a trigger argues greater intelligence, because the rifle is more precise than it used to be, and its maker, no doubt, must have been more intelligent! To work a crank, or grease a rod, for ten mortal hours a day, and to become a living automaton in some big automatic machine, shows greater intelligence than formerly, though it is always the identical pin-head or ground-button, or bit of some other machine that the two automata, the living and the dead one, are turning out by the thousands per week!

As this passes our own intelligence we refer for light to a great authority. And we find a just principle stated.[1] "The perfection of the mechanical and other arts among us," says Whewell, "proves the advanced condition of our sciences, only in so far as these arts have been perfected by the application of some great truth, with a clear insight into its nature. . . . . But what distinct theoretical principle is illustrated by the beautiful manufactures of porcelain, or steel, or glass? A chemical view of these compounds, which would explain the conditions of success and failure in their manufacture, would be of great value in art; and it would also be a novelty in chemical theory; so little is the present condition of these processes a triumph of science, shedding intellectual glory on our age!" It is, indeed, notorious, that the advance of science, even in those who advance it, has little to do with science, and a

[1] Whewell, *History of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. i., p. 242: *Physical Science in the Middle Ages*, ch. 5.

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great deal to do with a happy knack of invention or manipulation. What, then, have the poor workmen to do with science or scientific "general intelligence," when they only work the blow-pipes or trim the products?

And, if invention and manipulation do manifest "general intelligence," what shall we say of former ages which had none of the mechanical conveniences of our time, not even coal? Whewell sums up some of them:[1] "Parchment and paper, printing and engraving, improved glass and steel, gunpowder, clocks, telescopes, the mariner's compass, the reformed calendar, the decimal notation, algebra, trigonometry, chemistry, counterpoint, an invention equivalent to a new creation of music—these are all possessions which we inherit from that which has been so disparagingly termed the Stationary Period. Above all, let us look at the monuments of architecture of this period; the admiration and the despair of modern architects, not only for their beauty, but for the skill disclosed in their construction."

Hence, President Eliot has not succeeded in pointing to a single beneficent result of popular education. So, making the best of the case as it stands, "he thinks he perceives in popular education, as generally conducted until recently, an inadequacy and a misdirection which supply a partial answer to these disquieting questions."

His critical strictures fall chiefly on the new system of education —that advocated so gloriously by Professor Youmans—only the system has not been properly worked. Therefore he suggests improvements, and the principles he starts from are almost identical with those of the professor, while his "improvements" are identical with the measures which have actually failed. Of course, it cannot be otherwise when principles and measures are astray.

We need not rehearse his somewhat lengthy arraignment of the prevalent system and his decidedly hackneyed improvements. Still, there are some good things that he says. Speaking of the higher class of schools, he remarks that "among the subjects other than languages there will generally be found several which seem to be taught for the purpose of giving information rather than of imparting power. Such are the common high-school and academy topics in history, natural history, psychology, astronomy, political economy, civil government, mechanics, constitutional law and commercial law. These subjects, as they are now taught, seldom train any power but that of memory. As a rule, the feebler a high school or academy is, the more these information-subjects figure in its programme, and when a strong school offers sev-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

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eral distinct courses, the shorter and weaker courses are sure to exhibit an undue number of these subjects. . . . The pupil is practically required to commit to memory a primer or a small elementary manual for the sake of the information it contains. There can be no training of the reason in such a process." This is perfectly true, and if educational authorities would ponder over this reflection, they would make two applications of the wisdom which it contains. First, they would take notice that all scientific education, as it is actually carried on, goes precisely on these lines, all mere information of facts heaped in from without; and that it cannot ever be otherwise as a means of education for the young; that it does not educate or draw out the faculties, but sets up a show-window to catch the eye of examiners, and, like a show-window, it is for no other use but to catch the eye. Secondly, our Catholic pedagogical authorities would take note of the uniform simplicity which has characterized all Catholic systems of education up to late years; they would note that whether in primary schools or in academies or in colleges, there has been uniformly a central line of studies to follow, straight, thorough and complete, to which other subjects were merely secondary and subsidiary; and that the central line has not been a flimsy tissue of so-called science. Such is still the system in Catholic institutions, where traditional wisdom survives, and where the profound knowledge of a child's needs, so well apprehended by Catholic wisdom and instincts, has not been spirited out of sight by the phantom or nightmare called competition.

The president discerns the same unsatisfactory results in the lowest grades of schools, with their reading, spelling, writing, geography and arithmetic; but he does not commit the intellectual absurdity of implying that such practical arts can be held up as, in any sense, an intellectual culture of mankind.

Thus, the lowest stratum of studies being quite incompetent to develop mental capacities, and the middle stage being out of order, he mounts to the highest series, and "finds the same condition of things in most American institutions. The cultivation of memory predominates: that of the observing, inferring and reasoning faculties is subordinated." Yet, as we may remember, this power of observation, inference and reason, is the very fruit so fondly anticipated of scientific education. "No amount of *memoriter* study of languages or of the natural sciences, and no attainment in arithmetic, will protect a man or woman, except imperfectly, through a certain indirect cultivation of general intelligence, from succumbing to the first plausible delusion or sophism he or she may encounter." He then gives examples of the delusions which run riot in our times and country. They are instructive as indi-

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cating the trend of thought which these pedagogical authorities are indulging in, while we suppose them, and they suppose themselves, to be treating of education for the young. He adduces the sophisms of astrology, theosophy, free silver, strikes, boycotts, persecutions of Jews and Mormons, the violent exclusion of non-union men from employment. He refers to paper money and national wealth, to American wages and English wages, to Bessemer steel and public debts. He says: "The publication made in 1891 by the Commissioner of Labor at Washington, concerning the cost of producing iron and steel, is the first real attempt to determine the facts upon which the theory of a single group of important items in our tariff might have been based. This admirable production is a volume of 1400 pages—mostly statistical tables." This is the kind of atmosphere in which the thought of our educational authorities moves when they do not confine themselves, as true mathematicians and chemists should do, to their own province of algebraic formulas and biological analyses. And from this unreal and hazy mist of thought they descend to legislate about education. However, the admissions, at least, of a candid mind like that of the president's are useful: "There are many educated people who have little better protection against delusions and sophisms than the uneducated, for the simple reason that their education, though prolonged and elaborated, was still not of a kind to train their judgment and reasoning powers."

Such is the outcome of the new pedagogics. But the dismal spectacle does not arrest the progress of the pedagogical scientists. They plod on their own way, they work the machine, and are ever turning out new projects. To quote one sentence more from the President of Harvard: "In the higher part of the system of public instruction two difficult subjects deserve a much larger share of attention than they now obtain—political economy and sociology. They should be studied, however, not as information-subjects, but as training or disciplinary subjects," etc. On which we remark, that matters pertaining to politics and statesmanship are subjects for mature educated minds, and can neither train, nor drill, nor discipline, nor draw out any faculties whatever of a young mind, but can only fill them with odds and ends of numbers from census reports, as foreign to education as the "1400 pages of the admirable publication of the Commissioner of Labor at Washington on the cost of producing iron and steel." And further we remark, quoting a profound reflection of the same eminent gentleman of Harvard: "These subjects seldom train any power but that of memory. As a rule, the feebler any system is the more these information-subjects figure in its programme." This "scientific" system labors under a feebleness which belongs to the last degree of atrophy—

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feeble in reason, feeble in logic, feeble in its intuition as to the constitution of the young mind and character, and therefore abounding in subjects for its programmes, in programmes for its theories, and in theories that shoot up like the weeds of spring under the glorious sun of scientific enlightenment.

IV.

It might be expected, after this critical and somewhat negative analysis of scientific methods, that we should present a constructive view of sound education, and lead up steadily from first principles and first stages in the instruction of the young to that ideal of scientific excellence which Leo XIII., whom we quoted at the beginning, desires to see conspicuous and effective in the ranks of Christ's faithful. But that would be another subject, for its basis is literature. Besides, there is not room for it on the present occasion; nor from our point of view is it necessary, since, on a former occasion, we endeavored to expound in this REVIEW the traditional principles of sound education.[1] Then it was the same President of Harvard who, in the controversy on liberal education, advocating, as is usual with him, the scientific claims, provoked or intensified the public discussion of that date. We have nothing to add now to what we said then. But the literature of the subject has received since then important accessions from the treasury of practical results in Germany, Austria, France, England, Ireland, and the results furnish no subject for congratulation.[2]

On this literary issue we can discover no contributions whatever to either pedagogical principle or pedagogical practice from the scientific school. Beyond those declamations of Prof. Youmans against the traditional method of culture, and besides those very logical sallies of his against the seven liberal arts which have been handed down to us only because the number seven was sacred and sacramental in the benighted Middle Ages, all that we can discover in the treatises of either president or professor on the subject of literary formation amounts to this:

Language is necessary; use it, therefore. Style, to be perfect, requires a power of observation, such as Tennyson shows; write, therefore, like Tennyson.[3] Scientific conscientiousness, the scrupulously accurate statement of facts observed, is as good a training of the conscience as secular education can furnish;[4] therefore, vivid

[1] "What is a Liberal Education?" AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1885, vol. x., pp. 18–35.

[2] Compare Rev. John Gerard, S. J., on "Education and School"; *The Month*, 1886, vol. lvi, pp. 163–179, 353–363.

[3] Eliot, *Forum*, p. 420.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 419.

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and accurate records of all things observed, seen, felt, done, suffered, should be made by the child; and this, for the benefit of the community, as well as for its own benefit, when the time arrives for it to be a scientist. But, as no power of description is of use without the reasoning faculty, this faculty, as exercised in "argumentative composition," is to be cultivated assiduously. For the rest, "in cultivating any field of knowledge, this power of expression can be won if the right means are used; and, if these means are neglected, it will not be won in any field."[1]

This is, no doubt, a singularly profound treatment of the literary question in liberal education. But a writer of the University of Wisconsin, who comes to the assistance of the president of Harvard, takes the palm for literary acumen and criticism from even so eminent a colleague.[2] He says, that the mental processes involved in translating a paragraph from Cicero correctly, "are hardly more numerous or more important, from a practical point of view, than those employed in putting together a *Chinese puzzle.*" In the hands of this volunteer, the whole science and art of education becomes a most curious tissue of kindergarten practices, debating-club methods, magazine references, and thumbing of census reports, of the back records of law courts, of Whewell's "History of the Inductive Sciences," and of theories on the "Nibelungenlied." This course of his "would take its place in the school and college curriculum by the side of the natural and the mental sciences, history, literature, and the languages. It would not crowd the others out." Why? First, because it is indispensable. Secondly, because it is supplementary. Thirdly, because it develops "other functions of the mind equally important in their way, for instance, the power of observation, and, above all, the *emotions!*" But, especially, it would not crowd the others out, because, "whatever else might have to be neglected or dropped from the curriculum, for want of time, its claims should be honored to their full extent"; that is, *because it should crowd the others out!*[3] And this contributor to the *Educational Review* entitles his lucubration, "Teaching Reasoning as a Fine Art." Surely, it has become a fine art—if by fine we mean rare. But we trust that Catholic education, whether in universities or academies, will never sink so low as to give to the light of publicity, on a serious subject, contributions so ill-written, with a style so puerile, and reasoning so inept, as we have seen are to be credited to some prominent institutions and publications.

We have no reason to believe that Catholic institutions of edu-

[1] *Ib*, p. 419.

[2] *Educational Review*, December, 1893, p. 494. "Teaching Reasoning as a Fine Art."

[3] *Ib.*, p. 497.

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cation, which are now grown to be such a power in numbers, resources, and repute for moral training, have fallen away in pedagogical instinct and wisdom from what they were forty years ago. At that time, Dr. Henry Barnard, speaking of one class of our schools, could risk his reputation and authority before a Protestant public by saying in his "Journal of Education",[1] "The only way, in our country and in this age, to 'put down' such schools, which have their roots in the past, and which have been matured, after profound study, by men who have made teaching the business of their life from a sense of religious duty, is to multiply institutions of a better quality, and bring them within the reach of poor but talented children." What he said of one class of schools, we say of all; that the Catholic instincts and traditions, which are their life, have roots in the past, and have matured amid all the graces of charity, self-sacrifice, and duty. And, at the time when he wrote thus, old and wise traditions had not yet vanished from the educational institutions of the country at large. Now, we may say, all is gone. And, as in so many other affairs, the light and warmth and invigorating influences of the Christian spirit have steadily lessened their sphere of activity in the world at large, and have shrunk back within the strict limits of the Catholic Church and her institutions alone.

Hence, in the practical conduct of education, no doubt "information-courses" are pleasant and useful, but only as a variety and a dessert to the central and solid course, which, according to their degree, must be served up as the mental diet of the young. In the higher institutions of learning, which prepare the mind in a liberal way for all subsequent studies and specialties, the teaching of the sciences must remain within the limits of what is essential to them, so far as their processes are intelligent and liberalizing, not so far as to become technical and specializing. "Initiation into scientific methods, in which consists the educating value of the sciences, does not demand all the sciences; it can be effected by a few well-chosen specimens; it depends much more on its quality than on the quantity of matter conveyed. In the sciences, as in letters, the amassing of knowledge is not an end in itself; it is the means of education." Such are the words of a government professor of mathematics, drawing up the report of a scientific committee of studies appointed by the French republic.[2]

If the mania for competing with some vague phantom of a state system of public instruction only served to intensify the quality of

[1] *The American Journal of Education*, June, 1858, vol. v., p. 228. "The Jesuits and their Schools."

[2] "Réformes Scolaires," by Le R. P. De Gabriac, in the *Études*, Avril, 1890, t. 49, p. 582.

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educational work in Catholic institutions, it would be serving as a spice which whets the appetite. But we may inquire whether the words of Prof. Mahaffy, in his government report on the Irish Endowed Schools, have no application to what is visible about us:[1] "It appeared to me all over Ireland, and in England also, that the majority of boys, without being overworked, *were addled by the multiplicity of their subjects*, and, instead of increasing their knowledge, had utterly confused it. I heard everywhere from the masters the same complaint. Whenever I asked them to point me out a brilliant boy, they replied that the race had died out; that brilliant boys could no longer be found. . . . . I sought in vain for bright promise, for quick intelligence, for keen sympathy with their studies. It is the result of the present boa-constrictor system of competitive examination which is strangling our youth in its fatal embrace."

We have nothing to learn from such a system except to avoid it. Avoiding it, we hold fast to our traditional solidity, and, where nature has been benign, we develop youthful brilliancy. The initiation into scientific methods, as the French commissioner expressed himself, prepares the young mind, thus liberally treated, for the specialties which are to follow in practical and professional life. And thus, at the end, we reach the conception of Leo XIII., which we quoted on starting: "Those who are gifted with a happy talent for science can lend much assistance to religion, and turn the arms of perverted knowledge into weapons of defence."

THOMAS HUGHES, S. J.

[1] Gerard, *Month ubi supra*, p. 360.

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GOUNOD AND CHURCH MUSIC.

"Let us now praise men of renown . . . . such as by their skill sought out musical tunes, and published canticles of the Scriptures; rich men in virtue, studying beautifulness, living at peace in their houses."—ECCLUS., c. 44.

"GOUNOD is not a difficult subject," as an admirer of the great composer remarked, a few years since, in the *Fortnightly Review*.[1] In truth, the many-sidedness of his life and culture; the versatility of his musical genius, winning success and fame for him in nearly every department of composition; his engaging personality, free at once from the vulgar *hauteur* that too often follows on a sudden and mediocre success, and from that assumption of exclusivism in artistic perception which must seek to found a new school of composition; his well-rounded life, which —so rarely in the case of true greatness—could reward the patient sower with long fruition of his labors—these, and many other characteristic facts in the life-history of the man and musician, Charles François Gounod, present to the eye a kaleidoscopic wealth of beautiful impressions which should find record in a much larger notice of the composer than it is the design of this paper to give.

It is with difficulty, however, that one turns from the many details of such an engaging picture to study a very special phase of it, and that, too, in a very special light; viz., the artistic expression of Gounod in the compositions written by him for performance in the Church, viewed from the standpoint not of mere technical art, but of Catholic devotion (which is, after all, in the case of church music, the standpoint of the best art). Some of his characteristics will indeed be referred to in illustration of this view; but most of the wealth must be left untouched which, on every side of this subject, beckons to more delightful, if not more profitable, sojournings.

I.

The same writer quoted above, in a recent article in the *Fortnightly*, has given a pleasant picture of the aged composer and a rapid sketch of his life. Her apology for a somewhat brief notice shall be that of the present writer: that "the life of Gounod has been too often written for me to narrate it in detail." But another reason has determined us to select for special comment the church

[1] Marie Anne de Bovet: Gounod on "Art and Artists."

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style of Gounod. If he has not created a new school of church music, he has at least been much more than a herald of better things in a high domain of musical art; he has treated sacred themes with constant appreciation of the reverence due both to them and to the holiness of the House of God. Since the death of Gour od, many notices of his life and many critiques of his style have appeared in current literature; and yet, of all those which have fallen under our eye, not one—strange to relate—has given any, even a superficial, attention to his "church style"; or, perhaps, we should rather say, to his church music. Nevertheless, precisely in this domain of art was his first signal success won and the foundation of his reputation laid.

In 1851, when the young composer was still quite unknown to fame, four of his works were produced at one of the monthly concerts in St. Martin's Hall, London. These compositions were: an unaccompanied Motett; a *Libera me*, from his Requiem Mass; the *Sanctus*, from his Messe Solennelle de Ste. Cécile; and a Bass Solo and "Crusader's March," the theme, *Peter the Hermit*, having a semi-religious character (the last three being performed with orchestral accompaniment). These four compositions, written with the inspiration of a religious theme, but produced without the accessories which usually give the force of vividness and appropriateness to dramatic music, and without even the dignity and pomp of religious ceremonial to give them their authentic interpretation, were nevertheless received by the audience and the public press with a wonderful consensus of favorable criticism.

The comment upon this concert by the London *Athenæum* was especially enthusiastic. It is well worth the while to quote its criticism here, not only because it emphasizes the first success of Gounod as a composer in the religious style, but also because it contains a very scholarly and accurate summary of the characteristics of Gounod's style, and a prediction of future glory for the young composer, which after years demonstrated to have been a prophecy: "On Monday evening, before the Frost Scene of Purcell and the Walpurgis Nacht of Mendelssohn, the four compositions of Gounod were performed. . . . . Within our critical experience we do not recollect any first appearance under parallel circumstances. The first execution of music, new in style, by an untried composer totally unknown to fame, in the presence of an audience entirely strange, and largely made up of musicians and of artists, home and foreign, very few of whom, by possibility, could have any partialities for a total stranger, makes up a case of ordeal at once more sudden and severe than most recorded in the history of Art. The success was decided, and, as was said by a veteran

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musician near us, more habituated to listen than to praise, marks the commencement of a new era in Music. Of the four compositions brought to judgment, we shall speak only of the three orchestral ones; since of the effect of the unaccompanied Motett, owing to the sinking in pitch of the chorus, no fair opinion could be formed beyond a conviction of its soundness and excellence as a specimen of the purest writing in parts. The 'Libera me,' from a Requiem, is severe, dignified, and solemn, with a combination of voices on the gentle verse *Requiem sempiternam*, which is at once new, stately, and impressive. The 'Sanctus' from a Mass—a larger and more important composition—is the work by which M. Gounod's success was assured. In its ordinance and treatment, this Sanctus is original and beautiful. It commences with a solo for the tenor, the first strain of which is repeated by the orchestra, the chorus being merely subordinate. Then comes the second part of the *solo;* after which an admirably contrived *crescendo* leads back to the original theme, delivered with a pompous and jubilant *fortissimo*, for which the nave of St. Peter's at Rome would not be too large. To this succeeds a short, clear, and massive fugue on the 'Hosanna.' The Benedictus was treated in the old style of ecclesiastical chant for *Soprano solo* with organ only, the strain afterwards being repeated in chorus, the composition winding up with the usual return to the Hosanna, on its repetition strengthened by increase of force in the orchestra. To return to the melodic ideas of this work, we remember no melody simpler or sweeter in *cantilena* or loftier in its tone than that of the Sanctus. With a fulness of symmetrical beauty, justifying the old poets' epithet of 'ravishing,' is combined a devotional fervor and dignity which render the strain totally inapplicable to any secular purpose. We are not reminded of any other composer, ancient or modern, by form, phrase, or chord. The music is not new, if 'new' is to mean either flimsy or ugly; the music is not old, if to be 'old' is to be harsh and formal, to exhibit the hard scaffolding of science, behind which no beautiful structure exists. It is neither more nor less than the work of a thoroughly trained artist, and, what is more, the poetry of a new poet. . . . ." The critic next pays attention to the more secular "Peter the Hermit," and praises its dramatic power, and concludes as follows: ". . . . It is from the music itself, and neither from its performance nor from its reception, that we augur a career of no ordinary interest for M. Gounod, since, if there be not in these works of his a genius at once true and new, we must go to school again and learn the vocabularies of art and of criticism afresh."

Since the day when this glowing eulogy was written, the approval both of musicians and of the cultured public taste has given

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full sanction to the above criticism. And it is worthy of special note, as bearing on the subject of this article, that, whereas the "Peter the Hermit" narrowly escaped an *encore*, the "Sanctus" was re-demanded unanimously. It has never lost its first charm, and even many repeated hearings of it serve only to strengthen one's admiration, and to confirm the first impressions of its over-mastering power, pathos, and dignity, with a sense of its wholly novel but wholly finished technical perfection. It is not to be wondered at that a repetition of that first concert should have been demanded and performed in the course of the same series of concerts.

We have said that the foundations of Gounod's after-fame were laid broad and deep in this, the first public presentation, in concert form, of his sacred compositions. We have given the opinion of only one of the many influential journals of that day. It is unnecessary to add the concurrent testimony of the others; for this one notice was translated into French, and its appearance in the newspapers of the metropolis of France was a warning to the gay throngs of Paris that they had been, unwittingly, entertaining an angel in their midst.

But these compositions of the young artist were but a few, out of many works written for the Church, even at that early period in his life. The first efforts of Gounod were devoted to the cause of sacred song. When he was only thirty-three years of age, he produced his first important composition—the Mass in honor of St. Philippe, written for three equal voices and full orchestra. Long before that, his Vienna Requiem (1842) won from Mendelssohn himself this flattering tribute: "*Mon ami*, this piece might be signed Cherubini." In 1849, he won another triumph in a Mass of his which was sung at the church of St. Eustache, in Paris.

II.

We now leave his record as a composer of church music, to notice that Gounod seems to have proved an unconscious apologist of the obscurity which shrouds his sacred music from general appreciation. While it is true that the critics have either passed this over in complete silence, or have given only the most perfunctory and most general notice of it, the composer seems, himself, to have been quite oblivious to his very special talents and accomplishments in this style of art. In a summary sketch of his life, up to his thirty-first year, furnished, at her request, to Mlle. de Bovet (*Fortnightly Review*, December, 1893), he makes no mention of his Masses; the record closing with his opera of "Sapho," *i.e.*, his "début at the theatre." "For the rest," said he, "see the catalogues of my publishers."

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We venture to think that, despite his success as a dramatic artist, his *forte* lay not wholly in that direction. Indeed, but a few of his operas achieved anything like a notable success. When we have mentioned "Faust" (1859), "Roméo et Juliette" (1867), we have practically given the story of his dramatic success. His "Sapho" (1851), at once his first opera and his first love—he always cherished a special affection for this, the "first-born" of his dramatic works—satisfied the critics generally, but not the people. Even the critics were not wholly enthusiastic in its praise. Scudo, an influential critic of Paris, is quoted as saying, at the time of its first production: "Sapho, though not a good dramatic work, is the outcome of a distinguished musician, who possesses style and high aims. M. Gounod has seized upon and rendered most felicitously all the lyric portions of his subject, but he has been less fortunate in the numbers intended to express the conflict of passion, and the contrast of characters. . . . . It is possible—probable, even—that 'Sapho' will not remain long upon the boards; but the opera will have, nevertheless, secured for M. Gounod the sympathy of the artists, and a fair degree of renown, which will enable him in the future to court, with increased advantages, the favor of fortune." How different the tone of criticism which described the first production, not of operatic, but, of sacred music, in London, in the very same year! But both criticisms prophesied correctly; for Gounod's "Sanctus" still captivates alike both artist and layman; while "Sapho" has practically become a part of past history—only a few selections from it still retain a hearing.

Passing over the "Ulysse," a tragedy for which Gounod wrote many choruses, some of which have survived the death of the drama itself, we come to "La Nonne Sanglante," which did not attain even the short-lived success of "Sapho."

Then, in 1858, "Le Médecin Malgré Lui," a comic opera, arranged from Molière's comedy, achieved a better success; not because of its dramatic power, but of its lyric sweetness—one critic affirming his opinion that it has "not a particle of the *vis comica*." Then followed, in 1859, his masterpiece of "Faust." It is needless to attempt to praise this opera—it is immortal. But it may be worth while noting, in the spirit of our contention, the criticism of M. Gustave Chouquet: "The fantastic part of Faust may not be quite satisfactory, and the stronger dramatic situations are perhaps handled with less skill than those which are more elegiac, picturesque, or purely lyric. . . . ." Mr. Krehbiel does not sympathize with the dramatic view which Gounod took of Goethe's masterpiece: "The original intention of the librettists, and the logic of the drama, are consulted in placing the murder of *Valen-*

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tine before the scene of *Margaret's* agony in the sacred edifice. The use of the duel as a finale has Gounod's sanction, and even favor, it is true, but there can scarcely be a question that it is the least beautiful, as it is the least dignified, of the two scenes, and that it prevents the development of the dramatic feeling of the play, which has a finer climax in the swooning of *Margaret* in the midst of the pomp and circumstance of the Holy Office, as Goethe conceived it, than in the vulgar butchery of a coarse-mouthed soldier. . . . . Moreover, in his treatment of the church scene, Gounod has done less violence to Goethe than in almost any other scene in the drama."

If Gounod justly received such criticism of this, his *masterpiece* in *opera*, may we not reasonably question whether, despite the phenomenal success of "Faust," his best genius lay in dramatic writing? Wherever the purely lyric, the descriptive, or the religious, mingled prominently with the progress of the dramatic action, Gounod achieved his most notable success!

Passing over his next efforts—"La Colombe" (a two-act opera, Englished into the "Pet Dove"); "Philémon et Baucis" (performed last year in Philadelphia for the first, and probably for the last time), the music of which is wedded to a libretto of mean dramatic force—we come to his third grand opera, "Reine de Saba," performed in England under the title of "Irene." Gounod seems to have selected again a poor libretto, and the work was not a success.

"Mireille," a five-act opera, was Gounod's *second* success. It is said, however, that to Mme. Miolan-Carvalho, and the other great artists who supported the principal parts, much of this success was due. Reduced to three acts, it was revived in 1876.

"Romeo et Juliette" (1867), a five-act opera, was only less successful than "Faust," but it does not now hold any place beside the masterpiece. It is scarcely worth the trouble to mention his grand operas of "Cinq Mars," "Polyeucte," "Le Tribut de Zamora," whose success was but slight—a *succès d'estime*.

Not so much, therefore, his dramatic instinct, as his exquisite melody, clarity of expression, just appreciation, and wonderful command of orchestral possibilities, tenderness, and, perhaps, an unconsciously fortunate selection of themes, contributed to make famous his two operas, of "Faust," with its sanction of Goethe's genius, and "Romeo et Juliette," with that of Shakespeare's dramatic power.

"Faust" is the unique opera, not because of the dramatic truth of its music so much as for its abstract beauty both of text and melody. Still, Gounod had not a little dramatic power, as we shall

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find when we come to treat specifically of his compositions for the Church. The music of his operas is never wholly divorced in tendency from the meaning of the libretto: in this fact lies the strongest discrimination between his music and that of the typical Italian opera, and here we observe the approaches he made towards that truth of modern dramatic music which Wagner strove to attain. And here let us notice, that this just association of text (as expressive of thought) and music (as interpretative of text), which Gounod always aimed at in his operas, was also a prominent factor in the composition of his Masses. But here we are treading on dangerous ground—a very battle field of different factions of church music; and, for the present, we shall leave this portion of our subject for a brief space, in order to define more clearly our conception of what should properly be styled "church" music.

III.

The greatest possible latitude is found in the term "sacred music." With some writers, the text which is treated determines the musical naming of the work, no matter how trivial, worldly, or sensuous may be the musical setting. With others, the place of performance, or the sacredness of the occasion, is able to sanctify both text and artistic—or rather, inartistic—treatment; so that a purely human, sentimental piety, which parodies the supernatural devotion of Catholicity, finds its way into our churches, especially at funeral services, and becomes forthwith the appropriate expression of sacred emotion. With still a third class, the very day on which the music is performed is able to do more wonders than the alchemy of old claimed to do, in changing baser stuffs into gold. And thus it is, that "marches," operatic caprices, street-songs, take a prominent place in our Sunday concerts—these forthwith being styled "sacred."

What, then, is sacred music? But in a recent notice of Gounod a rather more startling term is employed to describe that music of his which cannot well fall under the heading, previously employed in the same article, of "Lyrical Drama." The "Music of the Altar" might naturally be supposed to be even more restrictive than the term "*sacred* music." We find, however, under this striking headline, no mention whatever of Gounod's Masses, but only the familiar faces of *The Redemption*, *Mors et Vita* and the *Ave Maria!* The first two of these works were never intended for performance even in a church, much less in the sanctuary.

The term "Church-music" has been adopted in the title to the present paper with the intention of avoiding, on the one hand, the extreme flexibility of the phrase "sacred music," and, on the

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other, what we conceive to be the essential and unnecessary narrowness of the term "Altar"-music. We are, therefore, confining our attention to the compositions written by Gounod for performance in churches; and, specifically, in Catholic churches.

IV.

In ecclesiastical circles, Gounod's reputation as a composer of church-music rests almost solely on his Messe Solennelle de Ste. Cécile, and also, perhaps, on the much-sung, much-praised and much-abused *Ave Maria*, entitled by Gounod a "Meditation on Bach's First Prelude." His *Messe du Sacré Cœur de Jésus*, however admirable from a technical standpoint, has never proved very popular; while of his other masses only the *Second Mass of the Orphéonistes* has approved itself to a limited circle of hearers. The fact is, that the fate which pursued Gounod in the lyric drama followed him into the sphere of sacred art. The author of very many operas, several oratorios, not a few orchestral compositions, and a large collection of songs, is known popularly as "the author of *Faust*." Under this title he has been made the subject of an essay. Artists do not like to be spoken of as the authors of a single work. "Among the things that irritate them most is the common habit of continually quoting to them what is called their masterpiece, as if the rest of their works did not exist at all and should be regarded with calm condescension. How many persons, on being presented to Gounod, have I not heard say—they could think of nothing else—'Ah! cher maître . . . . *Faust* . . . . !'—as if that was his whole work. 'Thank you for it,' he might have answered, as I know he thought it, 'but there are a few other little works of mine.'" Thus Mlle. de Bovet; who, however, seems to ignore also a "few other little works" of the great composer besides his operas. We think some mention might well have been made of the two grandest inspirations of his sacred genius—the Mass in honor of St. Cecilia and that one dedicated so reverently to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Both are masterpieces, whether we consider them as expressions of religious emotion in liturgy or as simple oratorios dealing with a religious theme. On a single number of the first of these—the *Sanctus*—rested the first glowing triumph of the young composer and the prophecy of future triumphs so gloriously fulfilled.

But just as the author of many masterpieces is popularly known as "the author of *Faust*," so is he known to church-goers as the composer of one masterpiece. Most people are ignorant, or regardless, of the fact that other offspring of his sacred muse is entitled to an attention and patronage of the church-musician only
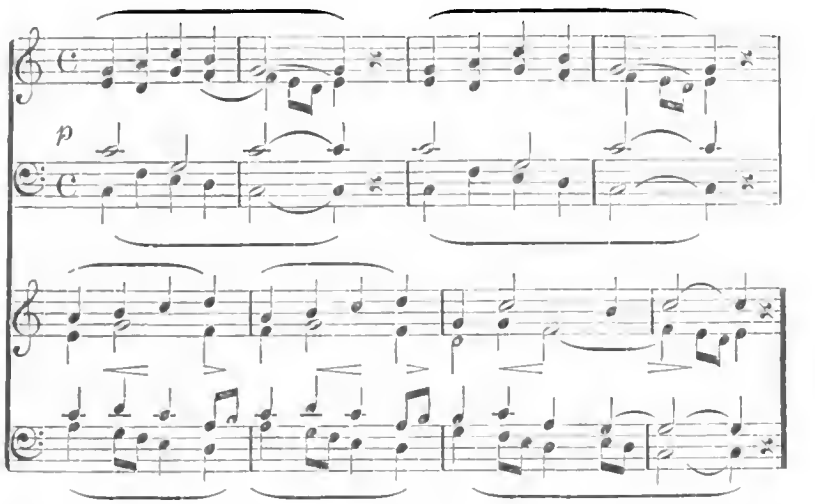
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less in degree than that which is given to his "St. Cecilia" Mass. Indeed, one critic has recorded his opinion (Father Taunton: "History and Growth of Church Music," p. 87) of the superiority of the "Sacred Heart" Mass, even to that of "St. Cecilia:" "His second *Messe Solennelle*, known as the *Mass of the Sacred Heart*, is to my mind far the finest of all his composition, and is full of dignity and beauty." He thinks that "the *Benedictus* is to be counted the popular movement, and surely Gounod has never written a more delightfully melodious and graceful quartette than he has in this movement." "This Mass," he declares, nevertheless, "is not much known in England, owing most likely to there being no English edition, it being only published in Paris." Father Taunton wrote this in 1887. Before that date an American edition from engraved plates had appeared from the excellent press of G. Schirmer, New York (1883). It will doubtless be of interest to many of our readers to know that as early as 1874 this Mass was produced in the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Philadelphia. The Mass had just been published in Paris, whence copies were imported. This was very probably its first performance in America. Still, we do not think the Mass has attained much success, possibly because of its constant employment of *fugato* treatment and quaint quasi-Gregorian phrases reiterated with great technical skill but apt to become tiresome to ears that are accustomed to more decided melodic forms.

It is, nevertheless, a pity that this Mass is not performed more frequently. Its beauty, obscure at first because of its novelty in phrase and counterpoint, will surely grow in the appreciation of the frequent listener. There is in it nothing but perfect repose, dignified and solemn exposition of the sense of the text, perfect contrapuntal skill, together with a rich but quiet elegance in melody which is peculiarly appropriate for the sacred function it is intended to adorn. But, like all of Gounod's sacred music, it requires an artistic and perfectly sympathetic performance by both voices and instruments—so truly is his music wedded to the words, so that the sound becomes indeed "an echo to the sense." In this necessity it approaches the peculiar essence of Gregorian chant, a dull, lifeless performance of which is very much less tolerable than golden silence, and has succeeded admirably in making that historic and venerable chant a by-word for all that is heavy and unmusical.

The first few measures of the *Kyrie* will illustrate the necessity of such artistic expression. Sung in a hard and dull style, they become mere exercises in counterpoint; sung with appropriate *crescendo* and *diminuendo* they become a wailing, *de profundis* cry for mercy.

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This melodic progression seems to have been to Gounod's mind the most suggestive of supplication. The *Kyrie* of his Mass of St. Cecilia commences in precisely similar fashion—sol, la, do—but in slower time. The student of Gregorian Chant will immediately recall the intonation of the *Asperges me* and the *Gloria in excelsis.*

As the greatest part of the *Kyrie* consists of this phrase in variation, transposition and imitation, it is easy to imagine that when performed without true artistic expression the movement should be considered "heavy."

In the same way must the first movement of the *Gloria* be treated. While the voices of the *Sopranos* and *Altos* hold a long monotone to the text, the theme in the accompaniment consists of a simple pastoral figure, not extending beyond the limits of a fifth, repeated again and again to the soft drone of the voices. Everything should be here *pianissimo*, increasing to *piano* at the words *et in terra*, etc. The descriptive design of the composer becomes immediately apparent. The movement being introduced by the sudden *forte* call, as it were of heavenly trumpets dying away on the still air, the voices of the choirs of angels are heard chanting the celestial unison of "Glory to God in the highest." Softly, as coming from empyrean heights, the long strain floats down to earth, the while the shepherd's pipe reiterates its simple strain. The picture is a vivid one, and recalls the description of the "Noel" song:

> "Quiet stars and breezes chill
> Blown from every snowy hill
> Speak of Christmas only, till
> In our mind we seem to see

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Shepherds bend adoring knee;
In our mind we seem to hear
Countless hosts of angels near
Blasts from silver trumpets blow,
As they did so loud and clear,
From the battlements of Heaven
On that calm and gracious even
Eighteen hundred years ago!"

The simple pastoral melody which, heard faintly in the instrumental prelude, brings before our minds the scene of the shepherds pictured by St. Luke with idyllic freshness and simplicity may have been suggested to Gounod as an apt musical device by Handel's employment of the old Calabrian melody in the *Pifa* of the Messiah. Simple as is the melody of this "Pastoral Symphony," it is richly varied in comparison with Gounod's theme.

The contrast of the *Laudamus Te, forte* and in *allegro*, shows how well the composer has used the quiet of the preceding movement as a foil to emphasize the *relatively* stronger force he desires in this next movement. He has thus succeeded in giving full, joyous expression to the text without overwhelming the ear with thunders of sound. Indeed, the fugal character of this movement forbids anything like a *fortissimo*, and the good taste of Gounod—perhaps his most striking characteristic in his sacred music—becomes apparent. He does not delight in too strongly-marked contrasts, *bizarre* whisperings and sudden explosions—tricks which the sciolist must depend upon for effect. And so, again, from the *piano* of the *Gratias agimus* he leads by a gradual *crescendo* up to the dignified *forte* of *propter magnam gloriam tuam.* The rest of the text is treated in fugal style, with several variations of theme, down to the *Suscipe.* He departs from the usual custom of writing a fugue for the *Cum Sancto Spiritu*, but at *in gloria tua*, recalling the *Laudamus Te*, he assigns to the text the same theme, fugally treated as before.

Gounod nowhere works out strictly in fugue form his exquisite themes. Imitation and quasi-fugal style seem to satisfy him. Whether this is to be looked upon as an excellence in music intended to be sung in church, or as a defect, we shall not pretend to decide. However, there is, perhaps, a merit in not attempting to burden an admirably conceived Mass with a technically difficult movement which would place the Mass beyond the possibility of rendition by the ordinary Catholic choir. The fugues of the Mass is B minor by Bach, not less than the colossal proportions of the work, have relegated its grand beauties to the safe study of the "Bach Society." The two fugues in Beethoven's Mass in C have not, indeed, kept it from rendition by the *profanum vulgus.* They

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are not ponderous nor too long, and their exquisitely melodic and flowing themes are easily maintained by one part against the counter-subject and counterpoint that would otherwise tend to obscure them. As a rule, strict imitation would doubtless be preferable to fugue for Mass-treatment. But even to this Gounod does not seem to have paid much attention. It can be made very effective. Who can easily forget the triumphant grandeur of the simple imitation in two parts of Haydn's *Credo* (Third Mass). On the other hand, the fugues in Beethoven's magnificent Mass in D, however clear in theme, are treated with a bewildering counterpoint which quite effectually precludes any attempt at rendition by choirs. (It has been given in but one Catholic choir, we believe, in Philadelphia.)

Perhaps Gounod, like Rossini, did not like *fugue*. "Je n'aime pas la fugue," remarked the great Rossini to Cherubini. "Et la fugue ne vous aime pas," quietly replied the latter. Certain it is that Gounod does not dally long in such tangled thickets of sound. Having brought his company into what promises to be an animated discussion of a subject, he usually makes them agree quickly and, if we may be allowed the word, *harmoniously*, on some neutral ground.

But his subjects are always full of live and vigorous thought; and, doubtless, he attains his end in his church-music sufficiently well from an artistic point of view, without loading down the treatment with what might easily prove to be a surfeit of contrapuntal skill.

In the *Credo* he allows himself this style of fugal suggestiveness only at the *Et unam sanctam*, confining himself almost wholly to quaint harmonizations and different transpositions of the Gregorian-like phrase of the *Credo in unum Deum*. To modern ears both phrase and counterpoint alike seem to have anticipated the monotonous treatments found in his *Redemption* and in the *Messe à Jeanne d'Arc*. Constantly the text has to endure long and rather wearying choral recitatives on one note—the instrumental accompaniments, however, pleasantly foreshadowing the theme of the *Et unam sanctam*. The *Et ascendit in coelum* and *Sedet ad dexteram Patris* recall vividly the style of recitative in *Mors et Vita: "Ego sum Resurrectio et Vita,"* etc. The *Sanctus* is a strong and effective *Maestoso* movement for five voices, begun and continued forte until the *Hosanna* which is given *fortissimo*. The *Benedictus* is, by contrast of softness, as well as of fugal movement, a perfect antithesis. It is impossible to describe for ears that have never heard its beauty the nature of that calm, heavenly charm that lingers about its strains. We begin to feel with Carlyle that such "music is well said to be the speech of angels."

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The *Agnus Dei* is a much-admired number of this Mass, its opening melody, in perfect unison of voices and instruments, being repeated in the third *Agnus Dei* with strikingly beautiful part-writing.

Worthy of special notice is Gounod's *Seconde Messe des Orphéonistes* for male voices. He also arranged it for three female voices, and we have seen it arranged for a "Communion Service" for mixed voices. It is written throughout in a stately and impressive manner. The *Kyrie* is probably its most effective number. Gounod shows here how well he profited by the example of Beethoven in his popular C minor symphony. His reverence for Beethoven was very pronounced. It is said of him that "at the Institute, when he passed before Beethoven's bust, he never missed marking with his finger on the marble the time of the four initial quavers of the Symphony in C minor, then bowing very low he saluted." The figure which forms the inspiration of this Kyrie is also one of four notes, which, by varying with a genius not wholly unlike that of the great master, he developed into wonderfully effective exposition of the text—a cry for mercy, reaching in its triple announcement a constantly growing altitude and pathos. The *Qui tollis* of the *Gloria* is admirably conceived, the *Suscipe* forming a fine dramatic climax to the *crescendo.* As in the *Credo* of the former Mass we have just been considering, so in this Credo Gounod delights in a frequent repetition of a simple figure, or rather passage, which gives a strong mediæval cast to the whole number. At the *Et incarnatus est* Gounod proves in serious fashion the musical creed of Hudibras that

> Discords make the sweetest airs.

The Sanctus, like that of the "Sacred Heart" Mass, is a strong, measured, pompous movement. The *O Salutaris*, which, as in his *First Mass of the Orphéonistes*, takes the place of a *Benedictus*, is exquisite. In an American arrangement of the composer's incomplete *Missa Angeli Custodes* it has been arranged for the text of the *Benedictus*—at the expense, very naturally, of not a little of its tender beauty. It is a great pity that this Mass is not heard more frequently. Although written for male voices, and subject, therefore, to some essential heaviness on that account, its fine interpretation of the liturgical texts, its massive harmonies, and—considering the limitations of compass it must observe—its real melodic excellence, should commend the Mass to greater attention. It is neither too long nor excessively difficult—a choir of seminarians having been readily trained to sing it successfully on several occasions in Philadelphia.

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We are led, in this connection, to speak of the "First" Mass for the *Orphéonistes*. It is not, as far as we know, published either in England or in America. The Italian edition before us as we write has the simple title: *Messa di Gounod: agli Orfeonisti.* It is written for two sopranos, two tenors and bass, and is arranged so that it may be sung by two tenors and bass, with or without the accompaniment of the organ. It is, like the *Angeli Custodes*, an incomplete Mass, both of these lacking the *Credo*. However acceptable it might prove for five voices, with organ, we are inclined to think that three male voices alone could scarcely serve to color sufficiently its severe, not to say rigid, simplicity.

The opening words of the *Gloria* seem to have possessed for Gounod a special attraction. He has striven to give them as novel, and at the same time, as correct a musical exposition as possible. We have already alluded to the success with which he has done this in his "Sacred Heart" Mass. He has, in his Troisème Messe Solennelle (de Pâques), varied the treatment but preserved the picture. The greeting from heaven is announced in a soft quartette of female voices, in a rhythm which skilfully cheats the sense into the apprehension of a free, unmeasured recitative. Flutes and clarinets proceed with the voices until the last strain dies away, leaving the harps a faint hearing in a few broken chords which lead up to an answering quartette of male voices, accompanied by bassoons and horns. This is a repetition—in lower pitch, of course, but identical in key—of the preceding strains, and may easily suggest the unconscious repetition of the words of the angel by the wondering shepherds. Again, the celestial harmonies are heard heralding "Peace on earth to men of good-will." Gounod marks the time with pure reference, in plain chant style, to the prosodial value of the syllables. Again the harps introduce the repetition in male quartette of the same phrase. At the *Laudamus Te* he departs from the universal custom of giving this text a strong, jubilant setting; but, instead, leads from a soft initial theme, by *crescendo*, to a loud *Adoramus Te*, contradicting here, again, the universal treatment of this phrase.

At the *Domine Fili*, where the first specific reference is made to Our Saviour in the text of the *Gloria*, he introduces, in the style of Wagner's *leit-motiv*, a figure of four notes in the accompaniment. He repeats and develops this figure throughout the whole musical setting of the text as far as it relates to our Saviour—down that is to say, to *Quoniam Tu Solus*, etc., when he ceases to employ it. Similarly, in the *Credo*, after the *Et incarnatus*—when "unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given"—the theme reappears changed slightly, and continues to be heard constantly through the brief summary of the mortal life of Christ on earth, down, that

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is, to the *Et resurrexit.* The mind immediately reverts to the exquisite *motif* of the Saviour in the *Redemption*; indeed, this Mass was composed while the mind of Gounod was filled with his conception of the "work of my life" as he styled this great oratorio.

Gounod employs this idea of a leading-motive—a phrase or subject whose very marked musical individuality shall immediately suggest the personage, emotion or abstract idea with which, in any dramatic work, it is first associated, whensoever the same person or idea is to figure prominently in the scene—in his Messe à Jeanne d' Arc. Of course, the only significance here could be the association, by some musical device, of a historic name with the Mass written to commemorate it, and not the dramatic heralding of the scenic or imaginative advent of the person. This heroine possessed the fascination of patriotism and religion for his loyal and devout soul. So greatly was he moved with veneration for her saintly memory that he declared that his Mass in her honor should be written by him in the Cathedral of Rheims, the while his knees should press the historic stone—preserved there still—on which she knelt at the coronation of Charles VII.

In the *Credo* of this Third Mass we have an opening movement very like that of the *Credo* of Bach's great Mass in B minor. There Bach takes as *Cantus Firmus* the intonation of the *Credo* as sung by the priest at the altar, and while making it the subject of a massive fugue, accompanies it with continuous instrumental bass. Although Gounod does not construct a fugue here, his melody is simple in the extreme, constantly suggesting a Gregorian original, and is accompanied by a *basso continuo* down to the *Et incarnatus.* With what eminent success he had previously done this in his "St. Cecilia" Mass every one knows, and he is to be pardoned if that genuine *inspiration* finds not in his Third Mass a worthy compeer.

Expression is a cheap commodity, thoughts are very rare in the market; and poet and musician alike may not forever breathe the pure air that bathes the heights of Olympus.

V.

The same judgment may be passed on this whole work when our minds have once recalled any portion of what is, after all, his masterpiece of sacred writing—the Mass dedicated to St. Cecilia. If he had written nothing else but this, his reputation in music, like that in poetry of the Angel of the Schools for his Eucharistic Hymns, or of Gray for his *Elegy*, should need no more enduring foundation. We shall close this fragmentary review of some of his Masses, therefore, with a few words concerning this *masterpiece.* It has ever seemed so to our mind, although a very competent critic has declared in favor of his "Sacred Heart" Mass for this

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crowning honor. If we may conclude aught in this matter from the popularity of the former, its performance as an oratorio in a secular hall, its undoubted dramatic power, its influence on the emotions—then must the palm of merit be awarded to the St. Cecilia Mass.

Gounod approached the composition of this Mass with all the fresh enthusiasm of youthful genius, tempered by a deep and abiding reverence for the Liturgy which should be its subject-matter. He had not yet tasted the unwelcome cup of his want of dramatic success—had not sought expression according to any definite principle of art, except that highest of principles—good taste. He had only tempered, not rejected, the suggestion of a quasi-dramatic exposition of certain portions of the text of the Mass, and had not therefore arrived at the monotous simplicity which became a principle with him in the composition of his Oratorios. Full of life and vigor, his picty was not unlike that of Haydn, whose bubbling joyousness was nevertheless tempered in Gounod by the graver mould of a more mystical soul. He had Haydn's joy and his reverential temper, without his childlike playfulness. When rebuked for writing to his solemn texts a gush of melodic sweetness that captivated rather than awed the soul, Haydn replied that he could not help it—he looked on God, not as a criminal on a judge but as a child on the tenderest and most indulgent of fathers: "I cannot help it, I give forth what is in me. When I think of God, my heart is so full of joy that the notes fly off as from a spindle; and as he He has given me a cheerful heart, He will certainly pardon me if I serve Him cheerfully."

Gounod's piety was full of Catholic joy, but much less playful. His Mass shows us no chilling effect of that kind of piety which came in with the Reformation. But like the poet Mangan (who always wrote the name of GOD in capital letters), his piety clothed itself in graver expression.

Compare his later compositions, such as the *Third Messe Solennelle* and his two Oratorios with his St. Cecilia Mass, and, except for certain peculiar chords and the still genuine greatness of a thorough artist and composer, Gounod would scarce be thought the author of all of these works. It is said of him that in composing the Redemption he expressed "a new ideal of dramatico-religious style, which he calls 'music treated in the style of fresco' (*musique plane et peinte à fresque*)," and that this "seems to have first occurred to Gounod when he turned his attention to religious subjects in order to emulate the reputation of Berlioz's 'Enfance du Christ' and Massenet's 'Marie Magdaleine,' and desired to introdece innovations on the work of his rivals. He has made simplicity an absolute rule. The long recitatives on a single note, or

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rising and descending by semitones, the solo parts proceeding invariably by the intervals of a third, a sixth or an octave, while the choral and orchestral parts adhere to incessant reiterations of the same chords; these impart a monotony and a heaviness to the work which must weary the best disposed audience."

This "*musique plane et peinte à fresque*" is not found in the St. Cecilia Mass; in which the composer has bound himself down to but one principle; that of a free, unscholastic, reverent, dramatico-religious treatment which should combine fresh melody, able choral movements, and perfect instrumentation with all its vast possibilities exercised not in the style of Berlioz ("the more the merrier") but in that of Handel, or better, of Mozart re-editing Handel, namely, out of small means working grand effects. This large principle in its last analysis is, as we have said, the principle of "good taste" in music. Originality can scarce flourish where "schools" come into the question. Gounod might well have taken to heart the enthusiastic criticism which we have quoted, almost entire, from the *Athenæum* of forty years ago—a criticism whose glowing eulogy was based on a single number of his St. Cecila Mass: "The music is not new if 'new' is to mean either flimsy or ugly—the music is not old, if to be 'old' is to be harsh and formal. . . . . It is neither more nor less than the work of a thoroughly trained artist—and, what is more, the poetry of a new poet."

This Mass is indeed a poem—"the poetry of a new poet." But it is so familiar to the ears of our readers, that any attempt to describe it would be a work of supererogation. It may, however, prove acceptable to draw attention to Gounod's setting of the *Gloria in excelsis Deo.* As in his other "solemn" Masses, so here, the text receives wonderfully beautiful and descriptive interpretation. We do not refer merely to the exquisite melody, whose "linked sweetness long drawn out" seems to be an echo to some heavenly quiring, nor to the almost oppressive grandeur of the *Laudamus Te.* As pure music their merits need not be dwelt upon.

But Gounod would also present us with a musical picture whose chiaroscuro rivals Corregio's masterpieces. Not more gracefully nor more vividly does the *Notte* of the latter bring the typic Christmas before us than does the tone-painting of Gounod. The splendors beaming from the head of the sleeping Infant do not, indeed, throw a heavenly radiance on the bleak hills of Bethlehem; but in this tone-picture,

> As down dark tides the glory slides,
> And star-like, mingles with the stars,

we see the shaft of light leading down from the opened heavens, and a vision of Angels—

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With folded feet, in stoles of white,
On sleeping wings they sail.

The quiet air throbs with a music scarce distinguishable from the many-toned voices that the heart surmises in the mysterious watches of the night. "A gentle sound, an awful light"—Tennyson's phrase is a perfect description of the opening measures of this *Gloria*.

Gounod here employs a musical expedient which, in other hands than those of a master, would be puerile and unworthy—the *bouche fermée*. Those who have heard his "By Babylon's Wave," will recall immediately his employment of the same device to represent the "moaning" of the "low wind wearily moaning." Plainly, such a means for producing expression may not be lightly used, and is very apt to degenerate into amateurish frivolity. But the picture he seeks to describe in this *Gloria* receives from it a very telling emphasis of coloring. The open gates of heaven do not permit alone the sound of the single messenger's voice; but echoes of the celestial jubilees steal out as well, and mingle their far cadences with the authentic announcement of "Peace on earth to men of good will." In the melody given to the soprano solo, as, indeed, in many other solos in this Mass (*i.e.*, the *Benedictus*, the *Domine non sum dignus*), Gounod shows how thoroughly his soul was imbued with the beauty, and the essentially recitative character of Plain Chant. A correct interpretation of his melody by the singer will require, therefore, a free recitative style, not bound down to the mathematical measurements of notes or measures, as in modern music, but governed almost wholly by the idealization desired so evidently by Gounod—namely, the quite unearthly music we should naturally expect of a visitor from beyond "the music of the spheres," beyond even

". . . . the palest star
Pinnacled in the lofty ether dim."

The angel has announced the birth of the Saviour, "and immediately there was with him a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God;" and so the "storms of heavenly noise" come to our ears in the *Laudamus Te*, made more impressive by contrast with the delicate *oscuro* of the preceding section. The picture is a triumph of musical art.
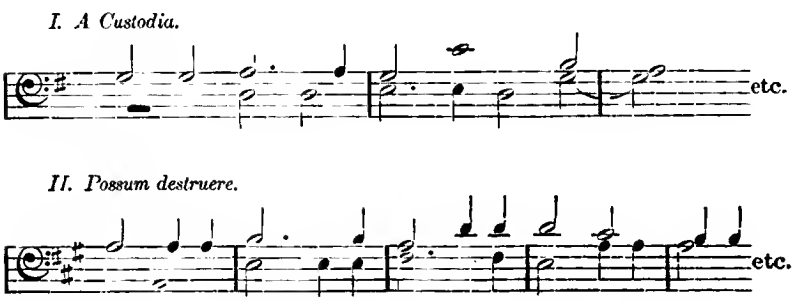
The many exceptional and truly artistic features of this Mass would require more space for their analysis than may be spared here—the novelty of conception and treatment; the careful restraint of the dramatic impulse within due limits, and, at the same time, its due employment to emphasize the meaning of the text; the unique, untraditional form in which the composer casts certain

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sections of the text; the wholly original inspiration found in his *cantilena*, whether vocal or instrumental; the novel combinations of chords and cadences! What "Faust" is among Gounod's operas, that is this Mass among his sacred compositions.

VI.

Our title to this paper should warn us to confine our attention, principally, to Gounod's *Masses*. But a passing word might be said with reference to his other "sacred" compositions. It is needless to speak at greater length of the two grand Oratorios; for judgment, favorable and unfavorable, has been freely passed upon them. The *Redemption*, written to an English text, is thereby taken out of the category of Catholic church music. The *Mors et Vita*, possessing the merit of a Latin text, for which it was written (and not laboring, therefore, under the disadvantages to which any text is liable when turned from a vernacular into Latin), could furnish many portions appropriate for performance in a church, and even during the public functions of the Liturgy. Notably, with a little editing, could the first part of the great "Trilogy" serve as an ordinary *Requiem* Mass. In strong contrast with the generally monotonous character of this work, is the tender pathos of the melody *Felix Culpa*—an elegant scholastic specimen of homophonic composition The *Quaerens Me*, a duet, with polyphonic accompaniment, is worthy of special mention. It might be of interest here—perhaps, an instance of "unconscious absorption," as the modern euphemism has it—to point to a curious identity of the first measure of the *A Custodia Matutina* with a portion of Ett's "Turba" music—"Possum destruere Templum Dei:"



In the text of the *Dies Iræ*, Gounod follows strictly the Roman Missal, and rejects, therefore, the old verse, *Crucis expandens vexilla*, which was the Parisian emendation of *Teste David cum Sibylla*. Throughout the whole work, one will notice the strict respect for prosodial emphasis, which here, as in nearly all his music, compels Gounod to so fashion his apportionment of the words to the

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rhythm of the music as to avoid the frequent fault of composers for the Church—namely, letting the accent of the modern *mathematical* measure fall on an unaccented syllable of the Latin text, or *vice versa*. Very prominent in this portion of his oratorio, is the *motiv* by which, as he says, he seeks to express "the terror inspired by the sense of the inflexibility of Divine justice, and, in consequence, by that of the anguish of punishment. This melodic form, which is employed both in ascending and descending order, presents a sequence of three major seconds. Its sternness gives expression, both to the sentences of Divine justice, and the sufferings of the condemned. . . . ." This *tritonus*, the "monstrum horrendum, informe" of Gregorian Chant prohibition, is, certainly, a most startling sequence; and the dramatic effect Gounod desired is, in a measure, attained by it. But perhaps it is, as one critic has thought, *too* awful! He thinks the "inexorable something" suggested by it, is "inexorable ugliness; it inspires terror instead of expressing it, especially when it is harmonized; all those whose ears are not hardened to harsh cacophony, feel alarm whenever it becomes evident that the dreadful sequence is imminent."[1]

His "Gallia," a motet for soprano solo, chorus, orchestra, and organ, is a setting of a portion of the "Lamentation" of Jeremias, the prophet. As the text is in Latin, it could be used during Holy Week services, or as a Lenten service. The title, *Gallia*, explains the appropriateness of the piece to the date of its first performance. It was composed for the opening of the International Exhibition, 1871, in London, and was given on the first day of May of that year. France lay humbled and prostrate at the feet of Prussia, after the four months' campaign. "*Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo.*" The theme was surely a "lamentation."

"How lieth the city solitary, she that was full of people: how is she become as a widow . . . . . how is she put under tribute!" Widowed indeed of fair provinces, and put under an indemnity-tribute of a fabulous sum, Gallia was to the patriotic heart of Gounod as Jerusalem of old to the mourning prophet.

His *De Profundis*, with Latin text; *Stabat Mater* and "Seven Last Words," are also "Church" compositions worthy of a place in a Lenten repertoire. His settings of the *Ave Verum*, one for four, another for five voices; and a third for treble solo and quartette; his *O Salutaris* for quartette and chorus ("O Saving Victim, in A); the *Sicut Cervus* for four voices, are readily accessible to our choirs, and would prove very acceptable as well.

VII.

His two meditations on Preludes by Bach—the first on the 1st

[1] H. E. Krehbiel, *Review of the New York Musical Season*, 1885-1886.

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and the second on the 2d of the celebrated "48," may also be classed as "Church" music. The first is much better than the second, and has appeared in many different arrangements and transpositions. The composer styled his melody a "meditation" on the Prelude—it is rather an inspiration. It has, nevertheless, met with some adverse criticism. One writer speaks of it as "a *jeu de plume*, on the proprieties of which we will not decide, but which is unquestionably extremely popular." Louis Ehlert in his essay "Gounod *contra* Wagner,"[1] uses it as an *argumentum ad hominem*. To those who love this little gem of melody wedded to a gem of harmony, it will doubtless be interesting to hear his complaint. "In a communication addressed to Jules Comettant in the *Siècle*, Charles Gounod recently issued a pathetic defense against an attack that he supposed Wagner had made upon the Ninth Symphony. With all my admiration for one of the most graceful of French composers, I cannot suppress the conjecture that he could not have been well informed in this case. It will also appear a significant bit of irony that the hand, stretched forth in the cause of this classical salvation, should be the same hand that made the celebrated first Bach Prelude the foil of that well-known transcription, that has received so merited a degree of popularity at the hands of our garden-orchestras and hand-organ grinders. It might be regarded as a bolder act to impose one's fancies upon a renowned masterpiece, than to assist from purely practical motives to a more perfect comprehension of its inherent thoughts. To prevent misunderstanding, I will say that I have no objection, except in this particular connection, to the slight barbarism that underlies Gounod's 'Meditation sur le premier prélude de S. Bach.'" It should, we think, rather be a cause of congratulation than of condemnation, that Bach has been made—even if for a brief, blissful moment—to appear to the popular taste as a living reality in music, and not as an antiquated *curio*. Bach is supreme to the musician, but he is "*caviare* to the general;" and any open advertising of his name—and Gounod scrupulously affixed to his own bit of inspiration a title which should clearly acknowledge his indebtedness both to the Prelude and its composer—or of the reverence paid to that name by a leading modern musician, must be considered alike a desirable help to popular appreciation of the master and a grateful lesson of sympathy and disinterestedness to the professional musician. Moscheles, senior to Gounod by twenty-two years, and a sincere admirer of the "author of Faust," was so charmed by the latter's "Meditation," and saw so clearly the importance of thus illustrating and perchance popularizing Bach, that he determined to set to other Preludes of Bach a melody

[1] From the *Tone World*, translated by Helen Tretbar.

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for violincello. He afterwards arranged these with consummate skill for two pianos. But he, like Gounod, met censure for this irreverent treatment of such "*noli me tangere*" masterpieces. "This work was to Moscheles a labor of love, although he was severely censured by some pianists, who questioned the propriety of making additions to Bach; the majority, however, of amateurs and art judges were charmed with the orchestral effects, and the contrapuntal treatment of these compositions. Moscheles thus states his own opinion: 'I am praised or soundly rated for my setting of these 'Preludes,' but possibly my melodies may promote the study of these works among students, who, in the absence of the accompaniments, would find them dry and unattractive. If so, shall I be perfectly satisfied; a deeper insight into Bach's works cannot fail to further the progress of art. While setting these melodies, I am in the same position as our romance writers, who can ventilate an important question of the day more effectively in some fictitious disguise than in a dry treatise.'"

The defence which the veteran pianist and composer felt compelled to make shall be the greater apology of a greater man—Gounod; and the adverse criticism of an exclusive cult can weigh but little against the universal suffrage of an appreciative public.

VIII.

After this partial survey of the music written by Gounod for the Church, how shall we estimate him, or rather, his style? It has been the province of this article thus far to let a passing criticism of his works pronounce an indirect judgment. But as a conclusion, that judgment may be stated more formally and precisely—namely, that the real genius of Gounod lay in the direction of Church music. The bent of his mind, his training and culture, fitted him in a very special manner for success in this domain of art. If he did indeed achieve success in two of his operas, we can scarce judge this a conclusive proof that he found in dramatic music his legitimate sphere of activity. Even his setting of sensual ideas and texts is melodically sacred; and there is much significance in the remark made to Gounod by a certain royal personage, that after the Church services had been finished, the religious stimulus was kept up by his hearing, in the afternoon of Sunday, the music of *Faust*. Part of the indefinable charm of the composer's secular music is its strangeness; its grave sweetness, Gregorian-like changes and cadences, its emotional mysticism—all these characteristics render it wholly unlike what is popularly known as "operatic" music. Put a biblical text to that musical treatment, and his opera becomes an oratorio.

Gounod should have confined himself to the composition of

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church music. The most native instincts of his character, the influences which hourly moulded his temperament, the associations he formed, were mostly of a religious kind. His religious training began in the very best of schools, for his mother has been described as "a woman of rare merit and lofty piety." When, in the early bloom of manhood, he obtained the grand prize of the Institute, and accordingly set out for Rome, he was still the "timid and modest young man," says Mlle. De Bovet, "who had grown up in a calm, healthy family atmosphere of enlightened piety and gentle austerity, filled with respect and love for his elders in age and knowledge, from whom he learnt to govern the impulses of his heart and to formulate the dreams of his imagination." His residence in Rome proved still a healthful tutorship in the paths of quiet contemplation. Not alone its religious aspect, but its historic past, Pagan and Christian, its Christian present and future, exercised a subtle and soothing influence upon him. His own words shall best describe his impressions of that "capital, not of a country, but of humanity:"

"I must confess that Rome did not at first correspond to the dreams my fancy had conceived. I was still too young in years, and especially in character, to lay hold of and to take in at first glance the deep signification of that great and austere city, which struck me as cold, dry, cheerless, and gloomy, and which speaks with a voice so low that it can be heard only by ears trained to silence and solemn contemplation. Rome is itself so many things, and those things are wrapped in such profound calm, in such quiet and serene majesty, that it is impossible at once even to suspect its marvellous whole and the inexhaustible store of its many-sided wealth. Its past like its present, its present like its future destiny make it the capital, not of a country, but of humanity. Any one who has lived there long knows this well; and whatever nation claims our loyalty, or whatever tongue is ours, Rome speaks a language so universal that it is impossible to turn our back upon it without feeling that we are turning away from our native land."

He left Rome for Germany with the feeling of one who turns his back on a dear home and on "that Rome which had become a second home to me. . . . . As long as the highroad permitted, I kept my eyes fixed on the dome of St. Peter's, that 'high place' of Rome and centre of the world; then the hills caught it away wholly from my sight, and I surrendered myself, weeping bitterly, to my sad reflections."[1]

We have already seen how the ardor of this youthful noviciate showed itself in his earliest sacred compositions. That first influ-

[1] "Gounod in Italy and Germany," *The Century*, January, 1892.

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ence exercised its power throughout his whole after life, so that, unlike many other authors well known as composers of church music, he never forgot his first love, but in the midst of dramatic authorship produced many sacred pieces. It is needless to refer to his strong leaning towards the priesthood, nor to the fact that for several years he studied theology at the Ecole des Carmes, and was also, for a long time, precentor at the Church of the Missions Etrangères. In his last years, however, "like the eagle," he "renewed his youth" in all of its old fervor. His two sacred trilogies, his Messe à Jeanne d'Arc, his Fourth Messe Solennelle, are rehearsals, in a more subdued key, of the sacred melodiousness of his youth. A church musician always, he became such solely and wholly in his older age. And just as the first foundations of his after-fame were laid in his Messe Solennelle (St. Cecilia), so he wished to be known to future generations, not as the author of *Faust*, but of *The Redemption*, which he styled "the work of my life." It is said that he was nearly overcome by emotion at the Birmingham Festival when he conducted personally this great work.

It is not surprising that such a religious soul should have conceived and executed his religious masterpieces in a wholly reverent spirit. His music, while it shows us much that is original, never degenerates into the *bizarre*. He has known how to give dramatic force to a text whenever the spirit of the Liturgy would permit or suggest such treatment, without sacrificing any of the necessary respect for "the beauty of God's house and the place where His glory dwelleth." And, therefore, although he was an ardent admirer and student of Beethoven's works, he had the nice instinct of good taste which indicated to him the questionable character of Beethoven's dramatic emphasis in the *Credo* of the great Mass in D. There, desiring to emphasize the eternal duration of Christ's kingdom, Beethoven not only repeats the word *non* of *non erit finis* in the body of the movement, but lets the movement close, not on the phrasal ending of the text, which should be the appropriate place for such a conclusion, but on the word *non*, uttered with triple insistence—the first two times *sforzando*, the last time *fortissimo*.

Gounod's dramatic emphasis—well illustrated in the *Credo* of his St. Cecilia Mass—is always moderate and intelligibly descriptive, but is also sufficiently marked to draw attention to the spiritual content of the text.

With regard to his reverent and prayerful treatment of the texts, it is well to notice in passing what little repetition of words or phrases, and what little interruption of the sequence of the text he allows his musical genius to feed itself upon. Again is the master

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discerned. His musical thought is not a strait-jacket into which the living body of the liturgical text is to be thrust and cramped; is not a Procustean bed on which its finely-moulded limbs are to be stretched or shortened. We are tempted to institute comparisons here which should demonstrate, in one direction, Gounod's title to the palm as a church composer; but besides being odious, such comparisons might prove very tedious, and we shall allow ourselves space merely to consider briefly one other peculiarity of Gounod's church music—its technical excellence.

His broad training made it impossible for him to be a fanatic—to belong to a "school." He was, first of all, a loving disciple of the spirit and genius of Palestrina.

His residence in Rome gave him exceptional opportunities of studying that "Prince of Musicians" in the only proper way; for Palestrina's music needs not merely the patient analysis of the pupil, but the authoritative interpretation of the master as well. In this it is like plain chant; all the books in the world will not give to that venerable collection of melodies their just meaning and value without *viva voce* illustration of their accent, rhythm, phraseology, content. But Gounod listened with all the ardor of a novice to the traditional manner of rendering Palestrina. "It was in the difficult works of the great Church contrapuntist," as Mlle. de Bovet remarks, "that Gounod openly said he had gained his knowledge of methods, his freedom of hand, his ease in the management of the different parts, his dexterity of composition, without which all the inspiration in the world is insufficient to make a finished musician. 'Wonderful gymnastics,' he said. 'It hardens the muscles and makes the joints supple; it enriches the blood and soothes the nerves; it armors an artist against all the practical difficulties with which his profession bristles.'"

To this fundamental training he added the clarity of form and gracefulness of diction of the author of *Don Giovanni*. Mozart, indeed, seems to have been his idol. Again, Beethoven contributed depth and intensity; Schumann, the subjectiveness of romanticism; while Mendelssohn, whom Gounod soon learned to love, doubtless helped to mould the soul of the young artist by the influence of that solemn, tender, religious style which is so peculiarly the property of the author of *Elijah*. Possibly we should add the name of Wagner to our list; certainly, Gounod seems to have imitated his cardinal principle—if, indeed, he did not borrow it from him—of the "leading motive" in some of his Masses and in his two grand trilogies. From his contemporaries of the operatic school in France and Italy Gounod did not derive much, if any, formative influence to shape and dictate the character of his style. And here we perceive the fine discrimination between Gounod's

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music, which is all sacred in character, and the modern French and Italian styles of Church music. His music is essentially sacred.

Two passing, but unfavorable, allusions to his sacred music have come under our eye. One eminent critic—an ardent admirer of plain chant—has nothing less harsh with which to describe Gounod's choral Church-music than the phrase "sensuous beauty." And a recent writer in *The English Illustrated Magazine*, who does not pretend to give anything but a summary estimate of Gounod's music, makes this passing allusion to his Church music: "He will ever remain the great musician of earthly love, but of that love only."

Against both of which concurrently adverse criticisms we venture to record an emphatic protest. It is very easy to formulate general criticisms, but very difficult to approve them always to an honest judgment by a strict analysis of the works in question. Quite frequently a principle governs such criticisms which is quietly assumed as a postulate of common-sense, but which is open to the fairest-minded, if not even the hottest, questioning. Acting upon his own principle, the Gregorian ultra-purist will scarcely "tolerate" the Palestrina style. The disciple of the "Prince of Church Musicians" will, if he is consistent, look askance at Mendelssohn's churchly music; the lover of that tender Protestant's muse will, with him, consider Haydn's Masses to be "scandalously gay;" those genial spirits whose piety—if it do not prompt them, David-like, to dance and sing before the Ark of the Covenant (to the undisguised horror of some reproving Michol) – must at least bubble over with the joyousness of him whom a Mozart learned to style "Papa"—these lovers of Haydn will vote Cimarosa, Pacini, and their present-day disciples frivolous and unchurchly. And (if we may descend into still lower depths), doubtless, these last will be convulsed with merriment over the "imus, imus praecipites" composers, who, desirous only of harmony—not in the music, but in the musicians—must give every member of the choir at least three solos in the course of a single "Gloria," and must therefore rush headlong into precipices whither the thought alike of liturgist and of artist scarcely will venture to follow!

In estimating a criticism we must, therefore, first estimate the critic, unless, indeed, he condescends to an artistic analysis based, not on personal dogmatism, but on general musical reason; then may we pass by the critic to consider the criticism.

This runs as follows: "No one will attempt to say that the sensuous beauty, either of Rossini's 'Messe Solennelle' or Gounod's, is the highest type of perfection to which a choral composer can aspire." We might well stop to quarrel with such a juxtaposi-

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tion of names; but proceeding to compare the criticism with the principle behind it, we shall find that Gounod was not a notable follower of the Polyphonic School of Church Missions—*hinc illae lacrymae.* Having given the criticism, we append the "principle:" "Since the downfall of the Polyphonic Schools the true Church Style—the 'Stilo alla Capella' of the sixteenth century—has lain entirely dormant." What is the "true Church Style?" Perhaps we should offend if, defining *truly* the *true Church Style*, we should sweep everything—Polyphony and Homophony—aside in favor of what Louis Schneider, with great pathos and mixed metaphor, has styled "the simple, earnest, strictly diatonic, proscribed poor garment of Christ, the liturgical song." Plain Chant is, after all, the "strictly diatonic garment" which the texts of the Liturgy should wear.

What, then, is the "sensuous beauty" of music? There is a purely mechanical counterpoint which, because it violates no rule, appeals to the intellect and baffles the censure of the teacher. It is like the Latin "poetry" manufactured in our seminaries—Horatian or Virgilian in everything but beauty. Such music has really only one defect—it is not music.

Then there is the music which, while it flatters the sense—as it is of the essence of music to do—gratifies also the intellect by its skilful development of subject, its clarity of form and expression, its well-defined content, its sudden delicate surprises of chord or of melodic progression, and the many other graces which are more or less amenable to scholastic rule. There is here, therefore, the genius of artistic manipulation as well as the genius of inspiration. Its "sensuous beauty" can never be wanting; but while the "profane crowd" are contented therewith, the gods dwelling on high Olympus receive the added pleasure of intellectual satisfaction—even as the knife of the botanist can reveal to him a deeper beauty in the flower.

In this view all music must be at least *sensuous*. But the word has ordinarily a repugnant meaning. There is a suggestiveness in some melodic and harmonic progressions which (whether essentially or habitually it concerns us not to inquire) may be considered "voluptuous" in its bad sense. The sensuous beauty of Gounod's music is certainly not of this kind. His Church music—whether it be styled sensuous or intellectual or what not—is sacred and inspiring. Sacred does not necessarily mean *sad*, *gloomy*, "strictly diatonic," oppressively contrapuntal; but neither may it be voluptuous and worldly. What has been said of the *Sanctus* of the St. Cecilia Mass might with even greater force be said of all the other numbers of that Mass: "With a fulness of symmetrical beauty justifying the old poet's epithet of 'ravishing' are

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combined a *devotional fervor and dignity which render the strain wholly inapplicable to any secular purpose.*" It labors under no affectation of newness or oldness, and will claim to be sacred music in virtue only of its own inherent beauty and dignity. "The music is not new, if 'new' is to mean either flimsy or ugly; the music is not old, if to be 'old' is to be harsh and formal, to exhibit the hard scaffolding of science, behind which no beautiful structure exists."

Gounod's music is both sensuous (in its proper meaning, as all beauty must be which appeals to the *sense* as its immediate judge) and intellectual. But, as we have said, Gounod belonged to no school. His style felt vastly the beautiful and heavenly—if we may be permitted the epithet—influences of the Gregorian Chant. It knelt at the shrine of Palestrina; it listened to the dignified counsels of Gluck's *apologia;* it loved Mozart and reverenced Beethoven; it followed somewhat the imaginative trend of Schumann's Romanticism; and disdained not to follow, if not to imitate servilely, the dramatic doctrine of Wagner. His music is fresh without *bizarreries;* it is dramatically emphatic without irreverence.

One instance may be noted which, while illustrating Gounod's idea of emphasis, quaintly reveals the frame of mind in which he composed church-music. In the Credo of his Third Messe Solennelle (de Pâques) he prepares himself (and the performers of his music alike) for his treatment of the words "et ascendit in coelum" by placing in the instrumental score—to a *fortissimo* of the complete orchestra—the exegetical prophecy: "Exsultavit sicut gigas ad currendam viam."

An amiable picture of the Christian and the Artist! Where better could we take leave of him than with the sacred words of this prophecy flowing from his reverent pen? A constant worshiper at the public services of the Church, a meek devotee at her shrines in the solemn stillnesses, a frequent communicant at her celestial banquet—surely the prophecy must have put on for his soul a strong personal meaning, when the last journey waited for his willing footsteps, and when Death was to be swallowed up of Life: *Exsultavit sicut gigas ad currendam viam.*

H. T. Henry.

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MARSHAL MACMAHON.

THE SOLDIER AND THE MAN.

I.

THE evanescent character of worldly fame has been always a favorite theme of the philosopher, but it must be acknowledged that, in this busy age of ours, celebrity is particularly short-lived. On the rapidly shifting scene of modern life the most conspicuous figures come up and stand out in vivid light but for a moment; quickly they move on and are soon out of sight, while the public gaze is turned round and fixed upon others.

Yet the oblivion into which they suddenly sink is, in the case of the noblest and the best, more apparent than real, and it is commonly but of brief duration. The memory of the hero and of the saint, momentarily obscured, comes back surrounded by a halo of purer light; it is enshrined in the pages of history; it becomes an object of worship, secular or sacred—a beacon to which men instinctively turn in times of darkness and peril, and whose welcome radiance renews their failing strength and allays their fears. Meanwhile, it lingers in the minds of the multitude; it burns brightly in the hearts of a chosen few, and, when the occasion offers, it reveals itself to the world at large in forms touching and beautiful.

No more striking illustration of this can be found than in the last honors recently paid by France, and, indeed, we may say by all Europe, to a man who had long been one of the most popular as well as the most successful military commanders, and who, to the end, remained one of the purest and noblest characters of modern times.

In 1879, Marshal MacMahon voluntarily resigned the presidency of the French Republic, and withdrew into private life. The commotion following on that important event quickly subsided. Public interest gathered round new men and new political experiences, and during the fourteen years which followed, the hero of Malakoff and Magenta seemed to be almost entirely forgotten. But his death served to show how faithfully and admiringly he was still remembered by his countrymen. When the news spread abroad that the old warrior who had so often faced and almost courted death on the battlefields of Africa, Crimea, Italy and Lorraine had peacefully breathed his last in the old chateau of La Forest, a feeling of genuine and respectful sorrow pervaded the

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whole nation. As by common agreement, the bitterness of party strifes was momentarily thrust aside in order that all might unite in honoring the departed hero. Paris, just then in the midst of festivities and rejoicings such as the gay capital had not witnessed for many years, suddenly arrested their course and put on a garb of mourning to join in the public funeral honors ordered by the government, and these were carried out with a solemnity and beauty such as France had not witnessed since the ashes of her great emperor had been brought back from St. Helena. The Cabinet, the Law Courts, the Legislature, the Ambassadors of all the foreign powers, officers deputed by the armies of Russia, Germany, Austria, England and other countries—all joined in the solemn cortege which accompanied the Marshal's remains from the Church of the Madeleine to the historic dome of the Invalides. The crowned heads of Europe vied with each other in the richness of their floral offerings. The city of Milan had also sent hers—still mindful, after more than thirty years, of that day of wild enthusiasm and intoxicating delight when she went forth in her thousands to welcome her liberator, the victor of Magenta. But the sincerest and saddest tribute of all, that which would have gone most directly to the heart of the old marshal, could he by anticipation have dwelt upon it, was the homage of his companions of former days, of the regiments whose pride it was to have been under his command, of the whole French army, in fact, present in its most conspicuous representatives to pay the last honors to their departed chief.

Countless multitudes witnessed the scene, yet not a single unpleasant incident occurred to disturb its dignity and solemnity, and when all was over the immense crowd dispersed noiselessly as after a religious celebration and sought their respective homes, silently dwelling on the checkered memories of the last fifty years, so vividly reawakened by the touching scenes they had just beheld.

To recall briefly MacMahon's share in the great events of that period and to point out the qualities by which he won the highest honors his country could confer upon him, in life and in death, is the object of the following pages. We trust they will prove interesting to not a few of our readers, especially to those who loved to consider the great soldier as one of their countrymen. As a fact, by name and by descent, MacMahon belonged to the Irish race, and he was proud of it. Those who, coming from the land of his forefathers, were admitted to call upon him will ever remember the distinguished courtesy and the cordial feeling with which he welcomed them. Titles and decorations had come to him from all parts of the globe, but after the *bâton de maréchal*, borne behind his coffin as the emblem of his highest dignity, there

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was none he so valued as the sword of honor which the Irish people had sent him, as to one of their own, after the victory of Magenta. To the interest of a far wider circle he appeals as one of the makers of modern history, and still more as a soldier and as a man, in the highest and noblest sense of the terms. It is principally as such that we propose to present him to our readers.

II.

MacMahon was first of all and before all a soldier. He came of that war-loving people whom religious persecution had driven from their homes and who fought for more than a century the battles of the Catholic countries where they had been welcomed, having no longer a country of their own to fight for. The names of these voluntary exiles hold an honorable place in the military and political annals of Austria, Italy and Spain; but nowhere did they find so congenial a home as in France. Almost from the beginning, they were admitted to the privileges of citizens of their adopted country, the great monarch, Louis XIV., having given special orders "that the Irish Catholics who had passed into his kingdom should be considered as his own subjects and enjoy the same rights as natural born Frenchmen, without being obliged to take out letters of naturalization." But they cared not so much to be citizens as soldiers. Organized in separated regiments under the command of their own leaders, they rivalled the most heroic achievements of the French, side by side with whom they fought, and often surpassed them in reckless daring. The battle of Fontenoy (1745), so famous in story and song, was all but lost when the irresistible charge of the Irish brigade changed it into a decisive victory. For a century and a half the military annals of France are full of the heroic deeds of their Irish allies, for as allies they always fought, steadily declining to accept the extra pay allowed to other foreign troops. Under chieftains, such as St. Ruth, Dillon, Sarsfield and Mountcashel they shared in every campaign and almost in every battle of the armies of France. Constantly depleted, their ranks were steadily filled by the inflow of fresh blood from the old country, and, incredible as it may appear, the official documents of the French archives bear witness to the fact that from the year 1650 to 1800 as many as 750,000 Irishmen died in the service of their adopted country.[1]

To this race of heroes, some of whose names still survive with honor in France, especially in the army, MacMahon belonged. Back to the time of James II., the MacMahons had held command in the Irish brigade, as their fathers had before them in their na-

[1] See *History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France*, by J. C. O'Callaghan.

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tive land, and in due time they were incorporated in the French noblesse and shared in their titles and privileges. The father of the Marshal, Marquis Charles Lawrence de MacMahon, as he was called, was lieutenant-general under the restored Bourbons, a peer of the realm and a personal friend of the king. Patrick Maurice, the youngest of eight children, was born on the 13th May, 1808. For his classical education his parents placed him in the Petit-Seminaire or clerical school of Autun, perhaps with the old régime notion that, as a younger son, he might take to the Church. Had he done so, and had the Bourbons lasted, honors would doubtless have been heaped upon him, and he would have died probably, archbishop of some great French city and member of the College of Cardinals. When we remember the simple faith of the man in later years, the spotless integrity and unselfish devotion of his life, we feel that he would not have been unfitted for the high places of the hierarchy. But his call was elsewhere. The hot blood of the MacMahons coursed in his veins, and what came of it from his mother, a daughter of Field-Marshal de Caraman, did not help to cool it; his ambition was to be a soldier.

A true call to the life of a soldier implies much more than animal courage or a love of adventure. It means active and absolute devotion to country, an abiding sense of the supremacy of duty, a readiness to sacrifice life at any time for unselfish objects; in actual warfare, it means, furthermore, hardship, privation and hourly peril; a sort of natural detachment of the soul, lifting it high above the petty aims of ordinary existence and setting it free even from what is most valued in life. Hence, notwithstanding its apparent coarseness and cruelty, the fascination which war has exercised at all times on souls of the noblest and tenderest mould, a fascination, it must be said, widely felt among the most cultivated no less than among the rudest portions of the human race. War, actual war, is for most people the most absorbing of topics. Even when they have no personal interest engaged in it, it attracts them as nothing else does; in its presence they cannot turn their eyes away; every other subject of thought becomes comparatively insipid, and the field of battle which in its reality is one of the most appalling sights the eye can rest upon, remains for those who never beheld or who contrive to forget it, the most attractive object their imagination can rest upon.

And so young MacMahon, yielding to the hereditary impulse, would be a soldier. He worked hard at his mathematics, and at the early age of seventeen he won by competition a place in the military school of St. Cyr, the West Point of the French army. Two years later he came forth with some of the highest marks and took his place, though still little more than a boy, as lieutenant in a regiment of hussars.

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The times were little fitted to satisfy his ardent nature. Europe was enjoying a much needed rest after the exhausting wars of Napoleon. Peace reigned supreme, and nowhere was there to be seen a sign or symptom of its being disturbed. A pleasant prospect for the world at large, and, for a brilliant young officer of a fashionable regiment, a strong temptation, doubtless, to enjoy the social pleasures and distinctions within easy reach of one of his name and of his personal attractions. But the brave soldier dreads nothing more than the dull monotony or the frivolous pastimes of a garrison life. Study is his only means of escape, above all the study of the art of war, with its history, its tactics, its present possibilities and its prospective developments; and this is just what MacMahon found ready for him in the "Ecole d'Etat-major," to which he was promoted at the same time as he received his commission. Here it was that he laid the foundation of that deeper knowledge of strategy which he exhibited in later years. But his sanguine temperament craved for action, and again he had the good fortune to find it right at the close of his higher course, and in a field where it could be least expected.

For centuries the city of Algiers, on the opposite coast of the Mediterranean, had been a stronghold of pirates. In vain the great powers of Europe had attempted, one after the other, to put an end to their depredations. France at length was enabled to do so. A gross insult offered to her representative by the Dey—the practical sovereign of Algiers, was profoundly and effectively avenged. To the relief of civilized Europe, the city which had so long lived on plunder was bombarded and captured. A military expedition was formed to secure the results of the first victory, and out of this grew the protracted conflict which ultimately made the French masters of nearly the whole coast and territory of northern Africa.

Here was an opening for our young officer, and he was not slow to avail himself of it. Exchanging into an infantry regiment just ordered out to Algiers, he was soon on the scene of action and promptly attracted the notice of his superior officers.

In that old land known to the classical scholar by the familiar names of Numidia and Mauritania, the methods of warfare under its successive conquerors, Phœnician, Roman, Vandal, Arab and Turk, had undergone comparatively little change, and, owing to the nature of the country, the superiority of modern arms and tactics but served to drive back its present inhabitants only the more effectively to their ancient tactics. Theirs was a manner of partisan or guerilla warfare. Rarely did they venture to meet the invading forces in the open field; but, familiar with the natural resources of the country, they availed themselves of every advantage, lying in ambush or hovering around the enemy's detach-

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ments and suddenly bursting on them like a thunder cloud; quick to scatter when attacked and gathering afresh with amazing rapidity; holding with obstinate courage every commanding position they could occupy; crushed again and again, seemingly beyond hope of recovery, yet promptly reorganizing themselves and ready to continue the struggle. Against such a people, brave, self reliant and fired by religious fanaticism, the slow progress of the French conquest may be easily understood. To subdue them, modern tactics were less available than initiative decision and personal courage, and these MacMahon possessed in no ordinary degree. Courage,—daring courage—was, perhaps, his most characteristic feature. He was utterly fearless in the presence of danger and seemed almost to face it with delight. The first to scale the heights of Mouzaïa in face of the enemy, shortly after his arrival he won the admiration of the whole army and received the cross of the legion of honor as an official recognition of his bravery. Ever afterwards his natural place seemed to be that of greatest peril. He was with the Zouaves in the storming of Constantine, rushing, in one of the very first, through the open breach and escaping only by a sort of miracle the fate of hundreds of his comrades. So great, indeed, was his disregard of peril, and at the same time his immunity from the casualties of war, that the Arabs looked upon him with a sort of superstitious fear, while among his companions in arms he was considered to have a "charmed existence."

With such gifts, his promotion, as might be expected, was very rapid. In a few years he was borne through the successive grades of the military hierarchy, each advancement being the reward of some brilliant feat or solid service, until, at the age of forty, he found himself brigadier-general, in command of a considerable portion of the Algerian army and laden with grave administrative responsibilities. A few years later he is major-general and summoned to command a division of infantry in front of Sebastopol.

III.

The appointment of MacMahon in the circumstances had a very special meaning. The siege of the great Russian stronghold by the united forces of France and England had dragged itself along painfully for nearly a twelvemonth, and it was felt that a great, decisive effort had to be made. Pélissier—he, too, of Irish descent and a commander of rare energy—was placed at the head of the French troops. He had watched the brilliant career of McMahon, and knew that for doing and inspiring deeds of daring he might be entirely relied upon. Hence his call at the critical hour. The attack, in which he was to have the principal share, was to be made simultaneously on three points of the outworks.

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Upon these—known under the names of *the Great Redan, the Little Redan and Malakoff*—depended the fate of the city. The capture of the last and strongest of the three was intrusted to MacMahon. The evening before the attack (7th September, 1855) the commander held a council of war with the French and English generals, who were to direct the operations. It was followed by a characteristic incident which we have from one of MacMahon's own officers. Taking him aside, the commander said, "General, I suppose you fully understand that yours is the vital part of the operation—everything depends upon you."

"Never fear," replied MacMahon, quietly; "I shall get into Malakoff, and the Russians shall have my life before they drive me out."

The next day he gloriously kept his word. Fired by his presence and by his example, the troops under his command dashed like a torrent against the fort, and stormed it in an incredibly short space of time.

But the difficulty was not so much to take as to hold it. The Russians, fully alive to the fact that there was the key of the whole position, and that by losing it all was lost, made the most desperate efforts to recapture the fort. Again and again they returned to the charge with a contempt for death which MacMahon himself could not help watching with admiration. But it was in vain. MacMahon was there, pledged to hold his ground—now in the midst of his men, now on an eminence under deadly fire, yet directing the operations of the defence with the same coolness as if he were ordering drill exercises. So prominent and so perilous was his position that it was noticed from afar by the commander-in-chief, who at once despatched a messenger recommending him to expose himself less.

"All right," he replied; "tell the commander I am extremely grateful for his solicitude," and he continued to give his orders without moving. Pélissier, who watched the negative result of his kindly interference, could not repress his admiration. "Look at him!" he exclaimed. "Look at him! Is he not magnificent under fire?"

Yet he could not leave him to what he considered his inevitable fate. Another messenger was despatched, begging of MacMahon to seek shelter outside the fort, and direct the action from there. "It is no use insisting," was the answer; "here I am, and here I stay."

The simple heroism of the reply was not lost. It went like an electric shock through the ranks of the defenders; it was repeated enthusiastically next day by the whole army; it was carried, with the news of the victory, through the civilized world, and admired

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as a spontaneous utterance of the noblest courage, and after well nigh forty years, *j'y suis, j'y reste* remains in the French language as a consecrated expression of immovable resolve.

One less brave than MacMahon would surely have listened to the recommendations of his chief, and obeyed them as an order. For he knew that the desperate efforts of the Russians to recapture the fort were not his greatest peril. The fort itself was undermined, and might be blown up at any time. In view of the emergency, he had kept half his division in reserve, with orders, if the explosion occurred, to advance at once and take hold of the "funnel." Happily, the connecting-wire was accidentally cut by a sapper while throwing up an earthwork shelter against the Russians. But this was known only later, and in the meantime the general had to bear the terrible strain consequent on such a position. In a letter to his brother written shortly after, he acknowledged that he felt it very keenly; "but," he adds, "nobody noticed any trace of uneasiness about me, although I did believe we should all go up like rockets."

This lasted three full hours. The Russians were returning—ever returning—to the fight. At one time the ammunition was almost exhausted. What was to be done? "Fight on," said the intrepid commander. Take their ammunition from the killed and wounded; fire only point-blank and use your bayonets. The reserves will soon be with us."

The reserves did come up at last; the Russians, exhausted and disheartened, ceased their attack, and MacMahon, true to his word, held the fort to the end. This was fortunate; for the attack of the English on the great redan had been repulsed, that of the French on the little redan had been only a half-success, but Malakoff was the vital centre of the defence, and on the following day Sebastopol was occupied by the allied forces.

IV.

The most enthusiastic welcome awaited the hero of Malakoff, as he was then commonly called, on his return from the Crimea, and the emperor, by conferring upon him the highest rank in the Legion of Honor and a seat in the senate, only acted in conformity with the popular feeling. But MacMahon was not a man to rest under his laurels and give himself up to the enjoyment of his well-earned fame. The conquest of Algeria was still incomplete; a new expedition was being prepared, and he begged to share in it. His request was granted, and soon after we find him, as usual, bearing the brunt of the battle and forcing the Kabyls, hitherto unsubdued, in their last intrenchments. The peace which followed led to a reorganization of the conquered country, and the command of all

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the forces was placed in the hands of the man who had taken so effective a share in the conquest. But scarcely had he assumed the command when a new field, wider than ever, of military action suddenly opened before him. The Italian campaign had been decided on (1859), war declared against Austria, and the order was given him to cross the Mediterranean with the bulk of his forces and join the invading forces in Italy.

In the short campaign which followed, the share of MacMahon was, as in the taking of Sebastopol, brilliant and decisive. The story of the battle of Magenta, in which he won his highest honors, has been told in diverse ways, and is still a matter of controversy. But certain features of it are unquestioned. The emperor himself was commander-in-chief, a task to which he was entirely unequal. Knowing, perhaps, of warfare all that could be learned from books, he could not be expected to possess that rapid intuition of complex details; that promptness to notice the varying incidents of a battle and to act on them; that combination of perfect coolness and rapid decision necessary to keep large bodies of men in hand during an engagement and lead to victory. The very ablest of his generals might have almost lost himself just at that time of year (3d of June) in the rich plains of Lombardy, covered with vines, fruit trees and luxuriant crops. The two armies, equally ignorant of each other's exact position and strength, seem to have been feeling their way to take position rather than prepared for actual fighting. The fighting itself, carried on along a lengthened line of battle, seemed for a long time uncertain in its purpose and its results. At 4 P.M. the emperor himself was in a most critical position. Happily, the bravery of his guard allowed him to hold his ground until MacMahon, rapidly putting together his corps, rushed to the point of danger, overthrew the enemy, extricated his sovereign from peril, and changed almost certain defeat into glorious victory. So deeply impressed was the emperor with the extent of the service rendered that on the very field of battle he bestowed on his deliverer the two fold title of Marshal of France and Duke of Magenta.

Nothing was now wanting to the military glory of the illustrious soldier. His name was on the lips of all; the brilliant feats of his previous career were recalled and associated with his recent victory; and the enthusiastic welcome which greeted him in Milan a few days after the battle, and the profusion of flowers showered upon him as he rode through its streets at the head of his troops, were only the prelude of the ovation which awaited him in Paris. The triumphal march of the victorious army along the boulevards of the latter city on the 15th August, 1859, in presence of over a million spectators, was a scene never to be forgotten. At the

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head of the army rode the emperor, as commander-in-chief, preceded by his body-guard and surrounded by a brilliant staff; then the endless defile of artillery, cavalry and infantry, chasseurs, turcos, zouaves, their flags riddled with bullets, and themselves showing, nothwithstanding their bright looks and elastic steps, unmistakable signs of the hardships of the war. The enthusiasm of the crowd was intense from beginning to end; but when the hero of Magenta came in sight, it knew no bounds. He was not easily recognized at first, having, with characteristic modesty, chosen to wear the campaigning undress instead of the richly-embroidered costume of his high rank. But once descried, the vociferous cheers by which his presence was hailed at each point served as a signal of his approach to those further on, so that for several hours he moved along amidst a perfect storm of flowers and plaudits, the heartfelt homage of an admiring and grateful people.

V.

If the military career of Marshal MacMahon had ended here, his name would doubtless have gone down to posterity, not only as that of a fortunate and valorous soldier, but also as that of a great captain. The misfortunes which befel his country some years later were destined to lessen his claims to the latter title, and to darken the closing period of an existence so long and so unvaryingly successful and happy.

With the circumstances which led to the Franco-German war Marshal MacMahon had absolutely nothing to do. The French emperor had never taken him into his confidence at any time, and for several years back he had been Governor-General of Algeria, whither he was sent to replace his old friend, Pélissier, whose death had been the signal of fresh disturbances in the conquered province; so that the fatal precipitancy with which the war was entered upon was as much a matter of surprise to the marshal as to everybody else. Precipitancy, indeed, was only one of the many faults which characterized the action of the French during this fatal struggle. From beginning to end everything seemed to go wrong with them. That a war with Prussia had to be looked forward to at no distant future was evident to all. The rapid extension of that power, and its growing influence over the rest of Germany under the able guidance and through the unscrupulous action of Bismarck, had considerably lessened the prestige of France and was a threat to her security. It was felt, that on the occasion of the Austro-Prussian war in 1866, Napoleon had been outwitted by the wily German diplomat, and the whole French nation longed to get even with him, perhaps, as some hoped, by

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annexing, as in the days of Napoleon I., the German provinces on the left bank of the Rhine. Germany fully expected what was coming, and steadily prepared for it. For years, a man of genius, Von Moltke, the greatest of tacticians since Napoleon, had been working out in minutest detail the various problems of defence or invasion, and, at the same time, had raised up the whole army to a degree of efficiency hitherto unparalleled. Bismarck, on the other hand, had secured the eventual co-operation of the minor German powers. All was ready on their side; on the French side nothing was ready. The army was weak in numbers and in discipline; the emperor's mind clouded and uncertain; his advisers selfish or divided in their opinions; political and dynastic questions obscured the vital interests which were at stake, and so, in spite of extremely significant warnings from within and from without, the country was launched into the most disastrous of wars.

From the first day the result could scarce be doubtful to any one who knew the real condition of things. Many of those who shared in the struggle went forth with the most dismal anticipation, or tried to gather courage from the proverbial chances and uncertainties of war, or from the unvarying success of the French arms for more than half a century, and the possibility of striking at once a strong, decisive blow which would lead to peace on honorable if not advantageous terms. This, we are told, was the hope of the emperor and his counsellors when they awoke to the disheartening realities of the situation. The original purpose of the campaign, hastily decided on, was the invasion of the German territory. But nothing was ready to carry it out, and before a single effective move could be made the German forces, long prepared for action, had assumed the offensive. A German invasion had not been as much as thought of by the French, and upon MacMahon principally devolved the duty of meeting it. Threatened simultaneously at various points, and in ignorance of the real position and strength of the enemy, he gradually extended his line of defence, thus exposing each portion of it to be attacked by superior forces. As a consequence, his lieutenants, always outnumbered, were invariably defeated in a series of engagements, and MacMahon himself, at the decisive battle of Frœshweiler, after exhibiting and inspiring his troops with the intrepid courage of former days, and sustaining an unequal fight which won the admiration of the enemy, was finally overwhelmed by the German forces, numbering over two to one at the close of the engagement.

This crushing defeat was almost too much for the soldier upon whom fortune hitherto had always smiled. We have it from an eye-witness that, as he contemplated the havoc made in those brave troops he had been wont to lead to victory, bitter tears rolled down

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his manly cheeks, and that several hours passed before he could recover his composure and give any definite orders.

To retreat with the remnant of his troops was now the only course open to him. Slow retreat might have been the wisest course from the time he found himself outnumbered. But he felt that he owed it to the army and to the country not to abandon Alsace without a fight, even against unequal numbers. Now, it only remained for him to fall back and strive to rally his army, disheartened and disbanded, but sure to recover itself promptly in more favorable circumstances. He resolved, therefore, to lead back his forces under the walls of Paris, and there, while protecting the capital, hold himself in readiness to combine with the other corps d'armée and stay the march of the enemy. Those who find most fault with the marshal's previous action agree to approve of this decision. Acting on the strength of his discretionary powers as commander of a corps d'armée, he persistently refused to listen to the appeals made to him by the "friends" of the emperor and the empress, more concerned to save the dynasty than the country. It was only when he received a telegram purporting to come from the commander-in-chief, Bazaine, and claiming his co-operation, that he altered his line of march and turned toward Metz. It was not without much misgiving, which he took no pains to conceal from his companions in arms. "But," he added, "there are no two ways about it; we have only to go on and die like men."

On they went, and reached Sedan, but only to find themselves, as was feared, not in touch with the army of Bazaine, still shut up in Metz, but surrounded by the united forces of Germany. Resistance was impossible; even retreat was difficult; yet by holding out boldly for a time the bulk of the army might be saved. It was the plan resolved upon, and even begun to be carried out, when MacMahon, riding at an early hour along the lines on the fatal day (September 2d), was wounded dangerously, and had to resign his command. Ducrot, one of his bravest generals, took it up, but two hours later had to make room for Wimpffen, a court favorite, who, though ignorant of all the particulars of the situation (he had joined the army only the day before), claimed the right to command as senior officer, changed the order of battle, was soon surrounded and overwhelmed, and had to atone for his rashness by signing the most humiliating capitulation ever inflicted on a French army.

Thus ended in defeat and sorrow one of the most brilliant military careers of the century. The marshal was still destined, as we shall see, to render substantial services to his country in other ways, but, as a leader, his work was done. Ever since, its latter part—the share taken by him in the Franco-Prussian war—has been

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a subject of controversy, some tracing back to his lack of breadth and of decision the series of reverses to which we have referred; others, not less competent, claiming that he did bravely all that, in the circumstances, could be done, and that the only reproach he might deserve was to have obeyed orders at a supremely critical moment, and not followed his own judgment. Only experts, having made a thorough examination of the case, could undertake to determine what amount of truth may be found on either side. One thing is certain, MacMahon's military experience had not prepared him for moving large masses of men on the lines of modern strategy. Like most commanders of the French army, he had learned the art of war where there was no room for elaborate tactics—amid the hills and fastnesses of Algeria, fighting brave but only half-civilized tribes, against which success depended chiefly on energy and daring. These gifts, highly developed among officers and soldiers, had made them lose sight of the requirements of a more scientific manner of warfare, and even caused them to disregard the humbler yet no less necessary qualities of watchfulness, foresight, and caution. Here lay the superiority (besides its numbers) of the German army, and the secret of that series of reverses, unredeemed by a single important victory, which so completely destroyed the prestige of France and made united Germany the leading military power of Europe.

VI.

The public life of MacMahon was still far from being at an end. Powerless to stay the course of the foreign invasion and save his country from defeat, it remained for him at the close of the war to take a leading share in the work of restoration. The war with Germany, our readers will remember, was succeeded by the outbreak of the commune and the occupation of Paris by the insurgents. To quell the revolt and to reorganize the army were the two pressing necessities of the hour, and for both Thiers, then president, turned at once to MacMahon, now recovered from his wounds and unharmed, notwithstanding his reverses, in his character as a soldier and as a man. At the head of what forces he could muster the Marshal soon recovered the city, his constant aim during the second siege being to spare as much as possible the effusion of blood, especially that of his soldiers who had already abundantly paid their tribute to their country in the field and in captivity. The sad but necessary duty of repression once accomplished, all his thoughts were turned to the reconstruction of the military forces of the nation. In view of this he gathered round him from among the survivors of the late war those on whose ability and unselfish devotion he could most rely; all his

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time and energies were devoted to the congenial task, and it was the consolation of his declining years to watch the steady growth of the work he had thus begun up to its practical completion.[1]

While engaged in this congenial task Marshal MacMahon was suddenly called upon to assume a new and higher duty, that of guiding, as President, the destinies of the whole country and helping to shape its future. The circumstances which led to this event may be told in a few words. When the republican form of government was proclaimed in Paris after the capitulation of Sedan and acquiesced in by the country, it was understood on all sides that this was only a temporary arrangement, and that the question would be reopened at the close of the war. The representatives of the nation meeting at Versailles found themselves practically powerless to solve it. The republicans were only a minority, but the monarchists were hopelessly divided among themselves, some still clinging to the fallen dynasty of the Bonapartes, who, with all their faults, had twice within fifty years placed France at the head of Europe; others looking back to the old Bourbons, nobly represented by the chivalrous but unpractical Comte de Chambord; while many of the wisest and ablest thought that the happiest combination of past and present would be found in the Orleanist branch, and its representative, the Comte de Paris, a man of high character, liberal principles and undoubted ability.

The actual president, Thiers, shared their conviction in a general way, but was easily led to believe that it could not be realized, and that he himself was just then the fittest man to guide the destinies of the French nation. As a consequence, his policy became more and more that of the republican party, and his relations with the majority strained in the same proportion. To compel them to acquiese in his methods he repeatedly threatened to withdraw from the presidency if they persisted in opposing him.

[1] For the last twenty years the French army has been undergoing a transformation closely watched by the European powers and very interesting to follow, though little noticed at this side of the Atlantic. Keenly alive to the truth of the ancient saying, *fas est et ab hoste doceri*, the military authorities have been testing the Prussian methods and tactics, one after the other, adopting what proved effective and practical, and at the same time introducing improvements of their own in keeping with the special temperament of the French soldier. Officers and men are compelled to acquire and to sustain a higher grade of technical knowledge, while the system of recruitment, like that of Prussia, now virtually includes in the ranks of the active army and of the reserve the whole male population of the country. Each year since the war vast sums have been voted by the legislature without discussion and applied to the equipment of the forces, so that at the present day foreign experts tell us the French army has not only recovered all its former strength but has reached a degree of efficiency far beyond what it ever could boast of. The artillery in particular, its weak point during the Prussian war, Sir Charles Dilke (*Fortnightly Review*, November, 1891) declares to be now the finest in Europe.

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Tired of being thus committed systematically to measures which they deemed unwise, they at last took him at his word and left him in a minority on what he considered a vital question. Thiers resigned. But then came the difficulty of finding a man who might be presented to the country as a worthy successor to one who stood so high as a statesman and who had rendered such invaluable services at the close of the war. Only a man could be thought of whom the nation at large would look up to and trust, a man of unquestioned integrity, who, regardless of personal preferences, would hold an even balance between contending parties and abide by what would prove ultimately the will of the nation.

The choice was soon made. A committee of the majority waited on Marshal MacMahon with the offer of the presidency. He accepted, not without much difficulty, and only on the repeated assurances of the committee that by declining he would be wanting in his duty to the country. The following day (24th May, 1874) the "Constituante," then invested with the full powers of the nation, proclaimed him President of the Republic.

VII.

His election was chiefly a tribute to the incorruptible honor and integrity of the man. High principle and devotion to his native land irrespective of governments had been his characteristic features through life. By birth and social connections he belonged to the legitimist party; his military honors had been won under King Louis Phillippe and Napoleon III. But he had never taken any share in politics, and was only concerned to serve his country. Perhaps the most significant testimony to his uprightness may be found in the fact that the emperor, while conferring the highest honors upon him, could never include him in the inner circle of his devoted friends. For, to Napoleon III., devotedness meant more than fidelity. Good-natured himself, grateful and generous to all who served him, but strangely deficient in moral principle, he expected in return a devotion unhampered by conscientious scruples, and this was more than MacMahon could give. A short time after he had been appointed senator he had occasion to show how little he consulted the emperor's predilections when a question of principle was involved. During the scare which followed on the attempt made upon the emperor's life by the Italian Carbonaro, Orsini, a bill was rapidly carried through the legislature empowering the government to banish, without trial, even French citizens whose presence would be considered a danger to the country, thus introducing into the heart of France the despotic *régime* of Russia. The bill came up before the senate, all composed of the emperor's nominees, and was unanimously agreed to,

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with one solitary exception. MacMahon alone objected. "I cannot," said he, "bring myself to believe that the measure is either constitutional or necessary. If it is unconstitutional and unnecessary, I cannot vote for it." His solitary protest was much noticed at the time and considered very injudicious by those who took expediency as their guide, but it served to show the high and independent character of the man and how useless it was to rely upon him for anything that collided with his sense of duty.

His action in the presidency from 1873 to 1879 was in perfect keeping with such antecedents. In the great constitutional battle which was being fought in the chambers and through the country the chief concern of the marshal-president was that the rights of all should be respected. His sympathies were with the monarchists, but he keenly felt how chimerical was the policy of the Comte de Chambord, especially in the public letter in which he claimed the right to replace the tricolor flag—associated in the French mind with all the victories of the century—by the old *régime* flag of the Bourbons. "Why," exclaimed MacMahon, speaking of the feeling of the army, "the very rifles would go off of themselves to avenge the insult."

The above-mentioned letter sealed the fate of the pretender; yet so ignorant was he of the real condition of things in France that, later on, he actually came incognito to Versailles in the hope of inducing MacMahon to seat him on the throne. The president declined to see him. "It is better," said he to the person who came to announce the prince's arrival and claim an audience without delay; "it is better that we should not meet. It could do no good, and it might do harm. The prince has spoiled all his chances; I can do nothing for him." "You can do everything," said the messenger. "The army is at your command; the country is tired of waiting, and will gladly follow you." "I am president," replied MacMahon, "by the joint action of various parties; I cannot betray the trust of any." "When such interests are at stake," urged the envoy, "it is unworthy of a statesman to stick at technicalities." "That may be," replied the marshal, "but you see I am no statesman; I am a soldier, and a soldier knows nothing beyond or above his word once given."

This was the exact truth. A soldier he was in the noblest sense of that noble appellation; a statesman—a practical statesman—a man who not only sees what is best and how much of it may be realized, but is ready to stoop to what are often the only possible means of realizing it; to accept the co-operation and reward the services of the mean and selfish as well as those of the high-minded and true; to turn to his purposes men's faults as well as their virtues; to sacrifice principle to expediency and truth to success;—in

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that sense MacMahon was surely no statesman. He hated trickery and deceit in every form, and made no mystery of it. He could not admit into his cabinet men, however popular and gifted, whose influence he deemed harmful or whose honesty he questioned. Here lay the secret of his difficulties in the presidency. Had he been ready, like his successor, to sign indiscriminately anything and everything sent to him by the legislature or submitted to him by his ministers, he might have remained in power indefinitely. But he felt it his duty to counteract, at the risk of losing his popularity, the tendencies of the hour, not by a *coup d'etat*—as was suggested by some of his advisers—but by a legal appeal to the country.

The popular verdict having proved unfavorable to his policy, he found it impossible to act with the new ministry, and resolved to resign. However, at the urgent request of his friends, he remained for a short time to moderate the downward course of things. But when, on the plea of political necessities, he was asked by the new cabinet to deprive of their command the ablest and most reliable generals, and thus, as he feared, to disorganize the whole army, he could bear the strain no longer. The army had been his home and his household through life; the men he was asked to sacrifice, his brothers in arms. "They are men of stainless record," said he; "if I touched them, I should not dare to look my own children in the face." And so, a few days later, he addressed to the two houses a dignified letter, resigning his high office.

VIII.

The remaining years of Marshal MacMahon's life were spent in the retirement of private life. He withdrew from his exalted position with less of worldly possessions than he had entered it. In the handling of public money he had always acted on principles of the strictest integrity, declining to follow customs, however common, which could not bear the light of publicity. An instance of this, little known, may be mentioned here. The coronation of William I., King of Prussia, in 1861, gathered round him special representatives of all the sovereigns of Europe, each vieing with the others in the splendor of the entertainments given on the occasion. MacMahon, then at the height of his military renown, was chosen to represent Napoleon III., and a considerable sum was allowed him for the purpose. He performed his part with great magnificence; but on his return, to the great surprise of the treasury officials, he refunded all that remained in his hands after the payment of his expenses. What came to him by strict right as President of the Republic, he invariably spent on objects judiciously selected in the public interest. The richness and elegance

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of his receptions, recalling those of the empire, raised the whole social tone of the capital, developed trade, and made Paris once more the centre of refinement and the arbiter of fashion. The marshal's private fortune was not spared, while he steadily declined, on the other hand, to touch certain sums, though assigned to him by the constitution. Thus, 600,000 francs a year was allowed to cover the travelling expenses of the president and retinue. MacMahon bore the expense, but refused to draw the money—unlike in this, as in many other particulars, his successor, Grevy, who always travelled on a free ticket, but faithfully pocketed year after year the 600,000 francs.

A happy home awaited Marshal MacMahon on his withdrawing from public life. He had married, when over forty, Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of the Duc de Castries. Notwithstanding the great difference of age, their union had been a love affair on both sides and retained its original character to the end. Those who enjoyed their intimacy loved to describe the unaffected tenderness of their daily intercourse and the hearty admiration of each for the other. Their affection was sustained, in the usual way, by harmonies and contrasts of character. The "Duchesse," extremely active, lively, overflowing with thought, ever planning something new, was a constant delight to the slower and less demonstrative nature of the Marshal. Wherever she would go, his joy was to accompany her; so that the great hero, in his spare hours, might often be met at a fashionable milliner's, or a toy shop, or, all on a sudden in presence of some sad case of privation or suffering. For, with all her other qualities, the Duchess of Magenta had the heart of a Sister of Charity. To the sick and poor she gave, not only her money, but her time and thought, often devoting whole forenoons to their concerns, and drawing freely on the Marshal to help them. Her friends smilingly called her "St. Elizabeth," so like was she in her habits and spirit to her great mediæval patroness, St. Elizabeth of Hungary. To her children, four in number, she imparted the same spirit, training them from their earliest years to be mindful of the poor and suffering.

Once relieved of the burden of office, MacMahon tarried little in Paris. After a visit of courtesy paid in the friendliest manner to his successor, he betook himself to the old mansion of La Foret where he was to spend his remaining years. He never cared for society outside the circle of his personal friends; indeed, he—so fearless in presence of danger, was always somewhat timid in his intercourse with strangers. The simplicity of life in the country, on the other hand, its freedom from conventionality, its healthy occupations and manly sports were especially congenial to the singleness of his unsophisticated and soldier-like nature.

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Almost to the end he loved to ride a spirited horse, and he could enjoy a day's shooting with all the keenness of his early years. The people of the locality were proud to have him among them, while by his genuine concern for their interests and his affable manner, he won their affection, as in former days he had won the hearts of his soldiers. Yet Paris was not forgotten. Social duties and old friendships brought him back each year to the capital; but he never missed his morning ride nor his long walks, and as he moved through the busy streets, with mien still erect and firm step, men would look round and rejoice to behold once more the familiar features of the old Marshal. Years had made less than the usual change in him. To the last he retained the freshness of color of his race, while his clear blue eyes had lost nothing of their candor and kindliness.

The end came gently though not without suffering. The old warrior bore the last trial with his usual composure, comforted by the presence of his two soldier sons who had joined the rest of the family, and strengthened by his unwavering faith and by the rites of that Church of which he had ever been a loyal and dutiful son. Death had no terrors for him. As he playfully remarked to his confessor, he had seen it too often and too closely to be afraid of it. On the morning of October 17, 1893, he breathed his last, being in his 86th year.

Looking back on the eventful career of Marshal MacMahon, it is easy to discern the principle which inspired and guided an existence thus true to itself from beginning to end. It was simply a high, imperative sense of honor and duty. For the Marshal honor and duty were identical, at least in that sense that they never could run counter to each other. We have it from a personal friend of his, that one day reading together the memoirs of Marmont in which the writer dwells on the anguish of having to choose between honor and duty, the Marshal stopped short and remarked in his brief manner; "No such thing can happen; a man's highest honor is always to be loyal to duty." And this he was himself at every turn of life, with a simplicity and a disregard of consequences only to be found in heroic characters. Thus one of his greatest sorrows was to have to oppose the methods of Archbishop Lavigerie in Algeria; but he believed them to be mischievous and he stopped them. In the same way he never concealed from the emperor himself his estimate of the *coup d'etat* of 1851, notwithstanding the fact of its being so promptly condoned by the nation. Naturally modest, he shunned display, but he had no dread of public opinion when he knew he was right. In his attendance at public worship he preferred to mingle with the crowd; but if circumstances called upon him to take a more con-

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spicuous share in the celebration, he took it without the slightest concern as to who liked or disliked it. In short, "do thy duty, come what may" was his unvarying motto, winning for him the honor of being called "the fearless and blameless knight" of the nineteenth century. In his letter of resignation of the presidency, he wrote: "I am comforted by the thought that during the lengthened period of fifty-three years given to the public service, I have never been actuated by any principle but those of honor, duty and devotion to the highest interests of the country." A proud boast for so modest a man, but the nation at large acknowledged its truth and felt how fully he deserved what was said of the great English chieftain:

> Whatever record leap to light
> He never shall be shamed.

And now, under the gilded dome of the Invalides, he sleeps amid the warriors of past generations gathered round the tomb of the great Napoleon. Whatever their fame, not one among them can boast of a purer or nobler record than his. Hence, the name of MacMahon will add fresh interest for thousands to that classic spot, and many, as they gaze thoughtfully and reverently on the monument which encloses his remains, will mentally inscribe on it those other words of Tennyson:

> Such was he: his work is done;
> But while the races of mankind endure,
> Let his great example stand,
> Colossal, seen of every land,
> And keep the soldier firm, the statesman pure.

J. HOGAN.

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L'ANCIEN RÉGIME.

Part II.

IN a recent number of the Catholic American Quarterly Review we called attention to the, in general, too little appreciated fact, that it was the privileged orders in France which began the great Revolution of that country. We terminated that first part of our paper by promising an account of some of the local struggles which took place in the different French provinces; struggles which were at once both revolutionary and reactionary.

To this theme we at once address ourselves, beginning with the disorders which manifested themselves at Bearn. For a large number of the facts narrated by us, we are indebted to the late much lamented M. Aimé Cherest and we gladly refer our readers, for further details and a mass of valuable information, to his work entitled "La chute de l'Ancien Régime," which unhappily its gifted author did not live to complete.

For a long time the nobility of the provinces had entertained violent feelings of jealously and hostility with regard to the nobles of the Court and the Court itself—especially since March 15, 1781, when fresh army regulations had been made which the country gentlemen felt to be greatly to their disadvantage. In the Provinces also, the tie between the nobles of the sword and those of the gown, was much closer than in the vicinity of the capital; so that the "noblesse" and the "Parlements" were still more completely dominated by one common aristocratic spirit. The middle classes held aloof from political agitation, and it was not till quite the middle of 1788 that they began vigorously and widely to bestir themselves. Amongst the lower classes the nobility and clergy were still able, especially in the towns, to exercise a considerable influence—an influence of which, as we shall see, they did not scruple to make use. The more remote and more recently annexed Provinces, retained, as a rule, the strongest spirit of independence and of union amongst themselves, till the incredible folly of the privileged classes finally destroyed it.

Thus the most remote Province of Bearn, constituted part—the greater part—of that kingdom which still formed an integral portion of the Sovereign's Titles; for Louis XVI., like his predecessors since Henry IV., was "King of France *and of Navarre.*"

Thus Bearn, in 1788, better off than the rest of what is now France, had a true constitution of its own—a constitution written

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in unequivocal terms and which had been sworn to by each successive king. Amongst other things the Syndic of Bearn had a right to a seat in the Parlement next to that of the king's representative, and a right to be informed of every regulation which concerned the interest of the province.

Having been informed of the decree establishing new "Provincial Assemblies" and superseding Parlements (as related in the previous article), by a "Plenary Court," the Parlement of Navarre assembled, and emitted a preliminary protest against all acts which might change the ancient, local political system and then quietly awaited the action of the central power.

On the 8th of May they met in response to a summons for a "Bed of Justice," when loyal letters were read, the Marquis of Lons and the Sieur de Bon Chepoen (the Intendant) representing the king. The meeting was prolonged for sixteen hours by the opposition of every legal and technical objection and formality possible. Ultimately, however, the king's recent decrees were duly registered, but then the members of the court refused to retire and only did so, "to preserve the Sanctuary of Justice from profanation," after the marquis had introduced an officer with the declaration that force would be immediately made use of to expel them. Then the Court of Justice was closed.

Nevertheless, even in the city of Pau, the mass of the population remained quiet, and there as at Paris, were mere passive spectators of the conflict. But the rural population (almost all who were small proprietors) were excited by the nobility, who circulated widely the report, that they were to be taxed without the consent of their own legislature. The next step was the assembly at Pau, of a crowd of nobles from every part of the province, followed, on June 15th, by the entrance of bands of mountaineers who seizing upon the guns placed them on ramparts and then breaking open the Court of Justice demanded the re-establishment there of the Parlement, which thereupon resumed its former place and action—the Syndic of Bearn coming in state and depositing on the table a "decree of the nobility of Bearne." This "decree" which a mere handful of citizens had no moral or real right to pass, declared "infamous" whoever should obey the newly registered laws.

The next day, the Parlement of Navarre formulated a remonstrance to the king, saying: "We, Sire, citizens and magistrates of a country distinct from France, although subject to the same king, desire to call your Majesty's attention to the separate rights of the two nations which the haste of your administrators has confounded. The project of establishing a uniform system of government for all the provinces, is irreconciliable with their varied several interests; but even were it otherwise, such a sys-

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tem could not apply to Bearn and Navarre which have never become provinces of France. Grant to us, Sire, the revocation of the edict establishing a " Plenary Court."

They also formally declared that the king's edicts annihilated the constitution of Navarre and Bearn.

This movement was but an example of the general tendency which the privileged classes displayed to split up and divide that national unity which had so far been laboriously, though as yet imperfectly, brought about by the efforts of successive sovereigns. The various provinces had been united at different periods, under different conditions and with diverse stipulations. Whenever the royal power was in the hands of a strong man, there was uniform obedience; but the separatist spirit manifested itself at other times, and rarely had there been so weak a king as was Louis XVI. The lower classes also still had strong local feelings; nevertheless, in 1788, the middle classes were already governed by a vigorous national spirit and a growing repugnance to the aristocracy, for which, indeed, they had but too good reason.

The commons remained passive, and that very passivity concealed from the nobility the danger of the course they were taking. It also helped to disarm the king's emissaries, who, instead of carrying out his commands, permitted the revolt of nobles with whom, at the bottom of their hearts, they sympathized, and many of whom were their personal friends. Thus it was that the Marquis de Lons made no use of his soldiers, and allowed the aristocratic rebellion to pursue its way unchecked.

Meantime, the local revolt even paralyzed the central power. The king passed his days hunting, and abandoned the government to his ministers entirely on condition that they did not call upon him for efforts out of harmony with his character. As soon as he found that the expression of his will did not suffice, he at once recoiled from pressing it. Accordingly, the Duc de Guiche, of the house of Grammont, a member of the local aristocracy itself, was despatched to Pau on an entirely pacific mission. He arrived there on the 13th of July, 1788, and was met by an immense crowd, who preserved a sullen silence, not even uttering one cry of " Vive le Roi." Thereupon he explained to them the nature of his mission, declaring he had told the king that he, as a man of Bearn and a zealous defender of his country's constitution, would undertake no mission which was to be followed by any acts of rigor or the employment of force. Rather than that, he would beg his majesty to relieve him of the mission and allow him to go to Pau on his own account to defend their local privileges. Thereupon all hearts were moved in French fashion; men ran to the castle for the cradle of Henry IV., which was surrounded with garlands and

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borne by four peasants to the duc's lodgings, where he was duly harangued and feted.

The next day he made known the terms of his mission to the Parlement. It amounted to a royal surrender of all the points demanded on the solitary condition of a certain formal pretence of submission. This sole condition was that some persons should be sent to Versailles to ask the king's pardon, and that the Parlement should cease to act till the royal permission was given in response to a demand for it from the provincial estates.

Even this the magistrates refused, and the duc, after trying by the most conciliating and flattering words to gain his object, had to return absolutely unsuccessful. There was nothing left but for the ministry to send "lettres de cachet" to command[1] the Parlement to come to Versailles. Their long journey across France was taken only to find, on their arrival at the court, that the ministry of Brienne had been replaced by that of Necker, and that all the local parlements were once more restored to the plenitude of their powers. Thus the aristocracy and peasantry of Bearn had, together, gained a complete victory over the king's government.

Yet more interesting are the two successive revolts which took place in Brittany. That province was almost fanatically attached to its ancient institutions, and all classes were exceptionally united. Yet it was there that the Jacobin club had its origin, and that violent revolutionary passions became most developed. To bring this about, however, it needed extreme imprudence on the part of the nobility, and of such imprudence there was no lack.

The government, aware of the character of the province, thought it well to provide a considerable number of troops. They were, however, worse than useless, owing to the character of the military commander of the province, the Comte de Thiard. Even more than the Marquis de Lons in Bearn, Thiard detested the work he had to do, and desired to get through it as quickly as possible. As a noble himself, and a man of the world, he was full of sympathy for the errors and even the violence of the men of his own class. Second in command was Bertrand de Molle-

[1] No mistake could well be greater than the mistake of supposing that "lettres de cachet" were mainly employed for tyrannical or blameworthy purposes. The multitude of them found at the base of one of the towers of the Bastille made it certain that the overwhelming majority of them were used (1) either at the request of relations for the repression of moral delinquencies, or (2) to save persons guilty of small faults from the terrible punishments then common, and to preserve honorable families from disgrace. It was not noble families who alone desired to avoid a stigma of that kind. There are a multitude of such letters, which were granted for no other reason to small shop-keepers, artisans, farmers, peasants—in fact, to persons of all conditions. In many cases there is ample evidence that such letters served to reform the lives of persons who had gone wrong, and to make others into useful members of society who otherwise would have been merely criminals.

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ville, who also disliked his position, though he did not sympathize with the extravagances of the Breton aristocracy, with whom he had had a passage of arms at a previous meeting of the estates of Brittany.

On the 5th of May the Parlement of that province met (as we have seen that of Bearn also did) to protest beforehand against any invasion of their ancient customs. Then Renè Jean, Comte de Botherel, Syndic, came, attended by an escort of nobles. They were eagerly received by the Parlement, where the Syndic first proceeded to invoke the treaties in virtue of which Francis I. became Duke of Brittany, and then declared that, as the estates were not in session, the Parlement rightly and duly acted for them in rejecting innovations. That evening the nobility went to M. de Thiard, headed by their dean, M. de Champasvoy, and declared that they handed him the protest which the Syndic of the estates of Brittany had produced in the Parlement, expressing the desire of the nobility and doubting not that the king would thereupon withdraw orders which no faithful servant of his majesty would execute. Thereupon the movement spread; such of the third estate as were in touch with the nobles joined in the protest, and also dignified ecclesiastics, such as the canons of the Chapter of Rennes. So encouraged, the Parlement declared itself permanently assembled. The nobility met and deliberated, and they passed decrees declaring any one "infamous" who should accept a post under the new royal ordinances. Anarchy spread amongst the people, and Rennes, the capital of the province, was in a state of incipient insurrection. The times had indeed changed under Louis XVI. In 1771, in the latter days of his predecessor, the Duc de Fitz-James had carried out similar orders with the greatest facility, only employing three brigades of police.

In 1788, royalty had lost both power and prestige. Still, much might have been done by a man of vigor. M. de Thiard called out his troops, indeed, but strictly forbade them to make any use of their weapons and ordered them to show the people with their ramrods that their muskets were not loaded. Thereupon, not a few of the soldiers were assaulted and the muskets of many were snatched away and broken.

On the 10th of May, the royal commissaries (Thiard and Molleville) proceeded to the Parlement. They were hissed and hooted, and with difficulty escaped actual violence from the mob. Within the chamber every vexatious formality and every possible obstacle was placed in their way, yet they dexterously managed to have the edicts registered by royal command, and then left. On descending the steps of the Parlement House they found the regiment of Rohan waiting to reconduct them to their abode, and

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so they could have returned there securely. But de Thiard's military pride would not allow this, though de Molleville desired it.

They disputed together for a quarter of an hour, during which a dense crowd collected. Finally, the escort of a regiment was declined, and the commissaries set out simply attended by an official guard of twenty men.

As they proceeded cries and insults were succeeded by a violent assault on the escort, and the commissaries themselves were struck by sticks and stones thrown at them; nor would they have escaped serious mischief had not the guard which protected their dwelling advanced to their assistance. Once safe at home, they had to remain prisoners; for the mob, after almost forcing their doors and only desisting from violence at the entreaty of two of their own magistrates, remained continually on the watch. Meantime, the nobles kept up their illegal assembly, representing themselves as the superiors of the king's ministry and the royal emissaries.

At this period there were two clubs at Rennes, one frequented by the nobility, the other by some higher members of the third estate and a few nobles. One day a student came to the former and proposed that the young nobles should join the students in attacking the regiment of Rohan. The proposition was rejected, but the illegal band of nobles led to an illegal band of students throughout France, brought about by the efforts of a young man whose name was Moreau—the future conqueror at Hohenlinden!

Encouraged by the inactivity of the king's agents, the disorder soon increased. Soldiers were assaulted and caricatures of "beds of justice" were paraded before the dwelling of Thiard and Molleville.

The magistrates also decided no longer to carry on even a semblance of obedience to the king, and, since the Parlement House was occupied by soldiery, to meet at the Hotel Cuille, the house of one of their presidents. On learning this, Thiard sent M. D'Hervilly (an officer of the Rohan regiment) with fresh orders from the king that they should dissolve at once. On being refused admission, he laid siege to the Hotel Cuille, whereupon the populace ran to defend their magistrates, encouraged to do so and to insult the soldiery by some of the nobles who accompanied them with drawn swords. Just then M. de Caraduc, procurator-general, in his legal robes, came to attend the Parlements when he called the soldiers "vile satellites of despotism." He little thought how soon he would welcome such "satellites" to save his class from the horrors of Jacobinism!

M. d'Hervilly held his ground with calm and exemplary firmness. M. Thiard sent a detachment of dragoons, not to his aid, but merely to display themselves on a piece of high ground.

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Such futility, of course, made his efforts vain. The Parlement now took the offensive and sent a deputation to demand (and, as it proved, to at once obtain) the withdrawal of the troops. A decree was published by the magistrates declaring that the edicts which had been registered were void and of no effect and forbidding any person to act upon them. During the night a *lettre de cachet* was delivered to each magistrate, commanding him to go into exile, and this order none dared disobey, but the punishment proved utterly vain.

In the tumults and disorders which had taken place the respectable citizens who were not noble took hardly any part. They were due to the mob instigated by the nobility. So far had the latter receded from that position of profound respect for the king, which was formerly universal amongst them in France since the manhood of Louis XIV., that they could not forgive M. d'Hervilly for having acted against his class. They could not, of course, openly quarrel with him for having, as an officer, remained faithful to discipline and his orders, and so they picked a quarrel with him on pretence that he had raised his cane against a young Breton noble, M. La Roudirie. A number of them left cards on him as a challenge. In vain he protested that he had not raised his cane against any one; the insults became so intolerable that he felt he must fight. He began to do so with La Roudirie. Three times he had him at his mercy and spared him, but challenge succeeded challenge to other officers who had to fight a succession of duels wherein one was killed and several wounded, and finally a duel was arranged wherein seven of the king's officers were to fight with seven Breton nobles. But this, at last, the Comte de Thiard stopped. Nevertheless, the conduct of the nobility proclaimed that, in their eyes, the first duty of an officer (then necessarily a noble) was to his class not to his colors. Small cause had they then to blame common soldiers later on, when they in turn acted against discipline and sided with their class in later stages of the revolution.

At last the central government lost patience, and when successive deputations of the nobility were sent to Versailles (though they gained the support of courtiers), some of them were confined in the Bastille. The king, however, promised that their provincial estates should be convoked, and replaced M. Thiard by a much more resolute man, the Marshal de Stainville. The latter had not been three days at Rennes before tranquillity was restored. The mob knew that this time the muskets were loaded, and that the troops had orders to fire on the first crowd that should anywhere assemble—an instructive example that the first thing necessary in dealing with a mob is to show that it is not feared, and the second,

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to make it evident that he who commands in the name of authority is firm and determined. So ended the open insurrection of the Breton nobles; but their hidden opposition continued, and their syndic, the Comte de Botherel, with others, went from town to town in the province seeking adhesions and planning another movement.

Now, at this time there was a municipal officer of Quimper who was hostile to the action of the nobility, declaring that it was a mistake on the part of the populace to ally themselves with the privileged classes against the king, and affirming that in a representative body the commons ought to be as numerous as the nobles and clergy united. Thus, when the Comte de Botherel and his companions arrived there (Quimper), they were met by a crowd of hostile citizens, who hooted them. They experienced a similar reception in other places in the vicinity, so that it was evident that in that corner of Brittany the nobles were not taken for liberators, but for what in fact they were—selfish disturbers of the peace.

Meantime, Brienne had been succeeded by Necker, to whom a fresh deputation was sent, with the result that the prisoners in the Bastille were liberated, the Parlement of Rennes restored and the estates of the province summoned in their ancient form. One of the thus liberated Bretons, the Marquis de Kersalaun, hastened back to his home at Quimper, expecting to be received with enthusiasm, when, to his disgust, he was received with cries of "*Vive le Roi*," instead of "*Vive le Parlement*."

The solemn reopening of the judicature took place at Rennes, on the 8th of October, 1788, and the provincial estates were convoked for December 29th.

Since 1541 these estates had, without any royal assent, imposed a tax exclusively on the commons, called "extraordinary forage," the proceeds of which defrayed the general expenses of the province. This abominable injustice having been brought to the king's notice, he had charged his commissaries to demand its repeal in favor of a tax which should be paid by all three orders (clergy, nobles and commons) equally. The people, delighted at finding their interests thus supported, backed up the commissaries, while the nobles, in a fury, protested against any such suggestion.

This was before the insurrection just related, and the effervescence had been so great that the commissioners then deferred any decision till the next session of the states, which was now about to take place. On October 20th, the Municipality of Rennes had forbidden its deputies at the estates to deliberate about any other question till this one was settled, and a demand was widely made by municipalities (especially at Nantes) that the number of the commons should equal those of the clergy and nobility united.

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Nowhere was this demand more justly made than in Brittany, in the estates of which the commons were hardly represented at all, and least of all the peasantry.

Such being the state of affairs, the nobles had the extreme impudence to assemble two days before the opening of the estates, and pass a resolution to the effect that they would not give precedence to any complaint of the commons.

At the opening of the estates, the nobles, who had each a right to vote, assembled to the number of 1200, accompanied by a crowd of enthusiastic youths of their class. The commons did not number more than 42. The galleries were crowded with spectators, but there was little to see, since the members of the third estate persisted, in spite of every effort of the other orders and of the royal commissaries, in their attitude of absolute passivity.

Thereupon M. de Thiard (who had resumed his functions) applied to the government for instructions, with the effect that Necker sent a decree proroguing the estates till the 3d of February. The tone of the decree was so sympathetic with the commons that it was received with loud cries of "*Vive le Roi*," and the citizens illuminated.

Then the privileged classes showed plainly their intention to disobey the king and remain in session, vainly using both entreatties and threats to induce the third estate to remain also. They resolved to prolong their sitting, day and night, till the 3d of February. The commons having despatched a deputation to Necker, he sent a decree permitting the number of the commons in the provincial estates to be doubled, with the consent of the two higher orders. This was a vain concession, indeed, seeing that, even should the clergy and nobility consent, the 1200 of the latter could always enormously outvote the commons.

But the privileged orders would not consent that the ancient constitution of the estates should be changed in any manner, however small. Accordingly, the lowest classes of the population were invited to meet outside the city to devise measures for protecting the people against attempts on the part of the citizens. Two thousand people responded on the 26th of January, 1789. They consisted for the most part of domestic servants and others depending directly on the patronage of the nobility.

A footman addressed the assembly, saying that the richer commoners would deprive them of their wages, and that they desired to support the nobility and beg the Parlement to decree that bread should be cheap. Then the mob followed their leader to the Parlement, which (though no precedent sanctioned such a proceeding) received them, gravely listened, and promised to grant their request. Thus, in the conduct of this ancient body we have a

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précedent for similar acts on the part of the future Convention of Paris. So, encouraged and inflamed with drink, they noisily traversed the streets, thus showing their preference for the aristocracy, by which they lived, over the middle classes of Rennes. It was all their instigators desired, but not all that they performed. Some of them were armed with sticks, and various conflicts took place. At last they happened to pass a café wherein a number of students were assembled, who opposed their entrance. Just then a wagon laden with wood happened to be passing; the rioters at once armed themselves and violently assaulted the students and seriously injured several of them.

As soon as the news reached the clergy and nobility, they ran to stop the riot, and ultimately an apparent calm was produced.

But the rest of the students, and the youth of the middle class generally, agreed to resent the outrage, which they attributed to those who had instigated the extra-mural meeting of the 26th. The citizens also began to be tired of seeing the privileged orders continuing their session in spite of the king's orders. Thus it was that the students determined to stop the nobility from going to their hall, and assailed those they encountered, who then drew their swords. But their assailants carried fire-arms, and two of the nobles fell. The clergy and nobility were next besieged in their meeting-places, which the excited students threatened to set fire to; but ultimately, by the intervention of the Comte de Thiard, the clergy and the nobles were able to retire. The excitement, however, spread far and wide, and numerous meetings of the Commons were held in support of the citizens of Rennes. At Angers there was even held a meeting of women protesting their entire sympathy with the efforts made by their husbands, sweethearts, sons and brothers.

The 3d of February approached, and the nobles began to meet in the hall of the estates, when a fresh decree of the king announced their definitive closure and strictly forbade every sort of irregular assembly. M. de Thiard was also furnished with positive orders to act; whereupon he caused cannons to be placed opposite the hall of the estates, and ordered the assembled nobles to disperse, which, seeing that he was now in earnest, they did, and so the provincial dispute ended, save, that so late as April 6, 1789, they obtained from the soon-to-disappear Parlement of Paris, a decree that a publication hostile to them should be burned by the hands of the State executioner.

Thus it was, that by the impudence and obstinacy of its privileged orders, revolutionary ideas were rapidly developed in what had been the most calm and patient of French provinces, the most attached to the king and the most faithful to the teaching of the

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Church. The resistance of the privileged orders of Brittany to all liberal modifications continued down to the last. Both clergy and nobility refused to attend the king's summons to elect deputies to the States General in April, whereby thirty-one votes were lost which might have supported the cause of order and moderation, just as a similar abstention of the two higher orders in the Province of Artois led to the election of Charles de Lameth and Robespierre.

Dauphiny had preserved its provincial estates until 1628, when they were suppressed by Cardinal Richelieu. In 1787 the Duke of Orleans (afterwards Philippe Égalité) bore the title of governor of that province, and on the 17th of July he wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Toulouse in support of their restoration, but suggesting the possibility of useful modifications in their constitutions as already effected in Hainault, as stated in our former article. The claim was disallowed, and the Prime Minister, Brienne, attempted to enforce the action of the newly-decreed Provincial Assembly. This, however, the Parlement of Grenoble persistently resisted, and the nobility prepared to support the Parlement, the Commons at first remaining passive. On the 20th of May, 1787, the hall of the Parlement being occupied by soldiers, the magistrates met at the house of their president, M. de Bérulle, and passed a resolution condemning the ministerial edicts, their authors and all those who should attempt to act upon them. Brienne then at once sent letters "*de Cachet*," exiling the magistrates, who at once prepared to depart on the morning of June 7th. But an insurrection broke out, the tocsin was sounded, the luggage of the exiles dragged from their carriages and the crowd rushed towards the house of the commandant of the province, the Duc de Clermont-Tonnerre. On their way they met troops whose commander forbade them to fire on the citizens, with whom the soldiers soon fraternized. Only one officer sternly did his duty. It was Bernadotte, the future King of Sweden. The Duc de Clermont-Tonnerre had certainly not done his, but had allowed the revolt to proceed without showing himself or issuing a single order. He gained nothing by his culpable weakness. Although defended by a guard of three hundred men, the peasants who flocked in from all sides on hearing the tocsin, effected a breach, and soon had the duc at their mercy. He was forced to declare the *lettres de Cachet* null and void, to open the Hall of Justice and to write (an axe being held over his head) to M. de Bérulle to confide to him and his brother magistrates the task of restoring order. After remaining some time at Grenoble to ensure the restoration of order, the members of the Parlement each, quietly and obediently, went their way towards their place of exile.

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A few days later a permanent committee of the nobility, who remained at the head of affairs, invited the dignified clergy, the municipality, and the most distinguished citizens, to a consultation, with a view to themselves solemnly convoking the three orders of the estates of Dauphiny, in order that present difficulties might be put an end to in the name of their common country. The meeting assembled in the Hotel de Ville on June 14th, and refused to dissolve, when summoned so to do, by a royal officer. Strange as it may seem, it was the commons alone who refused to co-operate. The fact was they knew that they were, at this juncture, indispensable to the higher orders. They did not, however, presume to make conditions; they waited. It was the nobility who broke the ice. One of them, in speaking at a preliminary meeting of the estates to be assembled, added: "it being well understood that the third estate has a double number of representatives and that votes shall be taken by counting heads." Then all difficulties vanished and it was resolved to convoke the estates of Dauphiny, at Grenoble, for the 21st of July.

But the Prime Minister forbade any such assembly and sent the Marechal de Vaux to replace the feeble Duc de Clermont-Tonnerre. The Marechal, however, found himself completely boycotted and he wrote to the Government that nothing but cannon would stop the convocation of the meeting which he advised should be tolerated with some modification. So said, so done. The meeting took place, as enjoined, at Vizille instead of at Grenoble.

The assembly met at eight o'clock in the castle which had been the ancient residence of their dauphins, whose title was assumed by the king's eldest son when Dauphiny was annexed to France. There were 50 dignified clergy, 165 nobles and 400 commons amongst whom were many parish priests. Then a series of liberal but moderate resolutions were passed regulating the definite organization of the estates wherein the commons were the equal in numbers to the members of the two higher orders, and votes were to be taken by counting heads. But most noteworthy of all their determinations was a resolution they passed never to separate their own cause from that of the other provinces of the whole French nation. Dauphiny thus presented a happy contrast to the rest of France in the union between its orders. At the conclusion of the meeting, one of the commons complimented the members of the two higher orders on the loyalty with which, putting aside ancient prejudices, they had sought to act justly and maintain the union of all classes. Then the meeting was adjourned to the first of September.

Brienne thought to avoid such an illicit meeting by himself convoking at Romans, for the 30th of August, an official meeting of

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180 members charged to submit a plan for the re-constitution of the Provincial estates. A year before, such a measure would have been welcome indeed; now they had been spontaneously organized and it was too late. In the midst of the crisis Brienne fell and was succeeded by Necker. The estates afterwards proceeded harmoniously till they came to elect deputies for the States General. Then the Parliament of Grenoble, the Archbishop of Embrun, and a certain number of the nobility formed themselves into an aristocratic opposition whereupon they experienced themselves the effects of revolutionary disorder they had at first effectually promoted.

Up to the middle of 1788, the Province of Franche-Comté had taken no part in the disputes which the decrees instituting the provincial assemblies had occasioned. On the 14th of June, however, after those decrees had been forcibly registered by the Parlement of Besançon, a hundred of the nobility met and formulated a letter to the king in favor of the convocation of the estates of the Province. Their petition was rejected with the reply that the provincial assembly ordered by the king was the same thing. The nobles, however, knowing that in the provincial assembly votes would be taken by counting heads, made effort after effort till the fall of Brienne. Then under Necker, they met fully on the 10th of September and imprudently swore never to adopt any form of assembly save their ancient "estates"—the abuses of which were monstrous. They were energetically supported by the dignified members of the clergy. Thereupon the municipalities of the Province began to make use of the same arms against the privileged classes which they had seen those classes themselves use against the king's government. They were encouraged in this by a few of the liberal nobles and by the lower clergy.

Nevertheless the course pursued by the majority of the privileged classes, and especially by the Parlement of Besançon, was very instructive and extremely different from that followed, as we have seen, by those of Dauphiny.

With Necker's tolerance, the estates met on November 27th, in the same form as that which they had possessed in 1666. Thereupon a split took place. The first and second orders insisted on retaining the old customs—three chambers, each with an independent vote. The third order desired to follow the course which had been adopted in Dauphiny.

Meantime appeared the famous decree of the government ordaining that for the States General of the Kingdom, the members of the third estate were to be twice the numbers of those of either of the other orders. Against this, the majority of the estates of Franche-Comté, protested violently, while a minority of 20 nobles

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and 7 clergy declared their acceptance of the royal order and invited the signatures of all those who might agree with them, to their declaration. This act, the Parlement of Besançon gravely censured. Also, on the 27th of January, they decreed that all the ancient customs, all the demands and exactions of the privileged orders, all their exemptions from taxation and their oppressive feudal claims, were immutable and incapable of diminution or alteration, by either king or States General. There was but one authority they declared which had such a power. Strange to say this was the whole population consulted, according to universal suffrage, for the express purpose of constituting a national organization.

Little did they dream that three days before such an appeal had been determined on by the government itself! What wonder that soon the emissaries of the government had to protect the Parlement upon the outburst of popular passions which they had themselves excited; for they had endeavored to set class against class in the long and celebrated decree, the essence of which has been here given.

The Province of Languedoc had inherited from preceding ages a very exceptional organization. Its estates, though consisting, as usual, of three orders, formed, nevertheless, but one chamber, wherein votes had always been taken by counting heads, while the third order constituted one-half of the whole assembly.

Its organization had been much admired by the venerable Archbishop of Cambray, Fenelon, and it had served as a model for those provincial assemblies which the government had recently decreed. Nevertheless, the "estates" were really much less democratic (of course, the term "democratic" is used in the European sense, and not in that of the politics of the United States) than the above statement would imply. For the third estate was represented by municipal officers who had either purchased or had inherited the posts they occupied. But the representatives of the second order (the nobility) were exclusively the owners of certain baronies, who had an hereditary right to their seats somewhat after the manner of the English peers. Therefore it was that in 1788, under the influence of the aristocratic reaction of the seven preceding years, the nobles began to protest against the existing system, claiming their separate chamber wherein they should be all represented with a vote according to "orders," as in the other provincial estates. Here we have a striking example of how little case the privileged orders made of "antiquity" and "tradition," and how willing they were for radical changes when their own interests were concerned, obstinate as they were in resisting change under opposite conditions. Meetings were held, applica-

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tions were made to the king, and a violent agitation spread over the country, with the result that the commons began to stir in their own interest—following in the path traced out for them by the insubordination of the privileged orders. The confusion at last became so great that Necker dissolved the estates of Languedoc till such time as their definitive constitution should be determined by the soon-to-assemble States General of France.

A brief notice of the struggle which took place in Provence (also most instructive) must here suffice to show the spirit of the two higher orders at this most critical period.

Provence was administered in a singularly exceptional manner. Before the time of the autocratic Richelieu, it also enjoyed its provincial estates, composed of the usual three orders; and these, as in Languedoc, formed together but a single chamber, and votes were taken by counting heads. Nevertheless, they differed extremely from the estates of Languedoc, in that the third estate, instead of forming the majority of the chamber, formed such an insignificant minority that they were constantly outvoted and quite powerless. The suppression of the estates of Provence caused, therefore, no regret to the commons, who, moreover, possessed another institution which gave them a great advantage. In 1787 there were two administrative bodies in the province. One of these was called the "General Assembly of Communities," and it met every year, for some days, in the little town of Lambesc. It was mainly a legislative body presided over by the Archbishop of Aix, having 6 official members, but no less than 36 deputies chosen by municipalities which had for the most part preserved their ancient constitution, and were freely elected by the whole of their fellow-citizens. Therefore, here the commons had it all their own way.

The second administrative body was "the Commission of Procurators," which sat permanently in the City of Aix. It also had the archbishop as its president. There were two consuls—both always nobles. The first was selected from amongst the largest feudatories of the province; the second was always a nobleman of the city. There were also three "Procurators," one for each of the three orders. Thus, out of six votes, the Commons had here but one.

The inhabitants of Provence, generally, were much attached to their "Assembly General of Communities," which kept the taxes low and distributed them equitably.

Thus, when the new provincial Assemblies were instituted, it was generally expected that the state of things in Provence would not be interfered with.

This, however, did not suit those who possessed social and

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political privileges, and they took the opportunity to protest against the existing system, which was opposed to their pretensions.

Seeing the preponderance which the third estate was then enjoying, it might have been anticipated that the nobility and clergy would have contented themselves with petitioning that the new regulation of the government might be applied to Provence. That would have given them as many votes as the commons had—all sitting in one chamber. But they were contented with nothing of the kind. Accustomed since the reaction of 1781 began, to exceptional favors, they sought the re-establishment of the ancient States General, which Cardinal Richelieu had suppressed, wherein they would have enjoyed an overwhelming majority of votes.

Their prayer was quickly granted, although a similar request had just been refused to Dauphiny.

The estates held their first sitting on the 31st of December, 1787. The clergy were represented by the bishops, vicars-general, deans, chapters, and abbots of the provinces; and the nobility by 128 members. The third estate had only 56 representatives, whereof 35 were consuls of cities, and many of them nobles.

Accustomed as the Provençals had been to the equitable partition of burdens by the "General Assembly of Communities," it was specially desirable that the newly revived estates should accord a double representation to the commons, and also decree an equality of taxation for all three orders. The first measure, indeed, they felt compelled to concede, and conceded. Not so, the second. The most that that the nobility would consent to, was to bear a share in the repair of roads and to pay 4000 francs towards the support of bastard children. The clergy were still less generous, and would only agree to do half what the nobles offered. In vain, Archbishop Boisgelin, the president—a noted liberal—tried to bring about a greater spirit of conciliation. The Assembly dispersed on the 1st of February, 1788, when the Commons made their complaint to the king. The people of the country vigorously demanded the reopening of the "General Assembly of Communities," which, after a first refusal, many contentions, and much violent opposition on the part of the nobility, was at last permitted, and actually took place on the 4th of May, 1788.

The foregoing must suffice (for want of space) to give our readers a notion of some of the disputes in the French provinces before the election of the States General; but a few words may here be added to depict the sentiments of the privileged classes during that election. In the first place, from one end of the kingdom to the other, they sought to maintain the theory that it was beyond the power of either king or States General to deprive them of their

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privileges, especially those exemptions from taxation which they might themselves agree to surrender on condition that their feudal claims were thenceforth secured to them in perpetuity. This was clearly shown at Coudom, Dax, Evreux, and a multitude of localities. Thus, at Berg, the nobility assembled and formally declared as follows: "If ever, against all expectation, the commons, led astray by pernicious instigations, should make demands prejudicial to the first and second orders, in spite of their willingness to pay equal taxes, then, in such case, their deputies shall retire from the States General, and their pecuniary exemptions shall again be insisted on."

Demands were also made that even if taxes were to be extended to all orders, nevertheless, poor nobles and such as farmed their own lands, should be exempt.

Unhappily for France, and most unhappily for himself, Louis XVI. (perhaps mainly owing to the influence of those immediately about him) was strongly sympathetic with his nobles, and regarded their most oppressive claims as property with which he had no right to interfere. The privileged classes had taught the commons to rise against the old autocratic system of government. It was natural, that when the people found that no changes were contemplated in those rules and customs which bore most hardly upon them, they should be ready, in their turn, to rise against the privileged orders; and, when they saw the king make their cause his, against the king himself. We will terminate our article with a brief notice of the obstinacy with which the nobility clung to their privileges at and after the opening of the States General, and of the fatal support given to them by the monarch. It need only be most brief, because these facts are known to every student of modern history.

On the 4th of May, 1789, the twelve hundred newly-elected deputies went in procession at Versailles to High Mass the day before the opening of the States General.

They were to set out from the church of Notre Dame, and go to that of St. Louis. At the very beginning, the aristocratic spirit of the government showed itself in assigning different places for the three orders to assemble in. The clergy were to meet in a house adjacent to Notre Dame. The right aisle of the church was for the nobility, and the left for the commons. The deputies were convoked for seven in the morning, but the king, attended by the princes and his courtiers, did not leave the palace till ten o'clock. Nevertheless, he was received with acclamations, the *Veni Creator* was intoned, and a little after eleven the procession started.

It was led by Franciscan friars (Recollects) who were the only religious body at Versailles. Then came the clergy of the two par-

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ishes of the town. They were followed by the deputies of the third order in black woollen cloaks and plain three-cornered hats. Next were the nobles, wearing mantles embroidered with gold and hats bordered with white feathers. To them succeeded the lower clergy, then the royal band, which separated them from the dignified ecclesiastics who directly preceded the Blessed Sacrament carried by the Archbishop of Paris under a canopy supported by gentlemen in waiting, its cords being held by Monsieur and the Comte d'Artois (the king's brothers), and by the two sons of the Comte —the Duc d'Angouleme and the Duc de Berri.

The king walked directly behind the archbishop. The princes of the blood, the dukes and peers then followed each other on the right, while the queen, Madame Elizabeth, the Duchess d'Orleans, and the Princess de Lamballe followed each other on the left.

Madame de Stael, then young, was at a window with Madame de Montmorin, wife of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The young woman was full of pleasurable excitement on seeing the procession, when the elder lady said to her, "You should not rejoice; great disasters will arise from what you see both to France and to us."

She spoke but too truly. She was herself destined to perish on the scaffold with one of her sons; her other son was drowned; her husband was amongst those massacred on the 2d of September; her elder daughter died in a prison hospital, while her younger one died overwhelmed with misery before she was thirty years old. For such terrible misfortunes, the short-sighted obstinacy of the nobles and the folly and weakness of the king were largely responsible.

When all had arrived at the Church of St. Louis, a Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated, and then the Bishop of Nancy preached a very injudicious sermon. At that time a sense of the extreme injustice of the exemption from taxation of the higher orders was universally diffused, save amongst those orders themselves. Nevertheless on this subject he said: "The renunciation of exemptions from taxation is a voluntary sacrifice which no one has a right to exact." And then as if he sought to rouse the jealous feelings of the third estate, he addressed the king as follows: "Sire, receive the homage of the clergy, the respect of the nobility and the very humble supplications of the commons."

As every one knows, the commons were treated with much indignity at the very beginning of the opening of the States General and again and again afterwards. In spite of the organization which had been given to the provincial assemblies by the government, and in spite of the concession that the commons should be twice as numerous as the representatives of the clergy and nobility

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—in spite of all this—the government favored the separation and the three bodies and the vote by orders which nullified and stultified the doubling of the commons.

After prolonged efforts and the conferences between the orders with which no doubt our readers are more or less familiar, came the singular delay and the frivolous excuses made by the king when a deputation of commons sought an interview with him. It is now known the real reason was that according to ancient custom the commons could only be heard on their knees. It was felt that it would be difficult to get them to accede to such a ceremonial, while without it the king did not see his way to make a sufficient distinction between them and the privileged orders.

At last, when on the 23d of June, 1789, there took place the celebrated royal sitting, the king, amongst a number of reactionary statements, distinctly declared in Article XIV., that all feudal and seigneurial rights and dues, whether attached to persons or to lands, were to be maintained inviolate. He also refused Necker's advice to throw open the army and other employments to the commons.

Thereupon the nobles, thinking they had triumphed, gave vent to noisy demonstrations and went to express their thanks to the Count d'Artois and to the queen. They met the unfortunate Marie Antoinette leading her daughter by the hand and with the little Dauphin in her arms. Him she presented to them, while saying with infinite grace, that she should teach him to cherish the nobility and to regard them as the firmest support to the throne.

Meantime the royal conspiracy to do away with the States General by a *coup d'etat*, went on in its impotent way—impotent because not the most ordinary prudence had been exercised in maintaining discipline in the army.

Our task has been to depict the spirit and actions of the privileged classes, not to describe the French Revolution, but we may terminate our notice with the words of that intelligent American observer, General Morris, when it came to his knowledge that even the king's body-guard was no longer to be trusted. On July 1st, he wrote:

"The body-guards are, strange as it may appear, warm partisans of the commons. Thus the sword has slipped out of the hands of the monarch without his having become in the least aware of that fact."

But the passion and prejudice of the privileged orders adhered to members of the nobility for many a long year. It adhered to them during their exile, during the restoration, from 1814 onward,

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only to die out with the last survivors of that generation in the days of Louis Philippe and the second empire.

The catastrophe in which the ruin of the ancient Church of France was involved with that of the ancient State, carries with it no unimportant lesson.

It shows plainly enough the evil effects of binding the Church in golden fetters to the chariot of the State and of making it an apparent accomplice in the tyranny and exactions of kings or nobles.

But it is not only kings or nobles, the wealthy or refined which can practice tyranny; as was abundantly and once for all demonstrated in the days of Robespierre and his infamous successors.

The mere fact that a man is a laborer or a skilled (or unskilled) artisan, does not necessarily make him a just citizen any more than it makes him a saint. Every man and every class of men is subject to the temptation of selfishness, greed, want of consideration for the just claims of others and downright tyranny. The lowest classes, as the most numerous, may here and there, now and again, become overwhelmingly the most powerful, while they remain least capable of using their power intelligently even for their own ultimate welfare. But whatever class becomes in turn the source of wealth and power, there must always be a temptation for men of other classes, clerics as well as laymen, to truckle to it and selfishly abet its injustice and exactions, and it is well to remember that there is at least no less baseness in truckling to King Mob, than to a grand monarque or a refined and in many ways admirable aristocracy like that which made shipwreck in France and sank to rise no more, together with all the glories and the follies, the sins and the charms of the French *Ancien Règime*.

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

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THE STUDY OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURE.

TO OUR VENERABLE BRETHREN, ALL PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, AND BISHOPS OF THE CATHOLIC WORLD, IN GRACE AND COMMUNION WITH THE APOSTOLIC SEE.

POPE LEO XIII.

VENERABLE BRETHREN, HEALTH AND APOSTOLIC BENEDICTION.

THE God of all Providence, Who in the adorable designs of His love at first elevated the human race to the participation of the Divine nature, and afterwards delivered it from universal guilt and ruin, restoring it to its primitive dignity, has in consequence bestowed upon man a splendid gift and safeguard—making known to him, by supernatural means, the hidden mysteries of His Divinity, His wisdom and His mercy. For although in Divine revelation there are contained some things which are not beyond the reach of unassisted reason, and which are made the objects of such revelation in order "that all may come to know them with facility, certainty, and safety from error, yet not on this account can supernatural Revelation be said to be absolutely necessary; it is only necessary because God has ordinated man to a supernatural end."[1] This supernatural revelation, according to the belief of the universal Church, is contained both in unwritten Tradition, and in written Books, which are therefore called sacred and canonical because, "being written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author, and as such have been delivered to the Church."[2] This belief has been perpetually held and professed by the Church in regard to the Books of both Testaments; and there are well-known documents of the gravest kind, coming down to us from the earliest times, which proclaim that God, Who spoke first by the Prophets, then by His own mouth, and lastly by the Apostles, composed also the Canonical Scriptures,[3] and that these are His own oracles and words[4]—a Letter, written by our Heavenly Father, and transmitted by the sacred writers to the human race in its pilgrimage so far from its heavenly country.[5] If, then, such

[1] Conc. Vat. sess. iii., cap. ii. de revel. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] S. Aug. de civ. Dei xi., 3.

[4] S. Clem. Rom. 1 ad. Cor. 45; S. Polycarp. ad Phil. 7; S. Iren. c. haer. ii. 28, 2.

[5] S. Chrys. in Gen. hom. 2, 2; S. Aug. in Ps. xxx., serm., 2, 1; S. Greg. M. ad Theod. ep. iv., 31.

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and so great is the excellence and the dignity of the Scriptures, that God Himself has composed them, and that they treat of God's marvellous mysteries, counsels and works, it follows that the branch of sacred Theology which is concerned with the defence and elucidation of these divine Books must be excellent and useful in the highest degree.

Now We, who by the help of God, and not without fruit, have by frequent Letters and exhortation endeavored to promote other branches of study which seemed capable of advancing the glory of God and contributing to the salvation of souls, have for a long time cherished the desire to give an impulse to the noble science of Holy Scripture, and to impart to Scripture study a direction suitable to the needs of the present day. The solicitude of the Apostolic office naturally urges, and even compels us, not only to desire that this grand source of Catholic revelation should be made safely and abundantly accessible to the flock of Jesus Christ, but also not to suffer any attempt to defile or corrupt it, either on the part of those who impiously and openly assail the Scriptures, or of those who are led astray into fallacious and imprudent novelties. We are not ignorant, indeed, Venerable Brethren, that there are not a few Catholics, men of talent and learning, who do devote themselves with ardor to the defence of the sacred writings and to making them better known and understood. But whilst giving to these the commendation they deserve, We cannot but earnestly exhort others also, from whose skill and piety and learning we have a right to expect good results, to give themselves to the same most praiseworthy work. It is Our wish and fervent desire to see an increase in the number of the approved and perservering laborers in the cause of Holy Scripture; and more especially that those whom Divine Grace has called to Holy Orders, should, day-by-day, as their state demands, display greater diligence and industry in reading, meditating, and explaining it.

Holy Scripture most Profitable to Doctrine and Morality.

Among the reasons for which the Holy Scripture is so worthy of commendation—in addition to its own excellence and to the homage which we owe to God's Word—the chief of all is, the innumerable benefits of which it is the source; according to the infallible testimony of the Holy Ghost Himself, who says: "All Scripture, inspired of God, is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice, that the man of God may be perfect, furnished to every good work."[1] That such was the purpose of God in giving the Scripture to men as shown by the example of

[1] 2 Tim. iii., 16-17.

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Christ our Lord and of His Apostles. For He Himself Who "obtained authority by miracles, merited belief by authority, and by belief drew to Himself the multitude"[1] was accustomed in the exercise of his Divine Mission, to appeal to the Scriptures. He uses them at times to prove that He is sent by God, and is God Himself. From them He cites instructions for His disciples and confirmation of His doctrine. He vindicates them from the calumnies of objectors; he quotes them against Sudducees and Pharisees, and retorts from them upon Satan himself when he dares to tempt Him. At the close of His life His utterances are from Holy Scripture, and it is the Scripture that He expounds to His disciples after His resurrection until He ascends to the glory of His Father. Faithful to His precepts, the Apostles, although He Himself granted "signs and wonders to be done by their hands"[2] nevertheless used with the greatest effort the sacred writings, in order to persuade the nations everywhere of the wisdom of Christianity, to conquer the obstinacy of the Jews, and to suppress the outbreak of heresy. This is plainly seen in their discourses, especially in those of St. Peter: these were often little less than a series of citations from the Old Testament making in the strongest manner for the new dispensation. We find the same thing in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John and in the Catholic Epistles; and most remarkably of all in the words of him who "boasts that he learned the law at the feet of Gamaliel, in order that, being armed with spiritual weapons, he might afterwards say with confidence, 'The arms of our warfare are not carnal but mighty unto God.'"[3] Let all, therefore especially the novices of the ecclesiastical army, understand how deeply the sacred Books should be esteemed, and with what eagerness and reverence they should approach this great arsenal of heavenly arms. For those whose duty it is to handle Catholic doctrine before the learned or the unlearned will nowhere find more ample matter or more abundant exhortation, whether on the subject of God, the supreme Good and the all-perfect Being, or of the works which display His Glory and His love. Nowhere is there anything more full or more express on the subject of the Saviour of the world than is to be found in the whole range of the Bible. As St. Jerome says, "To be ignorant of the Scripture is not to know Christ."[4] In its pages His Image stands out, living and breathing; diffusing everywhere around consolation in trouble, encouragement to virtue and attraction to the love of God. And as to the Church, her institutions, her nature, her office, and her

[1] S. Aug. de util. cred. xiv.

[2] Act xiv, 3.

[3] St. Hieron. de stud. Script ad Paulin. ep. liii. 3.

[4] In Isaiam Prol.

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gifts, we find in Holy Scripture so many references and so many ready and convincing arguments, that St. Jerome again most truly says: "A man who is well grounded in the testimonies of the Scripture is the bulwark of the Church."[1] And if we come to morality and discipline, an apostolic man finds in the sacred writings abundant and excellent assistance; most holy precepts, gentle and strong exhortation, splendid examples of every virtue, and finally the promise of eternal reward and the threat of eternal punishment, uttered in terms of solemn import, in God's name and in God's own words.

And it is this peculiar and singular power of Holy Scripture, arising from the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which gives authority to the sacred orator, fills him with apostolic liberty of speech, and communicates force and power to his eloquence. For those who infuse into their efforts the spirit and strength of the Word of God, speak "not in word only but in power also, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much fulness."[2] Hence those preachers are foolish and improvident who, in speaking of religion and proclaiming the things of God, use no words but those of human science and human prudence, trusting to their own reasonings rather than to those of God. Their discourses may be brilliant and fine, but they must be feeble and they must be cold, for they are without the fire of the utterance of God[3] and they must fall far short of that mighty power which the speech of God possesses: "for the Word of God is living and effectual, and more piercing than any two-edged sword; and reaching unto the division of the soul and the spirit."[4] But, indeed, all those who have a right to speak are agreed that there is in the Holy Scripture an eloquence that is wonderfully varied and rich, and worthy of great themes. This St. Augustine thoroughly understood and has abundantly set forth.[5] This also is confirmed by the best preachers of all ages, who have gratefully acknowledged that they owed their repute chiefly to the assiduous use of the Bible, and to devout meditation on its pages.

The Holy Fathers well knew all this by practical experience, and they never cease to extol the sacred Scripture and its fruits. In innumerable passages of their writings we find them applying to it such phrases as "an inexhaustible treasury of heavenly doctrine,"[6] or "an overflowing fountain of salvation,"[7] or putting it before us as fertile pastures and beautiful gardens in which the

[1] In Isaiam liv., 12. [2] I. Thess., i., 5. [3] Jerem. xxiii., 29.
[4] Hebr. iv., 12. [5] De doctr. Chr. iv., 6, 7.
[6] S. Chrys. in Gen. Hom., xxi., 2; Hom. lx, 3: S. Aug., de Disc., Christ., ii.
[7] S. Athan. ep. fest. xxxix.

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flock of the Lord is marvellously refreshed and delighted.[1] Let us listen to the words of St. Jerome, in his Epistle to Nepotian: "Often read the divine Scriptures; yea, let holy reading be always in thy hand; study that which thou thyself must preach. . . . Let the speech of the priest be ever seasoned with Scriptural reading."[2] St. Gregory the Great, than whom no one has more admirably described the pastoral office, writes in the same sense: "those," he says, "who are zealous in the work of preaching must never cease the study of the written word of God."[3] St. Augustine, however, warns us that "vainly does the preacher utter the Word of God exteriorly unless he listens to it interiorly;"[4] and St. Gregory instructs sacred orators "first to find in Holy Scripture the knowledge of themselves, and then to carry it to others, lest in reproving others they forget themselves."[5] Admonitions such as these had, indeed, been uttered long before by the Apostolic voice which had learnt its lesson from Christ Himself, Who "began to do and teach." It was not to Timothy alone, but to the whole order of the clergy, that the command was addressed: "Take heed to thyself and to doctrine; be earnest in them. For in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee."[6] For the saving and for the perfection of ourselves and others there is at hand the very best of help in the Holy Scriptures, as the Book of Psalms, among others, so constantly insists; but those only will find it who bring to this divine reading not only docility and attention, but also piety and an innocent life. For the Sacred Scripture is not like other books. Dictated by the Holy Ghost, it contains things of the deepest importance, which in many instances are most difficult and obscure. To understand and explain such things there is always required the "coming"[7] of the same Holy Spirit; that is to say, His light and His grace; and these, as the Royal Psalmist so frequently insists, are to be sought by humble prayer and guarded by holiness of life.

What the Bible Owes to the Catholic Church.

It is in this that the watchful care of the Church shines forth conspicuously, By admirable laws and regulations, she has always shown herself solicitous that "the celestial treasure of the Sacred Books, so bountifully bestowed upon man by the Holy Spirit, should not lie neglected."[8] She has prescribed that a con-

[1] S. Aug., serm. xxvi., 24; S. Ambra. in Ps. cxviii, serm. xix., 2.
[2] S. Hier. de vita cleric. ad Nepot.
[3] S. Greg. M, Regul. past. ii., 11 (al. 22); Moral. xviii., 26 (al. 14).
[4] S. Aug., serm. clxxix., 1.
[5] S. Greg., M. Regul. past., iii., 24 (al. 48). [6] I. Tim. iv., 16.
[7] S. Hier. in Mic. i., 10. [8] Conc. Trid. sess. v. decret. de reform, 1.

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siderable portion of them shall be read and piously reflected upon by all her ministers in the daily office of the sacred psalmody. She has ordered that in Cathedral Churches, in monasteries, and in other convents in which study can conveniently be pursued, they shall be expounded and interpreted by capable men; and she has strictly commanded that her children shall be fed with the saving words of the Gospel at least on Sundays and solemn feasts.[1] Moreover, it is owing to the wisdom and exertions of the Church that there has always been continued from century to century that cultivation of Holy Scripture which has been so remarkable and has borne such ample fruit.

And here, in order to strengthen Our teaching and Our exhortations, it is well to recall how, from the beginning of Christianity, all who have been renowned for holiness of life and sacred learning, have given their deep and constant attention to Holy Scripture. If we consider the immediate disciples of the Apostles, St. Clement of Rome, St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Polycarp—or the apologists, such as St. Justin and St. Irenæus, we find that in their letters and their books, whether in defence of the Catholic Faith or in its commendation, they draw faith, strength, and unction from the Word of God. When there arose, in various Sees, Catechetical and Theological schools, of which the most celebrated were those of Alexandria and of Antioch, there was little taught in those schools but what was contained in the reading, the interpretation and the defence of the divine written word. From them came forth numbers of Fathers and writers whose laborious studies and admirable writings have justly merited for the three following centuries the appellation of the golden age of biblical exegesis. In the Eastern Church, the greatest name of all is Origen—a man remarkable alike for penetration of genius and for persevering labor; from whose numerous works and his great *Hexapla* almost all have drawn that came after him. Others who have widened the field of this science may also be named, as especially eminent; thus, Alexandria could boast of St. Clement and St. Cyril; Palestine, of Eusebius and the other St. Cyril; Cappadocia, of St. Basil the Great and the two St. Gregories, of Nazianzus and Nyssa; Antioch, of St. John Chrysostom, in whom the science of Scripture was rivalled by the splendor of his eloquence. In the Western Church there were many names as great: Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Leo the Great, St. Gregory the Great; most famous of all, St. Augustine and St. Jerome, of whom the former was so marvellously acute in penetrating the sense of God's Word and so fertile in the use that he made of it

[1] *Ibid.* 1–2.

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for the promotion of the Catholic truth, and the latter has received from the Church, by reason of his pre-eminent knowledge of Scripture and his labors in promoting its use, the name of the "great Doctor."[1] From this period down to the eleventh century, although Biblical studies did not flourish with the same vigor and the same fruitfulness as before, yet they did flourish, and principally by the instrumentality of the clergy. It was their care and solicitude that selected the best and most useful things that the ancients had left, arranged them in order, and published them with additions of their own—as did St. Isidore of Seville, Venerable Bede, and Alcuin, among the most prominent; it was they who illustrated the sacred pages with "glosses" or short commentaries, as we see in Walafrid Strabo and St. Anselm of Laon, or expended fresh labor in securing their integrity, as did St. Peter Damian and Blessed Lanfranc. In the twelfth century many took up with great success the allegorical exposition of Scripture. In this kind, St. Bernard is pre-eminent; and his writings, it may be said, are Scripture all through. With the age of the scholastics came fresh and welcome progress in the study of the Bible. That the scholastics were solicitous about the genuineness of the Latin version is evident from the *Correctoria Biblica*, or lists of emendations, which they have left. But they expended their labors and industry chiefly on interpretation and explanation. To them we owe the accurate and clear distinction, such as had not been given before, of the various senses of the sacred words; the assignment of the value of each "sense" in theology; the division of books into parts, and the summaries of the various parts; the investigation of the objects of the writers; the demonstration of the connection of sentence with sentence, and clause with clause; all of which is calculated to throw much light on the more obscure passages of the sacred volume. The valuable work of the scholastics in Holy Scripture is seen in their theological treatises and in their Scripture commentaries; and in this respect the greatest name among them all is St. Thomas of Aquin.

When our predecessor, Clement V., established chairs of Oriental literature in the Roman College and in the principal Universities of Europe, Catholics began to make more accurate investigation on the original text of the Bible, as well as on the Latin version. The revival amongst us of Greek learning, and, much more, the happy invention of the art of printing, gave a strong impetus to Biblical studies. In a brief space of time, innumerable editions, especially of the Vulgate, poured from the press and were diffused throughout the Catholic world; so honored and loved was Holy Scripture

[1] See the Collect on his feast, September 30th.

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during that very period against which the enemies of the Church direct their calumnies. Nor must we forget how many learned men there were, chiefly among the religious orders, who did excellent work for the Bible between the Council of Vienne and that of Trent; men who, by the employment of modern means and appliances, and by the tribute of their own genius and learning, not only added to the rich stores of ancient times, but prepared the way for the succeeding century, the century which followed the Council of Trent, when it almost seemed that the great age of the Fathers had returned. For it is well known, and We recall it with pleasure, that Our predecessors from Pius IV. to Clement VIII. caused to be prepared the celebrated editions of the Vulgate and the Septuagint, which, having been published by the command and authority of Sixtus V. and of the same Clement, are now in common use. At this time, moreover, were carefully brought out various other ancient versions of the Bible, and the Polyglots of Antwerp and of Paris, most important for the investigation of the true meaning of the text; nor is there any one Book of either Testament which did not find more than one expositor, nor any grave question which did not profitably exercise the ability of many inquirers, among whom there are not a few—more especially of those who made most use of the Fathers—who have acquired great reputation. From that time downwards the labor and solicitude of Catholics has never been wanting; for, as time went on, eminent scholars have carried on Biblical study with success, and have defended Holy Scripture against *rationalism* with the same weapons of philology and kindred sciences with which it had been attacked. The calm and fair consideration of what has been said will clearly show that the Church has never failed in taking due measures to bring the Scriptures within reach of her children, and that she has ever held fast and exercised profitably that guardianship conferred upon her by almighty God for the protection and glory of his Holy Word; so that she has never required, nor does she now require, any stimulation from without.

How to Study Holy Scripture.

We must now, Venerable Brethren, as our purpose demands, impart to you such counsels as seem best suited for carrying on successfully the study of Biblical science.

But first it must be clearly understood whom we have to oppose and contend against, and what are their tactics and their arms. In earlier times the contest was chiefly with those who, relying on private judgment and repudiating the divine traditions and teaching office of the Church, held the Scriptures to be the one source of revelation and the final appeal in matters of Faith. Now, we have

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to meet the Rationalists, true children and inheritors of the older heretics, who, trusting in their turn to their own way of thinking, have rejected even the scraps and remnants of Christian belief which had been handed down to them. They deny that there is any such thing as revelation or inspiration, or Holy Scripture at all; they see, instead, only the forgeries and the falsehoods of men; they set down the Scripture narratives as stupid fables and lying stories: the prophecies and the oracles of God are to them either predictions made up after the event or forecasts formed by the light of nature; the miracles and the wonders of God's power are not what they are said to be, but the startling effects of natural law, or else mere tricks or myths; and the Apostolic Gospels and writings are not the work of the Apostles at all. These detestable errors, whereby they think they destroy the truth of the divine Books, are obtruded on the world as the peremptory pronouncements of a certain newly-invented "free science;" a science, however, which is so far from final that they are perpetually modifying and supplementing it. And there are some of them who, notwithstanding their impious opinions and utterances about God, and Christ, the Gospels and the rest of Holy Scripture, would fain be considered both theologians and Christians and men of the Gospel, and who attempt to disguise by such honorable names their rashness and their pride. To them we must add not a few professors of other sciences who approve their views and give them assistance, and are urged to attack the Bible by a similar intolerance of revelation. And it is deplorable to see these attacks growing every day more numerous and more severe. It is sometimes men of learning and judgment who are assailed; but these have little difficulty in defending themselves from evil consequences. The efforts and the arts of the enemy are chiefly directed against the more ignorant masses of the people. They diffuse their deadly poison by means of books, pamphlets, and newspapers; they spread it by addresses and by conversation; they are found everywhere; and they are in possession of numerous schools taken by violence from the Church, in which, by ridicule and scurrilous jesting, they pervert the credulous and unformed minds of the young to the contempt of the Holy Scripture. Should not these things, Venerable Brethren, stir up and set on fire the heart of every Pastor, so that to this "knowledge, falsely so called,"[1] may be opposed the ancient and true science which the Church, through the Apostles, has received from Christ, and that Holy Scripture may find the champions that are needed in so momentous a battle?

Let our first care then be to see that in Seminaries and Acade-

[1] I. Tim. vi., 20.

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mical institutions the study of Holy Scripture be placed on such a footing as its own importance and the circumstances of the time demand. With this view, the first thing which requires attention is the wise choice of Professors. Teachers of Sacred Scripture are not to be appointed at hap-hazard out of the crowd; but they must be men whose character and fitness are proved by their love of, and their long familiarity with, the Bible, and by suitable learning and study.

It is a matter of equal importance to provide in time for a continuous succession of such teachers; and it will be well, wherever this can be done, to select young men of good promise who have successfully accomplished their theological course, and to set them apart exclusively for Holy Scripture, affording them facilities for full and complete studies. Professors thus chosen and thus prepared may enter with confidence on the task that is appointed for them; and that they may carry out their work well and profitably, let them take heed to the instructions We now proceed to give.

At the commencement of a course of Holy Scripture let the Professor strive earnestly to form the judgment of the young beginners so as to train them equally to defend the sacred writings and to penetrate their meaning. This is the object of the treatise which is called "Introduction." Here the student is taught how to prove the integrity and authority of the Bible, how to investigate and ascertain its true sense, and how to meet and refute objections. It is needless to insist upon the importance of making these preliminary studies in an orderly and thorough fashion, with the accompaniment and assistance of Theology; for the whole subsequent course must rest on the foundation thus laid and make use of the light thus acquired. Next, the teacher will turn his earnest attention to that more fruitful division of Scripture science which has to do with Interpretation: wherein is imparted the method of using the word of God for the advantage of religion and piety. We recognize without hesitation that neither the extent of the matter nor the time at disposal allows each single Book of the Bible to be separately gone through. But the teaching should result in a definite and ascertained method of interpretation—and therefore the Professor should equally avoid the mistake of giving a mere taste of every Book, and of dwelling at too great length on a part of one Book. If most schools cannot do what is done in the large institutions—that is, take the students through the whole of one or two Books continuously and with a certain development—yet at least those parts which are selected should be treated with suitable fulness; in such a way that the students may learn from the sample that is thus put before them to love and use the remainder of the sacred Book during the whole of their lives.

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The Professor, following the tradition of antiquity, will make use of the Vulgate as his text; for the Council of Trent decreed that "in public lectures, disputations, preaching, and exposition,"[1] the Vulgate is the "authentic" version; and this is the existing custom of the Church. At the same time the other versions which Christian antiquity has approved, should not be neglected, more especially the more ancient MSS. For although the meaning of the Hebrew and Greek is substantially rendered by the Vulgate, nevertheless wherever there may be ambiguity or want of clearness, the "examination of older tongues,"[2] to quote St. Augustine, will be useful and advantageous. But in this matter we need hardly say that the greatest prudence is required, for the "office of commentator," as St. Jerome says, "is to set forth not what he himself would prefer, but what his author says."[3] The question of "readings" having been, when necessary, carefully discussed; the next thing is to investigate and expound the meaning. And the first counsel to be given is this: That the more our adversaries contend to the contrary, so much the more solicitously should we adhere to the received and approved canons of interpretation. Hence, whilst weighing the meanings of words, the connection of ideas, the parallelism of passages, and the like, we should by all means make use of such illustrations as can be drawn from apposite erudition of an external sort; but this should be done with caution, so as not to bestow on questions of this kind more labor and time than are spent on the Sacred Books themselves, and not to overload the minds of the students with a mass of information that will be rather a hindrance than a help.

HOLY SCRIPTURE AND THEOLOGY; INTERPRETATION; THE FATHERS.

The Professor may now safely pass on to the use of Scripture in matters of Theology. On this head it must be observed that in addition to the usual reasons which make ancient writings more or less difficult to understand, there are some which are peculiar to the Bible. For the language of the Bible is employed to express, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, many things which are beyond the power and scope of the reason of man—that is to say, divine mysteries and all that is related to them. There is sometimes in such passages a fulness and a hidden depth of meaning which the letter hardly expresses and which the laws of interpretation hardly warrant. Moreover, the literal sense itself frequently admits other senses, adapted to illustrate dogma or to confirm morality. Wherefore, it must be recognized that the

[1] Sess. iv., decr. de edit. et usu sacr. libror.
[2] De doctr. chr. iii., 4
[3] Ad Pammachium.

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sacred writings are wrapt in a certain religious obscurity, and that no one can enter into their interior without a guide ; [1] God so disposing, as the Holy Fathers commonly teach, in order that men may investigate them with greater ardor and earnestness, and that what is attained with difficulty may sink more deeply into the mind and heart ; and, most of all, that they may understand that God has delivered the Holy Scriptures to the Church, and that in reading and making use of His Word, they must follow the Church as their guide and their teacher. St. Irenæus long since laid down, that where the *charismata* of God were, there the truth was to be learnt, and that Holy Scripture was safely interpreted by those who had the Apostolic succession.[2] His teaching, and that of other Holy Fathers, is taken up by the Council of the Vatican, which, in renewing the decree of Trent declares its "mind" to be this—that "in things of faith and morals, belonging to the building up of Christian doctrine, that is to be considered the true sense of Holy Scripture which has been held and is held by our Holy Mother the Church, whose place it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures ; and therefore that it is permitted to no one to interpret Holy Scripture against such sense or also against the unanimous agreement of the Fathers."[3] By this most wise decree the Church by no means prevents or restrains the pursuit of Biblical science, but rather protects it from error, and largely assists its real progress. A wide field is still left open to the private student, in which his hermeneutical skill may display itself with signal effect and to the advantage of the Church. On the one hand, in those passages of Holy Scripture which have not as yet received a certain and definitive interpretation, such labors may, in the benignant providence of God, prepare for and bring to maturity the judgment of the Church ; on the other, in passages already defined, the private student may do work equally valuable, either by setting them forth more clearly to the flock and more skillfully to scholars, or by defending them more powerfully from hostile attack. Wherefore the first and dearest object of the Catholic commentator should be to interpret those passages which have received an authentic interpretation either from the sacred writers themselves, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost (as in many places of the New Testament), or from the Church, under the assistance of the same Holy Spirit, whether by her solemn judgment or her ordinary and universal

[1] S. Hier. ad Paulin. de studio Script. ep. liii., 4.

[2] C. haer. iv., 26, 5.

[3] Sess. iii., cap. ii., de revel. ; cf. Conc. Trid. sess. iv., decret de edit. et usu sacr. libror.

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magisterium [1]—to interpret these passages in that identical sense, and to prove, by all the resources of science, that sound hermeneutical laws admit of no other interpretation. In the other passages, the analogy of faith should be followed, and Catholic doctrine, as authoritatively proposed by the Church, should be held as the supreme law; for, seeing that the same God is the author both of the Sacred Books and of the doctrine committed to the Church, it is clearly impossible that any teaching can by legitimate means be extracted from the former, which shall in any respect be at variance with the latter. Hence it follows that all interpretation is foolish and false which either makes the sacred writers disagree one with another, or is opposed to the doctrine of the Church. The Professor of Holy Scripture, therefore, amongst other recommendations, must be well acquainted with the whole circle of Theology and deeply read in the commentaries of the Holy Fathers and Doctors, and other interpreters of mark. [2] This is inculcated by St. Jerome, and still more frequently by St. Augustine, who thus justly complains: "If there is no branch of teaching, however humble and easy to learn, which does not require a master, what can be a greater sign of rashness and pride than to refuse to study the Books of the divine mysteries by the help of those who have interpreted them?" [3] The other Fathers have said the same, and have confirmed it by their example, for they "endeavored to acquire the understanding of the Holy Scriptures not by their own lights and ideas, but from the writings and authority of the ancients, who in their turn, as we know, received the rule of interpretation in direct line from the Apostles." [4] The Holy Fathers "to whom, after the Apostles, the Church owes its growth—who have planted, watered, built, governed and cherished it," [5]—the Holy Fathers, we say, are of supreme authority, whenever they all interpret in one and the same manner any text of the Bible, as pertaining to the doctrine of faith or morals; for their unanimity clearly evinces that such interpretation has come down from the Apostles as a matter of Catholic faith. The opinion of the Fathers is also of very great weight when they treat of these matters in their capacity of doctors, unofficially; not only because they excel in their knowledge of revealed doctrine and in their acquaintance with many things which are useful in understanding the apostolic Books, but because they are men of eminent sanctity and of ardent zeal for the truth, on whom God has bestowed a more ample measure of His light. Wherefore the expositor

[1] Conc. Vat. sess. iii, cap. ii., de fide.
[2] *Ibid.* 6, 7.
[3] Ad. Honorat. de util. cred. xvii., 35.
[4] Rufinus, Hist. eccl. ii., 9.
[5] S. Aug. c. Julian. ii., 10, 37.

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should make it his duty to follow their footsteps with all reverence, and to use their labors with intelligent appreciation.

But he must not on that account consider that it is forbidden, when just cause exists, to push inquiry and exposition beyond what the Fathers have done; provided he carefully observes the rule so wisely laid down by St. Augustine—not to depart from the literal and obvious sense, except only where reason makes it untenable or necessity requires;[1] a rule to which it is the more necessary to adhere strictly in these times, when the thirst for novelty and unrestrained freedom of thought make the danger of error most real and proximate. Neither should those passages be neglected which the Fathers have understood in an allegorical or figurative sense, more especially when such interpretation is justified by the literal, and when it rests on the authority of many. For this method of interpretation has been received by the Church from the Apostles, and has been approved by her own practice, as the holy Liturgy attests; although it is true that the holy Fathers did not thereby pretend directly to demonstrate dogmas of faith, but used it as a means of promoting virtue and piety, such as, by their own experience, they knew to be most valuable. The authority of other Catholic interpreters is not so great; but the study of Scripture has always continued to advance in the Church, and, therefore, these commentaries also have their own honorable place, and are serviceable in many ways for the refutation of assailants and the explanation of difficulties. But it is most unbecoming to pass by, in ignorance or contempt, the excellent work which Catholics have left in abundance, and to have recourse to the works of non-Catholics—and to seek in them, to the detriment of sound doctrine and often to the peril of faith, the explanation of passages on which Catholics long ago have successfully employed their talent and their labor. For although the studies of non-Catholics, used with prudence, may sometimes be of use to the Catholic student, he should, nevertheless, bear well in mind—as the Fathers also teach in numerous passages[2]—that the sense of Holy Scripture can nowhere be found incorrupt outside of the Church, and cannot be expected to be found in writers who, being without the true faith, only gnaw the bark of the Sacred Scripture, and never attain its pith.

Most desirable is it, and most essential, that the whole teaching of Theology should be pervaded and animated by the use of the divine Word of God. This is what the Fathers and the greatest theologians of all ages have desired and reduced to practice. It

[1] De Gen. ad litt. lviii., c. 7, 13.

[2] Cfr. Clem. Alex. Strom. vii., 16; Orig. de princ. iv., 8; in Levit. hom. 4, 8; Tertull. de praescr. 15, seqq.; S. Hilar. Pict in Matth. 13, 1.

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was chiefly out of the Sacred Writings that they endeavored to proclaim and establish the Articles of Faith and the truths therewith connected, and it was in them, together with divine Tradition, that they found the refutation of heretical error, and the reasonableness, the true meaning, and the mutual relation of the truths of Catholicism. Nor will any one wonder at this who considers that the Sacred Books hold such an eminent position among the sources of revelation that without their assiduous study and use, Theology cannot be placed on its true footing, or treated as its dignity demands. For although it is right and proper that students in academies and schools should be chiefly exercised in acquiring a scientific knowledge of dogma, by means of reasoning from the Articles of Faith to their consequences, according to the rules of approved and sound philosophy—nevertheless the judicious and instructed theologian will by no means pass by that method of doctrinal demonstration which draws its proof from the authority of the Bible; "for (Theology) does not receive her first principles from any other science, but immediately from God by revelation. And, therefore, she does not receive from other sciences as from a superior, but uses them as her inferiors or handmaids."[1] It is this view of doctrinal teaching which is laid down and recommended by the prince of theologians, St. Thomas of Aquin;[2] who, moreover, shows—such being the essential character of Christian Theology—how she can defend her own principles against attack: "If the adversary," he says, "do but grant any portion of the divine revelation, we have an argument against him; thus, against a heretic we can employ Scripture authority, and against those who deny one article, we can use another. But if our opponent reject divine revelation entirely, there is then no way left to prove the Articles of Faith by reasoning; we can only solve the difficulties which are raised against them."[3] Care must be taken, then, that beginners approach the study of the Bible well prepared and furnished; otherwise, just hopes will be frustrated, or, perchance, what is worse, they will unthinkingly risk the danger of error, falling an easy prey to the sophisms and labored erudition of the Rationalists. The best preparation will be a conscientious application to philosophy and theology under the guidance of St. Thomas of Aquin, and a thorough training therein—as We ourselves have elsewhere pointed out and directed. By this means, both in Biblical studies and in that part of Theology which is called *positive*, they will pursue the right path and make satisfactory progress.

[1] S. Greg. M. Moral xx., 9 (al 11).
[2] Summ. theol. p. i., q. i., a. 5 ad 2.
[3] *Ibid*, a. 8.

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The Authority of Holy Scripture; Modern Criticism; Physical Science.

To prove, to expound, to illustrate Catholic Doctrine by the legitimate and skilful interpretation of the Bible, is much; but there is a second part of the subject of equal importance and equal difficulty—the maintenance in the strongest possible way of its full authority. This cannot be done completely or satisfactorily except by means of the living and proper *magisterium* of the Church. The Church, "by reason of her wonderful propagation, her distinguished sanctity and inexhaustible fecundity in good, her Catholic unity, and her unshaken stability, is herself a great and perpetual motive of credibility, and an unassailable testimony to her own divine mission."[1] But since the divine and infallible *magisterium* of the Church rests also upon the authority of Holy Scripture, the first thing to be done is to vindicate the trustworthiness of the sacred records at least as human documents, from which can be clearly proved, as from primitive and authentic testimony, the Divinity and the mission of Christ our Lord, the institution of a hierarchical Church and the primacy of Peter and his successors. It is most desirable, therefore, that there should be numerous members of the clergy well prepared to enter upon a contest of this nature, and to repulse hostile assaults, chiefly trusting in that armor of God recommended by the Apostle,[2] but also not unaccustomed to modern methods of attack. This is beautifully alluded to by St. John Chrysostom, when describing the duties of priests: "We must use every endeavor that the 'Word of God may dwell in us abundantly,'[3] and not merely for one kind of fight must we be prepared—for the contest is many-sided and the enemy is of every sort; and they do not all use the same weapons nor make their onset in the same way. Wherefore it is needful that the man who has to contend against all should be acquainted with the engines and the arts of all—that he should be at once archer and slinger, commandant and officer, general and private soldier, foot soldier and horseman, skilled in sea-fight and in siege; for unless he knows every trick and turn of war, the devil is well able, if only a single door be left open, to get in his fierce bands and carry off the sheep."[4] The sophisms of the enemy and his manifold arts of attack we have already touched upon. Let us now say a word of advice on the means of defence. The first means is the study of the Oriental languages

[1] Conc. Vat. sess. iii., c. iii. *de fide.*
[2] Eph. vi., 13, *seqq.*
[3] Cfr., Coloss. iii., 16.
[4] De Sacerdotio iv., 4.

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and of the art of criticism. These two acquirements are in these days held in high estimation, and therefore the clergy, by making themselves more or less fully acquainted with them as time and place may demand, will the better be able to discharge their office with becoming credit; for they must make themselves "all to all,"[1] always "ready to satisfy every one that asketh them a reason for the hope that is in them."[2] Hence it is most proper that Professors of Sacred Scripture and theologians should master those tongues in which the Sacred Books were originally written; and it would be well that Church students also should cultivate them, more especially those who aspire to academic degrees. And endeavors should be made to establish in all academic institutions—as has already been laudably done in many—chairs of the other ancient languages, especially the Semitic, and of other subjects connected therewith, for the benefit principally of those who are intended to profess sacred literature. These latter, with a similar object in view, should make themselves well and thoroughly acquainted with the art of true criticism. There has arisen, to the great detriment of religion, an inept method, dignified by the name of the "higher criticism," which pretends to judge of the origin, integrity and authority of each Book from internal indications alone. It is clear, on the other hand, that in historical questions, such as the origin and the handing down of writings, the witness of history is of primary importance, and that historical investigation should be made with the utmost care; and that in this matter internal evidence is seldom of great value, except as confirmation. To look upon it in any other light will be to open the door to many evil consequences. It will make the enemies of religion much more bold and confident in attacking and mangling the Sacred Books; and this vaunted "higher criticism" will resolve itself into the reflection of the bias and the prejudice of the critics. It will not throw on the Scripture the light which is sought, or prove of any advantage to doctrine; it will only give rise to disagreement and dissension, those sure notes of error, which the critics in question so plentifully exhibit in their own persons; and seeing that most of them are tainted with false philosophy and rationalism, it must lead to the elimination from the sacred writings of all prophecy and miracle, and of everything else that is outside the natural order.

In the second place, we have to contend against those who, making an evil use of physical science, minutely scrutinize the Sacred Book in order to detect the writers in a mistake, and to take occasion to vilify its contents. Attacks of this kind, bearing

[1] I. Cor. ix., 22. [2] I. Peter iii., 15.

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as they do on matters of sensible experience, are peculiarly dangerous to the masses, and also to the young who are beginning their literary studies; for the young, if they lose their reverence for the Holy Scripture on one or more points, are easily led to give up believing in it altogether, It need not be pointed out how the nature of science, just as it is so admirably adapted to show forth the glory of the Great Creator, provided it be taught as it should be, so if it be perversely imparted to the youthful intelligence, it may prove most fatal in destroying the principles of true philosophy and in the corruption of morality. Hence to the Professor of Sacred Scripture a knowledge of natural science will be of very great assistance in detecting such attacks on the Sacred Books, and in refuting them. There can never, indeed, be any real discrepancy between the theologian and the physicist, as long as each confines himself within his own lines, and both are careful, as St. Augustine warns us, "not to make rash assertions, or to assert what is not known as known."[1] If dissension should arise between them, here is a rule also laid down by St. Augustine, for the theologian: "Whatever they can really demonstrate to be true of physical nature, we must show to be capable of reconciliation with our Scriptures, and whatever they assert in their treatises which is contrary to these Scriptures of ours, that is to Catholic faith, we must either prove it as well as we can to be entirely false, or at all events we must, without the smallest hesitation, believe it to be so."[2] To understand how just is the rule here formulated we must remember, first, that the sacred writers, or to speak more accurately, the Holy Ghost "Who spoke by them, did not intend to teach men these things (that is to say, the essential nature of the things of the visible universe), things in no way profitable unto salvation."[3] Hence they did not seek to penetrate the secrets of nature, but rather described and dealt with things in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time, and which in many instances are in daily use at this day, even by the most eminent men of science. Ordinary speech primarily and properly describes what comes under the senses; and somewhat in the same way the sacred writers—as the Angelic Doctor also reminds us—"went by what sensibly appeared,"[4] or put down what God, speaking to men, signified, in the way men could understand and were accustomed to.

The unshrinking defence of the Holy Scripture, however, does not require that we should equally uphold all the opinions which

[1] In Gen. op. imperf. ix., 30.
[2] De Gen. ad litt., i., 21, 41.
[3] S. Aug. ib. ii., 9, 20.
[4] Summa theol. p. 1, q. lxxx., a. 1, ad 3.

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each of the Fathers or of the more recent interpreters have put forth in explaining it; for it may be that, in commenting on passages where physical matters occur, they have sometimes expressed the ideas of their own times, and thus made statements which in these days have been abandoned as incorrect. Hence, in their interpretations, we must carefully note what they lay down as belonging to faith, or as intimately connected with faith—what they are unanimous in. For "in those things which do not come under the obligation of faith, the Saints were at liberty to hold divergent opinions, just as we ourselves are,"[1] according to the saying of St. Thomas. And in another place he says most admirably: "When philosophers are agreed upon a point, and it is not contrary to our faith, it is safer, in my opinion, neither to lay down such a point as a dogma of faith, even though it is perhaps so presented by the philosophers, nor to reject it as against faith, less we thus give to the wise of this world an occasion of despising our faith."[2] The Catholic interpreter, although he should show that those facts of natural science which investigators affirm to be now quite certain are not contrary to the Scripture rightly explained, must nevertheless always bear in mind, that much which has been held and proved as certain has afterwards been called in question and rejected. And if writers on physics travel outside the boundaries of their own branch, and carry their erroneous teaching into the domain of philosophy, let them be handed over to philosophers for refutation.

Inspiration Incompatible with Error.

The principles here laid down will apply to cognate sciences, and especially to History. It is a lamentable fact that there are many who with great labor carry out and publish investigations on the monuments of antiquity, the manners and institutions of nations and other illustrative subjects, and whose chief purpose in all this is too often to find mistakes in the sacred writings and so to shake and weaken their authority. Some of these writers display not only extreme hostility, but the greatest unfairness; in their eyes a profane book or ancient document is accepted without hesitation, whilst the Scripture, if they only find in it a suspicion of error, is set down with the slightest possible discussion as quite untrustworthy. It is true, no doubt, that copyists have made mistakes in the text of the Bible; this question, when it arises, should be carefully considered on its merits, and the fact not too easily admitted, but only in those passages where the proof is clear. It

[1] In Sent. ii., Dist. q. i., a. 3.

[2] Opusc. x.

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may also happen that the sense of a passage remains ambiguous, and in this case good hermeneutical methods will greatly assist in clearing up the obscurity. But it is absolutely wrong and forbidden, either to narrow inspiration to certain parts only of Holy Scripture, or to admit that the sacred writer has erred. For the system of those who, in order to rid themselves of these difficulties, do not hesitate to concede that divine inspiration regards the things of faith and morals, and nothing beyond, because (as they wrongly think) in a question of the truth or falsehood of a passage, we should consider not so much what God has said as the reason and purpose which He had in mind in saying it—this system cannot be tolerated. For all the books which the Church receives as sacred and canonical, are written wholly and entirely, with all their parts, at the dictation of the Holy Ghost; and so far is it from being possible that any error can co-exist with inspiration, that inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error, but excludes and rejects it as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the supreme Truth, can utter that which is not true. This is the ancient and unchanging faith of the Church, solemnly defined in the Councils of Florence and of Trent, and finally confirmed and more expressly formulated by the Council of the Vatican. These are the words of the last: "The Books of the Old and New Testament, whole and entire, with all their parts, as enumerated in the decree of the same Council (Trent) and in the ancient Latin Vulgate, are to be received as sacred and canonical. And the Church holds them as sacred and canonical, not because, having been composed by human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority; nor only because they contain revelation without error; but because, having been written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author."[1] Hence, because the Holy Ghost employed men as His instruments, we cannot therefore say that it was these inspired instruments who, perchance, have fallen into error, and not the primary author. For, by supernatural power, He so moved and impelled them to write—He was so present to them—that the things which He ordered, and those only, they, first, rightly understood, then willed faithfully to write down, and finally expressed in apt words and with infallible truth. Otherwise, it could not be said that He was the Author of the entire scripture. Such has always been the persuasion of the Fathers. "Therefore," says St. Augustine, "since they wrote the things which He showed and uttered to them, it cannot be pretended that He is not the writer; for His members executed

[1] Sess. iii., c. ii, de Rev.

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what their Head dictated."[1] And St. Gregory the Great thus pronounces: "Most superfluous it is to inquire who wrote these things—we loyally believe the Holy Ghost to be the Author of the book. He wrote it Who dictated it for writing; He wrote it Who inspired its execution."[2]

It follows that those who maintain that an error is possible in any genuine passage of the sacred writings, either pervert the Catholic notion of inspiration, or make God the author of such error. And so emphatically were all the Fathers and Doctors agreed that the divine writings, as left by the hagiographers, are free from all error, that they labored earnestly, with no less skill than reverence, to reconcile with each other those numerous passages which seem at variance—the very passages which in great measure have been taken up by the "higher criticism"; for they were unanimous in laying it down, that those writings in their entirety and in all their parts were equally from the *afflatus* of Almighty God, and that God, speaking by the sacred writers, could not set down anything but what was true. The words of St. Augustine to St. Jerome may sum up what they taught: "On my own part I confess to your charity that it is only to those Books of Scripture which are now called canonical that I have learned to pay such honor and reverence as to believe most firmly that none of their writers has fallen into any error. And if in these Books I meet anything which seems contrary to truth, I shall not hesitate to conclude either that the text is faulty, or that the translator has not expressed the meaning of the passage, or that I myself do not understand."[3]

But to undertake fully and perfectly, and with all the weapons of the best science, the defence of the Holy Bible is far more than can be looked for from the exertions of commentators and theologians alone. It is an enterprise in which we have a right to expect the co-operation of all those Catholics who have acquired reputation in any branch of learning whatever. As in the past, so at the present time, the Church is never without the graceful support of her accomplished children; may their services to the Faith grow and increase! For there is nothing which We believe to be more needful than that truth should find defenders more powerful and more numerous than the enemies it has to face; nor is there anything which is better calculated to impress the masses with respect for truth than to see it boldly proclaimed by learned and distinguished men. Moreover, the bitter tongues of objectors will be silenced, or at least they will not dare to insist so shame-

[1] De consensu Evangel., l 1, c. 35.
[2] Praef. in Job, n. 2.
[3] Ep. lxxvii., 1. et crebrius alibi.

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lessly that faith is the enemy of science, when they see that scientific men of eminence in their profession show towards faith the most marked honor and respect. Seeing, then, that those can do so much for the advantage of religion, on whom the goodness of Almighty God has bestowed, together with the grace of the faith, great natural talent, let such men, in this bitter conflict of which the Holy Scripture is the object, select each of them the branch of study most suitable to his circumstances, and endeavor to excel therein, and thus be prepared to repulse with credit and distinction the assaults on the Word of God. And it is Our pleasing duty to give deserved praise to a work which certain Catholics have taken up—that is to say, the formation of societies and the contribution of considerable sums of money, for the purpose of supplying studious and learned men with every kind of help and assistance in carrying out complete studies. Truly an excellent fashion of investing money, and well suited to the times in which we live! The less hope of public patronage there is for Catholic study, the more ready and the more abundant should be the liberality of private persons—those to whom God has given riches thus willingly making use of their means to safeguard the treasure of His revealed doctrine.

SUMMARY.

In order that all these endeavors and exertions may really prove advantageous to the cause of the Bible, let scholars keep steadfastly to the principles which We have in this Letter laid down. Let them loyally hold that God, the Creator and Ruler of all things, is also the Author of the Scriptures—and that, therefore, nothing can be proved, either by physical science or archæology, which can really contradict the Scripture. If, then, apparent contradiction be met with, every effort should be made to remove it. Judicious theologians and commentators should be consulted as to what is the true or most probable meaning of the passage in discussion, and the hostile arguments should be carefully weighed. Even if the difficulty is after all not cleared up and the discrepancy seems to remain, the contest must not be abandoned; truth cannot contradict truth, and we may be sure that some mistake has been made either in the interpretation of the sacred words, or in the polemical discussion itself; and if no such mistake can be detected, we must then suspend judgment for the time being. There have been objections without number perseveringly directed against the Scripture for many a long year, which have been proved to be futile and are never heard of; and not unfrequently interpretations have been placed on certain passages of Scripture (not belonging to the rule of faith or morals) which have been rectified by more

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careful investigations. As time goes on, mistaken views die and disappear; but "truth remaineth and groweth stronger for ever and ever."[1] Wherefore, as no one should be so presumptuous as to think that he understands the whole of the Scripture, in which St. Augustine himself confessed that there was more that he did not know, than that he knew,[2] so, if he should come upon anything that seems incapable of solution, he must take to heart the cautious rule of the same holy Doctor: "It is better even to be oppressed by unknown useful signs, than to interpret them uselessly and thus to throw off the yoke only to be caught in the trap of error."[3]

As to those who pursue the subsidiary studies of which We have spoken, if they honestly and modestly follow the counsels we have given—if by their pen and their voice they make their studies profitable against the enemies of truth, and useful in saving the young from the loss of their faith—they may justly congratulate themselves on their worthy service of the Sacred Writings, and on affording to Catholicism that assistance which the Church has a right to expect from the piety and learning of her children.

Such, Venerable Brethren, are the admonitions and the instructions which, by the help of God, We have thought it well, at the present moment, to offer to you on the study of Holy Scripture. It will now be your province to see that what we have said be observed and put in practice with all due reverence and exactness; that so, we may prove our gratitude to God for the communication to man of the Words of his Wisdom, and that all the good results so much to be desired may be realized, especially as they affect the training of the students of the Church, which is our own great solicitude and the Church's hope. Exert yourselves with willing alacrity, and use your authority and your persuasion in order that these studies may be held in just regard and may flourish, in seminaries and in the educational Institutions which are under your jurisdiction. Let them flourish in completeness and in happy success, under the direction of the Church, in accordance with the salutary teaching and example of the Holy Fathers and the laudable traditions of antiquity; and, as time goes on, let them be widened and extended as the interests and glory of truth may require—the interest of that Catholic Truth which comes from above, the never-failing source of man's salvation. Finally, We admonish with paternal love all students and ministers of the Church always to approach the Sacred Writings with reverence and piety; for it is impossible to attain to the profitable understanding thereof unless the arrogance of "earthly" science be laid aside,

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[1] 3 Esdr. iv., 38.

[2] Ad Ianuar. ep. lv., 21.

[3] De doctr. chr. iii., 9, 18.

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and there be excited in the heart the holy desire for that wisdom "which is from above." In this way the intelligence which is once admitted to these sacred studies, and thereby illuminated and strengthened, will acquire a marvellous facility in detecting and avoiding the fallacies of human science, and in gathering and using for eternal salvation all that is valuable and precious; whilst at the same time the heart will grow warm, and will strive with ardent longing to advance in virtue and in divine love. "Blessed are they who examine His testimonies; they shall seek Him with their whole heart."[1]

And now, filled with hope in the divine assistance, and trusting to your pastoral solicitude—as a pledge of heavenly grace and a sign of Our special good-will—to you all, and to the Clergy and the whole flock entrusted to you, we lovingly impart in Our Lord the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at St. Peter's, at Rome, the 18th day of November, 1893, the sixteenth year of Our Pontificate.

POPE LEO XIII.

[1] Ps. xviii., 2.

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THE POPE AND THE SCRIPTURES.

FOR some time before the publication of the recent Encyclical, *Providentissimus Deus* on the *Study of the Scriptures*, we had been accustomed to hear much wild talk and strange surmises in regard to the Pope's attitude towards some modern views on the Scriptures, which are generally summed up under the vague term of "higher criticism." Some asserted that the Pope, inasmuch as he was in full sympathy with "the age," was prepared to endorse even the most "advanced views" of modern critics. Others were not so sanguine; but to bring matters to a head, they would put the Pope between the two horns of a dilemma: either to give his unqualified approval to, or to condemn *ex cathedra*, the conclusions of "higher criticism."

The chief mouth-piece of this latter class of "Catholics" was an anonymous writer in the *Contemporary Review*, who will be remembered as the author of the famous articles on "The Policy of the Pope."

This impersonal writer—he seemed to be rather the tool of a coterie of advanced liberals than a responsible writer—puts the case in this rather exaggerated form:

"I, and many loyal Catholics (?) with me, hold the following (tenets), and will continue to hold and profess them, until and unless they are condemned by an Œcumenical Council, or by the Holy Father *ex cathedra*:

"1. That Moses did not write or dictate any of the books commonly ascribed to him by our theologians; that these records were originally composed, not as theologians teach, in the sixteenth or fifteenth century, B.C., but about the time of the oldest prophets whose writings form part of our canon.

"2. That in the other historical books of the Bible (Judges, Samuel and Kings) we can clearly distinguish sources which run parallel to the oldest sources of the Hexateuch and to Deuteronomy, whereas the portions which exhibit the characteristics of the Priests' Code form the contents of a separate book known as Chronicles.

"3. That the sections of 'Isaiah,' which treat of Babylon and its destruction, cannot have been composed by Isaiah, in whose time there was no Babylonian empire, for that prophet, or rather those prophets, speak of the Jews not as destined at some future time to suffer exile but as actually languishing in exile, from which they are shortly to be delivered.

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"4. That there can be no reasonable doubt in the mind of any unbiased thinker, who has carefully sifted the evidence, that the Book of Daniel could not have been written in the sixth century before Christ, nor, indeed, earlier than 164 B.C.

"5. That the Psalms, most of which we ascribe to David, are compositions of a very late period, which gave elegiac utterance to the sorrows and hopes of the people of Israel, partly during the persecution inaugurated by Antiochus Epiphanes.

"6. The number and variety of the sources of the Biblical records render it *a priori* probable, and a comparison of the contents makes it absolutely certain that the discrepancies between the different accounts of one and the same event oftentimes amount to utter incompatibility, which no force of logic, no human ingenuity, nothing, in short, but Catholic 'Hermeneutics' can possibly smooth away.

"7. That Jonas, Esther, Judith, Tobias and Job are not historical writings but religious works of fiction, while the narratives of some of the most ancient books are as mythical as the stories of the Eddas.

"I adhere to these propositions in spite of the fact that they are incompatible with the doctrines of the 'teaching Church.'"—*Contemporary Review*, April, 1893.

We quote this entire programme, because it gives us, if not an accurately scientific, at least a tolerably correct and popular statement of the trend and the tenets of "higher criticism." As to whether such anonymous utterances, claiming to come from Catholics, and the sporadic outbursts of some individual "liberal Catholic" scientists and would-be Bible-critics had anything to do with the publication of the Eneyclical on the Scriptures, or not, we will not venture an opinion. But we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that the document was very opportunely issued. In the face of such blustering, truly or falsely purporting to come from Catholic scholars, though it was in reality nothing more than a patchwork of plagiarism from rationalist and agnostic sources, some expression of opinion from Rome was, to say the least, most desirable; and it came. How far it responded to the hopes and demands of the liberal criers, we shall see in the sequel.

We have given the programme of the liberal school in the words of its own mouth-piece. We shall now turn to the Pope's Encyclical, and the reader can make the comparison for himself. We shall hardly attempt to refute false theories. We shall only report, barely hinting such reflections and comments as may aid the average intelligent reader towards the understanding of this important document. We shall first briefly sketch the contents of the Encyclical, and then consider in detail some points of doctrine which it reaffirms and emphasizes.

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PART I.

The Encyclical, as may be seen at a glance, is altogether of a practical character—a forcible exhortation to the study of the Scriptures, and a practical instruction on the manner in which they are to be taught and studied. After a brief introduction, in which the Holy Father sets forth the doctrine on supernatural revelation and the inspiration of the Scriptures, he clearly announces his motive in writing and the purpose of this Encyclical.

"We are moved, and almost constrained," he says, "by the solicitude of our apostolic office, not only to open more safely and fully for the benefit of the Lord's flock this illustrious source of revelation, but also *to prevent it from being tainted by those who, either with impious temerity openly attack the sacred writings, or who insidiously or unwisely devise certain* NEW INTERPRETATIONS. . . . . It is our earnest desire that a still greater number of scholars should skilfully take up, and perseveringly conduct, the defence of the divine Scriptures; and that those particularly whom divine grace has called to the priesthood should, as is becoming, employ even greater diligence and industry in reading, meditating and expounding them."

The body of the document consists of two parts: 1. The *motives* which should incite ecclesiastics to the study and use of the Scriptures (pp. 7–17); 2. The *manner* in which the Scriptures are to be taught and studied (pp. 17–42, Roman edition).

I. In the first part the Holy Father takes his key-note, as it were, from the text of St. Paul to Timothy:[1] "All Scripture inspired of God is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice; that the man of God may be perfect, furnished to every good work." This utility has been proved by Christ Himself and His Apostles, who made extensive use of the Scriptures of the Old Testament to instruct and to convince their hearers; by the example and teaching of the Fathers, who, from the earliest ages, both in the Eastern and Western Churches, distinguished themselves by their familiarity with, and frequent use of, the Scriptures, and earnestly exhorted their disciples to this study.

This study of Holy Writ was continued by the later Fathers and the doctors of the school. It received a new impulse by the invention of the printing-press, by which, in a short time, an incredible number of editions of the Latin Vulgate was issued. This work was crowned by the revision and authentic edition of the Latin Vulgate and Greek Septuagint by Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. New light was thrown on the Scriptures by the monumen-

[1] 2 Tim. iii., 16, 17.

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tal polyglot editions of Antwerp and Paris and by the more recent works of learned Catholic commentators, who, following in the footsteps of the Fathers, wrote profound and copious expositions of every book of the Sacred Text, and met the objections of rationalists as they came up, with arguments taken from their own favorite sciences of criticism and philology.

"Hence," the Holy Father concludes, "whoever duly considers those facts must admit that the Church has never been wanting in her care to open the fountains of the Divine Scriptures to her children in a salutary manner, and that she has always maintained and adorned by all manner of erudition, that guardianship which she has received from God for the defence and honor of the Sacred Writings; so that *she never needed, nor now needs, any incitement from outsiders.*"

Having thus briefly outlined the work achieved by the Church in Biblical studies, as an incentive to renewed effort in this noble work, and having vindicated the Church from the calumnious charge of having neglected the Scriptures, the Holy Father proceeds to the second and chief part of the Encyclical—the manner of teaching and studying the Sacred Books.

II. Here the Pope, first of all, takes into consideration the character of the enemies with whom the Bible student in our day has to contend. His contention is no longer with the Protestant, who makes the Scripture the only source of revelation, but mainly with the Rationalist, who denies the very existence of revelation, inspiration, miracles, prophecies, the historical facts and the very genuineness and trustworthiness of the Sacred Writings. Leagued with the rationalists are those who, under the specious name of science, in speech and print scatter broadcast, particularly among the youth and the common people, errors of the most pernicious kind, which tend to bring the Scriptures into contempt and ridicule.

"These are the considerations," writes the Holy Father to the bishops, "which should arouse and stimulate our common pastoral solicitude *to oppose to this new falsely so-called science the old and true science*, which the Church received from Christ through the Apostles, and to raise up well-equipped defenders of the Scriptures in such a contest."

The first care should, therefore, be the proper selection of professors of Scripture for our seminaries and universities—men of great love for, and familiarity with, the Sacred Books—while others, again, should be specially trained to take their places. As part of this preparation, His Holiness lays special stress on a *solid introduction* to the Scriptures, which should go hand in hand with *dogmatic theology* (comite et adjutrice theologia).

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The most important task of the professor of Scripture is the exposition of the Sacred Text, in which he is to avoid the two extremes of excessive brevity and diffuseness. He should give a full exposition of one—or at least a portion of one—book, to serve as a specimen and a stimulus to the students. He is to take the Latin Vulgate version as the basis of his exposition, according to the decree of the Council of Trent,[1] which prescribes the use of the Vulgate as the authentic version "in all public lectures, disputations, sermons and expositions," though he is to consult, also, other texts, and particularly the original Hebrew and Greek in cases of doubt. Having thus carefully examined the text, he proceeds to establish the meaning of the words from the context, from parallel passages and from the helps of varied erudition; which latter, however, he should employ with moderation and discretion.

After he has thus established the meaning, he may safely proceed to the application of the text to theological truths. Herein, lest he should err, the commentator must bear in mind the declaration of the Vatican Council, interpreting the decree of the Council of Trent, that, "in matters of faith and morals appertaining to the upbuilding of the Christian doctrine, that sense of the Scriptures is to be held as the true one which our Holy Mother, the Church, has held and holds, whose province it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Sacred Writings; and therefore no one is allowed to interpret the Scriptures contrary to this sense, or contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.[2]

This restraint put on the commentator, however, leaves still a wide field for his labors in establishing the meaning of those parts (forming the bulk of the Scriptures) the sense of which is not defined, and in more precisely fixing the meaning of those that are defined, whether by the sacred writers themselves or by the Church in solemn definition or through its ordinary and universal teaching office.

Where the church has not spoken, the interpreter must follow the *analogy of faith*, taking the Catholic doctrine received by the Church as a norm from which he may not depart. Hence, every interpretation must be rejected as false which either contradicts any point of the received Catholic teaching or conflicts with the manifest teaching of other parts of the Scriptures. In order to apply this rule, the professor of Scripture must be an accomplished dogmatic theologian, and must be well versed in the fathers.

As often as the *Fathers are unanimous* in the exposition of any

[1] Sess. IV., Decr. de ed. et usu Sacr. Libror.

[2] Trid. Sess. iv., de ed. et usu Sacr. Libror.—*Vat. de Fide*, c. iii.

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passage, as referring to faith and morals, their authority is supreme (summa); for such unanimity is a clear evidence of apostolic tradition. Their opinion as private doctors also is of great weight, owing to their eminent sacred learning and sanctity. The commentator, however, is free to extend his researches and expositions beyond the teaching of the Fathers, provided only he observe the canon of St. Augustine: "Not to depart from the literal and obvious sense unless reason forbids him to hold, or necessity compels him to abandon, the literal interpretation."[1]

The more recent Catholic *commentators* apart from the Fathers have also their value, and should be consulted by the student of the Scriptures. "But it is exceedingly unbecoming," says the Holy Father, "that any one should ignore or despise the excellent works left by our own commentators, and should turn with preference to the works of non-Catholics and borrow from them, to the immediate danger of sound doctrine, and not seldom to the detriment of the faith, the exposition of passages in the interpretation of which Catholic expounders have long since most fruitfully expended their talents and labors. For although the Catholic commentator may sometimes profit by the prudent use of the studies of non-Catholics, yet he should bear in mind that, even according to the numerous testimonies of the Fathers, the genuine interpretation of the Scriptures cannot by any means be found outside the Church; nor can it be taught by those who, deprived of the true faith, are unable to reach the core, but only gnaw at the crust, of the Sacred Books."[2]

Moreover, the Scriptures should be made the *chief source of theological argument*, the soul of sacred science; for although the Catholic theological tyro should be accustomed to prove and illustrate one dogma by means of another, yet "a grave theologian should not neglect the demonstration of the dogmas of faith from the authority of the Scriptures."

A no less important and difficult task of the scripturist is *the defence of the authority of the Sacred Books*. This cannot, indeed, be fully and completely achieved otherwise than *by the living, teaching authority of the Church*, which, as the Vatican Council declares, owing to her marvellous attributes, "is in herself a grand and perpetual motive of credibility, and an irrefragable evidence of her own divine mission."[3]

But this infallible teaching office of the Church ought first to be established on historical and apologetic grounds from the testimony of these same Sacred Books: that is, from the Scriptures taken as trustworthy historical documents, the divinity and divine mission of Christ, the institution of the Church, the primacy of St.

[1] *Gen. ad litt.*, viii., 7, 13.
[2] *Greg. Mag. Moral.*, xx, 9, al. 10.
[3] *De fide* Cath., c. 3.

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Peter and his successors, are to be demonstrated. Hence it is of the greatest importance that a good number of the priesthood should be well versed in this manner of argument (apologetics) for the defence of the faith against the various fallacies of the enemy.

How are they to be thus equipped? In the first place, by a knowledge of the *art of criticism and of the original languages of the Scriptures,* which knowledge, being necessary to the professor of Scripture and becoming every theologian, should be required of ecclesiastical students, most particularly of those who aspire to academic degrees. There should be also in our universities chairs of the kindred languages and sciences, for the benefit of Scripture students. This is all the more necessary on account of the modern artifice dignified by the name of "higher criticism," which, to the great detriment of religion, pretends to solve all questions regarding the origin, integrity, and authority of the Sacred Books from what they term intrinsic reasons.

An accurate knowledge of the *natural sciences* will render good service to the student of the Scriptures in meeting the objections of those so-called scientists who leave nothing undone to undermine the authority of the sacred writers. There can be no contradiction between the theologian and the scientist, provided only they adhere to the rules of St. Augustine: (1) "Not rashly to propose as certain what is uncertain";[1] (2) "Whatever can be demonstrated by convincing arguments in the natural sciences we should endeavor to show to be reconcilable with the Scriptures; and whatever the students of nature assert in their writings, which is repugnant to our writings, that is, to the Catholic faith, let us by some argument prove, or at least without any hesitation hold, to be absolutely false."[2]

For while, on the one hand, the sacred writers used the prevailing popular expressions and views of their times, without any pretence to scientific accuracy, in things not appertaining to the salvation of man, as we ourselves speak of many natural phenomena in our daily intercourse, it very often happens, on the other hand, that theories proposed as certain by scientists are subsequently called in question and altogether rejected.

The same holds of historical facts, which seem to contradict the testimony of the sacred writers. It may have happened that the copyists erred in transcribing certain passages, which, however, is not to be assumed but proved in each case; or that a passage is in itself ambiguous; but it can never be admitted that the sacred writer has erred, since he wrote under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; for the inspiration of the Scriptures extends not only to

[1] In Gen. Op., imperf., ix., 30.

[2] De Gen., ad. lit., i. 21, 42.

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matters of faith and morals, but to the entire Scriptures and to all their parts: that is, God is the author of the whole and of all its parts. But the divine authorship necessarily excludes all error. Hence the canon of St. Augustine: "If in the Scriptures I strike any passage which seems to be irreconcilable with the truth, I shall be certain that either the manuscript is faulty or that the translator has not hit the meaning of the text, or that I am unable to understand it myself."[1]

The Sovereign Pontiff concludes his Encyclical with an exhortation to Catholic scholars to co-operate each in his own line of study towards the defence of the Scriptures and of the faith, devoting themselves to those special studies by which they may be enabled to repel the assaults of the enemy. For this end, His Holiness commends the establishment of scientific associations for the defence of revealed religion and the promotion of biblical studies, and briefly outlines the principles to be followed by those engaged in such scientific research. "They must hold faithfully that God, the Creator and Governor of all things, is the author of the Scriptures; therefore, that nothing can be established from the investigation of nature, nothing from monuments of history, which stands in real contradiction with them. If any such contradiction should appear to exist, therefore, the student must labor to remove it by consulting the prudent judgment of theologians and commentators as to the truer or more probable interpretation of the sacred text, and by weighing well the force of the arguments advanced against it. Nor is the investigation to cease if some contradiction should still seem to remain, for since truth cannot by any means be opposed to truth, it is certain that some error has crept in either in the interpretation of the sacred text or in the scientific inquiry. If this error cannot be discovered on either side, judgment must in the meantime be suspended. For numerous objections from various sciences, once strongly and persistently urged against the Scriptures, have been altogether abandoned as of no weight, and, on the other hand, not a few interpretations of passages of Scripture (not properly belonging to the rule of faith and morals) have, on closer investigation, been subsequently modified. Opinions are wiped out by time, but truth remains and endures forever."

From this brief and imperfect sketch of the contents of the Encyclical, it is plain that, while its object is avowedly a practical one—the promotion of the study of the Scriptures among ecclesiastics—it forcibly reaffirms the whole Catholic teaching on the Scriptures: their nature, their inspiration and its extent, their place in revelation, the grounds of their divine authority, the authenticity of the Vulgate and Septuagint versions, the canon of interpreta-

[1] Ep., 82.

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tion. Nay, we shall have occasion to see that in some important points, as in defining the extent of inspiration and the inerrancy of the sacred writers, it goes further than any previous ecclesiastical document.

PART II.

We now come to the second part of the task proposed to ourselves, the consideration of some points of doctrine in particular, which are reaffirmed in this Encyclical. In the first place, the Scriptures have been at all times looked upon as *Sacred and Divine.* It is a patent historic fact that the Jews possessed a certain definite collection of books, which was regarded as sacred oracles of divine truth. Flavius Josephus, the Jewish historian, writes:[1] "With us [the Jews] there is not an indefinite number of books at variance among themselves, and contradicting one another, but only two and twenty books containing our entire history, *which are deservedly regarded as divine.*" And again: "It is self-evident with what reverence we regard our books. For although so many ages have passed, no one has ever dared to add to, or substract from, them, or to change them in aught. But every Jew has been taught from his infancy to look upon these writings as the *divine decrees*, to adhere to them, and, if necessary, to die for them." This collection went by the name of the Scriptures (writings by way of excellence); the Sacred Scriptures; the Law, the Prophets, and the Books, etc.[2]

This constant tradition of the Jews was sanctioned by Christ Himself and His Apostles. Thus our Lord exhorts the Jews: "*Search the Scriptures; for you think in them to have life everlasting;* and the same are they that give testimony of me"[3] And again: "These are the words which I spoke to you while I was with you, that all things must needs be fulfilled, which are written in the *Law of Moses*, and in the *Prophets*, and in the *Psalms* concerning me."[4]

It is well known how the Apostles and the Evangelists constantly refer to the Scriptures of the Old Testament in their preachings and writings. We need only read the first sermon of St. Peter on the day of Pentecost,[5] or the the address of St. Stephen before the Jewish Council,[6] to convince ourselves of the extent to which the Apostles and their contemporaries used the Sacred Writings, and of the unquestioned and unqualified authority which the Sacred Books enjoyed with the Jews. This same divine authority is emphasized by St. Paul in the words above

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[1] Ad. Appion, i., 8.
[2] Cf. Eccli., prolog.
[3] John, v., 39.
[4] Luke, xxiv., 45.
[5] Acts ii.
[6] Acts vii.

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cited,[1] in which he characterizes the Scripture as a whole, as *inspired of God* (θεόπνευστος) and effectual for all the functions of the preaching of the Gospel. St. Peter[2] characterizes the Scriptures (as far at least as the Prophets are concerned) as a divine manifestation more convincing, to the Jews at least, even than the marvellous words which he himself had heard from Heaven at the transfiguration of our Lord on Mount Tabor. "We have *the more firm prophetic word;* whereunto you do well to attend, as to a light which shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn and the day-star arise in your hearts; understanding this first, that no prophecy of Scripture is made by private interpretation; for prophecy came *not by the will of man* at any time; but the holy men of God spoke, *inspired by the Holy Ghost.*"

Hence the Scriptures have always been described, in the language of the Church and the Fathers as the communications of God to man, as the divine oracles, God's epistles to man, God's word, the written word of God, etc.

That the Scriptures, therefore, contain a divine revelation, or a supernatural communication of God to man, manifesting to him the divine mind and will is certain from the Scripture itself and from the constant tradition of the Church. This truth is clearly taught by the Vatican Council,[3] when, speaking of revelation, it says: "This supernatural revelation, according to the belief of the universal Church, declared by the Council of Trent, *is contained in the Scriptures* and in the unwritten traditions."

Yet the fact that the Scriptures contain a divine revelation or the word of God, or that they have been written by prophets, apostles, or other divinely commissioned envoys, does not of itself imply that these writings are *inspired.* Dogmatic decrees of the Church, creeds, catechisms, the works of the Fathers, all contain divine revelation or the word of God; yet these cannot be regarded as inspired writings. Nor is there any valid argument to prove that whatever is written by an apostle or a prophet must, by that very fact, necessarily be an inspired document.

What is it then, that constitutes a divinely *inspired* document? The fact that God Himself is the *primary author* of the document *as such,* while the human writer is only the *secondary author* or the instrument of God in the production of the work. The Vatican Council[4] puts the idea of inspiration in the clearest terms, when it declares: "These (books) the Church regards as sacred and canonical, not because they were composed by mere human industry, and subsequently approved by its authority; nor because they con-

[1] 2 Tim., iii., 16-17.
[2] 2 Pet., i., 19-21.
[3] *De fide* Cath., c. 2.
[4] *Ibid.*

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tain a revelation without error; but because, *being written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God as their author*, and *as such* have been entrusted to the Church." It is the authorship on the part of God, then, that constitutes divine inspiration—not that universal authorship whereby God is the author of all things; nor a special authorship in the sense in which God brings about certain things by a special providence; but authorship in the strict and proper sense of the word in the same sense, as any responsible writer is said to be the author of those works that bear his name.

In order that God may thus be the author of a document written by human instrumentality, it is necessary that He should exercise a certain supernatural *influence upon the intellect and will* of the writer, that the latter may conceive and design the document as intended by God and be determined, or determine himself, to its proper execution. God must also extend to him while writing the necessary *assistance* that he may not err in the execution of the divine purpose. This supernatural influence is the primary and efficient cause of the document as such. This influence and assistance may or may not interfere with the freedom of the inspired writer, according to the nature of the divine impulse, and according as the subject-matter of the inspired document requires. The secondary or human author may or may not be conscious of the supernatural action of God. All that is needed is that God so act on the mind and will of the writer both antecedently and concomitantly, that He Himself must be regarded as the efficient and efficacious cause of the document in question.

From this it is evident, on the one hand, that no subsequent approval of a written document is sufficient to make it an inspired writing, and, on the other hand, that a verbal dictation on the part of God is not required. God must be the prime originator of the document as such; and in order to be the prime originator, He can act efficaciously on the writer without dictating the words and phrases, and even without explicitly prescribing a definite line of argument, to the writer.

Such is the common opinion of orthodox theologians of the present day in regard to inspiration; and it seems to be the only view which can be reconciled with certain portions of the Scriptures, in which the inspired writers seem to assume the entire responsibility of literary authorship.[1] When, therefore, the Fathers and the Church herself say that the Scriptures are *dictated by the Holy Ghost*, the expression must be taken in a wider sense. As to the fact itself, it is manifest, even from a superficial reading of the Scriptures, that some parts, particularly in the prophets, are

[1] Cf. Luke i., 1 sq.; 2 Mach. xv., 39.

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literally dictated by God, while in others the human authors seem to enjoy the greatest freedom.

However the influence of the Holy Ghost may vary in regard to the inspired authors and the different portions of the Scriptures, we must hold, in conformity with the teaching of the Scriptures themselves and from the explicit teaching of the Church, that *God is the author of the entire Scripture and of all its parts*, and that in the strict and proper sense of the word.

Christ himself and the apostles repeatedly represent God or the Holy Ghost as speaking through the Scriptures or through the mouth of the inspired writers.[1] Again, they represent the inspired writers as speaking in the Holy Ghost,[2] and the Scripture itself is sometimes personified as the divine voice.[3] We have seen that St. Paul[4] expressly calls the Scriptures *inspired*, and extends this inspiration not only to dogmatic parts, but to the whole Scripture without distinction, whether it serves to teach, to rebuke, to correct or to instruct. And St. Peter assures us that the holy men of God—the sacred authors, the prophets in the first instance—spoke *inspired by the Holy Ghost*.[5] The Council of Florence[6] declares that "one and the same *God is the author* of the Old and the New Testament, that is, of the Law, the Prophets and the Gospel, since *inspired by one and the same Holy Ghost* the saints of both testaments have spoken." The same doctrine is taught by the Council of Trent,[7] which, moreover, declares that "*the entire books with all their parts* . . . . as contained in the ancient Latin Vulgate edition are to be received as sacred and canonical." But the Vatican Council, adhering to the constant tradition of the Church, puts an end to all doubt by defining not only that "the books of the Old and the New Testament *in their entirety and in all* their parts, as enumerated in the decree of the Council of Trent and contained in the Latin Vulgate, are to be received as sacred and canonical"; but also that "the Church regards them as sacred and canonical . . . . because, *being written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God as their author* and *as such* have been entrusted to the Church."

These truths regarding the inspiration of the sacred Scriptures, extending to the entire canon of the Council of Trent and to all its parts, we find reaffirmed by Leo XIII. in the introduction to the Encyclical. This he made, as it were, his starting point. On these points of doctrine all Catholic theologians were substantially in agreement.

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[1] Cf. Acts i., 16.
[2] Matt. xxii., 23.
[3] Gal. iii., 8.
[4] 2 Tim. iii., 16.
[5] 2 Pet. i., 21.
[6] Decr. pro Jacobit, 1.
[7] Sess. iv., decr. de canon. Script.

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Yet some Catholic writers were inclined to limit the inspiration of the Scriptures from another aspect. They admitted all that had been defined by the Councils of Trent and of the Vatican—the divine inspiration extending to all the books of the Tridentine canon taken in their entirety and in their detailed parts; but by parts they would have us understand only those portions that appertain to *faith and morals* or to the "upbuilding of the Christian doctrine." For such parts only they vindicated divine inspiration. With portions of the Scriptures not appertaining to faith and morals they thought the Holy Ghost had nothing to do. The human writers alone were responsible for such parts. Consequently the latter were free to err in all historic and scientific facts and statements not regarding faith or morals.[1]

This would certainly be a very convenient theory of inspiration, if it could be sustained. But here we stand confronted with the declaration of the Church that God is the author of the Sacred Books in their entirety and of all their parts in detail. The Councils make no distinction between part and part. God is the author of each part, and is, therefore, responsible for the truth of each fact or statement, as it proceded from the pen of the inspired writer. The Councils, it is true, make a distinction between things pertaining and things not pertaining to faith and morals, but nowhere does this distinction apply to the fact of inspiration itself, but only to the interpretation of the Scriptures or to the traditions of the Church or the extent of the Church's teaching-office.

No reason can be adduced, therefore, for restricting the inspiration of the Scripture to matters of faith and morals. On the contrary, it seems rather unbecoming, not to say utterly inconsistent with, the wisdom, goodness and truthfulness of God that He should withhold His assistance from His inspired instrument as often as there is question only of natural truths, that have no bearing upon faith and morals. This certainly would greatly lessen the authority of God's word, expose the inspired writer to the contempt of the learned of this world and be a prolific source of error not only in the natural order, but, if pushed to its ultimate consequences, also in faith. For who can assign the line of demarcation in the Scriptures between matters of faith and morals and merely natural truths? Hence we find that the Holy Fathers were most solicitous to reconcile apparent contradictions, even of the most trivial nature in the Scriptures, convinced as they were of the absolute inerrancy of the sacred writers, also in matters not pertaining to faith and morals. Hence the inviolable canon of St. Augustine: "If in the Scriptures we should meet any error, *we*

[1] Cf. Schanz Apology, Engl. Trans., vol. ii., p. 432.

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are not permitted to say: The author has not attained to the truth; but: Either the manuscript is faulty, or the translator has erred, or thou dost not understand it."[1]

And, in fact, it was always admitted as a self-evident theological principle, at least by orthodox theologians, that whatever is contained in the Scriptures—*e.g.*, "Abraham begot Isaac," "[Judas] hanged himself with a halter"—is an object of divine faith. But whatever is an object of divine faith is the word of God. Consequently, according to the universal belief of the theologians of the past, each part of the Scriptures is God's word. But many parts—nay, most parts—of the Scriptures can be the word of God only by inspiration, since they are not direct revelations of God. Hence, it must be concluded that such parts of the Scriptures are inspired. Now, these are the very parts of which there is question—historical facts, daily occurrences, natural truths, incidental remarks and statements, etc. Therefore, if we would not infringe upon one of the first principles of sound theology, we are forced to admit that the Scripture is inspired not only in its entirety, but also in its minor details, though they may have no bearing on faith and morals.

It is not to be wondered at, then, that the more conservative schools of theology expressed themselves as directly opposed to the theory of the *obiter dicta*, which left the sacred writers free to err in certain minor details not pertaining to faith and morals, and that they regarded such doctrines as fraught with dangerous consequences for the integrity of the Scriptures.

A modern French writer does not seem to us to put it too strongly when he says: "We cannot disguise from ourselves that the new opinion, which limits inspiration and freedom from error merely to those passages of Scripture which concern faith and morals, has lately made rapid strides. Even in many French Seminaries it is taught as a probable opinion, and the conclusion is drawn that the historical books—*e. g.*, Kings, Paralipomenon, Judges, etc.—may be inspired and free from error only in their dogmatic and moral parts! *In this case we shall soon have to suppress two-thirds of the Bible.*"[2] Nor was the new theory confined to France. In a mild form it found ardent defenders in Italy and in England as well; and we have reason to think that it was fast gaining popularity with individuals, if not with schools, in the United States. The present Encyclical of the Pope ought to terminate the controversy, and put a quietus on the *obiter dicta* theory. Leo XIII. rejects it in the most unmistakable terms. "It would be altogether wrong," writes the Sovereign Pontiff, "*to restrict the inspiration to some parts* of the Scriptures, or *to allow that the sacred writer has erred.* For the method of those *is not to be tolerated*, who endeavor to extricate themselves from difficulties by conceding that *the inspiration*

[1] In Ps. Serm., 118.

[2] See Schanz, *Apol.*, vol. ii., p. 433.

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extends, indeed, to matters of faith and morals, but no farther. . . . For all those books which the Church receives as sacred and canonical, *in their entirety and in their parts*, have been written at the dictation of the Holy Ghost. But divine inspiration, far from being compatible with any error, of its very nature not only *excludes every error*, but excludes and rejects it with that self-same necessity in virtue of which God, the Supreme Truth, cannot be the author of any error whatsoever."

The Pope then goes on to confirm this statement by the constant tradition of the Church and the decrees of the Councils of Florence and Trent, which have been reaffirmed and brought out with greater precision by the Vatican; and he concludes thus: "Wherefore it matters nothing at all that the Holy Ghost has taken men as His instruments to write, as though some error might escape, not, indeed, the primary author, but the inspired authors. For by His supernatural action He so incited and moved them that they rightly conceived in their minds, had the will faithfully to indite, *and expressed aptly and with infallible truthfulness all those things—and those things only—which He commanded them to write; else God would not be the author of the entire Scripture.*"[1]

After all we have heard and read, then, of "advanced thought" and "higher criticism," and the "rejuvenation of the sacred sciences," and the nebulous "zeitgeist," and the spirit and progress of "the age," we have to fall back finally on the trite canon of St. Augustine: Some one has blundered, but not the sacred writer; it may be the copyist, or it may be the translator, or it may be our own limited capacity that is at fault; but we must in all cases save the inerrancy of the Holy Ghost and of His living inspired instrument.

This point concerning the extent of inspiration was one on which we all desired the judgment of the Holy Father. We have received it in the most unambiguous language. It is just what all sound and sober theologians anticipated, but the very reverse of the programme outlined for the Holy Father by the would-be representatives of "the age."

Another kindred subject on which information was eagerly looked for was the Pope's attitude toward "*advanced criticism.*" But what must have been the disappointment of "the age" to find that "the Church" showed such scant appreciation of this, its cherished science?

Now, what is the Pope's mind on the new fad of so-called "higher

[1] It is hardly necessary to add that this inerrancy belongs only to those statements and truths which are advanced on the authority of God and of the sacred writers. Statements made by others may be true or false in themselves; but it is infallibly certain that they have been truly reported by the sacred writers. Some statements made on the authority of God or of the sacred writers may be only *relatively* true, as is the case in human speech generally, as for instance, when we speak of the rising and setting sun, and of its diurnal course.

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critiicism?" There is certainly a higher criticism for which the Pope has the highest possible appreciation. It is that broad criticism which is based, not on gratuitous assumptions, arbitrary rules and philological subtleties, but on a thorough knowledge of philosophy and dogmatic theology, on familiarity with the original languages of the Scriptures and of the cognate idioms, on history, ethnology, archæology and profound scientific research. To this kind of higher criticism His Holiness earnestly exhorts the scripturist and the student of the sacred sciences generally. But for the higher criticism of "the age," which is based only on grammatical subtleties and philological hair-splitting, the Pope has little use. He writes:

"Without reason, and to the detriment of religion, has been introduced an artifice called by the specious name of higher criticism, according to which the origin, genuineness and authority of each book are wont to be decided from so-called intrinsic reasons. On the contrary, it is manifest that in questions of an historical nature, such as that of the origin and the preservation of the sacred books, the evidences of history are paramount and are to be most carefully explored and examined; that, on the other hand, those intrinsic reasons are not of such weight that they should be brought to bear on the matter except as subsidiary evidence. Else great inconveniences are certain to follow. For the enemies shall then gain greater confidence in attacking and discrediting the authenticity of the Sacred Books. That which they laud as higher criticism will finally lead to this, that each one will follow his own whims and prejudices in the interpretation of the Scriptures. Hence, no light will be thrown on Holy Writ, no benefit will accrue to science; but that wide diversity of opinion which is the index of error will prevail, as the leaders of this novel science give ample evidence. Moreover, since most of its advocates are imbued with the doctrines of false philosophy and rationalism, they will not shrink from eliminating from the Sacred Books prophecies, miracles and whatever else there is of a supernatural character." These are the well-weighed words of the great Pontiff of "the age" on "the age's" youngest and dearest offspring.

Another point on which the theologian of "the age" would naturally look for an innovation from the progressive spirit of Leo XIII. is the use of the *Latin Vulgate*. This version of the Scriptures had been declared authentic by the Council of Trent.[1] The Sacred Synod "decrees and declares that that same ancient and vulgate edition, which has been sanctioned by the continued use of ages in the Church, is to be regarded as authentic in public lectures, disputations and sermons, and that no one shall dare or presume to reject it."

[1] Decr. de ed. et usu., *V. Libror.*

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From this declaration, according to the common opinion of theologians, it follows that the Latin Vulgate is a faithful rendering of the original Scriptures—at least as far as dogmatic texts are concerned—so that no dogma contained in the original text is substantially changed or modified, or not sufficiently expressed, in this version. This may be directly inferred from the fact that the Vulgate version was from the very beginning in constant use in the Church, to whose infallible keeping the Scriptures, as well as the unwritten traditions, have been entrusted. The decree does not exclude accidental modifications, slight interpolations, etc., as every theologian knows.

Yet this declaration of the Council of Trent was an eye-sore to "higher critics," who considered themselves the divinely constituted custodians, or rather restorers and demolishers, of the Sacred text. A departure from it would have been, in their eyes, a consummation devoutly to be wished. Leo XIII., however, far from making any innovation on this point, enforces anew the decree of Trent, while at the same time he earnestly invites and exhorts the Scripture student, in cases of doubt, to have recourse to the original texts. "Let him" [the professor of Scripture], he says, "adhering to the customs of our ancestors, take [in his expositions] for his text the Vulgate version, which the Council of Trent decreed should be regarded as authentic in public lectures, disputations and sermons, and which is commended by the daily use of the Church."

A few words on the *universal canon of interpretation* of the Scriptures. On this point the Council of Trent issued the following decree: "For the restraint of audacious minds, the Sacred Council decrees that no one, relying on his own prudence, in matters of faith and morals pertaining to the upbuilding of the Christian doctrine, distorting the Scriptures to his own opinions, dare interpret the same Scriptures contrary to the meaning that our Holy Mother, the Church, held and holds, whose province it is to judge of the true meaning and interpretation of the Scriptures, or also contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers."

The general rule to be followed in the interpretation of the Scriptures is, therefore, *the authority of the Church and the unanimous consent of the Fathers.* If, then, the meaning of a text is defined by the Church, as in the case of the words: This is my body, etc.,[1] the interpreter must defend that meaning; but if the meaning of the text is not defined, he must not give any exposition which would conflict with any point of the Church's teaching; and the same rule holds in regard to the unanimous teaching of the Fathers in matters of faith and morals.

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[1] Trid. Sess., xiii., c. 1.

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Lest any one should think that this was a mere disciplinary rule, which prescribed only a certain line of conduct to the commentator, the Vatican Council[1] declared that "in matters of faith and morals pertaining to the upbuilding of the Christian doctrine, *that is to be regarded the true meaning of the Scripture which our Holy Mother, the Church, held and holds*, ... and *therefore* no one is allowed to interpret the Scripture contrary to this sense or contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers."

Leo XIII. is still more explicit on this point. After reaffirming the teaching of Trent and of the Vatican, he concludes: "Wherefore it should be the chief and inviolable rule with the interpreter in regard to those texts the meaning of which has been authentically declared either by the sacred writers themselves, through the inspiration of the Holy Ghost—as is the case in many passages of the New Testament—or by the Church through the assistance of the same Holy Ghost, *whether in solemn definition or by means of her ordinary and universal teaching-office*, to give the same interpretation, and from the resources of his science to prove that such interpretation alone can be sustained in accordance with the sound laws of hermeneutics. In other texts he must follow the *analogy of faith*, and the Catholic doctrine as received by the Church is to be employed as the supreme rule."

Besides the *two chief criteria* contained in the previous declarations of the Church—viz., the teaching of the Church and the unanimous consent of the fathers—the Pope here lays special stress on three other criteria, which, however, might easily be reduced to the other two. These are: the authentic declaration of the inspired writers themselves, the ordinary and universal teaching of the Church, and the analogy of faith.

The first of these criteria was always practically admitted and followed by orthodox commentators as a self-evident rule. It follows directly from the infallibility of the sacred writers. If, therefore, any text of the Old Testament is authentically explained by any of the sacred writers of the New Testament, that same interpretation is to be defended as the true one, so far as it goes, though this interpretation may not, by any means, exhaust the contents of the text. If, for instance, certain passages of the Psalms or Prophecies are quoted by the inspired writers of the New Testament as bearing on the Messias, these passages are infallibly Messianic, either directly or indirectly, and no commentator is free to deny their Messianic character. He is free, and it is his task as a commentator, to explain the extent and manner of their Messianic character; but he cannot explain it away without failing against the first rule of sound hermeneutics.

[1] *De Fide Cath.*, c. 2.

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The second criterion on which the Pope lays special stress is the *ordinary and universal teaching-office* of the Church. This criterion is in itself nowise different from that proposed by the Council of Trent as *the teaching Our Holy Mother the Church.* But it was necessary to bring it out more explicitly to meet the objections of those mimimizers who declare themselves ready to receive all that is solemnly defined by an Œcumenical Council or by the Pope *ex-cathedra*, but assert that in all else they are free to follow their own judgment—who scout the ordinary teaching of the Church and the *consensus* of Catholic schools under the direct supervision of the Church. A careful reading of the Vatican Council might have taught those minimizers better. In the third chapter *de fide cath.* the Council declares expressly: "By divine and Catholic faith all those truths are to be believed which are contained in the written or unwritten word of God and are proposed to our belief as divinely revealed by the Church *whether in solemn definition* or THROUGH ITS ORDINARY AND UNIVERSAL TEACHING-OFFICE."

The *ordinary and universal* teaching of the Church, therefore, whether immediately through the bishops, the judges of the faith, dispersed throughout the entire world, or through those who preach and teach and write under their immediate supervision, is a criterion which may not be overlooked by the interpreter of the Scriptures, but must needs command his unqualified assent. It is needless to add that the infallibility and consequent binding force of this universal teaching of the Church, as of the universal teaching of the Fathers, extend only to matters of faith and morals.

The *analogy of faith* and Christian doctrine is the third criterion which the Pope urges as the Supreme rule to be followed in all those cases in which there is no authentic interpretation either by the Scriptures themselves or by the Church and no consent of the Fathers. It is a negative criterion forbidding the commentator to interpret any passage of the Scriptures in such a way as to conflict with any other passage, or with any other truth contained in the Scriptures, or proposed by the Church, or universally taught and believed by her. The necessity of this rule is as manifest as is the truth that God cannot contradict himself.

But this criterion of the analogy of faith, from the very force of the term, seems to demand something more of the interpreter—namely, that in doubtful passages he should lean more towards that meaning which seems best to harmonize with the defined doctrines of the Church and the received truths of the Catholic faith. Hence it is that the Pope requires that the interpreter of the Scriptures should be a theologian of more than ordinary attainments (omnem theologiam egregie teneat), and that he should be conversant with the works of the Fathers. The interpreter should, in short, follow

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the example of the Fathers, "who sought the right understanding of the divine Scriptures not from their own preconceived views but from the writings and the authority of their elders, who, it was evident, on their part had received the rule of interpretation from apostolic tradition."[1]

We would fain have dwelt at greater length on these and kindred salient points of the present Encyclical, but we feel that we are trespassing on the valuable space of this REVIEW. We hope, however, to have contributed something towards the better understanding and appreciation of this magnificent document and of the Holy Fathers' intent in giving it to the public.

In it we find no new departure, as was expected in some quarters, no deviation from the traditions of the Church, no connivance at the spirit of "the age," no compromise with liberalism or rationalism, no "toleration" of erroneous or misleading tenets, however specious or "advanced." In doctrine it is, as every such document must be, most conservative. There is nothing in it but the natural development of the traditional teaching of the Church on the Scriptures. Any additions to the doctrines already defined, as we have seen, are only the logical outgrowth of those doctrines.

While conservative in doctrine, it is most progressive in its practical recommendations and enforcements. Yet it contains nothing that is startling to the theologian; it enforces or recommends nothing that was not already in use in our better equipped ecclesiastical institutions throughout the Church. It is only an effort to make this more thorough and extensive study of the Scriptures universal in our theological schools, and to do away, as far as possible, with superficiality in Bible studies, which, now more than ever, is dangerous. Certainly, if anywhere, here "a little learning is a dangerous thing," especially if this little is drawn from tainted sources. Hence the Pope insists so strongly on due preparation—especially a solid *Introduction* and a thorough and extensive theological course—before launching on the troubled sea of "higher criticism." Otherwise the student will steer without compass or rudder.

In reading this Encyclical, we cannot but admire the wisdom and tact, or rather the unction of the Holy Ghost, which characterizes all its utterances. It is a fact which we cannot conceal from ourselves—though we do think that it has been somewhat exaggerated—that, within the Church, there have been not a few who entertained, at least under the form of hypotheses, somewhat liberal views on the Scriptures—regarding the authenticity of some of the sacred books, the nature and extent of inspiration, the interpretation of certain passages bearing on the creation of the universe, the origin of man, the deluge, etc. Now, instead of collecting to-

[1] Rufin., Hist., Eccl. ii., 9.

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gether and condemning what was false or dangerous or misleading in these views, and thus humbling our "advanced" scholars, and, perhaps, in some instances, retarding the progress of otherwise useful investigation, his Holiness sums up the general principles on the study and interpretation of the Scriptures, and shows clearly what is false and untenable, without noting any individual; so that he who runs may read, and every scientist and critic may, if so he pleases, gauge the legitimacy and conclusiveness of his own investigations. This conduct of the successor of St. Peter is evidently the result of the sweet and efficacious workings of the spirit that "breatheth where He will, and thou hearest his voice; and thou knowest not whence He cometh, or whither He goeth."[1]

That same spirit that "reaches from end to end mightily, and disposes all things sweetly," will doubtless accompany the Pope's message to the ends of the earth, and will enlighten the minds and inflame the hearts of teachers and students to a true understanding and right appreciation of God's Written Word. They will approach the study of the sacred text, not in the spirit of arrogance and pride, but in the spirit of reverence and true Christian humility. They will not allow themselves to be captured and carried away by the specious but often delusive phrases of "higher criticism," "advanced views," "the critical spirit of the age," and such-like verbiage. We shall have less of the chaff and more of the genuine wheat of God's word.

It is this spirit of humility, reverence, and childlike devotion to the word of God, combined with the solid studies outlined by Leo XIII., that will ensure the true progress of scripturistic science. "For," as the Holy Father assures us, "the understanding of the scriptures will not be revealed in a salutary manner, as it should be, unless the arrogance of *earthly* science is removed, and the desire of that wisdom *which is from on high* is awakened in the soul. And the mind, once imbued with this wisdom, and enlightened and strengthened by it, will have a marvellous power also of detecting and avoiding the fallacies of human science, of gathering its solid fruits, and directing them to their eternal ends. And thus, most ardently inflamed, the soul will aspire with greater zeal to the treasures of virtue and divine love. Blessed are they that search His testimonies, that seek Him with their whole heart."[2]

Such is, in brief, the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, teeming with practical wisdom of the most far-reaching character, and shedding copious light on the most important questions underlying our faith and the entire structure of our religion. And from this point of view we do not hesitate to pronounce it the most important document issued by our glorious Pontiff, Leo XIII.

JAMES CONWAY, S.J.

[1] John, iii., 8. [2] Ps. 118, 2.

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In Memoriam

GEORGE DERING WOLFF, A.M., LL.D.

On the 29th of January of this year the AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW was, by the death of Dr. Wolff, bereft of the last surviving member of its original corps of editors. The intelligence of the decease of this able journalist has called forth tender expressions of regret from the Catholic learned world, not only in America but also in Europe, which form a consoling evidence of the esteem he enjoyed, not alone by reason of his great intellectual gifts, but yet more by his unfailing courtesy towards all with whom his literary career brought him in contact.

Dr. Wolff was born in Martinsburg, West Virginia, August 25, 1822. His father, Rev. Bernard C. Wolff, D.D., was a prominent clergyman of the German Reformed Church, and his mother was a woman of rare worth and intelligence. No pains were spared to impart to the bright youth the completest education which the times could afford. After being graduated at Marshall College, he devoted three years to the study of law; but shortly after his admission to the bar, he resolved to enter the ministry of his Church. After four years of theological studies, he began to exercise the ministry, and on account of his scholarly attainments, unblemished life and manly eloquence, attracted general attention and received many important "calls." Gradually, however, his faith in the fundamental basis of Protestantism was weakened, and following the inspirations of grace, overcoming very formidable obstacles, he was led into the bosom of Christ's one true Fold. A few weeks after his reception into the Church, he took editorial charge of the *Catholic Standard*, and in 1876, in conjunction with the late lamented Bishop O'Conner and the illustrious Mgr. Corcoran, founded the present REVIEW. The names of this renowned trio made the venture an assured success from the first issue.

Of Dr. Wolffs literary ability it is needless to speak; for he was recognized as standing in the front rank of American journalists. Now that his long career has been closed by a happy death, it is sweeter to recall those gentler and less brilliant virtues which endure beyond the grave—his profound humility, his truly edifying piety, his tender regard for the feelings of others, and his steadfast devotion to the cause of holy religion.

MAY HE REST IN PEACE.

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Scientific Chronicle.

SALT AND ITS MANUFACTURE.

"*He is come to me and prings me pread and salt yesterday, look you, and pid me eat my leek.*"—HENRY V.

As this is a rather dry subject, it may be well to enliven it somewhat by indulging in a little etymology.

Derivation of the Word.—Whence comes our English word, *Salt?* To answer this we must take a long look backwards, for, the thing itself has, without doubt, been known and used by mortals ever since the days of Adam and Eve.

Now, although the Hebrew may not be the most ancient language of the world, still its authentic records can lay claim to a pretty venerable antiquity, and, perchance, in it the root of our English word may be found.

In rummaging, then, through the cobwebs of the dusty past, we light on the Hebrew word, *melach*, or *melakh*, which the learned tell us means *salt*. This does not look very promising; on the contrary, it looks very unpromising; and when we have gazed for a few days, or perhaps weeks, on that juxtaposition of letters, *m-e-l-a-kh*, we feel saddened, and begin to think that it would be the forlornest of all forlorn hopes to expect to find any *s-a-l-t* in that combination. The two words have only two letters in common, and even their order is reversed, while the *s* and *t* of the one are unaccounted for, and the *m* the *e* and the *kh* of the other are in our way.

But let us not lose courage. An ancient delver for roots, slightly discouraged, probably, once remarked, "In this business of derivations, consonants seem to count for very little, and vowels for nothing at all." If we adopt this rule, we shall have no difficulty in deriving *salt* from *melakh*, or, if needs be, from *shibboleth*, or from anything we please.

Modern etymologists, however, are more exacting, and have adopted a much more straightened rule, viz., "In derivations, consonants count for a great deal, and vowels are very important." If we go by this rule, we shall have reluctantly to abandon the Hebrew, and its *melakh*, and probably also every other Semitic tongue, and look elsewhere.

Let us try an Aryan one. Our old friend, Sanskrit, is generally pretty obliging when you once manage to get around him and draw him out. Referring, then, to Sanskrit, we find for *salt* the word *sara*, which already begins to look somewhat saltish. But this *sara* has another meaning, viz., *curds*, as of milk, or, more radically and more literally still, "that *which flows*," from *sri*, *to go*, and this again from the still more ancient Aryan root, SAR, *to go*, *to glide*, *to flow*, leading us back, in all probability, to the "water" from which salt was obtained.[1]

[1] Strangely, or, perhaps one might say, naturally enough, "*serpent*," has wiggled

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However, we can hardly afford to fancy that we are quite out of the woods yet, for "consonants count for a great deal," and so two evident difficulties rise up in the way of getting *salt* from *sara*, first the *l*, and secondly, the *t*.

But, we must not forget, if, indeed, we ever knew it, that the Aryan root, SAL, meant about the same thing as SAR, *to go, to flow, to hasten, to spring forward* (all predicable of water); hence, in Latin, we have *sal-ire, to leap, ... sal-tare, to dance, ...* which are predicated of water as well as of men, and women, and frogs. This ought to settle the *l* difficulty to the satisfaction of even the most fastidious.

The *t* edged its way in as follows: The very ancient Aryan suffix *ta* is a sign of the past participle, so that *sal-ta* would mean *salt-ed*, and *sal-ta* is said to be the very earliest Teutonic form of the word, which, however, was used both as a noun and as a participle or adjective. In getting down to us, the final *a* got knocked off by some accident, probably through the carelessness of some etymological baggage-slinger, so that instead of *salta* we received only plain *salt*.

The *l* and the *t* of our *salt* being accounted for, we begin to feel refreshed; but no, another obstacle now presents itself. The Old-Anglo Saxon, through which we undoubtedly received the word, spelt it *s-e-a-l-t*, and our good steed, Philology, seems inclined to balk once more. But he shall not be allowed to do so, for we know that those same Old-Anglo-Saxons had a trick of sometimes putting in an *e* for which we do not seem to have any use; thus, our English word *hall* was with them *heall*, *halt* was *healt*, *malt* was *mealt*, *stall* was *steall*, *gall* was *gealla*, and so of many others. Now, as we dropped the *e* in these cases without remorse, so did we drop it from *seait* without scruple.

In the Gothic, Old-Saxon, Swedish, Danish, Icelandic, and Frisian, the spelling is the same as with us. The Low German had first *salt*, and later *solt*, from which, possibly, we took our present pronunciation of the word. The Scandinavian word is *sallte*, the old Dutch is *sout*, the modern Dutch *zout*, both of which look queer enough, but they can be proved to be perfectly legitimate; while the Germans with characteristic tenacity have stuck to *salz*, from old to modern, from first to last, through thick and thin. There are few words, perhaps, in which so strong a family resemblance runs through so many languages; but the end is not even yet.

The Greek gives us ἅλς (*hals*), and this encountering of an *h* for an *s* might, perchance, make us fear that we were getting off the scent; but, by brushing up our classics just a bit, we may possibly recall the fact that *h*, in Greek, not unfrequently has the force of *s*. Thus, ἅζω (*hazo, I consecrate*), is equal to the Latin *sacro;* ἅγιος (*hagios, holy*) to *sanctus;* ἅλλομαι (*hallomai, I leap*) to *salio;* and this brings us back to old SAL again.

But a more familiar example is the Greek prefix, ἡμι (*hemi, half*)

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down the same path. It is referred to the Aryan root SARP, which is only an extension of SAR, and hence "*sarpent*" has at least as good a footing, etymologically, as "*serpent*."

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which is *semi* in Latin. With our usual impartiality, we employ both forms in English, as, *hemi-sphere*, *semi circle*, etc. The *h* appears also in the Welsh word for salt, which is *hal*, *halen*, or *hallt;* also, in the Cornish and Armorican, *halinn*, *halen*. May not this be taken as an indication that these languages have their word directly from the Greek, or, the Greek its word from them? Be this as it may, the difference between *h* and *s* is not very great, the one being an "audible breathing," the other a "sibilant," or hissing sound.

Coming now to the Latin, we find *sal* (without its *t*) and this would incline us to think that it came directly from headquarters, without passing through the Teutonic form. The same *sal* seems to satisfy all the demands of the Spanish, Portuguese, and Provençal tongues. In Italian, it is *sale;* in French, *sel;* in Servian and Polish, *sol;* in Bohemian, *sul;* in Russian and old Bulgarian, *soli*, or *soly;* in Gaelic and Irish, *salann*, or *salan*. This subject is by no means exhausted, and much more might be added, but we think we have said enough to satisfy the present cravings of most of our non-etymological readers.

Figurative Meanings of "Salt."—Whatever its form, the word which means *salt* has been used in many figurative senses in every language, probably, under the sun. With the Greeks, the word, in its literal sense, was of the masculine gender, but when used to mean the sea "the blue lone sea," they then, with the graceful instinct of poetry, made it feminine; the Romans, less ethereal in their poetic feeling, left it masculine, or even neuter.

Salt preserves from corruption, and hence it was used to signify "freedom from guilt," in the sacrifices of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews. Both in the active and the passive sense, Christ could say to his apostles, "Ye are the salt of the earth," as if he had said—ye are pure and innocent, and your office is to make the world pure and innocent, and to keep it so.

Salt was put into the coffin in ancient times, to drive the devil away, because Satan hates incorruption and immortality, of which salt is a sign.

Salt is the symbol of "wisdom," and as such is used in the solemn administration of baptism, because true wisdom preserves the soul from all taint of sin.

Salt gives taste, flavor, pungency, to what without it would be insipid, and is therefore the emblem of "wit." "Wit is the salt of conversation, not the food," says Hazlitt. Attic salt means Attic wit, but Byron is speaking sarcastically when he says: "A turn for punning, call it Attic salt." Shelley, in a sadder vein, has:

> "Ocean of time, whose waters of deep woe
> Are brackish with the salt of human tears."

To take a statement "with a grain of salt," means to take it with some reserve; for, as salt is used sparingly, so in an exaggerated story, the proportion of truth will probably be very small.

"He cannot earn (or, he isn't worth) salt for his porridge," means that he is a very poor workman, or a very lazy one.

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Way down in Old Kentucky, there is a stream whose waters are quite salt, whence its name "Salt River." It is awfully crooked, and is full of shoals and snags. Hence, "to row up Salt River," has become a proverbial expression for any very difficult task. In politics, the defeated party is said to have gone "to row up Salt River." The salt has nothing to do with the matter here—unless, perhaps, the under-meaning may be, that they are gone to learn "wisdom."

An experienced sailor is often, quite naturally, called an "Old Salt," but the figure fails badly when it is applied, as we heard it at the Columbian Fair, to an ancient deck-hand of a steamboat on the *fresh* waters of Lake Michigan.

In olden times, among the high-born, the "salt-cellar" was an important piece of table-ware. It was quite large, and highly ornamental; it was made of silver, or even of gold, and stood at the very centre of the long table. To "sit above the salt," then meant to be near the head of the table, in an honorable place; while, "below the salt," meant a less honorable position; and these phrases, of course, came to be used figuratively in other cases. Scores of other applications may be found scattered like salt through all literature, and it would take more than a book to do anything like justice to them all; but, happily for our readers, we have renounced the idea of writing a book.

The Word "Salt" among the Chemists.—What we have said, so far, has been in reference to what is usually known as salt, such as we have in every-day use. The alchemists, who, much as they have been abused, were the real fathers of chemistry, as well as the old chemists themselves, down, say to the end of the eighteenth century, gave a much more extended meaning to the word—a meaning so extended that it is very hard, not to say impossible, to find out just what they did and what they did not comprehend under the term. Their ideas about the composition of bodies were all wrong, and hence their wild assertions, and wilder guessings, and still wilder longings after the impossible "Elixir of Life," and "Philosopher's Stone."

The chemists of the last hundred years have acquired a vast store of positive knowledge concerning the composition of bodies, which stands them in good stead. Nevertheless, they, too, have had a hard struggle with this word *salt*, in its wider sense; and even to-day the result is not quite as satisfactory as one might desire. To get at a definition, we have to go about the business indirectly, by backing in, as it were, and facing right about afterwards. Thus, all acids, however much they differ otherwise, have at least two properties in common; first, they all are hydrogen-compounds; and secondly, they all have the power to change certain vegetable colors from blue to red; and by these properties we can always recognize them. Now, when the hydrogen of an acid is replaced, wholly or in part, by a metal, or by a metallic radical,[1] the result

[1] By "metallic radical" is meant the union of a metal with a non-metal, but not in the proportion which will satisfy all the combining power of each; and by means of that portion of the combining power left unsatisfied the group may act as if it were a simple "element."

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is a "salt," as understood by chemists. True, there are several other ways of getting at it, but the result is always the same; and as all the thousands of chemical salts known may be made in this way, at least on paper, that is enough to justify the deffnition: "A salt is a compound that is, or that may be, formed by replacing (wholly or in part) the hydrogen of an acid by a metal or a metallic radical."

We know well that what we have said is absurdly inadequate to a full understanding of this matter; scores of pages would be required for even an elementary explanation of the subject; but as that would be intolerably long to the non-technical reader, and as, besides, this REVIEW is not a text-book of chemistry, we have concluded to call a halt on this point, and pass on to other aspects of the subject.

The word *salts* (in the plural) is used, especially by druggists, for some of the more common chemical salts used in medicine, as Epsom salts, Glauber's salts, Rochelle salts, smelling-salts, etc., but these we also pass, in order to get back again to our real, old *salt* salt, and, in what follows, we propose to stick to it as long as it sticks to us.

Common Salt—Its Composition.—This substance conforms to the definition given above. We have an acid called "hydrochloric acid," but which druggists persist in calling "muriatic." It is a compound of the colorless gas, hydrogen, with the greenish-yellow gas, chlorine. In chemical short-hand, it is written HCl. Now, if we replace the hydrogen of hydrochloric acid by the soft, silver-white metal sodium, we have common salt, of which about 39 per cent. by weight is sodium, and 61 per cent. chlorine. Natrium is the Latin word for sodium, and so the chemist writes it, NaCl, and pronounces it, "sodium chloride."

Properties of Sodium Chloride (*Common Salt*).—However necessary or useful it may be, for some special purposes, to draw fine lines of distinction between the chemical and physical properties of substances, it is hardly worth while to do so here, and we shall take them up without particular regard to classification.

Some substances are more soluble in cold water than in hot, as, for instance, common lime; others are more soluble in hot water than in cold, as sugar; for others, again, it makes but little difference whether the water be cold or hot—this is practically the case with salt. Thus, one gallon of water, at 32° Fahrenheit, will dissolve about 8 pounds of sugar, while at a boiling temperature it will dissolve any amount. At 32°, one gallon of water will dissolve 2.8 pounds of salt, and at its boiling temperature only 3.2 pounds. The difference, therefore, between its solubility in hot and in cold water is relatively slight, and this fact affords a practical means of separating salt from several other substances usually found associated with it.

When a solution of salt is allowed to evaporate, the salt reappears in the solid state, but it does so according to law and order; that is, it crystallizes, the crystals being in the form of cubes. The crystallization begins by the formation of a tiny cube of solid salt at some point on the surface of the liquid. Although that cube has at least twice the specific gravity of the liquid, it does not fall to the bottom, but is held

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up by what is called *surface tension*. This means that the uppermost layer of the liquid is so much stronger than the layers beneath, that it is not broken by the weight of that little crystal. It yields, however, or stretches a little, and a slight depression is thus formed, in which the new-born crystal nestles in perfect safety. Its upper edges are slightly below the general surface of the surrounding liquid, which surface, at this point, is curved down to these edges all around. At the line of junction between this crystal and the surface of the liquid, other crystals immediately form, and solder themselves to it, as a body-guard. We have thus the beginning of a square, hollow, inverted pyramid, floating with its apex downward and its base upward, and supported by *surface tension*, just as in the case of the single cube which had served as a nest-egg. A new row of crystals now forms around the upper, outer edges of the last row, and so the whole structure grows wider and wider, and reaches down deeper and deeper, the walls still growing thicker, till at length the weight becomes too great for the strength of the surface film, and the pretty little crystal-boat breaks from its delicate moorings and sinks to rest in a crystal grave. No, not to rest, for the action once started still goes on, even beneath the wave. In the meantime, other crystals have been forming at other points of the surface, and, if the evaporation be fairly rapid, they may unite together and fall in confused masses, but always distinctly crystalline. And so the action keeps on, above and below, until all the liquid is gone, and there remains but the solid salt.

Ages ago, such operations took place on a grand scale. Enclosed seas of salt water were dried up, and beds of solid salt hundreds of feet in thickness were often the result. Under the superincumbent weight, the lower layers were compacted into "rock salt." It often happened, of course, that sand and other impurities would become mixed with the salt, and impart to it more or less color, such as various tints of brown, red, yellow, and green. At other times, the salt would escape contamination, and then we have it as colorless and transparent as glass. In fact, for heat rays it is more transparent than the clearest glass ever made or makable. When finely powdered, pure salt is as white as the beautiful snow.

Salt fuses at a red heat, and, at sufficiently high temperature, passes away in vapor. Common earthenware, exposed to this hot vapor of salt, condenses it and unites with it, thus acquiring what is well named a "salt-glaze." This glaze is fairly durable under proper care, but it cracks badly when exposed to high temperatures, as every housewife sadly knows.

A moderate amount of salt is useful for agricultural purposes, but an overdose will destroy vegetation. "And Abimilech assaulted the city . . . . and demolished it, so that he sowed it with salt," in order, say the commentators, to make the ground barren and good for nothing. Probably, it does not actively kill the plants, but only takes away the moisture from them and lets them die.

Salt will kill hens, especially chickens (we have never seen it tried on

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wild fowl), not that it is really a poison, but because the foolish creatures never seem to understand when they have had enough. A growing chicken, weighing say a pound, will consume without any apparent scruple at one sitting, a hundred grains or more of salt, and then look quite offended if you attempt to reason or remonstrate with it, or "shoo" it. This quantity is about proportional to what a three-pound dose would be in the case of a full-grown man. If a man were to eat that much salt at one meal, he *ought* to die, and like Lot's wife be turned into a pillar of salt, as a warning of wisdom for others. So ought the chicken. The much-maligned ass is a paragon of wisdom in comparison with the average representative of the hen tribe. In fact, we know of nothing to be compared with a hen, in point of systematic idiocy, except, perhaps, some other hen.

Salt is not properly a poison, nor is it yet a true food; and still it is far more than a mere condiment. It does not, it is true, build up bone, or muscles, or tendons, or nerves; and nevertheless, either it, or some equivalent, is absolutely necessary for life, in the case of the higher animals at least. This certainly does seem strange; but there must be a reason for every fact, no matter how strange it may appear to be; now, the reason given by some physiologists in this matter is as follows: In the higher animals the blood consists, essentially, of two substances, called "globules" and "serum." The globules are microscopic parcles, disk-like in form, and of a deep-red color; the serum is a thin, yellowish liquid, in which the globules float, and to which they impart their own red color. Now, it is absolutely essential that the globules should always preserve their individual identity. Each of these has its allotted share in the task of carrying the proper food to every tissue of the body, and of bringing back the worn-out particles that have served their end and died, and which must be promptly rejected from the system. The globules may be likened to so many stokers, who carry fuel to the furnace and remove the ashes. But, if the globules be dissolved by the serum, they lose their individuality, and are no longer capable of performing their functions. Salt does, however, precisely hinder the serum from dissolving the globules, and therefore, unless there be a certain quantity of it (or of an equivalent) in solution in the blood, this dissolving effect will take place, the whole character of the blood will be changed, and the animal-machine will necessarily break down.

Nevertheless, there are certain facts which seem to be in contradiction with the original statement that salt is necessary at all. Homer was a poet, and therefore couldn't lie, and Homer says that there have been inland peoples who never saw the sea, and to whom salt was totally unknown. Sallust was a historian, and therefore shouldn't lie, and he says that the Numidian nomads never used salt with their food. The same is true of the Bedouins of Hadramant, even to the present day. It seems, also, that in some parts of America, as well as of India, the use of salt was first introduced by Europeans. How can these things be reconciled with what has been said above? Easily enough. Herbiferous animals find in the plants and herbs which they consume enough salt (it need not be

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sodium chloride, *i.e.*, NaCl, for some other salts will do as well) to keep their blood in good working condition. But men who live by the chase, and who consequently live almost exclusively on the raw or roasted flesh and the blood, either of these animals or on that of the carnivorous animals that have eaten *them*, find sufficient salt, of one kind or another, in this savage fare to satisfy their needs. But the cultivated cereals and vegetables and the boiled meats, which form so large a part of the diet of civilized men, do not contain sufficient salt, of any kind, for the purpose mentioned above, and therefore a supplement of the real article is necessary. Even ancient Pistol, who had insulted the brave Welshman by bidding him "eat his leek," knew that leeks need salt. It seems, then, that the difficulty raised, a few lines back, has been fairly met and answered.

Sources of Salt, and its Manufacture.—As a laboratory-experiment, salt may be obtained by putting together, in the proportions mentioned above, the two elements, sodium and chlorine. It also appears, as a by-product, in the manufacture of certain other salts, as, for example, tooth-powder. Take 16 ounces of sodium carbonate, and 16¾ ounces of calcium chloride, and dissolve them separately in water, and mix the solutions together, and you will have 15 ounces of calcium carbonate, in a state of fine white powder, the basis of every honest tooth-powder, while there will remain, dissolved in the water, 17¾ ounces of pure salt, which can be recovered by filtering off the liquid and evaporating the water by heat. Neither of these methods, however, would do for the commercial manufacture of salt. In the first place, they would be enormously expensive, and, in the next place, you could hardly get the sodium, the chlorine, or the sodium carbonate, without first having the salt, for, the salt is, practically, the starting point from wihch to obtain sodium, and all, or nearly all, its compounds.

So we go back to dame Nature, who has kindly furnished us with a plentiful supply of salt. All we need is to lay hold on it and appropriate it to our uses. The waters of the ocean (there is but one ocean) contains enough salt for all our reasonable needs, and for a rich legacy unto our children for a long time to come. The quantity of salt in a given volume of sea-water varies somewhat for different places. On account of the more rapid evaporation, sea-water is salter in the torrid than in the frigid zone, and salter near the shores than on the surface of the open ocean. The same is true of land-locked seas, such as the Gulf of Mexico, and the Mediterranean; and, on account of the greater density, the salter water is nearer the bottom. The variation, the world over, is from a minimum of 2.9 per cent. to a maximum of 3.6 per cent. of the total weight of the water. Taking the average as 3.3 per cent., the total quantity of salt in the whole ocean has been calculated at more than 4,419,360 cubic miles. Now, the area of Africa is about 11,000,000 sqnare miles, and its mean elevation nearly 2000 feet above tide-level; this makes the volume of mud, rocks, plants, animals, men, women, and pickaninnies, above high tide, in round numbers, 4,166,000

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cubic miles. Therefore, a continent the size of Africa could be built with the salt of the sea, and leave, over and above, for domestic uses more than 250,000 cubic miles, say 2½ quadrillions of tons.

As if this were not enough, we have salt lakes, salt springs, salt streams and rivers, in various parts of the world. The amouut and quality of the salt which they bear, depends upon local conditions, and varies greatly from place to place. In some places, these waters contain so many impurities that it is not worth the trouble to attempt to render them fit for use in food. In others, as at the Great Salt Lake, it is only necessary to boil them down and collect the residue.

Another source of salt, on a small scale, is the ashes of a few plants, in some countries. In central Africa, a man who knows how to extract a modicum of salt from the few plants which contain it, in an appreciable quantity, is looked upon as a great man, and is revered above his fellows. Aristotle, who was a philosopher, and therefore didn't lie, tells us that the Umbrians obtained their salt in this way, but we, who have been born in the lap of luxury, would find it hard to depend on it now. Men have fought over the possession of a handful of ashes which contained a little salt; and in inland countries, in ancient times, nations have warred with all the fierceness of savage warfare for the ownership of a muddy spring of brackish water.

Besides the sources already enumerated, we have still the solid crystallized salt known as "rock salt." It occurs in immense beds, as well as in smaller quantities, varying in extent from blocks of a few tons up to vast deposits of many miles in length and breadth, and several hundred feet in thickness. These deposits are to be found in nearly every part of the world, but they are very unevenly distributed. Norway, Denmark and Holland, are about the only countries in which no rock salt has been found. Nor has much been found in the United States, but the deficit is pretty well made up by salt lakes, and surface or underground springs. Perhaps, the most remarkable deposit of rock salt in the world, is that at Wieliczka, in Gallicia, a few miles from Cracow. This mine has been worked continuously for at least six hundred years. The portion already excavated is 2 miles long by 1 mile wide, and 1000 feet deep: but the bed is calculated to be, at least, 20 miles wide by 500 miles long and 1200 feet thick.

A few words on the different processes of manufacture will close this article. We shall make a start with sea-water, for, without doubt, it was from the ocean that salt was first obtained. In former times, practically, all that was used was got from this source, and the same is true of a large proportion of the salt of commerce even at the present day.

When we take a gallon of sea-water and boil it down to dryness, we obtain about 4½ ounces of solid residue. The following table gives the percentage of the different substances found in this solid residue, according to Dittmar. It is the result of 130 analyses of water procured by the dredging-ship "Challenger," from widely different parts of the ocean, and at all depths:

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Sodium chloride (common salt),	77.758	
Magnesium chloride,	10.878	
Magnesium sulphate (Epsom salts),	4.737	
Calcium sulphate (plaster of Paris),	3.600	22.242
Potassium sulphate,	2.465	
Calcium carbonate (chalk),	0.345	
Magnesium bromide,	0.217	
Total,	100.000	

Besides these seven principal substances, there is a little iodine, but so little that it is not easy to detect it, much less to determine its amount; but, little as it is, it must be there, for certain sea-weeds, more skilful than the chemists, have no difficulty in extracting and appropriating it; but afterwards, the chemist meanly comes in and takes it for himself. Eighteen other substances have been proved to occur in sea-water, but none of them in what one would call "paying quantities." Among them are arsenic, lead, zinc, copper, aluminum, silver, and gold, all in less than homœopathic doses, and they are warranted, like the "stick in the porridge," to do neither good nor harm. We need not wonder that a little of almost everything is to be found in sea-water, since the rivers are continually carrying a little of almost everything down into that same sea.

The table shows that over 22 per cent. of the total solids is not salt at all, but rather an adulteration, and yet salt that contains even 3 per cent. of impurities is deemed unfit for domestic uses in our refined days. This is especially the case if the adulterating substance be magnesium chloride, which, by the table, is seen to be nearly 11 per cent. This compound is particularly objectionable, first, because it is very bitter, and secondly, because it is "deliquescent," that is, it absorbs moisture rapidly from the air, becomes wet, and even dissolves in the moisture it has absorbed. But, we do not give up sea water for all that, because when the manufacture of salt is properly conducted, the greater part of all these impurities is removed. In the manufactured article, as put on the market, the proportion of magnesium chloride varies from .01 per cent., as in the case of St. Kitt's salt, to 1.58, as in the case of the salt manufactured in Brittany. Turk's Island salt, so well known in this country, has 0.14 per cent. of magnesium chloride. This is not excessive, but still it is enough to make the salt cake badly in the bags.

Salt is obtained from sea-water by evaporating the water; but as it would be altogether too expensive to do this by means of artificial heat, recourse is had to the heat of the sun, and consequently, it can be done to advantage only in warm climates. The general process is as follows:

"A large piece of land," says Mr. Lyte, "varying from one or two to several acres, barely above high-water mark, is levelled, and if necessary puddled with clay so as to prevent the water from percolating and sinking away. . . . . The prepared land is partitioned off into large basins, and others which get smaller and more shallow in proportion as they are intended to receive the water as it becomes more and more concentrated, just sufficient fall being allowed from one set of basins to the

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other to cause the water to flow slowly through them. The flow is often assisted by pumping. The sea-salt thus made is collected into small heaps on the paths around the basins or the floors of the basins themselves, and here it undergoes a first partial purification, the more deliquescent salts (especially the magnesium chloride) being allowed to drain away. From these heaps it is collected into larger ones, where it drains further and is more purified. Here it is protected by thatch till required for sale."

Usiglio, who has given much attention to the manufacture of salt, supplies us with the following details: "The density of the water as it comes from the sea is 1.02, but, according as evaporation takes place, it grows denser. Between 1.05 and 1.1315, nearly all of the chalk is deposited. The calcium sulphate next crystallizes out, and in this condition is called gypsnm; it is practically all deposited by the time the density has reached 1.2646. In the meantime, that is, between the densities 1.218 and 1.2407, nearly all of the real article, salt, assumes the crystalline form; it is mixed, of course, with some magnesium sulphate and rather too much magnesium chloride, but such as it is, it is gathered up in heaps and allowed to purify itself, as stated above. The liquid which remains contains all the other substances, and is either thrown away, or kept for the sake of the bromine it holds in solution. If the deposition of the salt is allowed to go on too long, too much impurity will be deposited with the salt; if, on the other hand. the crystallization be stopped too soon, a large part of the salt will be lost in the liquid thrown away. Salt by this slow evaporation will be coarse-grained. This is an advantage when it is to be used in large quantities at a time, as in salting down whole barrels of meat, or when it gets in its best work by being dissolved quite slowly, as in refrigerating machines; but for table use we want just the opposite, viz., a little at a time, and to have it dissolve as rapidly as possible. The Chinese, it is said, keep their table salt in solution, in a cruet or bottle, and in this seem to have shown more sense than the benighted westerners. Our way is to have the salt in the state of fine powder. This may be done by dissolving the coarse salt again in water, and then evaporating by furious boiling; we get by this means pretty fine-grained crystals, but they are still distinctly visible as separate crystals, under a common pocket-lens. To get the real fine salt demanded by public opinion we must have recourse to grinding.

Salt may be manufactured from the water of salt springs just as it is from sea-water. The term, "salt springs," is used, in a wide sense, to mean not only natural springs but also "wells." These wells are bored on the Artesian plan, and whether the water rises to the surface of its own accord, or has to be pumped up, the upshot is the same. Most, if not all, of our American salt is from these wells or springs. A score or more of the States have salt springs; the principal ones are, we believe, in New York, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Michigan.

The manufacture of salt from "rock salt" is conducted on two different plans, according to circumstances. It is sometimes obtained by a regular "mining" operation, just as in the case of silver or coal.

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The blocks brought to the surface, if pure enough, are ground up and delivered to the trade. If not pure enough, they are dissolved and purified by crystallization. When, however, it would be too difficult and expensive to "mine" the salt, holes are bored and piped, and then water is pumped in, and when it has become saturated with salt, it is pumped out again, and treated in the same way as the water from the salt spring. It has been sometimes stated that there are no deposits of rock salt in the United States, but this assertion must surely be "taken with a grain of salt," for, if there were no salt beds down there, how could the springs and wells get their unfailing supply of salt? Moreover, the chemist of the New York Salt Works claims that in that State alone there is a bed of rock salt averaging 40 feet in thickness and extending over an area of at least 4000 square miles, "an inexhaustible supply for centuries to come."

Rock salt in the mines is usually imbedded in clay, and, if sufficient care be not taken, it will be badly mixed when it appears at the surface. In old times, men were not so squeamish as they are now about a little dirt, and the salt often contained a large dose of mud. Besides, when salt was far more valuable than it is now, serious adulteration was intentionally practiced, and thus, what was sold for salt was often more dirt than salt. For use, this mixture was stirred up with water, and whatever was dissolved out was used as salt, while the insoluble residue which was still wet with salt water was thrown on to the dunghill, there to be decomposed and serve as manure. When, however, all the salt had been dissolved out, the original mass which had been bought as salt had truly "lost its savor," and was then only fit to be "trodden under foot" on the highways.

We had verily intended to stop here, but for the sake of those numerous readers of the REVIEW who delight in statistics, we have concluded to insert just a few.

The total output of salt in the whole world at the present day, is, as far as can be ascertained, about 10,000,000 tons. Of this quantity, the empire of Great Britain furnishes 3,210,296 tons; Russia comes next, with 1,156,000 tons; the United States of America, 1,023,000 tons; Prussia, and the rest of Germany, 995,000 tons; France, 747,000 tons; the rest is divided among the small fry of the world. In this country, the amount per year for each individual is much more than in any other country in the world. It rises to the very high figure of 50 pounds; while in Great Britain it is 22, and in France only 15. Does it follow, that we are, therefore, "wiser" than other people? Or that, perhaps, we need more salt than other folks to keep us up to the standard? Any how, it follows, that we have to import over 500,000 tons annually in order to keep body and soul together; at a cost of probably more than $2,000,000. Perhaps our "Free Trade" or our "Protection" needs a little more tinkering.

T. J. A. FREEMAN, S. J.

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Book Notices.

PHILOSOPHIA LACENSIS SIVE SERIES INSTITUTIONUM PHILOSOPHIÆ SCHOLASTICÆ EDITA A PRESBYTERIS SOC. JESU, IN COLLEGIO QUONDAM B. MARIAE AD LACUM DISCIPLINAS PHILOSOPHICAS PROFESSIS: INSTITUTIONES THEODICÆÆ, SECUNDUM PRINCIPIA S. THOMÆ AQUINATIS AD USUM SCHOLASTICUM ACCOMODAVIT. *Jos. Hontheim, S. J.* Pp. x., 831. Price, $3,00. Herder: Friburgi et St. Louis, Mo. 1893.

This volume is the fourth part in order of publication of the advanced course of philosophy by Jesuits exiled from their former house of studies at Marien Laach. The Natural Philosophy by Fr. Pesch made its appearance in 1880, and was followed four years later by the first half of Fr. Meyer's work on Ethics. The second half of this work has not yet been published. The three monumental volumes on Logic by Fr. Pesch were given to the public from 1888 to 1890. Before us we have the section of the course on Natural Theology.

A surface skimming of this volume will not reveal as broad an erudition, as wide reaching reference to cognate literature, as is manifested in some of the preceding portions of the *Cursus Lacensis*, but careful reading will show equal profundity and even greater clearness, more directness of exposition, than are shown in its former companion volumes. Many-sidedness of view, thoroughness in analysis of their natural wealth of argument, fairness in presentation and completeness in the solution of difficulties, these are the traits which characterize all the hitherto published volumes of this course, and in none are they found more fully verified than in the masterly work before us. As an illustration of Fr. Hontheim's comprehensive grasp of his subject we may take his treatment of the proofs for the existence of God. To show his grouping of these proofs we may throw them into the following schema:

Arguments for God's existence are:

Metaphysical.	Cosmological = from the world as *Ens ab alio* to its First Efficient Cause, *ens a se*.
	Kinesiological = from changed to the Unchanged.
	Ideological = from the order of possibles to their ultimate basis in the Real.
	Henological = from the various degrees of beings to to the One Supreme.
Physical.	Teleological = from designs to the Designer.
	Entropological = from the conversion of Energy to its Author.
	Biological = from the existence of life to the Author of life.
	Thaumatological = from the existence of miracles to to their First Cause.
Moral.	Endæmonological = from man's natural desire of happiness to the Supreme God.
	Deontological = from the existence of moral law and obligation to their Principle.
	Ethnological = from the universal consent of mankind.

A little study of this schema convinces one that it is fairly exhaustive, embracing as it does at least implicitly whatever other proofs for the exist-

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ence of God the human mind has been able to construct. Thus the Cosmological argument which concludes to God as First Efficient Cause, may easily be made to conclude to Him as Exemplary and Final Cause. So too the Biological argument includes the Psychological, *i.e.*, from the human soul to its Creator. The Deontological argument is also in principle the Sociological, which concludes from the nature of man as a social being to the existence of God as necessary for the existence and perdurance of society.

We have torn our scheme of the author's proofs from the midst of their environment. To measure their meaning and force they must be restored to their setting. Especially must the two antecedent chapters on the certitude of God's existence and on the preparation for the demonstrations, as well as the elaborate subsequent treatise on the difficulties against the proofs, be carefully studied. The reader has here a keen-sighted guide, one whose eye is trained not only to inspect deductively the contents of definitions but one familiar as well with facts of history and the phenomena of nature. This is particularly shown in the author's treatment of the Design argument, around which so much inflated controversy has gathered in late years. Traced from its origin in antiquity, through the writings of the Christian Fathers, the myriad facts which have been marshalled in its service are here drawn out disciplined by the rigid methods of modern physical science in every one of its departments; nor is any effort that skepticism has made to weaken the dialectical side or the scientific data of the argument left unprobed. Like praise must be accorded to Father Hontheim's treatment of Darwinism and materialism. On the whole, we have here a a work on natural theology which, for breadth, depth and clearness, has, we believe, no modern equal. It is to be regretted that the author did not perfect the value of his work by an analytical table of contents, as did his co-laborers. The indexes given are rather meagre for a work so large and profound.

ANGELUS DOMINI, with Legendary Lays and Poems in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary; together with introductory selections in prose. Compiled and edited by A Daughter of the Church. Illustrated. New York: The Baker and Taylor Co., Publishers. 1893.

This neat little volume contains selections in prose and verse from authors of widely different epochs, climes, and religious tenets, who have found in "our tainted nature's solitary boast" a common cause of heart-felt devotion and unstinted praise. Coming in such close proximity to Mr. Orby Shipley's *Carmina Mariana*, it emphasizes the lesson of Our Lady's sweet power in these latter days. The compiler, while not a Catholic, has, nevertheless a real and tender devotion to her theme. The "Angelic Salutation," recited by Catholics at morn and noon and eve, forms the Prologue to her work, and breathes over it a sweet benediction. The many illustrations are taken from works of art of classical painters, and are nearly all full-page. We are afraid the proof was somewhat hastily revised, as we have observed some few errors; *e.g.*, on page 139, where *revering* stands in place of *reversing*, and *stablest* in place of *stablish*. We congratulate the compiler on her beautiful work, and shall look for more of such volumes.

THE COMEDY OF ENGLISH PROTESTANTISM: in three acts. Edited by *A. F. Marshall, B.A*, Oxon. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1894.

This charming *jeu d'esprit* of our brilliant contributor is written in

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Marshall's liveliest vein. It purports to describe the efforts of the two hundred sects of Anglicanism to compose their differences, with the usual result. Dante's description of the condition of affairs in the wrangling republics of Mediæval Italy is tame when compared with the relative attitudes of the differing "wings" of Anglicanism, and there is little or no exaggeration in this "comedy"; witness the proceedings in last year's Congress.

AUS WELT UND KIRCHE. Bilder und Skizzen von Dr. *Franz Hettinger*. Third edition, augmented with sketches from Tyrol and Switzerland. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. 1893. 2 volumes. Price $4 20.

These two neat volumes, beautifully printed and bound, with 57 illustrations headed by a faithful portrait of the lamented author, form a noble literary monument to the memory of the great apologist of Christianity. The Wurzburg professor was not a mere devourer of books. These volumes prove him to have been a keen observer of men and nature, an "all-around" educated man, able to pass an intelligent opinion on political, artistic, architectural, scientific and historical, as well as theological subjects. His work is at once a guide-book, a diary, and an autobiography, almost superseding the necessity of any other life of the author.

MANUEL DU PRETRE AUX ETATS-UNIS: in English and French; containing Tables, Formulas, and short instructions in both languages. By *Louis de Goesbriand*, Bishop of Burlington, Vt. New York and Cincinnati: Pustet & Co. 1894. Price $1.00.

It would be difficult to condense so much useful material into so small a space as has been here accomplished by one of the most distinguished missionaries of our country. This unpretentious manual will be a god-send to many a poor missionary, especially to those who are laboring among the French-Americans.

AN EXAMINATION OF WEISMANNISM. By *George J. Romanes*. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co. 1893. Pp. ix., 221.

The genesis of Weismann's theories on Germ-plasm and Evolution up to date. A more extended notice of the work will be given in the July number of this REVIEW.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

CURSUS PHILOSOPHICUS IN USUM SCHOLARUM, AUCTORIBUS PLURIBUS PHILOSOPHIÆ PROFESSORIBUS IN COLLEGIIS EXÆTENSI ET STONYHURST, S. J. Logica, auctore *Carolo Frick, S. J.*, pp. viii., 296, price $1.20. Ontologia, auctore *Carolo Frick, S. J.*, pp. viii., 204 price $1 00. Philosophia Naturalis, auctore *Henrica Haan, S. J.*, pp. viii., 219, price $1.00. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., 1893-94.

ETUDE SUR LE GREC DU NOUVEAU TESTAMENT: Le Verbe Syntaxe des Propositions Par *M. l'Abbé Joseph Viteau*. Paris: Emile Bouillon. 1893.

THE CONFESSOR AFTER GOD'S OWN HEART. From the French of *Rev. L. J. M. Cros, S. J.* Dublin: Browne & Nolan.

LET US GO TO THE HOLY TABLE. Translated from the French by *Rev. W. Whilty*. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1893.

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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC

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DOM GASQUET AS A HISTORIAN.

"Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," London, 1888.
"Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer," 1890.
"The Great Pestilence of 1348–9," 1894.

THERE is a theory that every time supplies its own needs, and thus the present era has brought forth Dom Gasquet.

A time like ours, when misrepresentation of religious history, long put forward in crude and grotesque forms, has suddenly changed in shape and color and is cultivated into a fine art, demands a writer possessing not only a ready pen but a correct mind and a calm temper; a historian at once wise and courageous, who should go about his work of research in the equable, painstaking spirit that leaves no corners unexplored, and set forth the whole truth almost without comment for reasonable men to see and draw therefrom their own inference. Such a historian is Dom Francis Aidan Gasquet, the learned and reverend Benedictine of Downside.

Dom Gasquet's work has been to trace from their earliest sources the causes and developments of the Reformation in England. No periods of history have been more thickly overlaid by the inventions and misinterpretations of prejudice than the Middle Ages and the subsequent epoch of the Reformation; yet, even so, the false witnesses agree not together of late years; one party in the Established Church have advanced a theory not accepted by the other party who abhor the name of Catholic—the astounding theory of the oneness of "the Tudor settlement" with the old Catholic Church of England. It might be thought superfluous to call forth writers of mark to prove that white is white and black

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black; yet when we see well-meaning and even saintly souls deceived by the modern fallacy, we gladly welcome such historians as Dom Gasquet, Father Bridgett, Miss Allies, and the late Father Morris, to point out what the Church of England really was, and how great a gulf divides it from the modern Church which took possession of all its fabrics and adopted a few of its ceremonies.

Dom Gasquet has especially devoted himself to the periods and events bearing on the severance of England from the faith, not treating particularly of ancient devotions or even of ecclesiastical history, except so far as they are necessary to his chief aim. He never allows himself to stray into the tempting fields of semi-irrelevant disquisitions, for which years of hard work among archives and records must have given him plentiful opportunities. His calm, judicial writing, free from all rhetorical flourish, is like a charge delivered by a judge scrupulously devoid of bias. It is, in fact, to the common sense of all English-speaking people, as to a jury, that Dom Gasquet appeals, to pronounce on the array of facts marshalled before them. "My belief is," he says, alluding to the change of the national religion and dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII., "that the facts speak strongly enough for themselves, and I have endeavored to add as little as possible of my own to the story they tell."

So great a revolution as that which changed the Isle of Saints into a Protestant country could not but be the result of subterranean forces long at work. Its earliest cause, in our author's opinion, is to be looked for in the fourteenth century. He had already, in his preface to "Henry VIII. and the Monasteries," attributed to the plague called the Black Death an untoward influence on the religious life of England, and in his latest book on "The Great Pestilence of 1348–9," he gives us a vivid picture of the terrible visitation which half unpeopled Europe, and swept away much of the old stately order of things.

Such a work, indeed, was a service to general history, for hitherto no authentic data had been published of a calamity which paralyzed the life of all the nations of the known world, and "formed the real close of the mediæval period and beginning of our modern age." The very greatness of the destruction seemed to deter historians from seeking out the details. But Dom Gasquet has supplied this want. Having consulted foreign contemporary writers, such as De Chanliac, physician to Pope Clement VI., Petrarch, and others, as to the approach and symptoms of the plague and the havoc it wrought in the Continent, he has traced its progress in England by means of the only trustworthy statistics, the diocesan registers and the records of manorial courts. According to his habit, he carefully avoids giving the rein to the imagination, and

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his cool calculation produces a much stronger impression than do the exaggerations of writers of the Defoe type, in whose rhetorical pages "horrors on horrors' heads accumulate," while yet the reader is left with a hope that all may not have been true!

The westward march of the pestilence brought it within the space of some two years from China to the shores of England and Ireland. It was like the influenza in its universality, though, of course, incomparably more fatal. It was distinguished from the ordinary Eastern plagues, which otherwise it resembled, by a violent inflammation of the lungs, and was one of the most virulently contagious diseases ever known, and quite the most incurable, at least by the medical science of those days. After ravaging the south of Europe and France, it burst upon England at a time of great glory and prosperity, when the nation was elated by the victory of Crécy and taking of Calais, and enriched with the spoils of the vanquished enemy. It spread across the land from Weymouth, where it appeared in the late summer of 1348. A wet autumn helped the plague on its way, winter failed to check its ravages, and far into the summer of the following year death was an equal chance with life in the fields and towns of Merry England. But the agony of selfish fear which accompanied the footsteps of the pestilence in Italy does not seem to have been so strongly marked in northern countries. The English priesthood in particular were, as a rule, true to their duties, and perished in the midst of their flocks. It is chiefly by the mortality of the clergy, as evidenced by the frequent institutions to benefices, that Dom Gasquet gauges the amount of the general carnage. He reckons the deaths of beneficed clergy as five thousand, and estimates their proportion to the unbeneficed and religious as one to four, thus concluding that twenty-five thousand must have fallen in all. "Estimating the clergy at one per cent. of the population, and supposing a like ratio of deaths, the total mortality would be about 2,500,000. This total is curiously the same as that estimated from the basis of population returns made at the close of the memorable reign of Edward III., evidencing a total population, before the outbreak of the epidemic, at some 5,000,000" (p. 205). Thus it would appear that when the pestilence had passed away, one-half of the population had perished.

An unparalleled calamity naturally produced unparalleled results in both social and religious life. Early in the course of the pestilence the death of clergy began to make itself felt. Thus the Bishop of Bath and Wells, a number of his parish priests having already fallen, and others being, unfortunately, unwilling to take the vacant cures, owing to the almost entire failure of the stipend, exhorted the sick who could find no priest to attend them, to make

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confession to a layman, or even to a woman, "an act salutary and profitable for the remission of sins, according to the teaching of the sacred canons of the Church" (p. 82). At the same time he granted an indulgence to all those who, while yet in health, should confess to a priest "having the keys of the church," and thus place themselves in a state of grace before the destroyer overtook them. The Archbishop of York obtained the Pope's permission to ordain at any time, and the Bishop of Norwich to confer the priesthood on sixty clerics of twenty-one, "though only shavelings, as otherwise the divine offices would cease altogether in many places of his diocese."[1] The desolation of the country was extreme. Monasteries almost emptied of their inhabitants, villages depopulated, fields unreaped, mill-wheels standing idle in the water, cattle and sheep either dead of the murrain or wandering untended about the neglected lands; such were the surroundings in which those of our ancestors who had survived drew their frightened breath in the year 1350.

"This great pestilence," writes Dom Gasquet, "was a turning-point in the national life. It produced a break with the past, and was the dawn of a new era." With regard to religion "it is not too much to say that in 1351 the whole ecclesiastical system was wholly disorganized, or, indeed, more than half ruined, and that everything had to be built up anew." Built up it was, for the recuperative power of the ages of faith was immense, but the scars of the great earthquake remained. Holy men like Bishop Wykeham strove to supply for the want of education and tone noticeable in the priesthood ordained since the pestilence. A fresh school of religious writers arose, and of these Dom Gasquet says that their tracts have been roughly classed by Protestant criticism as "Wycliffite," "on account of their deeply religious spirit, whereas a Catholic reader will at once recognize that these tracts are perfectly Catholic in tone, spirit, and teaching, and differ essentially from those of men inspired by the teaching of Wycliffe." The strikes and trades-unions consquent on the dearth of labor found a Catholic expression and safeguard in the guilds which everywhere sprang into existence; and the rise of the *bourgeois* class added to the richness, if not always to the good taste, of church decoration. But although the undying youthfulness of the Church was visible in a renewal of religious feeling, the destruction which had taken place was too great for rapid replacement.

The great pestilence had everywhere had a demoralizing effect,

[1] One cannot but wonder how special pleaders like Mr. Lane, who go about informing the people that the Church in England was always independent of Rome, explain away these references of English bishops to the Pope on every occasion where extraordinary dispensations were required.

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and was accompanied by panic, fear, and a loosening of family and social ties. Though England does not seem to have been disgraced by the wild orgies which the Florentines and others held in the very jaws of death, a monk of Rochester has left on record that after the plague "the people for the greater part were even more depraved, more forgetful of God and of their own salvation." So many monks and nuns had died, and those often, as Wadding the Irish Franciscan historian observes, "that it was long before strict observance could be renewed in the religious houses." The picture drawn in "Rienzi" of the nunnery in Florence, where one living sister kneels in prayer amid the laid-out corpses of the community, was no exaggeration; such wholesale destruction was not uncommon, and must have slackened or destroyed many of the best traditions of monastic life. Among the secular clergy the "shavelings," ordained in great batches, and without much regard to their theological attainments, in order that the land might not be without Divine service, could not supply for the loss of the thousands of noble priests who had inherited the spirit of the old English saints, and who fell at their post in the day of visitation.

The great material calamity which desolated Europe in 1348–9 was most unfortunately followed by an unexampled spiritual misfortune, the Great Western Schism; and both these evils had a large share in producing the decay of religious feeling which sapped the strength and fervor of men's minds in the fifteenth century. In England that century brought forth a new source of demoralization in the War of the Roses, culminating in the Tudor despotism, which narrowed into a one-man tyranny in the breadth and fulness of the days of English glory under the Plantagenets.

Thus did events slowly and fatally tend towards the beginning of that era of which we now seem to be nearing the end, and which stands out sharply and distinctly from all previous religious life in England. A lowering of religious tone, a worldly, covetous, selfish spirit displacing Christian faith, charity, and humility; a tyrant king—and the Isle of Saints has dropped out of Catholic unity for, perhaps, four centuries.

Amid endless phases we can yet clearly trace three distinct epochs of "Anglicanism"; the first, when the Apostolic Succession and the great body of Catholic doctrine were still retained; the second, one of transition and confusion, in the course of which the old Catholic episcopacy dropped out of the "Tudor Settlement"; the third, that of Protestant sectarianism still prevailing, in which every man chooses his own doctrines, and the pseudo-bishops are merely state officials with but little spiritual influence. The fourth phase, in the mercy of Providence, will be the gradual and individual return of the English nation to the faith of "Eleu-

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therius, Augustine, and Columba." The space of four centuries will, in all probability, have included the whole history of the separation of England from the Church—the first tearing asunder, royal violence, martyrdoms, servile submissions, reconciliation and second fall, Protestantism, Puritanism, the Oxford movement, the new Catholic leanings and imitations, and the final re-absorption in St. Peter's fold. In the annals of the world the career of Anglicanism will seem but a short madness and a small thing in the bird's-eye view of the student; and yet it is not a small thing which concerns millions of souls or one soul, not a small thing, that in the words of Henry VIII. himself to Luther, "through the disobedience of one man many should become sinners."

"I think the world was never before so generally inclined to listen to heresy as it is now," the Blessed John Fisher wrote in 1529, as he contemplated a Germany already infected with Lutheranism, and an Italy half paganized by the *brevis furor* of the Rénaissance. One cause of heretical tendencies the Bishop of Rochester seems to have pointed out to the English clergy at a synod convened by Cardinal Wolsey, where he denounced the worldliness then prevailing in the clerical state, and with the fearlessness which often appears in very gentle characters, "framed his words after such sort that the cardinal perceived himself to be touched to the very quick."[1] Wolsey, indeed, embodied the unspiritual tone of mind abroad in his day, and was nearly as much an object-lesson of what a priest ought not to be as Blessed Fisher was an example of priestly and episcopal perfection; and unfortunately the type of York abounded far more than did the type of Rochester. Preaching had fallen into disuse, especially in the country districts, and its revival was a matter which the holy bishop had much at heart. The employment of the clergy in secular offices, and attendance of bishops at court, withdrew them from spiritual duties, and filled them with worldly ambitions. It appears, however, that after Wolsey's fall the Convocation of Canterbury drew up a code to enforce the ancient discipline of the Church of England, and ecclesiastical reform would probably have been the order of the day had not the matter of the king's divorce thrust every other interest aside, and entailed the royal supremacy and national schism as its direct consequences.

It may seem to Catholics superfluous to point out once more how palpably the schism sprang from the divorce, so that, with no process of unearthing whatever, one can see the stalk growing out of that noxious root. For a long time it was openly admitted by Protestants, that "Gospel light first dawned from Boleyn's eyes";[2]

[1] *Life of the Blessed John Fisher*, by the Rev. T. E Bridgett, C SS R. London, 1888, p. 76.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 79.

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nor did they seem disconcerted at having accepted so apocryphal an evangel. But now the extraordinary contention is that the present established Church of England is continuous with that which existed before the schism ; and though the task of proving that two and two are four might seem at first sight beneath the powers of the group of great Catholic historians whom Providence has lately raised up to us, a falsehood which deludes souls is always worth dispelling. It is therefore not amiss to repeat that up to the year 1534, the Church of England was in full communion with the See of Rome, and that the Pope held a distinct position in the laws of England as ruler of spiritualities. Bracton, chief justiciary in the time of Henry III., wrote that, "As the Lord Pope has jurisdiction over all in spiritual things, so has the king in temporal things. . . . . Let neither put his sickle in the other's field." This clear view of the distinct offices of Pope and king best explains the oath of fealty taken by the English bishops to the sovereign on institution to their sees. To give them spiritual jurisdiction belonged to the Pope alone, nor could the king's nominees exercise it until they had been accepted in consistory by the Head of the Church.[1] The Pope's name stood in every missal throughout the land, and Henry made a great point of expunging it thence when his own Supreme Headship was to be forced on the Church and nation. Until then, no one thought of disputing the spiritual supremacy of the *primus inter pares ;* even Rufus, in his quarrel with St. Anselm about the pallium, had not gone to these lengths ; nor would Henry have made himself a spectacle to men and angels as the lay head of a Church, had the Pope been willing to retain his allegiance at the cost of violating the sanctity with which Christ has forever sealed the sacrament of marriage.

The evil spirit which now possessed Henry speedily gathered to itself seven other spirits, foremost among which was the passion of greed, pointing out the religious houses as meet to be despoiled for the repletion of his treasury. Thomas Cromwell might almost be called the incarnation of this passion. He was at least its pitiless minister, until the day when his own turn came to be cast aside and hurried to the tower, whence his only exit was but the same as that of the noble souls whom Henry had martyred. But for the tragedy which outstripped the comedy of this terrible reign, it must have been ludicrous to see such a king and such a minister seriously concerned about the morals of the monasteries.

[1] This undoubted position of the English Episcopate was well brought out by the Rev. J. Breen, O.S.B., in the latest of his historical lectures, when armed with authentic documents he cleared away several cobwebs of the Protestant imagination. He brought forward Archbishop Warham's historical assertion of the dependence from all time of the English Church on the Holy See; and showed incidentally how Warham's own orders were derived, through John A. Stratford, from a Roman source.

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In the earliest and perhaps most important of all his historical works, Dom Gasquet has given us an exhaustive and painstaking account, drawn from contemporary records and authorities of the suppression of the English monasteries. And here, even more than elsewhere, one is thankful for the calm historical style which, concealing nothing, recording everything, leaves no foothold whence a charge of special pleading can be brought against the author.

So scrupulously has Dom Gasquet carried out his principle of giving facts without comment, that but for the name on the title-page one would never suppose him to be a monk describing the persecution of his brethren and sisters in religion. The only note of passionate indignation in the whole book on "Henry VIII. and the Monasteries," occurs in passages quoted from the works of Mr. Blunt, an Anglican clergyman. There is no invective, little word painting, no anger and clamor, as the learned Benedictine speaks of the tyrant's heartless cruelties and unbridled extortions; it would almost seem as if Dom Gasquet held Ruskin's opinion that an adjective is bad English, and certainly he imitates St. Michael in refraining from "a railing accusation." Yet never was Henry's ungoverned character shown forth more powerfully than by this author's quiet and judicial marshalling of facts as contained in the records of the time; never was there a more scientifically accurate exposure of the motives of "Bluff Harry" when he

"Broke into the spence and turned the cowls adrift."

While admitting that the religious houses had not quite recovered their tone since the time of the Black Death, and that occasional scandals and lack of discipline existed, Dom Gasquet shows that grave immorality was the exception in both convents and monasteries, and that where it existed it was punished in the regular way by Superiors, and notified to the ordinary at his visitation.[1] This is only what common-sense would itself suggest. It is easier to do evil in the world than in the cloister, and in the world the

[1] Dom Gasquet thus sums up the extent of truth in the general charge of lax living so freely made against the religious of old time; "It would be affectation to suggest that the vast regular body in England was altogether free from grosser faults and immoralities. But it is unjust to regard them as existing to any but a very limited extent. . . . . The religious of the sixteenth century had passed through many difficulties dangerous to their spiritual no less than to their temporal welfare. Yet, while their moral tone had probably been lowered by the influence of the spirit of the times, the graver falls were certainly confined to individual cases. Anything like general immorality was altogether unknown among the religious of England. This much is clearly proved by the the testimony of the acts of episcopal visitations, as well as by the absence of any sweeping charge until it became necessary for Henry and his agents to blast the fair name of the monastic houses in order the more easily to obtain possession of their property."—*Henry VIII. and the Monasteries*, vol. i., p. 38.

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evil-inclined as a rule would prefer to stay. Moreover, the nunneries were the chosen and valued places of education for girls of all classes, and it is impossible to believe that fathers, to the very worst of whom their daughters' innocence is the holiest thing on earth, would voluntarily send them to be brought up in schools of wickedness. The idea is too monstrous to be entertained. There can be no doubt that the description left to us by one who knew the convents of old England is a truer picture of their quietly-busy life, than any which the inflamed imaginations of writers who lived long after the Reformation[1] have painted; the regular hours, the school life carried on in the midst of the tranquil country scenes; the young maids brought up to imitate examples of piety, humility, modesty and obedience, "and taught needle-work, confectionery, writing, drawing"; the nuns and their boarders coming out in summer with their distaffs, to work in the meadow close by the house.

As to the abbeys and monasteries of men, the indignation of the people at their suppression is a sufficient proof that they were not abodes of corruption. Robert Ashe, the leader of the northern rising, gave as the popular reasons for objecting to the spoliation of the monks, their fair dealing with their tenants, whose rents they never raised or exacted under hard circumstances; their relief of the poor, their hospitality to man and beast, their useful public works, their faithful administration of money left in trust; and the people were the more exasperated against their enemies because the overthrow of the monasteries went hand in hand with attacks on Catholic doctrine and practice, especially devotion to our Lady and prayers for the dead. During the short-lived successes of the northern insurgents—before Henry, by false promises, had deluded them into laying down their arms—they everywhere reinstated the evicted monks. These people, gentlefolk and commoners, had the lives of the religious always before their eyes. They knew, too, how ill fitted were Cromwell's commissioners, men of a coarse and truculent type, to occupy themselves with the morals of monks and nuns. And one can only wonder at the power of ingrained prejudice and foregone conclusions when one finds even so generally correct a historian as Hallam repeating the parrot-cry against the religious, their pious "frauds," their "hypocritical austerities," their "extreme licentiousness, hardly concealed by the cowl of sanctity." "I know not," he says, "by what right we should disbelieve the reports of the visitation under Henry VIII., entering, as they do, into a multitude of specific charges both probable in their

[1] It has been well remarked that those who lived soon after the religious revolution, even though addressing a Protestant public, describe monks and nuns as of pure and venerable character, *e.g.*, Friar Laurence, in *Romeo and Juliet*.

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nature and consonant to the unanimous opinion of the world."[1] To speak of the charges as "probable in their nature" is to misunderstand the whole scope of the monastic life and the evangelical counsels; while the world, as we have seen, was very far from unanimous in its opinion of the guilt of the monks. Hallam, no doubt, did not know so much as we know now of the evil repute of the visitors, Legh, Layton, Ap Rice and Loudon; but he did know what was the character of Henry VIII. himself, and how the parliament which gave him partial power over the monasteries was chosen by the king and not by the nation; how, moreover, even that parliament limited the dissolution to the poorer houses, so that many of the suppressions were acts of absolute illegality.

And what despair must have seized on the souls of the people, already groaning under intolerable taxation, when they saw the wealth of hospitable abbeys and venerated shrines carried off to the royal treasury, while their own burthen was not lessened by a penny, and the religious who had formerly relieved their distresses were driven forth, almost penniless, from the ancient abodes of Christian charity!

Of course, the schism and the robbery went together. Monasteries, such as alien priories, had been suppressed before, but always with the permission of the Sovereign Pontiffs, and on the understanding that their property should be put to other pious uses. And Clement VII., in his final efforts to retain Henry in the Church, had granted him leave to suppress small houses where there were no more than six inmates, who were to be placed in the larger abbeys. But compromise was of little use with a man like Henry, longing for unlimited treasure, unlimited matrimony, unlimited control of Church and state.

But of all the grievous things which happened at that grievous time, the most deplorable was the fall into schism, at a king's angry word, of the whole English episcopate with the one exception of the saint who ruled the diocese of Rochester. It was a catastrophe, a falling of stars from heaven, the possibility of which nowadays we can hardly conceive. Yet Dom Gasquet, with his usual moderation, and the capacity for putting himself in the place of those whose actions he discusses—which has certainly been very much wanting to Protestant historians—explains, without excusing, the attitude of mind which made such ruin possible. The Tudor despotism had accustomed Englishmen to look on the king as the fountain of authority, and even as "the proper guardian of the religious unity of England," which last appeared to them of "paramount importance." They imagined that such unity would be

[1] *Middle Ages*, vol. iii., p. 303.

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secured by the royal headship, nor did they heed Fisher's warning, that "to fall out of the bark of St. Peter was to be drowned in the waters of sects and schisms." It appears that the conduct of the bishops is viewed in much the same light by the historian of Blessed John Fisher as by Dom Gasquet. "Owing," he writes, "to the false principles current since the great schism, to the want of deep theological studies at the universities, or to the contempt of ancient ways that then prevailed among the disciples of the Renaissance, the importance of the supremacy of the Holy See for the maintenance of unity was less felt than at former times in England . . . . In their exaggerated spirit of nationalism, the bishops thought it might be set aside and replaced by that of Catholic kings. The acts of the sovereigns of England, father, son, daughter, were the best practical refutation of these theories. . . . It must not be thought that I am excusing the conduct of the English bishops. I would merely observe that the question was not so clear to them as it is to us."[1]

And yet, granting all this, one cannot but feel surprised that they should have thought it possible to keep the Catholic faith intact under circumstances hitherto unknown in the Christian Church. Heresy was already treading close on the heels of schism, and had appeared even in the episcopal body itself. Latimer, of Worcester, Hilsey, who succeeded Blessed Fisher at Rochester, to say nothing of Cranmer, of Canterbury,[2] were known to be "of the new learning and holding many tenets of Luther and Tindal," and one of the requests of the northern insurgents was for the deprivation of these false pastors.[3] And yet bishops such as Tunstal and Gardiner, who retained the whole body of Catholic doctrine, could believe that the royal headship was a bond of unity, and urge Fisher to save his life by bowing down to Henry! The confessor and martyr, who seems also to have had the gift of prophecy, understood the laws of the spiritual world too clearly to be deceived. "What hope is left," he asked, "if we fall, that the rest shall stand? The fort is betrayed even of those that should have defended it! And, therefore, seeing the matter is thus begun, and so faintly resisted on our parts, I fear we be not the men that shall see the end of this misery."[4]

As it was with the bishops, so also with the secular priesthood. Of the heads of religious houses, also, many, in fear and misery and

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[1] *Life of B. John Fisher*, pp. 324-5.

[2] *Henry VIII. and the Monasteries*, ii., p. 100. Against Cranmer it was objected by the "Pilgrims of Grace" "that he took upon him to make the divorce," and "had not his pall as his predecessor had."

[3] *Henry VIII. and the Monasteries*, ii., 99.

[4] *Life of B. John Fisher*, p. 336.

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agony of conscience, took the oath of supremacy in the vain hope of propitiating the persecutor. Sometimes—not always—they saved their lives at the cost of forfeiting the martyr's crown which the Carthusians and Blessed Forest and his Franciscan brethren and many other true religious of the ancient Church of England now wear in heaven; but their houses and living were taken from them, and they were turned adrift without pity, without so much as barren honors.

Thus it is true that the Church of England, as a whole, fell; in the words of a section of modern ritualists, was "driven into schism." Unfortunately for their argument, the present Established Church happens not to be descended in any sense from that which was cut off from Catholic unity in the days of Henry VIII. It is this fact which, above all others, must be pointed out and insisted on, owing to the strange frame of mind in which most Anglicans live. They hardly shrink at all from the name of schism—only show that they are continuous in order and doctrine with the old English Church, and they are content. But plain history tells a very different tale. It proves that the modern Anglican body is not descended even from the schismatic church of Henry and Edward, and resembles it only in holding its temporalities and in being the pliant servant of the state.

Time passed, and the Supreme Head died. As the new Supreme Head was only nine years old, the supremacy practically went to his guardian and uncle, the Earl of Hertford and Duke of Somerset, who had imbibed Swiss and German Protestant doctrines, and proceeded to engraft them on the Church under his sway. Anglicanism had now entered on its second phase, a scene of indescribable, Babel-like confusion, of wrangling bishops, clashing opinions, new interpretations, hateful blasphemies; already England was overwhelmed by the "waters of sects and schisms" predicted by Bishop Fisher. During the reign of Henry VIII., Catholic practice had in great part prevailed, and was often enforced by him with the faggot; but a chain broken in one link is a chain which binds no longer, and the breach of continuity of doctrine really began when communion with the See of St. Peter ceased. With the death of the strong-willed and violent-tempered monarch, whom few dared to oppose, the remainder of the chain of Catholicity snapped into innumerable pieces. Henry had not been dead a month before Protestantism, as understood in Switzerland, began to speak officially from the English pulpit, and in the Chapel Royal itself the key-note was struck to which the State religion, in spite of many discords, generally attuned itself up to the days when Newman and Pusey arose.

In an exhaustive work on "Edward VI. and the Prayer-book,"

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Dom Gasquet has painted for us in his usual austere coloring, without any touch of imagination or suspicion of exaggeration, the humiliating spectacle of the "Convocations" of Edward's reign. The "Comedy of Convocation" now is child's play compared with what it was at that disastrous time. Indeed it could not be called a comedy, for its horribly ludicrous elements, though they may have stirred the cynical mirth of the enemy of mankind, were fit to make angels weep. Catholic dogma was uprooted wholesale. It was no longer the headship of St. Peter that was in question, but doctrines and practices common to east and west, and which even schismatics had until then retained. The veneration of relics and images, the Lenten fast, the rites of ordination, even the Blessed Sacrament of the altar itself, most dear to the English heart, became the subjects of attack among the lords spiritual and temporal who followed Somerset's leading. The more Catholic-minded bishops, all for antiquity and law and order, found themselves unable to stay the black, angry waters of foreign Protestantism that came rushing in through the opened flood-gates—those flood-gates which only a central authority and universal teacher could keep closed. As to the inferior clergy, the antics indulged in by the broken-down friars and married clerics who had eagerly adopted the views of Latimer, Ridley, and Hilsey, might claim to have beaten the record in religious buffoonery. One need go no further than the pages of Strype, the Protestant historian of the Reformation, to judge how much of "decency and order" characterized the early days of the reign of private opinion in England.

In the height of this confusion, and while the King's Council issued contradictory proclamations about religion almost every other day, Somerset and Cranmer—who were blown about with every wind of doctrine, or rather every whim of the ruling powers—determined on securing uniformity of custom by means of a Book of Common Prayer. The Catholic Church, it is truly said, has unity of belief and a hundred prayer-books, while Anglicanism has one prayer-book and unlimited divergency of doctrine. Secure in the integrity of her faith, the Church can afford to countenance different forms of devotion and religious uses; even the ritual of the Mass may be allowed to vary in certain countries, since the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice is everywhere the same.[1]

[1] "Local and diocesan usage of every sort," writes Dom Gasquet, "was swept away (by the new prayer-book), and an absolute uniformity prescribed for the whole realm—a thing unheard of in the ancient Catholic Church in England no less than in France and Germany."—*Edward VI. and the Prayer-book*, p 2. The "Sarum rite," of which Ritualists talk so much, was one of the usages permitted by the Roman See, though differing from the use of Rome.

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But legalized discord, for the sake of a semblance of cohesion, must need tie down its ministers to outward uniformity by means of a book, which it was supposed, would bind them all.

Over the framing of this book a battle royal ensued among the Bishops and King's Councillors. Cranmer and Ridley were at the head of the innovators; Tunstall, Gardiner and Heath at the head of the party which strove to retain Catholic doctrine in the new ritual. How entirely the Protestants, aided by the powers that were, prevailed, was made evident by the fact that Cranmer's new book was approved of by Calvin, to whom it was forwarded by Miles Coverdale just before his departure for England to take advantage of those halcyon times for fallen clerics.[1] The sermon was magnified into the central act of religious observance; the walls of St. Paul's and of our other ancient cathedrals, of which the very stones might well have cried out, heard for the first time a mutilated ambiguous office read instead of the Canon of the Mass, and saw the Communion given in both kinds. In vain the Catholic bishops, their eyes opened too late to the real meaning of a royal supremacy, had striven to retain a semblance of Catholicism for their broken Church. They were deprived of their sees and imprisoned, and the Prayer-book of 1549 was launched on an astonished and indignant nation. It was accompanied by a prohibition of "any alteration in the rites until the King should please to alter," and a hint that further "reformations" should follow in due time.

The reformations already attempted were quite enough to exasperate the English people. Discontent spread far and wide; Devon and Cornwall in the extreme west, Norfolk in the east, rose in rebellion against the new Prayer-book, declaring that they would have the holy decrees of their forefathers observed, kept and performed, and the Sacrament of the Altar restored to its ancient honor, and the Latin Mass as before. The government employed German troops to quell a people rising for the Faith. "The imposition of the book of the new service was only effected through the slaughter of many thousands of Englishmen by the English government, helped by their foreign mercenaries. The old dread days of the Pilgrimage of Grace returned, the same deceitful methods were employed to win success, the same ruthless bloodshed was allowed in the punishment of the vanquished. Terror was everywhere struck into the minds of the people by the

[1] Cranmer, at this time, professed to believe that the Mass was "only a memory and representation of the Sacrifice of Calvary." He dared not have said so in Henry's reign. Such contradictions had the rapid changes entailed, that a preacher licensed by Cranmer was fined by the mayor of a town, in virtue of a law then on the statute-book, for preaching against the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.—*Edward VI.*, p. 128.

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sight of the executions, fixed for the market days, of priests dangling from the steeples of their parish churches, of laymen set up in the high places of the towns."[1]

In the midst of this reign of confusion and terror the Protector, Somerset, followed to the block those earlier lay promoters of the Reformation, Anne Boleyn and Thomas Cromwell. Somerset was building his palace in the Strand with the spoils of desecrated churches, and his pre-Puritan Protestantism allowed him to keep his workmen at their task on Sundays, to the scandal of a Catholic people. At the apex of his greatness a cabal of nobles overthrew him, and he was executed at Tower Hill on January 22, 1552. But the Duke of Northumberland, now supreme, was as deeply interested in furthering the Reformation as his late rival, and this very year was marked by the introduction of the second Book of Common Prayer, which was even more distinctly Protestant than the first, and which, with the exception of a few alterations introduced by Elizabeth and Charles II., remains to this day.

When Mary came to the throne, the Catholic bishops, who had been deprived and imprisoned without so much as a show of legality for their opposition to the new doctrines, gladly made their peace with Rome, nor did they turn again with the weathercocks of political change. "The logic of facts was stronger than the logic of words."[2] The bishops had had enough of royal supremacy, and had seen how far such a rearrangement of the Christian scheme was likely to secure the religious unity of the nation. This tardy firmness of the English prelates brings us to the third phase of Anglicanism—the Elizabethan phase which we see slowly dissolving around us at this moment.

And here it is that a distinct breach, a chasm unbridged and profound, separates the modern established Anglican Church from the English Church of former ages. The Catholic bishops, with one accord, refused to hand over the succession to the fallen priest whom Elizabeth had nominated to the See of Canterbury. Even the timid Kitchin of Llandaff, after half assenting, held aloof at last. In the straits to which the government was reduced every law of the Christian Church and every shadow of rightful jurisdiction were set aside, and the ex-friar, Barlow, whose own consecration was more than doubtful, consecrated Parker with a mutilated ceremony, silently and almost secretly, in the darkness of a winter's morning. One undoubted bishop alone, Hodgskyn, was present as an assistant, and the queen undertook to supply all defects by her royal authority—a plenary papal act which ought to have been perfectly satisfactory to a body of men who openly professed their

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 254.

[2] *Life of Blessed John Fisher*, pp. 324-5.

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contempt of the orders, for the want of which they were reproached by the world.

There was thus no more question of a schism, but only of a sect, akin to the sects of Luther and Calvin, but having less cohesion even than they. The doctrines of the new church were anything and anyhow. The articles were mainly Calvinistic, the rubrics and catechism a battle-ground on which Arminian and Zwinglian and Calvinist and Puseyite and latter-day Ritualists and anti-Ritualists of every shade might and would struggle and rend each other; and nowhere could any living central authority be found to pronounce *ex cathedra* on the meaning of the shifty Cranmer and his fellow-workers when they compiled their ambiguous book. Yet these very uncertainties raised Anglicans at last out of the depths of eighteenth century High Church dulness and Low Church bitterness to float on the sunny, changeful surface of modern ritualism. They seem but the sport of the waves, yet a rising tide, invisible and silent and mighty, rolls beneath. Borne on its unseen currents, numberless souls, themselves innocent of heresy and punished only for the sins of their forefathers, drift daily nearer and nearer to the rock of St. Peter, powerfully urged, almost in spite of themselves, into the safe shelter of the haven where they would be.

A. M. GRANGE.

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ANCIENT KELTIC LITERATURE.

THE literature of any people is the manifold expression of its existence and development, of the longings and ideals, the struggles, failures, and vicissitudes which make up its history, from the first faint dawning of national consciousness down to the splendid flowering of all its germs of greatness. Literature and history go together; the savage has no literature because he has no history. With the growth of the latter goes hand in hand the development of the former; the richness and variety of one correspond to the fulness and exactness of the other. The age of Cæsar and Tacitus is the age of Virgil and Horace; Dante and Villani, the great mediæval chroniclers, and the singers of the immortal mediæval lays, were contemporary. Even the literature of our own day, so perfect in form, so correct in technique, so varied in its subject-matter, finds its counterpart in every branch and province of history—so closely allied are these two channels of human thought. Hence an account, however imperfect, of the treasures of the ancient Keltic literature, must needs begin with some preliminary notions of the origin and primitive movements of that race whose influence, direct and indirect, on the intellectual formation of the modern world is so much greater than is usually known.

I.

If one casts his eye on a map of modern Europe, he will see there great regions occupied by French, English, German, Spanish, Italian, and Slav populations. They have lived so long within their respective limits that they seem to us autocthonous. Nevertheless, in the third and fourth centuries before our era, not only the British isles in their entirety, but great tracts of central, western, and southwestern Europe, were inhabited by pure Keltic races. About 280 B.C., within fifty years of the death of Alexander the Great, while Carthage was yet powerful in Sicily, and Rome was slowly consolidating her hegemony over Italy, the Keltic tongue was spoken from the Atlantic to the Black Sea, from the Orkneys and Hebrides to the Adriatic. Its southern limits were everywhere conterminous with the Greek and the Etruscan. Not only the latter, but the Umbrian, Illyrian and Iberian were the languages of races subject to the Kelt, whose ancient idiom was the tongue of conquest and administration on the Danube and the Elbe, as on the Thames and the Seine, the Rhine, the Tagus and the Ebro. France and Belgium, Spain and Portu-

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gal, Southern Germany, Switzerland and the upper half of Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, Bavaria, and long stretches of the lower Danubian lands, resounded simultaneously to those rich strains which are now dying off into the mysterious ocean from the western edges of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Brittany. Those vast districts were then the home of an ardent and warlike people, rudely pastoral and nomadic, noble barbarians of gigantic stature, fair-haired and blue-eyed, ever ready to quit the plains or the hill sides where they dwelt in circular huts of planks, covered with twisted and painted osier, and protected by great palisaded walls of earth or of huge Cyclopean stonework, such as may yet be seen in vast and rugged outline on the Menelstein at St. Odile, in the Alsatian Vosges, and elsewhere through the south German lands. In the pre-Christian times, these painted and tattooed warriors disputed the growing power of the Eternal City, and exterminated many a Roman legion on the plains of northern Italy or in the passes of the Alps. They swept into northern Greece from their seats on the Danube, and ravaged the Balkan peninsula, daring even to insult sacred Delphi itself. They captured and sacked Rome, and for seven months (390 B.C.) sat upon the Palatine, the expectant heirs of Roman greatness. *Vae Victis*, cried the Keltic Brann (the Brennus of Roman history) as he flung his sword on the scales where the frightened Roman was counting out his ransom at the end of that memorable siege. Never was hasty word more thoroughly rebuked, for after a few short centuries of brilliant victories and meteor-like development, the Kelt saw the fickle goddess quit his dragon banner and perch upon the eagles of his enemies. The gigantic tribesman had humbled the little Roman to the dust, but the great soul of the latter imbibed new life from the sacred soil of the Capitol, and he never rested until he had driven the Kelt to the very margin of the west, and shut up in a few mountainous islands the perpetual restless wanderer for whom hitherto the earth was all too small. But, ere that took place, the Kelts had yet a career of glory to run. We find them in the early part of the third century B.C. assailing the seaboard colonies of the Greeks in Asia Minor, and carving out for themselves a state in the heart of that country, high up on the table lands of Galatia, where their language, polity, and manners endured for seven centuries, withstanding the corrosive influence of Hellenic thought and the levelling spirit of Roman administration, yielding only to the mild doctrines of St. Paul, but still until the time of Justinian a Keltic speaking and living people.[1]

[1] The information which scholars have been able to glean from the geographers, historians, philosophers, and orators of antiquity, concerning the movements of the Kelts, is found collected in the first volume of Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des*

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Long ago, so long ago that there is no human record of the time, all these Keltic populations, so the modern men of science assure us, came into Europe from the Orient, being the first wave of the great human flood that rolled westward from the banks of the Oxus and the broad plateau of Bactriana, in Central Asia. They were the first men of Aryan race, followed, in time, by many others, whose descendants now speak the Greek, Latin, Germanic, Teutonic and Sclavonic tongues.[1] Of them we know little more than what I have just said. In the second century before Christ Teutonic tribes from beyond the Elbe drove them slowly to the Rhine and beyond it, into the foot-hills, forests and valleys of the Alpine regions. The Roman people penned them up from the other side of the mountains, and at the same time conquered Spain, where the Kelt, already mixed with the Iberian, soon melted away into the Hispano-Roman population. There remained to them yet, shortly before Our Lord's birth, the vast regions of Gaul, but the genius of Julius Cæsar and their own jealousy and degeneracy co-operated to make them lose their country and their independence. In an incredibly short time they were absorbed in Gaul, as in Spain, by the superior Roman state and culture, and became in time more Roman than the Romans themselves. It is true that it was only the Keltic political elements which were eliminated in this fierce struggle; the tongue, the manners, the habits, the spirit, and that certain compact substratum of feeling, experience, ideals, vague hopes and longings which is the solid concrete of all ancient nationalities, did not yield so easily to the impact of the imperial system and the Greek culture. The satirist Lucian shows us Keltic-speaking soothsayers in Asia Minor about the middle of the second century. His contemporary, St. Irenæus, complains that his Greek style suffers from long contact with the Keltic tongue and manners in the south of Gaul. Druidesses, though reduced in numbers and power, existed still in Gaul at the end of the third century as magicians and soothsayers, using the Keltic tongue. The civil laws of Rome recognized at the same time the

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Gaules et de la France (Paris, 1869). Compare F. Robion, *Observations Critiques sur l'Archéologie dite Préhistorique, spécialement en ce qui concerne la Race Celtique* (Paris, 1879); and A. Bertrand. *De la Valeur des Expressions* Κέλται, Γαλάται, Κελτική, *et* Γαλατία, *dans Polybe* (Paris, 1875), and *Les Celtes, les Galates, et les Gaulois*, of M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, as well as the *Histoire des Gaulois* of Amédée Thierry. In the last numbers of the *Revue Celtique*, 1893-94 (xiv, 4; xv., 1), there is a very profound and scientific study by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, entitled *Les Celtes en Espagne.*

[1] From the multitude of works written on this subject, I may cite *The Origin of the Aryan Race*, by Canon Taylor (*Contemporary Science Series*); Conlen, *Die Wanderungen der Kelten;* De Villenorsy, *Origine des Premières Races d'Europe* (*Muséon*, 1894), and *Les Celtes* (in *La Science Sociale*, Paris, 1891).

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validity of legal documents executed in Keltic.[1] There was serious resistance in but one little corner, Brittany, the land of the Veneti —the only ancient Kelts who ever had a navy. These clung unreservedly to the Keltic tongue and manners, and never fully submitted to the political yoke of Rome, while the frequent infusions of Keltic blood out of Wales and Cornwall from the end of the fourth to the end of the sixth century kept increasing the power and intensifying the spirit and the peculiar consciousness of the race in the dense forests and along the rocky sea-walls of this remotest corner of the Gaulish Keltland.

Thus, within two hundred years the Kelt who had sacked Rome, pillaged Hellas, and conquered in Asia Minor; who held the Rhine, the Danube and the fairest shores of the Mediterranean, had dwindled away in Europe, by some mysterious fate, before the Teuton and the Roman. Some names of rivers and mountains and towns, some huge forts and earth defences; some rude monuments, cromlechs, menhirs, dolmens, cairns and the like; a few inscriptions, some tumuli or cemeteries, with such relics as collars, brooches, clasps, chains and plaques of gold, battle-axes, chariots and swords, idols, pottery and ornaments; some hundreds of words preserved in French, Italian, Spanish and German, like flies in amber, are all that is left to us of this not inglorious period of the first civilizers of Europe. Even here they were teachers and transmitters, and in their long contact with the Etruscan and Greek civilizations they imbibed something from those artistic races, and were in this the first preceptors of the Teutonic peoples to the north and east as they were their earliest missionaries.[2]

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[1] St. Irenæus, *Præfatio adv. Hæreses;* Digests, xxxiii., 11; Lampridius, Vita Alex. Severi, c. 53; Sulpicius Severus, in his life of Saint Martin of Tours. Compare Edelestand du Méril, in his *Origines de la Basse Latinité* (*Mélanges Archéologiques*, 1850). In his epigram, *De Mulabus Gallicis*, the fifth-century Claudian shows us the Keltic peasant of Gaul yet using his native tongue:

> "Miraris si voce feras pacaverit Orpheus,
> Cum pronas pecudes *gallica verba* regant,
> Barbaricos docili (mula) concipit aure sonos."

[2] Wakeman, *Handbook of Irish Antiquities* (Dublin, 1891); Lord Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture* (London, 1875). In the *Revue Archéologique* for 1879, there is an interesting study by M. François von Pulszky, Director of the State Museums and Libraries of Hungary, on the *Monuments of the Keltic Rule in Hungary;* he concludes a detailed examination of the numerous Keltic objects preserved in Hungary, with these words: "The common tongue, the frequent alliances, commercial relations, and the knowledge of their common orgin (all of which lives as yet in the popular legends of the Kelts), suffice to explain the similarity of these objects, though found in widely-distant parts of central Europe. Their vicinity to the Etruscans, a much more artistic race than the Keltic, made them capable of imitating the products of Etruscan skill (brooches, bracelets, etc.), and on the other hand, of spreading such objects over the wide expanse of Keltic territory. The old Felsina of the Etruscans became the Keltic Bonouia (Bologna), capital of the Boii (whence Bohemia, Bavaria),

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The Kelt is the most persistent wanderer of the great human family, and this was his first exodus—vast, dim and mysterious—breaking over Europe like some dark tidal wave out of the deep Orient, engulfing nearly all traces of previous populations, only to be itself, in turn, swallowed up by those nations and peoples who come more easily within the ken of authentic history.

What was the literature of this heroic period of the Keltic race? We ignore it. "It was a time of vast and mysterious shadows, like the clouds heaped round the sun rising from the sea." In the Irish annals, besides poems and prophecies of vague, unintelligible import, and in the historic tales, there are strange stories of the origin of Partholonians and Fomorians, Firbolgs, Tuatha de Danaans and Milesians, in which Egypt, Greece, Norway and other lands play a great part. These are legendary—mythic, if you will—yet there is a tinge of the truthful about them, the perfumed breath of the Orient, the salt air of the sea, the souvenirs of long wanderings, the echoes of red battle and hotly-disputed invasion. It were as vain to try to reduce these wild, incoherent tales within the lines of history as to imprison the sweet zephyrs that come up from the flowery south or chain the vague fancies of dreamland.

> "*Theseus:* I never may believe
> These antique fables, nor these fairy toys.
>
> *Hippolyta:* But all the story of the night told over
> And all their minds transfigured so together,
> More witnesseth than fancy's images,
> And grows to something of great constancy,
> But, howsoever, strange and admirable."
>
> —*Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act V., Sc. 1.

No doubt there was a large popular literature of battle-songs, the raw material of some glorious future epic, splendid tales and chants of rude but grand sublimity, chapters of history in which fact and legend were intertwined like the rugged headlands and their enshrouding mists on the wintry coasts of Kerry,—just such a *rudis indigestaque moles* of literature as a warlike, ardent, sensi-

a rich and civilized community, whence came the Etruscan vases, statuettes and tripods found in Germany, Gaul, and Hungary. . . . . The Kelts were an intelligent, quick-witted people, plastic beneath the civilizing influences of Etruscan, Greek, and Roman, whenever they met the latter as neighbors, mercenaries, or enemies. It is owing to them that a higher culture became known to their Teutonic neighbors of the north and the east; they were, without any doubt, the first preceptors of Teutonic barbarism." One may read with profit the account of the Etruscan discoveries at Marzabotto, near Bologna, published by Count Gozzadini, in 1871, when the peculiar Keltic brooches, swords, and spear-heads were found, together with objects of pure Etruscan origin. See De Mortillet, *Les Gaulois de Marzabotto*, in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1871.

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tive and poetic race produces amid the scenes of untutored nature and during the hard training of war and wandering. The want of an alphabet and a fixed political régime has prevented all this from reaching us. Strange tales there surely were of the long journeys across the border lands of Asia and Europe; of the old Aryan fatherland; of battles, feuds and forays; of love and death and stirring adventure; of the sack of Rome, and the forcing of Thermopylæ; of the overthrow of the kings of Pergamos and the descendants of Alexander. What would we not give for some undeniable echoes of that tender, flexible, lyric tongue of the Kelts, while there was yet a vast though loose political unity among them, when they went wildly conquering on the Danube and the Ebro, in the happy climes of Spain and Italy, or on the classic soil of Greece, and the islands of the midland seas, perhaps with great Carthage herself, who was wont to hire their bands as mercenary soldiers? If we have no literature or domestic art of theirs out of this period, we have some of the noblest Greek sculpture which owes its origin to the struggles of the Hellene to save himself from Keltic rule. The Dying Gladiator is a Keltic warrior, the noblest trophy of the cultured Greek, the highest revenge of the Rhodian sculptor. The Apollo Belvidere of the Vatican is a replica of a famous statue ordered by the king of Pergamos, very probably to commemorate the victory of 278 B. C. over the Kelts, by which they were prevented from seizing on all the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, and driven to found a separate state on the high plateau of the interior. All else has perished, unless some future philologian can unearth the ancient language of the Galatians from the Turkish patois of the highest table-land of Asia Minor, where good-enough Irish was spoken until the time of St. Jerome.[1]

The Druids of Gaul who had come out of Ireland, Man and Britain were, it is true, a learned corporation, with notions concerning immortality and the future life that greatly impressed the Greek and Roman men of letters. They had schools on hilltops, in remote valleys and in the depths of forests in which thousands of the noblest youths studied. They had a knowledge of astronomy, mathematics, physics, medicine and geometry. They were the theologians, the sacrificers, the keepers of the magic and augural sciences, the counsellors of the nobility, the criminal judges, excommunicators, and the grand-electors. They were a monotheistic priesthood, a close religious corporation, which needed to

[1] "The people of Galatia have almost the same language as those of Trier."—*Ep. ad Galata*, praef. In his youth, St. Jerome had spent some time among the Gallo-Romans, and was capable of comparing the Keltic with the tongue of the Galatians. In a still later writer (Stephen of Byzantium) we find a similar assertion.

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have its vast science handed down by memory, and whose literature, profane and religious, must have been enormous. But as they stood in the way of Roman centralization and absolutism, the Roman state broke up their control, degraded and banished them back to Ireland and Britain whence they had come. The bards remained, with their songs and tales, their elegant elegies and their cutting satires. They sang to the Keltic harp up and down the Roman roads of Gaul, but they were of another day and culture. They, too, disappeared, like the Druids, before the compact and organized literature, the more systematic schools, and the higher culture of the Greek and the Greco-Roman.[1] The Kelt of Gaul became an integral part of the Roman state, and, being like all Kelts of a plastic and receptive nature, continued to perfect his agriculture and mining, his skill in ornamentation of chains and shields and swords. He made better roads and bridges. He did more trading in exports and imports, sending out his soaps, pipes and perfumes, his cloaks, mantles and trousers, his coral, tapestries and dyes, and bringing in furniture, ivory, books, jewels, paintings, cunning carvings, tissues and brocades, spices and rare meats, Roman newspapers and imperial gossip, until he became the most cultured and the least warlike subject of the Eternal City and eventually took up the care of her immortal literature on the day when he had lost all memory of his own.[2]

II.

The extinction or absorption of the continental Kelts by the Teutonic tribes and the Roman system did not close the career of the race in history and literature. Its shrunken and diminished elements took refuge in the British Islands, the westernmost edge of the European world, where, until this day, they have maintained a fierce, unequal struggle for existence against pitiless human foes, and a certain dark relentless fate whose shadow seems to be ever heavier upon this people, turning its existence into one long dra-

[1] The Druids have been the object of many valuable studies. The Benedictine *Religion des Gaulois, Tirè des Plus Pures Sources de l'Antiquitè* (Paris, 1727), contains the ancient authorities. Compare Otto Deuk, *Geschichte des Gallo-Fraenkischen Unterrichts*, c. 1, Die Gallo druidesche Zeit. (Mainz, 1892). The Irish Druidism is best examined in O'Currey, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* (Lectures ix.–x.), (London, 1873); and by d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Le Druidisme Irlandais*, and his *Cours de Littérature Celtique*, vol. 1; that of Britain, by Professor Rhys, in his *Celtic Britain*, c. ii. (London, 1884). On its disappearance from the Continent, see Fustel de Coulanges, *Institutions Politiques de l'Ancienne France*, pp. 110–119; and de Jubainville, in the *Revue Celtique*, 1891 (xii, 3), p. 316. In a rather extravagant book, entitled *Les Gaudes Legendes de France* (Paris, 1892), by Edmond Schuré, there is much of the popular Breton legend concerning the Druids of antiquity.

[2] De Belloguet, *La Civilisation des Gaulois* (Paris, 1868).

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matic wandering from the uttermost Orient to the last limits of the West.

The main outlines of the history of the Keltic race in the British Islands are too well known to need repetition, and I therefore proceed to treat of its literature in this second period. The Keltic tribes of these islands are divided generally, as far as language and literature are concerned, into two great families, the Irish and the British, which are both descended from one more ancient common Keltic idiom. The British includes those dialects of the language spoken in what is now called England, *i.e.*, in Wales and Cornwall, or in Brittany. The Irish comprises the Manx, spoken in the Isle of Man, the Gaelic of the Scotch Highlands and the Erse or Irish proper. All of these dialects are substantially the same, and the differences are such as can easily be accounted for by well-known rules of Keltic philology. Though rapidly disappearing, and apparently doomed to extinction, they are all spoken as yet, except the Cornish, which died out in the last century. In round numbers there are perhaps in the world one million and a quarter of people who speak Keltic only, and three millions and a quarter who use it as their mother tongue, besides a growing handful of scholars in Germany, France, Italy, and the British Islands, who have taken up its study ere it disappears from human society where once it played so varied a rôle. It has a literature in all six dialects. The Cornish literature is the poorest of all, consisting of a few miracle plays, some songs and proverbs, a very old glossary of the twelfth century, and the story of the Passion of Our Lord in two hundred and fifty-nine stanzas or quatrains.

The Breton or Armoric has left us no relic of the old form of its literature, and out of the early Middle Ages we have in manuscript only two miracle plays, a life of a saint, a prayer-book and a dictionary. Mysteries, miracle plays, and popular songs, which surely embody an earlier epoch of the intellectual life of the Armoric or Breton people, compose their later literature. The Manx, which will soon be as extinct as the Cornish, has no ancient literature, though, in the days of Saint Patrick, the language was absolutely identical with the Irish, and to-day the pronunciation is quite similar, though there are many differences in orthography. The literature of the Highland Gaelic is chiefly composed of popular songs, ballads and tales, which must represent the rugged ancestral spirit and feelings of the mountain clans, but are of modern collection and little historic interest. There is said to be in it an undercurrent of the old Pictish, itself a Keltic dialect. The first missionaries, and later on the singers and musicians of Scotland were Irish, either by birth or training; therefore, if there were any old literature of Alba, it would be Irish in character. The Ossian of Mac-

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Pherson is Gaelic in matter, but the form is a coarse forgery—the dress is that of an eighteenth century English classic, and though it is a noble production, one needs only to compare it with the accessible translations of the "Tain-Bó-Cualgne" and the "Colloquy of the Ancients" to see how wanting it is in certain inimitable Keltic tricks of style. There are songs and tales of a time previous to the Reformation in the Gaelic "Book of the Dean of Lismore," but that religious revolution reduced Gaelic to a peasant's patois, and substituted English influences on all the higher political and social life of the great chiefs.[1] The oldest specimen of the Highland Gaelic is contained in the ninth century manuscript known as the "Book of Dier," and is almost identical with the written Irish of that period.[2]

Thus, of all the dialects into which the old Keltic tongue has crystallized in time, there remain but two, the Irish and the Welsh, which possess an ancient literature. The manuscript collection of Welsh literature is abundant. Beside the volumes owned by the British Museum and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, there are 400 volumes in the Hengwrt collection now owned by a private gentleman of Wales. In general, the Welsh literature may be said to begin with the famous Gildas, a monk of the sixth century, whose "Lament on the Fall of Britain" is one of the best known of the early mediæval Latin works. In the ninth century, a certain Welsh cleric named Nennius wrote a short Latin account of the Saxon kings of England, including the mission of Saint Germanus, and the legends of Saint Patrick. It was based upon an earlier compilation, and was itself the framework of later chronicles, known as the Annales Cambriæ. In the twelfth century, Geoffrey of Monmouth produced from Welsh materials a very legendary compilation called the "Historia Britonum," in which figure the British legends of the colonization of Great Britain, the exploits of the shadowy King Arthur, and the birth and prophecies of the Druid Merlin. It was followed by vernacular chronicles or *Bruts*, in which the colonization of Britain is traced back to a fabulous Brutus, and by mechanical compositions known as *Triads*, in which various events, similar subjects, etc., are set down in stanzas of three verses, a composition peculiar to Wales.

The poetry of Wales is very extensive, and some of it very ancient. If we believe the critics and the savants of Wales, the poems of Taliessin, Aneurin, Merlin, and Llywarch Hen are of the fifth century or but little later. Their present form is said to be not older than the eleventh century, but that would not prevent the substance from being of a more remote date. In their older

[1] W. K. O'Sullivan, art. "Celtic Literature," in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

[2] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., 458.

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forms they sing the wars of the Brython with the Romans, the Saxons, and the Scots or Irish. Frequently they are of a mystic or convivial cast, proverbial, satirical, or elegiac, and marked by much poetic feeling, complicated metres, gay humor, love of nature, and delicate appreciation of the female character. At the end of the eleventh century, influences from Brittany and Ireland made themselves felt in Welsh poetry, and gave to Welsh literature in general a strong and beneficial impulse. The Welsh poems of the period from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries are full of natural beauty and of keen and accurate observation of the external world. The wild woodland, the flowers, the song-birds, all the objective phenomena of nature are correctly noted and reproduced—in fact, love and nature, and not war, furnish the burden of their later song. Every household of importance had its bards and singers and story-tellers. To the latter we owe the famous "Mabinogion" or prose-tales of Wales, in which we are told that we ought to see the origins of mediæval chivalry, though many of its distinctive elements are found in the much earlier cycles of Irish heroic and romantic tales. Nevertheless, the "Mabinogion" are exquisitely beautiful stories of romantic and knightly adventure, drawn partly from the ancient Irish tales and partly from the Arthurian cycle. Such tales were always current in Wales and Ireland, but in the former country they became, at an early date, the property of the Norman story-tellers and clerics, after having passed through the crucible of the Breton imagination, and were thus worked up into the admirable stories of chivalry which later on fired the souls of European knights, and were told and retold at countless continental firesides pretty much as we now read them in Spenser, Ariosto, or Tennyson.

King Arthur himself is, in all probability, only the glorified Cormac Mac Art of Irish history, but such as the bards of Brittany and Wales have made him—the ideal of Keltic manhood and ambition. Merlin and Vivian, Enid and Gereint, and all the magical and high romantic machinery of the "Idylls of the King" are, in substance, from the old Keltic tales and songs, such as they have come down to us from Gael and Breton, from Welsh bards and Norman jongleurs; well-bred and elegant literature to-day, but at the bottom solidly Keltic, odorous with a thousand scents of that far, mystic, blissful land where the apple trees bloom forever, and the flowers, like men, are immortal; where fair women and brave men live on in undiminished youth, revelling in unsuspecting innocence; where no note of pain or sorrow breaks the great harmony of sound and color and feeling; where life is one long laughing childhood, and man and nature are but two aspects of the eternally good and beautiful.

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Nay, more, this refined and delicate poetry, the tender roseate blush of purest Keltic sentiment, passed into channels by which it one day reached the mind of Shakespeare, and was by him given proper setting in *King Lear*, the *Tempest*, and the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. But the Welsh literature is in itself a large subject, and deserves a separate and circumstantial treatment.[1]

III.

The ancient Irish literature is incomparably the most important that the Kelt ever produced. Its age, the purity of the dialect, its high technical perfection, the abundance of its monuments, the vicissitudes of the race, the unbroken literary production of centuries, the imprint of Christian feeling and classic sentiment, the intrinsic beauty of its poetry and romance, the faint but clear and numerous threads which connect it with the pre-Christian and heroic age of the race, and thus with its cradle in the mysterious Orient—all these motives and many others are like so many sweet voices enticing us to enter a pleasant land, once resonant with music, eloquence, and song, but o'er whose cities and champaigns the night of forgetfulness and neglect has long since fallen, whose noble monuments are choked with dust, whose ports and markets no longer echo to the hum of commerce, and on whose annals there falls but an occasional white ray when some curious antiquarian opens their splended folios "to point a moral or adorn a tale."

The Irish literature was a complete and rounded *corpus*, when the Icelandic, the oldest vernacular literature of continental Europe began. In its old age it formed the men who wrote down the Eddas and the Sagas. The Irish teachers of the rude Angles of Northumbria were skilled men of letters, with minds filled with history, poetry and philosophy, humble saints but rare versifiers, sweet singers, plausible talkers. Between a song and a joke they infused the faith where the classic Roman failed. They are the nurses of English verse, and if we leave aside Beowulf and the few fragments that have drifted down the ages from old Saxony,—

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[1] Stephens, *The Literature of the Kymry* (Llandovery, 1849); *Archeologia Cambrensis* (since 1846); *An Essay on the Influence of Welsh Traditions upon the Literature of Germany, France, and Scandinavia* (Llandovery, 1841); D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de Littérature Celtique*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1883–92), especially vols. iii., iv. "From an intellectual point of view," says M. de Jubainville, "the *Ancient Laws of Wales* are the greatest glory of the Welsh. The eminent German jurisconsult, Ferdinand Walter, was of opinion that they surpassed, in this respect, all the mediæval peoples, so precise and refined does the national mind appear in this legislation, and so great was their aptness for philosophic speculation." Cf. also, Skene, *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, containing the Kymric poems attributed to the bards of the sixth century (Edinburgh, 1868, 2 vols.).

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Ceadmon and Bede and Aldhelm, Alfred and Aelfric, and the fragmentary English epics of earliest date, were directly or indirectly produced on this Northumbrian soil and owe much to the influence of their Irish teachers, not to speak of the multitudes of Anglo-Saxons who spent long years in Ireland, between the sixth and eighth centuries, and whose thought and speech must have become in great measure Kelticised. All this went on while the English language and literature were, so to speak, in the period of gestation. The English literature of the early middle ages is highly esteemed,—yet it cannot begin to compare with the remnants we possess of the Irish literature, either in variety, mass[1] or intrinsic value.

The literature of the Irish people extends nominally over a period of about two thousand years, and with absolute certitude goes back from one thousand to twelve hundred years. I do not intend to speak of the Latin literature produced by the Irish Kelts. It is a very respectable body of writings, beginning with the letters of Celestius in the fourth century, and the poems of Sedulius in the fifth, not to speak of St. Patrick's own works, and including such names as Columbanus, Gallus, Cummian, Adamnan, Sedulius of Liège, Dicuil, John Erigena, Hibernicus Exul, Dungal, the Irish grammarians, philosophers and teachers at the court and in the palace school of Charlemagne. Men like Elias of Angoulême and Manno, Marcus and Marcellus of St. Gall, Virgil of Salzburg, the "Irish Egyptians" of Alcuin, and the Scotellus of Theodulf of Orleans, were excellent Latin scholars. Moral theology, Latin grammar, the text of the Latin Vulgate, the early mediæval annals, church music, the studies of Greek, mathematics, geometry and astronomy, the vernacular tongues of Europe, especially the

[1] The numerous influences of the old Irish teachers upon the origin and formation of the Anglo-Saxon literature, might form the first chapter of a work of surpassing interest, which awaits the proper time and man, viz., the Influence of the Keltic Thought and Speech upon the Life and Letters of the English People. There are many hints and suggestions scattered through the *English Literature* of Ten Brink; the *Development of Early English Thought*, by Brother Azarias; the *History of Early English Literature*, by Mr. Stopford Brooke; the *Essay on Celtic Literature*, by Mr. Matthew Arnold, and the *Anglo Saxon Britain*, of Mr. Grant Allen. Mr. F. Y. Powell, the learned English editor of the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, is of opinion that the finest gems of Icelandic poetry, those in which are most visible the qualities of high imagination, deep pathos, fresh love of nature, passionate dramatic power, and noble simplicity of language, are of Irish origin—the intermediary being the Scandinavian element settled in Ireland, and which by commerce, travel, and intermarriage acquired a great deal of the spirit and culture of their neighbors. "That the form (of the Sagas) was so perfect," he says, "must be attributed to Irish influence, without which indeed, there would have been a saga, but not the same saga. It is to the west that the Sagas belong; it is to the west that nearly every classic writer whose name we know belongs; and it is precisely in the west that the admixture of Irish blood is greatest."—"Icelandic Literature," in *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

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Gothic and the Old High German, philosophy and travel, above all, the study of the Scriptures, the art of writing, and the noble science of pedagogics, owe much to the multitude of Irish monks and scholars who overflowed Central and Western Europe from the sixth to the twelfth century. I will not speak of the bishoprics they filled, nor the abbeys they founded, nor the severe and upright lives they led, nor their exhortations and discourses,—though in all these they were ever sublime teachers. I will only refer *en passant* to the numerous schools which this nation kept open in the heart of Europe, like crystal pools where the weary and the thirsty might always drink. Bobbio, Luxeuil, St. Gall, Waulsort, Metz, Reichenau, Milan, Laon, Cologne, Liège, to mention but a few of the places where they taught habitually and for a long time. The literary activity of the Irish race on the European continent is too large a theme for incidental reference. A very big volume would scarcely do it justice. I exclude therefore the Latin literature of the Irish, whether produced at home or abroad, and even those fragments of their Irish literature written abroad,—the famous glosses out of which the Old Irish has been reconstructed by Zeuss.[1]

Where is the ancient Irish literature found? The greater part of it is found to-day in Dublin, in the libraries of Trinity College and the Royal Irish Academy. A considerable share exists in the British Museum and in the Bodleian library at Oxford. There are between one and two hundred manuscripts, which pertain to this literature scattered in some thirty-two libraries of Europe, Rome, Brussels, Paris, St. Gall, Berne, Wurzburg, Carlsruhe, Cambrai, etc. In all there are perhaps two thousand manu-

[1] Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica* (2d Ed.), 1870. There are more than 16,000 of these Irish glosses, over one-half of which are taken from a single book in the Ambrosiana at Milan, the *Liber Sancti Columbani de Bobbio*. By this one may judge of the richness of the tongue, when the glosses to a single Psalter could furnish over 8000 words. In fact, out of these glosses a grammar, dictionary and philology were reconstructed, and the darkness of early Keltic history rolled back considerably.

The labors of the mediæval Irish on the continent are reviewed in detail in Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* and in the volumes of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. Bellesheim's *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Irland* (vol. i.) contains much useful matter on this subject which has never been exhaustively studied. *Cf.* also Bishop Healy's *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars* (Dublin, 1890); Zimmer, *The Irish Element in Medieval Culture;* Walter Schultze, *Die Bedeutung der iro schottischen Moenche fuer die Erhaltung und Fortpflanzung der mittelalterlichen Wissenschaft* (*Centralblatt fuer Bibliothekswesen*, Leipsic, 1889); Greith, *Die alt-irische Kirche* (Freiburg, 1867); Grupp, *Culturgeschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. i. (Stuttgart, 1894). It seems strange that the numerous modern histories of pedagogics pay so little attention to this remarkable body of men who were the teachers of Frank, Burgundian and Aleman; whose copies of the classics are often the oldest and most precious, and who, almost alone, knew Greek in the west in the eighth and ninth centuries.

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scripts or individual pieces, of which nineteenth-twentieths are yet unpublished. Dublin manuscripts would form a printed mass of about one thousand octavo volumes of original text alone. The publications of the Master of the Rolls in England, with notes and prefaces, do not yet reach three hundred volumes. The unprinted *corpus* of Irish literature far surpasses the mediæval Greek and Latin writers in Migne. The historical collections of Pertz and Bouquet are each far inferior to it. It is a stupendous mass of literature, a *mare magnum* into which whoever dives brings up a pearl, an inexhaustible mine wherein the poet and the philosopher, the historian and the artist, the philologian, the folk-lorist and the lawyer, the observer of ancient manners, and the student of institutions, may wander at will, and find each the treasures on which his heart is set. Yet it is the sad poor remnant of a literature, which has had more enemies for a longer time than any known literature on earth, and which is to-day neglected and forgotten as those

> "drenched sands
> On which a great soul's wealth lies all in heaps
> Like a wrecked argosy."

The Danes tore and burned the books of old, well-established schools on every river and estuary of Ireland; they *drowned* them, in the picturesque language of the contemporary annalists, a phrase which hints at their great number and confirms their utter destruction. None of them ever turn up at Copenhagen or Stockholm. The Norman invasion cut short in many places the peculiar Irish custom of transcribing into miscellaneous books the most valuable and typical examples of their literature. The impoverishment, exile and destruction of the natives robbed the books of their natural producers and protectors. The internal decay of the land reached the highest point at the time of the Renaissance when the genius of less ancient and flexible continental tongues bloomed out into that varied and elegant literature which will charm forever the ear and heart of all lovers of the truly refined and spiritual in the art of words.

The art of printing was discovered at a time when the Irish were in no condition to profit by it for the development of their national tongue, and even those who loved it most and knew it best began to use the easily procurable Latin books, where once the Keltic manuscripts were used. We might add the ordinary causes which affected the preservation of every literature previous to the era of the printed book—neglect, war, fire, periods of ignorance, pestilence, the strong hungry tooth of time, and that most dangerous of all, the cold contempt of those who stood by and saw their

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nation's literature perish as a thing of no account. Every conceivable adverse influence has been ranged against these poor Irish books, yet a multitude of them has escaped. They came down in families of hereditary teachers; they were preserved by a few chiefs in their native fortresses; the people sheltered them in their cabins; they were smuggled over to the continent; the priest or the friar carried them on his back during his journeys or flights; they were hidden in inaccessible spots; in fact, they emerged into this century pretty much as the Irish Kelt himself, badly battered, but holding still the secret of eternal rejuvenescence. Yet we have to regret the loss of many books which reached uninjured our modern days. There are over thirty large collections known, whence several of the extant Irish manuscripts were copied, and which have disappeared, some of them since the beginning of the seventeenth century. An example will show how this literature was saved. For centuries there was preserved in the family of the MacEgans, of Tipperary, half-farmers, half-poets, an ancient volume of yellow parchment. In the last century this came to the knowledge of Edmund Burke, himself no Keltic scholar, but devoted to the glories of his country. The MSS. was purchased for a few pounds, and shortly the world knew that the Brehon Laws had been recovered, a body of ancient Keltic legislation, larger, more minute and perfect than anything of its kind except the civil law of Rome. This book is written in Archaic Irish, which is like a foreign tongue to the modern Kelt. It is only by piecemeal, and with the aid of the many thousand glosses dug out of other old manuscripts in which the ancient scribes inserted them, that a slow translation can be made. To preserve that book the family of the MacEgans risked their lives and their property, and passed, perhaps, as the very spawn of barbarism, though they held in their possession by right of ancient transcription, intelligence and ownership the volume which brings us nearest to the manners and customs of those Oriental forefathers from whom we have descended.[1]

The mediæval Irish preserved their literature in the monasteries and churches, as did all of the mediæval peoples, and by that channel much has come down to us. But they had a literary habit peculiar to themselves. The great chiefs and the principal bards, as well as the heads of certain learned professions were wont to keep large miscellaneous volumes of folio size, in which were transcribed specimens of such literature as best pleased or most interested them. It is thus that families of Brehons and physicians have handed down the "Senchus Mòr," the "Book of

[1] William O'Brien, "The Irish Age of Gold," in *Irish Ideas*, Longmans, 1893.

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Achill," the "Book of Rights," and other legal works, or the treatises of Galen and Hippocrates, together with much practical lore communicated orally. The chiefs and bards were mostly interested in tales, poems, annals and genealogies. Naturally, the books kept by them are filled with just such literature as could charm a simple people, proud of its antiquity and the purity of its descent, and given over to the pursuit of war or agriculture. We possess yet a number of these miscellaneous works, in which the poets or sennachies of the chiefs entered their loveliest tales and poems or consigned the annals of their county or their country; thus there is the "Book of the Dun Cow," the "Speckled Book," the "Book of Leinster," the "Book of Lecan," the "Yellow Book of Lecan,"[1] etc. Profane and ecclesiastical materials, history and legend, pagan and Christian matters, are mixed indiscriminately in these great books, some of which have several hundred folio leaves, and in all of which the writing is of excellent quality; for in ancient Ireland the poet was a good penman, as the musician was always a good singer. These manuscripts are frequently written on fine vellum, sometimes on paper. If I were to resume roughly their contents, before giving a detailed view of the old Irish literature, I would say that they contained grammars and glossaries; annals, genealogies, topographies (local geographies); pedigrees of saints and chiefs; mythologies and imaginative tales; lyric poetry, satires and elegies; treatises on mathematics, law and medicine; lives of Irish saints and synchronisms of Irish events with continental ones; romantic tales, adventures at sea, forays at home; market reports, ballads and humorous stories; dainty love songs and pretty fairy tales. Of course, the contents of these manuscripts are always as old as the manuscripts themselves, and often much older; their very form sometimes betrays them, being so archaic and difficult that they cannot be read without glosses and great patience.

Since the death of Eugene O'Curry, no one knows fully and precisely what the old Irish literature contains. For the only detailed description of it we are reduced to his "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Irish History," the chief source of the knowledge we possess on this subject. Edward O'Reilly published early in this century an incomplete catalogue of writers of Irish literature, which includes about 370 names (368), but it is scarcely more than a dry enumeration of authors and titles, while

[1] Photo-lithographic fac-similes of several of these great compilations have been published by the Royal Irish Academy, *e. g.*, the *Book of Ballymote* (fourteenth century), the *Book of Leinster* (twelfth century), the *Leabar na h Uidhre* (Book of the Dun Cow (about 1100 A.D.); the *Leabar Brac* or Speckled Book (fourteenth century).

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the work of O'Curry is a monument to the genius of the most modest of scholars, and the most widely read of all Keltologists.[1]

IV.

It would be impossible within the assigned limits to give an adequate view of the entire body of Keltic literature which has reached us. I will therefore content myself with a conspectus of the *Historical Literature* of the Kelts, as presented in the ancient Irish manuscripts, premising first, that the following pages are by no means exhaustive, and aim only at conveying a general but accurate notion of the wealth of the old historical literature of the race; and second, that I purposely leave out the purely ecclesiastical histories and biographies, intending only to emphasize the profane culture of the Keltic writers. It may be roughly divided into Annals, Genealogies and Pedigrees, and Historical Tales.

I. *Annals.*—The oldest of the annals known to the early Irish Christian seems to have been the lost *Saltair of Tara*, which, according to an Irish poet of the eleventh century, is "the best summary

[1] *A Chronological Account of Nearly Four Hundred Irish Writers*, commencing with the earliest account of Irish history, and carried down to the year of Our Lord 1730; with a descriptive catalogue of such of their works as are still extant in verse or prose, consisting of upwards of one thousand separate tracts. By Edward O'Reilly, Esq. Dublin, 1820. (Vol. i. of the *Transactions of the Hiberno-Celtic Society.*) The great work of O'Curry is *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, delivered at the Catholic University of Ireland during the sessions of 1855 and 1856. By Eugene O'Curry, M.R.I.A. Dublin, 1873 (re-issue). It consists of twenty-one lectures, which treat fully, for the first time, of the lost books ("The Cuilmenn," "The Saltairs of Tara and Cashel, "The Book of Ua Chongbhail, "The Cin Droma Snechta, etc.); the earliest existing manuscripts; the early historical writers and ancient annals; the Four Masters; the genealogies and pedigrees; the historic and imaginative tales; the remains of the early Christian period; the early ecclesiastical manuscripts; the so-called "prophecies," and the true way to write the history of Erin. One hundred and fifty-seven appendices give as many specimens of old Keltic literature. A series of fac-similes of ancient Keltic handwriting completes this book, which is almost without a parallel in the list of literary manuals, considering the peculiar circumstances of its growth and production. Of Eugene O'Curry might well be said what was written of John O'Donovan:

> Too few, too few, among our great,
> In Camp or Cloister, Church or State,
> Wrought as he wrought;
> Too few, of all the brave we trace
> Among the champions of our race,
> Gave us his thought.
>
> He toiled to make our story stand,
> As from time's reverent, runic hand
> It came, unchecked
> By fancies false; erect, alone,
> The monumental Arctic stone
> Of ages wrecked.
>
> —D'Arcy McGee, *The Dead Antiquary.*

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of history, . . . with the synchronisms and chronologies" of all the kings of Ireland. It is supposed to have been composed in the third century, under king Cormac Mac Art, and indeed by him. The most valuable of the ancient extant annals are said to be those of Tighernach (Tierney O'Brien), abbot of Clonmacnoise and Roscommon, who died in 1088.[1] If we except the Saxon Chronicle, he is the most ancient vernacular chronicler of the northern nations, since Nestor, the father of Russian history, died in 1113 Snorro, the father of Icelandic history, did not appear for another century; Kadlubec, the first historian of Poland, died in 1223, and Stierman could not discover a scrap of writing in all Sweden older than 1159. The other northern chronicles of Gildas, Bede and Nennius, are in Latin, and do not come under our consideration. This ancient annalist relates the history of Ireland from about three hundred years B.C. to 1088, the year of his death. It is in Gaelic, with Latin and Greek citations, and argues a critical and judicious mind. It is clear, from his book, that the old abbot of Clonmacnoise was a man of erudition, for he cites Josephus, Eusebius, Orosius, Julius Africanus, the venerable Bede, St. Jerome, and many others; endeavors to reconcile their conflicting testimonies; collates the Hebrew text with the Septuagint, etc. There is no complete text of these precious ancient annals—we have only fragments, eight or nine in all, of varying length and value. We may recall here that Clonmacnoise was a famous school three hundred years before Tighernach lived, and that its then master, the wise Colchu, was saluted by Alcuin as his father and preceptor.[2]

In the same eleventh century lived Flann of Monasterboice, in Louth, a layman, writer of "Historical Synchronisms," and greatly respected by the learned Ussher, Ware, Lynch, O'Flaherty, and O'Conor, *i.e.*, by the great lights of Irish historical science. These synchronisms are parallel lines of Oriental and Roman rulers, whose reigns are made to tally with those of the kings of Erin, down to A.D. 718; from the time of Julius Cæsar their reigns are paralleled in series of one hundred years. A contemporary of Flann, was *Gilla Gaemhain* (Kevin), whose long chronological poem down to the middle of the eleventh century, and whose translation and continuation of the Welsh Nennius are known to the learned

[1] Printed in vol. i. of O'Conor, *Rerum Hibernicorum Scriptores.* 4 vols. Buckingham, 1814.

[2] Alcuini Epistolæ, in *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, vol. vi., p. 166, Ep. 14. This Colchu was the author (according to Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.*, p. 378) of a collection of most ardent prayers, a work full of the warmest and most stirring devotion to God. The work called the *Scopa Devotionis, or Besom of Devotion* (Scuaip-Chrabhaidh) was still extant in the first half of the sixteenth century.—*Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. i., p. 595.

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world as historical documents of much importance.[1] These synchronistic annals are at least of equal value with those of any mediæval European nation. It must have taken learning and devotion to parallel, synchronize and correct long lines of foreign rulers and events, for which the compilers had to possess foreign sources and authorities of some kind. They are, like all old European annals, vague, unreliable in the parts remote from their own day, but extremely trustworthy on events that come within their own purview. I may quote a few examples. The "Annals of Ulster" quote the solar eclipse of A.D. 664 as happening on the first of May. Bede says it took place on the third of May; he is wrong by two days, and the original authority of the "Annals of Ulster" is right, *i.e.*, he was, in all probability, a contemporary, and had some better inkling of astronomy, or more exact observations, than Bede's guarantees. The Irish annals cite the first fifteen abbots of Bangor, with the years of their deaths, to A.D. 691. The Antiphonary of Bangor, a curious and invaluable compilation of the eighth century preserved at Milan, recites the same list in identical order and chronology. This means that Irish annals which never left the kingdom agree with a Latin composition either written abroad or absent from Ireland over one thousand years. One sees that in this case, mediæval transcripts or continuations of the Irish annals, like the Antiphonary of Bangor, rest on contemporary authorities. Again, the battle of Clontarf took place in 1014, on Good Friday, April 23d. There are some fine battle-pieces in mediæval Latin and vernacular literature, but nothing to surpass the contemporary account in the book called "Wars of the Gaels with the Galls" (foreigners, Danes).[2] It is a superb picture, the work of one of the bards of Brian, and which no painter of military scenes can read unmoved. There is scarcely any epic element wanting—the ominous earnestness of the preparations; the wild mad rush of Irish and Danes; the silken dragons of the latter flapping in the wind; the battle movements of the Irish like reapers cutting down corn; the Danish ships out on the flood tide, helpless witnesses of the fatal scene; the Danes retreating slowly into the surf; the regular crushing of the horrid battle axes of the Irish through steel and bone; the bitter controversy between king Sitric and his Irish wife upon the parapets of Dublin; the brave death of Murrough the son of Brian; the epic

[1] The works of Flann and Gilla Caemhain are preserved in the *Book of Lecain* and the *Book of Ballymote* (O'Curry, pp. 54, 55) and in other ancient copies (O'Reilly, pp. 74–78).

[2] The *Wars of the Gaedhel with the Gaill*, or the invasion of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen. Edited, with translations, by James Heuthorn Todd. London, 1867.

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scene of the valiant boy Thurlough, grandson of Brian, whose body was the next day fished out of the Tolka, his young fingers tightly wound in the black locks of a great Dane; and above all, the dramatic death of the aged Brian, while the battle raged on around him as though a vast multitude were hewing down Tomar's wood with axes, as though the forest were on fire, and only the tall trees standing. Men who could write like that, whose tale in our stiff, cold, composite tongue breathes still the wild fancy, the passionate hope, and the awful sense of relief of that great day, were no common thinkers. But the most noticeable thing about this narrative is its exactness. In the story it is said that the battle began at high-tide in the morning and ended at high-tide in the evening. When Dr. Todd was editing these Annals he requested a capable astronomer to calculate the tides for him on the twenty-third of April, 1014, and the high tides of that day were found to be exactly at the hours stated by the chronicler.

There are other Irish Annals of the late Middle Ages, such as the continuation of Tighernach to 1178, the Annals of Innisfallen, of Clonmacnoise, of Boyle, of Ulster, of Connacht, of Loch Cé, the "Chronicon Scotorum" (made in Galway about 1650) of the great antiquarian, Dudley MacFirbis, the last of the regularly educated and most accomplished masters of the history, antiquities, laws and language of ancient Erin; their history and description would interest us if we did not desire to make room for a brief account of the famous "Annals of the Four Masters."

The "Annals of the Four Masters" are a compilation in Gaelic of the national and ecclesiastical history of Ireland year by year, from the earliest recorded times to the year 1616. They were finished in 1636, after many years of collecting and four years of composition and transcription, by Franciscan friars at Kilbarron, in Tyrconnel Abbey, in Donegal. The chief of the four writers was Michael O'Clery, a descendant of one of the great mediæval teaching families of Ireland. With his brother, he spent many years collecting the best manuscripts for the civil and ecclesiastical history of his country, and wrote it down between 1632–1636, at the expense of Fergal O'Gara, an Irish chieftain of his acquaintance, and of the friary of Killabarron. No nation in the world has such an annalistic work, and though executed at a late date, it was done by men of antiquarian descent, who lived among abundant manuscripts, many of which have since been lost, who wrote on their native soil, among the people and the churches whose fate they chronicled, ere yet the monuments, inscriptions, old records and memories had been ruthlessly and needlessly destroyed, or the national consciousness and souvenirs dulled by two centuries of hopelessness and apathy. The work has its faults, like all annals,

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but it remains an inexhaustible mine of personal, social, topographical and literary information. The declining sun of historical learning in Ireland emitted no weak or uncertain beams, and the Four Masters need not fear to be classed with the Benedictines of a later age or with the great searchers of our own day, for painstaking accuracy, completeness, and sympathetic good sense in the choice of their materials and their orderly distribution.[1] "Few, if any, historians ever rivaled them in generosity and magnanimity, such their heroic love of heroism, of manly or womanly virtue, no matter what its origin, or the cause in which it was exhibited. The Protestant and the Catholic, the Englishman and the Irishman, the Milesian chief and Norman-Irish noble, or English courtier, fresh from the Queen's smiles—all in strict proportion to their worth or unworth—are stigmatized or praised in these pure and ardent pages. Modern historians of this temper we need, and we hope yet will have, as magnanimous, as just, and as veracious as that famous mediæval Four."[2]

Yet I hear them in my musings,
And I see them as I gaze,
Four meek men around the cresset,
With the scrolls of other days;
Four unwearied scribes, who treasure
Every word and every line,
Saving every ancient sentence
As if writ by hand divine.

On their calm, down-bended foreheads,
Tell me what it is you read;
Is there malice or ambition
In the will or in the deed?
Oh, no! no! the angel Duty
Calmly lights the dusty walls,
And their four worn right hands follow
Where the angel's radiance falls.

Not of fame, and not of fortune,
Do these eager penmen dream;
Darkness shrouds the hills of Banba,
Sorrow sits by every stream;
One by one, the lights that lead her,
Hour by hour were quenched in gloom;
But the patient, sad Four Masters
Toil on in their lonely room—
Duty thus defying doom.—*D'Arcy McGee.*

II. *The Genealogies and Pedigrees.*—Perhaps the most finical

[1] *The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, from the earliest period to the year 1616. Edited, with translation and notes, by John O'Donovan. 7 vols., 4to. Dublin, 1851.

[2] Stanlish O'Grady in *The Bog of Stars*, London, 1893, p. 154.

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of all peoples in point of genealogy or general family descent and relationship, and pedigree or direct lineal descent, was the ancient Irish. The clan or tribal system made this imperative; for their chief wealth, the land and stock, together with the authority, went by certain fixed lines of descent, and the exact relationship to the deceased land-owner or chief was a matter of great importance, at least to all the males of the tribe. Hence it was necessary to have public records kept not only by the Over-King for his sub-kings and chiefs, but by the latter princes and rulers. This keeping of genealogies and pedigrees, with their regular comparison and correction, seems to have been one of the most indispensable duties of the ollave, or poet-historian, whom every great chief or family maintained, and to whom, for this and similar purposes, lands and stipends were regularly allowed. The Irish antiquarians quote, as examples of such genealogical collections, the lost "Saltair of Cormac," of the third century, the lost "Book of Dromsneacht," of the beginning of the fifth century, just before the arrival of St. Patrick, which books are often cited in the mediæval Irish manuscripts, and were in existence as late as the twelfth century. These genealogies are usually of the Milesian race, with very few exceptions, and begin, or rather end, with the famous Heber and Heremon, the two surviving sons of Milesius.

This is not the place to discuss the ancient genealogies and pedigrees. They have been much laughed at, and perhaps they deserve it where they attempt to tie on the Milesian race to Magog, second son of Japhet; but the Irish were not the only mediæval people who tried the same feat. When the pagan nations became Christian, they wanted to enter in some way into the history of the past; not to be entirely left out of the plan of God's dealings with man. Hence their desperate efforts to appear as descendants of Noah, Abraham, etc., a trait comparable to the desires of the Teutonic peoples to be descended from Priam, and the ancient British to come down from Brutus. This was good society in their eyes, and they went in by the window when they found the door shut. If they asserted their descent, who was going to dispute it? They had no documents for it, it was true, but were there any against it? Seriously, however, the ancient genealogies and pedigrees deserve attention when they move on local ground. The insular, backward position of the country; the necessity of public records and their actual existence; the oral traditions handed down by the long memories of a multitude of poets in difficult verse, whose complicated metre could not easily be broken; the existence of monuments, raths, lisses, cashels, weapons; great natural objects clothed with personality; names of rivers and hills; the evident ambition of the chiefs to hold

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high rule in a land that knew only the tribal male descent; the need of holding large tracts of land for their peculiar system of agriculture—all this inclines any serious person to believe that they kept careful records, but does not oblige him to believe that there are no bad breaks in them, or that the Marquis of Thomond is a genuine O'Brien from the loins of an Irish king who died A.D. 234. *Sit cuique suum:* they cannot be dispensed with by antiquarians and historians, but the line of tradition must have been patched up more than once. Of these genealogies and pedigrees the old Irish annals are full, a fact which shows how many were kept and with what copiousness. The oldest and most reliable are no doubt those in the books of Leinster, Ballymote, and Lecain, while the fullest and most perfect is the great "Book of Genealogies," compiled 1650–1666, by the aged Dudley MacFirbis, already mentioned, out of the aforesaid books, and, where they ended, out of local records, private documents, and state papers of the period between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. It would make 1300 quarto printed pages, and is perhaps the greatest single genealogical compilation known—done for love of God and country by an old archæologist, defenceless and outlawed, who never made a penny by this most arduous work, which is yet unpublished.[1]

The work of MacFirbis contains some odd criteria by which to distinguish the descendants of Milesius, the de Dannans, and the Firbolgs:

"Every one who is white of skin, brown of hair, bold, honorable, daring, prosperous, bountiful in the bestowal of property, wealth, and rings, and who is not afraid of battle or combat—they are the descendants of the sons of Milesius in Erin.

"Every one who is fair-haired, large; and every plunderer,

[1] "The autograph of this great compilation is now in possession of the Earl of Roden, and a fac-simile copy of it was made by me for the Royal Irish Academy in the year 1836. The title runs as follows: The Branches of Relationship and the Genealogical Ramifications of every colony that took possession of Erin from this time up to Adam (excepting only those of the Fomarians, Lochlanns and Saxon Galls, of whom we, however, treat, as they have settled in our country); together with a Sanctilogium and a Catalogue of the Monarchs of Erinn; and, finally, an Index, which comprises, in alphabetical order, the surnames and the remarkable places mentioned in the book, which was compiled by Dubbaltach Mac Firbhisigh of Lecain, 1650. Although the above is the customary way of giving titles to books at the present time, we will not depart from the following of our ancestors, the ancient summary custom, because it is the plainest, thus: "The place, time, author and cause of writing this book are—the place, the College of St. Nicholas, in Galway; the time, the time of the religious war between the Catholics of Ireland and the heretics of Ireland, Scotland and England, particularly the year 1650; the person or author, Dubballach, the son of Gilla Isa Môr Mac Ferbhisigh, historian, etc., of Lecain MacFerbis, *i.e.*, Fereragh, on the Moy; and the cause of writing the book is, to increase the glory of God and for the information of the people in general."—O'CURRY, *Lectures, etc.*, p. 121.

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every musical person, the professors of musical and entertaining performances, who are adepts in all druidical and magical arts—they are the descendants of the Tuatha de Dannans in Erin.

"Every one who is black-haired; who is a tattler, guileful, tale-telling, noisy, contemptible; every wretched, mean, strolling, unsteady, harsh, and inhospitable person; every slave, every mean thief, every churl, every one who loves not to listen to music and entertainment, the disturbers of every council and assembly, and the promoters of discord among the people—these are the descendants of the Firbolgs," etc.

The following very ancient character-sketch of mediæval nations is from an old poem copied by MacFirbis into his work:

"For building the noble Jews are famed,
And for truly fierce envy;
For size the guileless Armenians;
And for firmness the Saracens;
For acuteness and valor the Greeks;
For excessive pride the Romans;
For dullness the creeping Saxons;
For haughtiness the Spaniards;
For covetousness and revenge the French;
And for anger the Britons.
Such is the true knowledge of the trees (books),
For gluttony the Danes and for commerce;
For high spirit the Picts are not unknown;
And for beauty and amorousness the Gaedhels."

III. *The Historic Tales.*—The historical books which we have hitherto been considering are lengthy general accounts of matters concerning the whole nation, or at least the chief provinces, tribes and families. But the ancient Irish literature is prolific in particular histories, accounts of special events, battles, personal adventure and the like. No nation in Europe possesses such a varied series of personal adventures in the same period. What the Italian literature of the early Renaissance was to Europe in this respect, such was the splendid collection of Irish historic tales to mediæval Europe. We must note here that the introduction of fairies and the highly-colored poetical machinery which appear in these ancient tales no more affect their general historic value than the multitudinous miracles and monstrous stories of the mediæval chronicles deprive the latter of their proper credit. In both cases the writer or compiler yielded to current beliefs and prejudices. In both cases future generations of scribes or copyists embellished what was originally a plain unvarnished tale. The historic tales of Ireland may be divided into two classes, the more or less strictly historical and those tales in which there is a solid kernel of history, but which has been so overlaid with legend, so cobwebbed with the pretty

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fancies of an imaginative, ardent, poetic race, that *now* the real history is the picture they give us of the customs, manners, habits, dress, tendencies, old sites and monuments, yearnings and ideals of a generous but solitary people, dwelling in quasi-nomadic simplicity on the loveliest of islands, amid all the beauties of nature, and for whom the forest and the stream, the lofty mountain and the vast surrounding seas were eloquent with a thousand tongues whose mystic speech our gross, complicated, material world is unable to decipher. Just so you meet in the heart of some rich tropical forest a splendid tree overgrown with pretty mosses, and robed in daintiest streamers and filaments that hide at once and devour the rugged and unsuspecting heart of oak which shelters and protects them. These stories were told and retold by the strolling bard and the aristocratic harper. They charmed the leisures of the tribesmen as they wandered with their flocks over the vast commons, and they wiled away the night-watches of the long-haired kerns and gallow-glasses as they reposed in their saffron tunics on their heavy battle-axes around the camp-fires. They were the charming primers, the catechisms of Irish history, such as the demotic mind constructed them, the secret channels through which the mediæval Irish imbibed fresh devotion to the soil of their birth. They were the impregnable spiritual castles and fastnesses out of which the ærial Keltic soul could never be driven. And they must be treated with reverence, for they contain much of what is sweetest and most durable in the Keltic nature—its irrepressible holy ardor for higher and more distant things; that Excelsior note of a race ever dissatisfied with stagnant actuality; its unconquerable thirst for wandering and adventure; its mystic insight into spiritual things; its quick, accurate sympathy with Nature in her thousand moods of gloom and gladness; its enchanting waywardness—a creature of tears and smiles all made up, alternately laughing like a fresh spring day, and again bursting out into all the ungovernable fury of an autumn storm.

Of the first class of these old historic tales I will only cite the Origin of the Borromean Tribute, in the Book of Leinster, the Wars of the Gaels with the Galls, the Wars of Thomond, and the Wars of Munster. These are local histories, as valuable as, if not more so than, the continental histories of abbeys, cathedrals, cities, and the like; contemporary, picturesque, filled with valuable genealogies and pedigrees which were to the tribal Kelt what the imperial charters and the papal letters were to the Teuton and Romance peoples, the public titles to property and office

The second class of Irish tales is much more numerous. The Book of Leinster enumerates one hundred and eighty-seven,

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divided into classes, the "prime stories" as it calls them: Destructions, Battles, Cow-Spoils, Courtships, Navigations, Tragedies, Deaths, Expeditions Abroad, Elopements, Conflagrations, Irruptions of Lakes, Visions, Love Tales, Navigations, Colonizations, etc. These are only some fragments of the old historico-romantic literature of the Kelt, for every ollave or chief bard had to know seven times fifty such stories, and to recite them at command. The number of these tales recognized and in existence is considerable. They would fill over 4000 quarto printed pages. In them Ancient Ireland lives again. Take the Battle of Moytura (Cong in Mayo) between the Tuatha de Dannans and the Firbolgs. Legendary as it is, and irreducible in the retort of our criticism, what charm, what eternal truth in the chivalrous challenges, the passion of battle, the personal vanity, the quick dissatisfaction, the eternal cycle of revolution! The chiefs turn on the Regent King Breas, because, as the old chronicler says, "*the knives of his people were not greased at his table, nor did their breath smell of ale at the banquet.* Neither their poets, nor their bards, nor their satirists, nor their pipers, nor their trumpeters, nor their jugglers, nor their buffoons, were ever seen engaged in amusing them at the assemblies of his court." That is surely a true picture of the jealous illegitimate regent, and the fickle, gifted, light hearted people, who spent their days in war and the chase, and their nights in revelry and song. So too, the enumeration of the helpers whom King Nuada of the Silver Hand called to his aid,—the smiths, the silver and brass workers, the carpenters, surgeons, sorcerers, druids, poets, witches, etc., and the services they are ready to render. There lives again, in these semi-historic tales, a people of barbaric simplicity and grandeur.

> "Immortal beings visibly commingling as of old
> In mortal struggles. Here at length I find my youthful dream
> Made real. Here the mighty deeds of antique heroes
> No longer all inimitable. Here Hercul's self might own
> Fit labour for another Toil, nor ask the task alone.
> Wherefore with awful joy elate I stand, and bid thee hail
> Last hero-stage of all the world, illustrious Innisfail!
> Land of the lingering Gods! green land! still sparkling fresh and fair
> With morning-dew of heroism, dried up and gone elsewhere."
>
> *Ferguson's Congal, Bk. V.*

These are the Homeric days of the Gael, and these recitals have just that historic truth which is inherent in every epic, above all in its original materials, for the Keltic literature never got as far as the full-blown epic, in which systematic, though perhaps unconscious, falsification is carried on. The Kelts have furnished the literature of the world rather with a multitude of epic-esque

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stories and tales, the rich quarryings of a poetic, mystic, deep-sentient nature, intensely alive to every harmony of sound and color; animal indeed, but not grossly so; with an eye upturned to the region of the spiritual, and a soul tugging tightly to get free from the tyranny of the present and the routine, to soar away into the dim blissful world with whose sweet odors it was drenched, even within the prison of the body. It would be too long to describe here, even in faintest outline, the rich fund of manners, beliefs, social and domestic customs, which lies embedded in the semi-historic tales of Slaughters, Sieges, Famous Deaths, Loves, Courtships and Elopements, Personal Adventures by land and sea, in caves and in desert islands, Migrations, Colonizations, Inundations, Visions and the like, which make up the bulk of the historico-romantic Keltic literature. The whole world was before the mediæval Keltic bard whence to choose, and right royally did he lay it under tribute. The "Arabian Nights" are wearisome gabble compared with the inventiveness, the playful wit, the rich descriptions, the fine, droll, arch humor that bring these princes of story-tellers before us each with his little hand-harp or *crotta*, his tall head-gear, his short yellow or green tunic, braided with purple or gold embroidered, his scarlet cloak flung back from the broad white throat, and held by a golden fibula or brooch, while the fair curling locks, the blue restless eye, and the high forehead denoted the pride of the harper's blood and the dreamy ardor of his soul. No common men were they, for the literary order was always peer to the highest in ancient Erin, and the hand that protected the tribal borders was frequently that which struck the harp with the lightest and fairiest touch, wrote the loveliest page, and threaded with nerviest stroke and surest eye the tangled, mystic mazes of some splendid initial.

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THE LATEST PHASES OF PANTHEISTIC EVOLUTION.

KNOWING to what extent the views of men are apt to disagree, we cannot expect that the general idea of evolution will be developed by any two leading minds along the same line of thought. We can anticipate it the less, the more intricate the idea is in itself, and the more difficult a problem cosmic unity presents which it has been adopted to explain. In fact, as the chaos, bearing adverse elements in its womb, has brought forth a world of strife, so has evolution in its further development branched off into numberless theories no less in conflict with one another than the hostile powers of nature.

The first cause of disagreement among evolutionary philosophers arose from their antagonistic views on teleology. Whilst some of them recognize design in the unity and order of the universe, and think it necessary to trace them back to an intelligent cause, others persistently deny purpose in nature, and refuse to go beyond material forces in accounting for the beauty and harmony of the world. Thus, evolutionists are divided into two opposite schools; the one, materialistic, because it derives all being from matter, the other pantheistic, because it regards the divine spirit as the immanent ground of all existence. A third school has risen to mediate between the two preceding. Admitting the fundamental tenets of both, conceding purpose in nature, but denying the spirituality of the first cause, it undertakes to eliminate the opposition between them by endowing matter with cognitional power. Nor are the defenders of pantheistic evolution of one mind in explaining the process by which the divine spirit develops itself through continuous differentiation into the visible world. Some conceive it as constantly progressing from indeterminateness to determinateness in its manifestations, though infinnitely perfect in itself; others hold that, indeterminate in its nature, it evolves successively into every form of existence by a never-ceasing process of thought. Thus, we meet with a two-fold pantheism; the one, realistic, admitting a real ground of existence, the other, idealistic, taking thought for the ultimate self-evolving principle.

In the present essay we shall give an exposition only of realistic pantheism. Let it not be said, that this is an antiquated theory. Old though it may be, it is not out of date even in our days of enlightenment. We meet with it at the threshold of the

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history of civilization. According to the Vedantic philosophy of the Hindus, Brahma is the infinite, the universe his manifold transformations produced by his own activity. He alone has being, and, as the one without another, is the unity of all that is. The multitudinous objects of this world, as distinct from him and from one another, have no existence, but are merely appearances. The human soul alone forms an exception, because it is not a transformation but a part of Brahma, a spark shot forth from his spirit. The Eleatic school of ancient Greece epitomized its doctrine in the saying, that All is One and One is All. It considered being as absolutely one, eternal, simple, unchangeable, intelligent, and regarded the world, consisting of the multitude of changeable things, as unreal and merely apparent.

A new and ingenious system of pantheistic monism was devised by the Neoplatonists of Alexandria. According to Plotinus, the most prominent philosopher of that school, the primal One, or the primal Good, is absolute unity, simplicity, and infinity, yet is, in itself, devoid of definite form. From its transcendent perfection emanates the image of the One, a second divinity diffused around the first like an ocean of light. In itself the image is essential being, but it turns to the One from which it draws its origin, and in this act attains knowledge, that is, it becomes the Mind (νοῦς). Becoming self-conscious, it brings about the first of all differentiations, the ideal distinction between the subject knowing and the object known. From the mind emanates the world-soul, the supreme and universal soul, which contains all individual souls, undivided and undistinguished. The world-soul is the image of the mind, as the mind is the image of the One. And as the mind, produced by the One gives issue to the world-soul, so again, the world-soul brings forth the individual souls. These, constantly emanating from the universal source, constitute the life, beauty, and order of the universe. Matter is the last effluence. It is the precipitate, the dregs of the whole process of emanation; it is the ultimate enervation, the extinction of the ideal, the shadow, as it were, which the light of higher emanations flings back to its uttermost boundary. In a word, it is no longer a reality, but only in appearance.

The Ionic philosophers, the first among the Greeks who devoted themselves to deeper inquiry into nature, did not deny the reality and existence of matter, but, on the contrary, recognized it alone as being. To account for the origin of material things, as well as for the order and beauty resplendent in them, they thought it necessary to hold that the universe was animated by one universal soul, one divine, all-pervading power. In a much later period, the Stoics entertained the same view. They, too, admitted a divine

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principle immanent in the world, giving it life and energy. God was conceived by them as the world-soul, as the great universal Reason, dwelling in the universe as in His body, shaping and developing it as His organism, acting through its realms and provinces as with His limbs and members. Still, neither the early Ionics nor the Stoics distinguished God from matter. They identified Him with the primary constituents of material beings, with water, or ether, or fire, which they supposed to be endowed with reason. By condensation of the finer or divine elements, bodies were formed, fallen, indeed, below the divinity, but still permeated by divine power; by rarefaction of their gross material they return to God and are again resolved into His substance.

Thus, every shade and species of pantheism was embraced in the highest antiquity: theological pantheism, which knows only divine being, and regards the universe as an affection, a transformation, or a manifestation of God; cosmological pantheism, which raises the material world to identity with the divine substance; emanative pantheism, which takes finite being, and foremost the human soul, for an effluence from the Deity. Nor did this doctrine, identifying the infinite and the finite, God and the world, entirely disappear in succeeding ages. It always found some support, even after Christianity had enlightened mankind. It was resuscitated by Giordano Bruno and Baruch Spinoza at the very dawning of modern philosophy, and has ever since won new favor. In our own days, it seems to have reached its highest ascendency. Could it happen otherwise? When the personal Deity is disavowed as an obstacle to cosmic unity, when all phenomena and forms of existence are attributed to one universal self-evolving principle, when advanced culture, abhorring the exclusive reign of mechanical laws, demands intelligence as the cause of the order and beauty adorning this universe, and as the source of reason manifested by man, then, indeed, it becomes a logical necessity to hold that God, the infinite spirit, is all in all, not by creation, but by identity—the ground, the substance, the life, and energy of everything that exists.

Pantheism was taught in Germany during the first half of this century in the lecture-halls of most universities and was widely spread among the educated class by learned publications. Though at present strongly counteracted by materialistic tendencies, it still finds many prominent advocates. H. Lotze's metaphysical views, plainly pantheistic in their final result, are nowadays spoken of in the highest terms of praise. He assumes that no other than animated or spiritual existence is possible and maintains that the entire world is a harmonious system of spiritual monads acting on one another; he holds that mutual influence is possible only

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among agents united in their being and thus regards the oneness of all monads on a real ground as the necessary condition for harmonious interaction. Such a ground, in his opinion, is God's infinite substance. In it all things are substantially one. Proceeding from it, they are all co-essential with it, and each of them exists only because it has its place in the import of an idea expressing some phase of God, the idea being the very essence of the thing.

The pantheistic tendency of I. Fechner is still more striking. After having attempted to prove that being is nothing but appearance in consciousness, he divides all appearances into two classes, the inward and the outward. To the former belong all the phenomena which are apprehended by self, to the latter those which are apprehended by others. The totality of the first class he calls soul, that of the second he designates body. Hence he infers that there is no real distinction between soul and body. They are but two modes of appearance of the same real subject and have the same being in common, which is nothing else than their mutual dependence. As the distinction between soul and body is thus denied, it is easily understood that conscious life must be universal. All things are alive, not only man and brute and plants, but also inorganic bodies. The earth is living; for it is one perfect, self-evolving whole. Nay, the entire universe is one great living being. Its soul is God. He is, however, not distinct from the universe, as, according to Fechner's principles, no soul is distinct from the body. He is God and the world at once; God, inasmuch as He appears inwardly, the world inasmuch as He appears outwardly. To Himself He is only God, because His entirety appears to Himself; to the finite things, to which he appears only outwardly, He is the world. Thus identified with the world, He is not distinct from finite beings; as objects of His own consciousness, they are within Him. Nor is He distinct from the changeable; on the contrary, particular appearances are always changing, always ebbing and flowing in His consciousness. Nevertheless He is infinite, because He is the totality of all that is; He is unchangeable, because He is the oneness of all appearances and the permanent law of all changes. Consequently, as life is common to all things, the universe is a system of units of consciousness, all co-ordinate to one another and subordinate to one supreme or divine consciousness, which is the bond of unity not only by comprising and containing them, but also by apprehending their oneness.

H. Lotze and I. Fechner have been singled out from the German philosophers, because their intellectual influence can be traced in the English-speaking world. Here pantheism was welcomed as a fit reaction against the destructive tendency of materialism. The

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mechanical view, prevalent since the last century in the interpretation of the universe, had been embodied in the new theory of evolution. The devisers of the latter, of whom nearly all deny teleology, disdain to acknowledge any other than material laws. They base everything on matter—the formation of bodies, their reduction to a well-concerted system, the rise and growth of life, the development of intellect and will, the existence and the welfare of human society. Noble and far-sighted minds recoiled from the inconsistencies, or at least, from the consequences attending a theory of this kind. So it came to pass that a supreme intelligent being, immanent in the world, pervading it with vital force, perfecting and developing it as moments of the divine life or as parts of the divine substance, was hailed by many as the saviour of beauty, order, and civilization, as the mediator between elevated morality and advanced science. The forms of pantheism to which preference was given were chiefly two. Either God was conceived as the world-soul, or the world was regarded as an emanation from the infinite substance.

First we meet with thinkers who reduce all forces that are active in the universe to one, and identify this one with the power of the divine will. A. R. Wallace, finding it impossible fully to interpret the universe, and human nature especially, by the laws of inert matter, resorts to the following speculation:

"If we have traced one force, however minute, to an origin in our own *will* while we have no knowledge of any other primary force, it does not seem an improbable conclusion that all force may be will-force, and thus the whole universe is not only dependent on, but actually is the will of higher intelligences, or of a supreme intelligence."[1]

After a few sentences he adds:

"The view we have now arrived at seems to me more grand and sublime, as well as far simpler, than any other. It exhibits the universe as a universe of intelligence and will-power, and by enabling us to rid ourselves of the impossibility of thinking of the mind but as connected with matter, it opens up infinite possibilities of existence, connected with infinitely varied manifestations of force, totally distinct forms, yet as real as what we term matter."[2]

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[1] *Contributions to Natural Selection*, p. 368.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 369. It is astonishing that a thinker like the Duke of Argyll leans to the same view. "It may be," he says, "that all natural forces are resolvable into some one force; and indeed in the modern doctrine of the Correlation of Forces, an idea which is a near approach to this, has already entered the domain of science. It may also be that this one force, into which all others return again, is itself but a mode of action of the divine will. But we have no instruments whereby to reach this last analysis.—*The Reign of Law*, p. 127. See also p. 275.

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A. Winchell, in his refutation of Darwinism, advances the same idea, yet with far greater assurance. He affirms:

"We are driven by the necessary laws of thought to pronounce those energies styled gravitation, heat, chemical affinity and their correlates, nothing less than the energies of intelligent will. But as it is not the human will that energizes in the whirlwind and the comet, it must be the divine will. It is God's present power and volition which draws the apple to the ground and balances the planet in its orbit. Science has long tended to the synthesis of the forces which it recognizes in matter, and all have been pronounced but forms of a single force. It only remained for her to discover the nature of that one protean, panegyric energy, and the suggestion has come from the ranks of science itself that this is simply the divine intelligent will."[1]

A full theory of the divine world-soul has been set forth by R. W. Emerson. True, this renowned author is more poet than philosopher. But few have been more influential than he in shaping American thought. It is also true that his writings were published years before the evolutionary views of Darwin gained prominence. Still he broaches a system of evolution based on pantheistical principles. His leading tenets may be reduced to the following seven propositions:

The ultimate truth in which all human knowledge is summed up, is that all being must be resolved into God.

"This is the ultimate fact . . . . the resolution of all into the ever-blessed One."[2]

There is one mind in all men called the universal and supreme mind, or the over-soul.

"There is one mind common to all individual men."

"Who has access to this universal mind is a party to all that is or can be done, for this is the only sovereign agent. Of the work of this mind, history is the record."[3]

"The weakness of the intellect begins when it would be something of itself. The weakness of the will begins when the individual would be something of himself. All reform aims in some one particular to let the great soul have its way through us; in other words, to engage us to obey."[4]

This one supreme and universal mind is God Himself. Hence man is an organ, an incarnation of the divine spirit, a divinity in disguise, God in nature.

"From within or from behind a light shines through us upon

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[1] *The Doctrine of Evolution* (New York, 1874), p. 109.
[2] *Essays* (New York, 1884), p. 65.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 241.

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things and makes us aware that we are nothing, but the light is all. A man is the façade of a temple wherein all wisdom and all good abide. What we commonly call man, the eating, drinking, counting man, does not, as we know him, represent himself, but misrepresents himself. Him we do not respect, but the soul whose organ he is, would he let it appear through his action, would make our knees bend."[1]

"One mode of the divine teaching is the incarnation of the divine spirit in a form—in forms like my own."[2]

"Every man is a divinity in disguise."[3]

"I am God in nature."[4]

Even the material universe is alive and is animated by the same soul as man.

"Thus the universe is alive. All things are moral. The soul which within us is a sentiment, outside of us is a law. We feel its inspirations; out there in history we can see its fatal strength. It is almighty. All nature feels its grasp. It is in the world and the world is by it."[5]

"Let it suffice that in the light of these two facts that the mind is one, and that nature is its correlative, history is to be read and written."[6]

It is consequently also the divine spirit that pervades and quickens nature.

"Beautifully shines a spirit through the bruteness and toughness of matter. Alone omnipotent, it converts all things to its own end. The adamant streams into softest, but precise form before it, but whilst I look at it, its outline and texture are changed altogether."[7]

Nature, therefore, the rational beings included, is the shadow, the appearance, the word, the generation of God, His enacting Himself in space and time, the rapid efflux of His goodness executing and organizing itself.

"We learn that God is; that He is in me; and that all things are shadows of Him."[8]

"The true doctrine of omnipresence is that God reappears with all His parts in every moss and cobweb."[9]

"The manifold tenacious qualities, this chemistry and vegetation, these metals and animals, which seem to stand there for their own sake, are means and methods only, are words of God, and as fugitive as other words."[10]

"Omnipresence is a higher fact. . . . . These things proceed

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 240. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 247. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 31.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 272. [5] *Ibid*, p. 93. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 37.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 16. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 274. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 92. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 278.

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from the eternal generation of the soul. Cause and effect are two sides of one fact."[1]

"It (*the universal soul*) is eternal, but it enacts itself in time and space."[2]

"The idealism of Berkeley is only a crude statement of the idealism of Jesus, and that again is a crude statement of the fact that all nature is the rapid efflux of goodness executing and organizing itself."[3]

There is, however, in nature not the fulness of the divine being, but a steady progression to ever greater perfection, the higher forms of existence growing out of the lower; in other words, an orderly evolution which is God's eternal generation of life ever more perfect.

"In man we still trace rudiments or hints of all we esteem badges of servitude in lower races; yet in him they enhance his nobleness and grace; as Io, in Æschylus, transformed to a cow, offends the imagination, but how changed when, as Isis in Egypt, she meets Jove, a beautiful woman with nothing of the metamorphosis left but the lunar horns as a splendid ornament of her brows!"[4]

"The natural world may be conceived of as a system of concentric circles, and we now and then detect in nature slight dislocations, which apprise us that this surface on which we stand is not fixed, but sliding."[5]

"The same law of eternal procession ranges all that we call virtues, and extinguishes each in the light of a better."[6]

"This incessant movement and progression of which all things partake could never become sensible to us but by a contrast to some principle of fixture or stability in the soul. Whilst the eternal generation of circles proceeds, the eternal generator abides. The central life is somewhat superior to creation, superior to knowledge and thought, and contains all its circles. Forever it labors to create a life and thought as large and excellent as itself, but in vain; for that which is made instructs how to make a better."

There is nothing wanting in R. W. Emerson's speculation to make it both pantheistic and evolutionary. It is truly pantheistic. For, according to it, God is all in all; He is the soul that animates all nature, the mind that thinks in all men, the power that works all phenomena; and conversely the universe is merely the form under which He appears, the organism in which He actualizes His goodness. It is also evolutionary. For God is not perfect from the beginning or from eternity, but developing this visible universe

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 279. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 93. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 274.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 16. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 278. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 279. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 282.

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from Himself grows in life, beauty, and greatness by consecutive degrees.

All the charms which poetry could lend have been lavishly poured on this pantheistic-evolutionary theory to make it pleasing and to captivate the minds of men.

It would seem as if R. W. Emerson's tenets were re-echoed, in part at least, by an American writer of our own days. Mr. J. T. Bixby, who so ably refuted Herbert Spencer's moral doctrine by setting forth its destructive tendencies, endeavors to reconstruct an elevated morality by the assumption that God animates the entire universe as his own organism and evolves it from lower to ever higher degrees of being, until he attains to consciousness in man. Two quotations from "The Crisis in Morals" will suffice to substantiate our assertion:

"The infinite world-organism is the body and manifestation of God; the laws of that whole are the eternal laws of God. And when we recognize the solidarity of our vital being with this divine life and embodiment, we begin to see into the heart of the mystery, the unquestionable authority and supreme sanction of duty. Our moral intuitions are simply the unchanging laws of the universe that have emerged to consciousness in the human heart. Under the reiterated impressions of the world-life in which we are environed, and with the clarified vision of truth that is given where the impartial mind begins to look out on the world, the inherent principles of the universal reason reflect themselves in the mirror of the moral nature."[1]

"We may look upon the moral laws as the vital reactions of the plastic organization of humanity to the constantly repeated impressions of the righteous cosmic life in which man is environed, emerging at length in human consciousness in the forms of intuitions of duty and the rightful supremacy of the higher motives over the lower; and the enlightened conscience we may regard as the expression in the human soul of the divine consciousness. . . . . Morality is the victory of the divine life in us—the inward sovereign spirit of the universe that has ever moved onward from chaos to cosmos, from lifelessness to life, from the outward to the inward. The objective foundation of ethics is in that unity of all which secures the unchanging orderliness of events and which binds all the parts of the universe and the members of its great household into one interdependent whole."[2]

A. R. Wallace and A. Winchell, as well as R. W. Emerson and J. T. Bixby, regard God as the soul, the mind, the reason of the universe; but not one of them searches into the manner in which

[1] *The Crisis in Morals*, pp. 285, 286.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 310, 311.

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he works in it and brings forth its divine forms, developing one from the other in perfect order. This is a deeper and more difficult question, the solution of which, however, has not been left unattempted by other pantheistic philosophers and, least of all, by those who came under the influence of German thought. Of these we must first mention Dr. James Martineau.

He conceives of God as the universal will-power immanent in the world. For, in his opinion, all power must be resolved into one, and all power is will-power.[1] Accordingly, there exists one universal will to which all operations and all effects must be attributed. This being no other than the divine will, God must be considered as embodied in the universe, and *vice versa* the universe must be regarded as a system animated with divine consciousness as its moulding life.[2]

After the divine, all-pervading power has been defined as rational will, its activity in the world must be interpreted conformably to our experience of intellectual volition. The course of the will is ever from the indeterminate to the determinate, the passage being made by rational preference among possibilities. The process involves thought and action, yet both of quite different attributes. Thought has its intensity at the outset, action in the sequel. For the mind exercises its highest functions in origination, in disposing of new conditions, in setting order by differentiation; the will exerts its power chiefly by carrying into being the schemes intellectually conceived. Action, having grown intense, works itself into automatic, into an ordered mechanism, and, when this has been formed, a lower consciousness, should any be required, is sufficient for its continuance. But when action has become habitual and is executed automatically, thought, whose life is beyond the conquered and legislated realm, is liberated, as it were, from its reclaimed and settled province, and breaks into new regions and ascends to higher problems.[3] Such, therefore, must the process be according to which the divine will gradually works in the universe, and of such it is understood to be, the nature and origin of matter are accounted for, and the pursuit of ever higher ends is reconciled with rigid mechanism.

"Does anybody forbid us to conceive similarity of the kosmical development—that it started from the freedom of indefinite possibilities and the ubiquity of universal consciousness, that as intellectual exclusions narrowed the field, and traced the definite lines of admitted movement, the tension of purpose, less needed

[1] *Modern Materialism in Its Relation to Religion and Theology* (New York, 1877), pp. 163, 170, 176.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 189.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

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on those, left them as habits of the universe, and operated rather for higher and ever higher ends not yet provided for; that the more mechanical, therefore, a natural law may be, the further it is from its source, and that the inorganic and unconscious portion of the world, instead of being the potentiality of the organic and conscious, is rather its residual precipitate, formed as the indwelling Mind of all concentrates an intenser aim on the upper margin of the ordered whole, and especially on the inner life of natures that can resemble him? I am aware that this speculation inverts the order of the received cosmogonies. But in advancing it I only follow in the track of a veteran physiologist and philosopher, whose command of all the materials of judgment is beyond question—the author of "Psychophysik." Fechner insists that protoplasm and zoophyte structure, instead of being the inchoate matter of organization, is the cast-off residuum of all previous differentiation, stopping short of the separation of animal from plant, and of sex from sex, and no more capable of further development than is inorganic matter, without power beyond its own, of producing organization."[1]

Still further explanations have been advanced in a recently published volume by J. G. Schurman, Professor of Philosophy in Cornell University.[2] He defends a complete system of pantheism, which embodies the views of many English and German philosophers, those especially of Dr. Martineau and H. Lotze. The following may be considered as an outline of it.

As creation is absurd and intrinsically impossible,[3] God must be regarded as the immanent ground of the universe, the intramundane cause of the uncreated world, its very self and substance, the vivifying and all-ordering principle of the cosmos, the universal life and all-animating power.[4] Yet, though thus immanent in the world and identical with it, he is not in any way material; he is absolute spiritual life, he is a spirit, the infinite spirit, the father of spirits.[5]

The world, on the other hand, is the eternal manifestation of God, His spoken word, the expression of His ever-active, inexhaustible will, a phase, a function of the divine life, the externalization of spirit, a tissue which the spirit is ever weaving.[6]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 177-179.

[2] *Belief in God, Its Origin, Nature and Basis*, being the Winkley Lectures of the Andover Theological Seminary for the year 1890.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 139. 142, 149, 152.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 156, 160, 161, 169.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 217-223. Spirit is defined by Prof. Schurman as a subject which is conscious of its states, and opposes itself to them as the permanent unity that has them.—Page 168.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 173, 174, 218.

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The causes which we perceive as active in the universe, are centres of energy through which one supernatural will pours forth his all-animating life and power.[1] They are not and cannot be distinct either from God or from one another, because such a distinction would render causality impossible. Nor have they distinct activities of their own; their action is that of God.

"Manifestly the desideratum of thought is that causality shall be construed as the immanent operation of one single and real being as infinite as the universe whose processes we apprehend through the notion of causal efficiency. The unity of being is involved in the notion of reciprocal action between individuals."[2]

To designate in a word the relationship in which the world stands to God, "the reality of finite beings is but a mode of divine activity,"[3] or they are but states of the one absolute being, for which, through which, and by means of which, and above all for the sake of which, they exist, act, and cease to exist.[4]

Nevertheless there is a distinction between the finite spirit and matter, between spiritual and material beings. The latter are "*mere* states of the absolute reality," the former are "also self-conscious subjects which in a measure lift themselves above and outside the universal basis of existence."[5] The finite spirit, so far as its essential ground is concerned is identical with the infinite spirit in whose life it is included and of whose divine activity it is a mode, but it is moreover a part of the divine essence, a part which, having existence for itself and being self-conscious, has an activity of its own, though dependent on God. Material things on the contrary, are only modes of the divine activity, only an efflux of the divine energy, and have, apart from God, no energy whatever.[6]

"Material things exist simply as modes of the divine activity; they have no existence for themselves. Spiritual things, on the other hand, exist at once in God and for themselves. They are in God; for as God is the underlying ground of all things, so philosophy must confess with Scripture that in him we too live and move and have our being. But the characteristic of spiritual beings is, that, like their divine source, they are also for themselves. That is to say, they know themselves as one amid a multiplicity of states which they recognize as their own, and they know themselves as freely initiating action on a scene where all other actions are the determined issues of antecedent conditions."[7]

The universe being uncreated, is eternal and infinite. It is the revelation of God's whole being and must be considered as "the

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 173. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 165. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 208. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 168.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 168. [6] *Ibid.*, pp. 225–229. [7] *Ibid.*, pp. 225, 226.

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organic expression, and the only real expression of the life of an eternal and infinite spirit."

"What God did He was always doing; and the universe is the eternal manifestation of his activity. If you call it a creation, it is a continuous creation." . . . . "Furthermore, that the external manifestation is as boundless as the life it expresses, science makes exceedingly probable. In any event, we have not the slightest reason to contrast the finitude of the world with the infinitude of God." . . . . "As the universe at every moment of its existence, expresses at least a phase of the divine life, its so-called imperfection resolves itself into a momentary aspect, a part of a perfect whole. At no moment does it reveal the absolute fulness of the divine life; but at no moment is it anything else than a function of that divine life." . . . . "I cannot even agree with those who think that the theist is concerned to maintain the actuality of a divine life or agency beyond the natural order of things and prior to it. For if the natural order is eternal and infinite, as there seems no reason to doubt, it will be difficult to find a meaning for 'beyond' and 'prior.' Of this illimitable, ever-existing universe God is the inner ground and substance."[1]

"It is equally conceivable that God has revealed His whole being, though man has yet read but part of the revelation. And in any case, we may be sure that the revelation, whether total or partial, is a true expression of the divine nature. Hence we cannot follow Dr. Martineau in treating the cosmos which has come into being as but a sample of an unknown number that might have been."

"The divine will can express itself only as it does, because no other expression would reveal what it is. Of such a will the eternal universe is the eternal realization." "The world is not one of the countless possible machines, as the mathematico-mechanical genius of the eighteenth century conceived it, but the organic expression, and the only real expression, of the life of an eternal and infinite spirit. To imagine its place taken by another world is to imagine God other than He is. The possibility of a multitude of worlds is like the possibility of a multitude of gods."[2]

Being infinite, the universe includes various grades of being. "It is false if it means that all spiritual and material beings, because all included in the one absolute life, are all on the same plane of reality or unreality. The one kind has risen to a consciousness of self and of freedom; the other has not. And whether they be in or out of the divine being, the difference between self and selfless stuff is the greatest we know or can imagine. Nor is there any reason why God should not manifest himself in and through degrees of reality, varying from zero to infinity."[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 172-174. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 175-178. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 227.

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"We are forced to see in nature a spiritual ground which, with an absolute self-consciousness of its own, may yet be said to sleep in the stone, dream in the animal, and again wake to life in man."[1]

Nor is evolution, the succession of changes, to be denied; rather it is to be affirmed as the self-deposited order of the divine ideas.

"To the modern scientist as to the Greek cosmologist, the universe is eternal, but subject eternally to evolutions and dissolutions."[2]

"When we say that anything develops, we mean that it undergoes changes which occur in a determinate manner and lead towards a definite end. . . . . As causation proved to be immanent changes, self-determined and compensating, in the life of the absolute spirit, so in a last analysis evolution signifies besides such causation the self-deposited order of divine ideas in accordance with which these changes actually occur."[3]

Hence the evolutionary theories of Darwin and others are not so much false as incomplete; they need only a deeper ground to rest upon.[4]

Of all the philosophical systems thus far spoken of that of Prof. Schurman undoubtedly is the most comprehensive. It clearly sets forth the pantheistic conception of God and of the universe, it marks out their relative position, as well as that of spirit and matter, it traces order back to its ultimate cause, the ideas of the Divine Mind, and establishes the origin of the never-ceasing course of cosmic evolution. Blending English and German thought, it concentrates the whole modern speculation on the divine world-soul.

After having set before the reader a doctrine so well elaborated, we may consider this subject as sufficiently expounded, and pass over to emanative pantheism.

According to the tenets of this theory the things which make up the visible universe are particles separated from God. Like streams ever flowing and moving on they issue from his substance. They have the same essence as God himself, but weakened and diluted in proportion as they recede from their eternal source. From this point of view emanation might seem to be a gradual process from the perfect to the imperfect, from the infinite to the finite, the very reverse of evolution. Still it is regarded as a progress to ever greater perfection. For it is by emitting from Himself numberless forms of existence, physical, cosmical, and vital, that God develops, grows and attains to the fulness of life, and it is by emitting them in succession, the one dependent on the other, that he develops gradually and in well-ordered progression. For

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 207.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 152.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 205, 206.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp., 208, 209, 242.

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this reason the modern advocates of emanation look on it as a special evolution of the self-existent cause immanent in the world. God, the fountain-head of all emanation, is conceived as the infinite spirit. Matter is an effluence from Him. It is described as the self-evolved fringings of the divine eternal substance, as the visible manifestation of an invisible, incomprehensible and otherwise unknowable spirit, the outer self-unfolded, effluent, eternal robes of His infinite, omnipotent, omniscient, and unconditioned personality.

But matter is not, as was thought heretofore, the substratum of energy and prior to it; on the contrary, it is posterior to force, its simple and necessary phenomenon. Matter is the limit of all emanation. Nor is force a quality inherent in a material subject. Immediately emanating from God, it is a spiritual and increatable substance. It is the omnipresent energy of God, the divine intelligent will. The laws according to which it works are the stated or ordinary method in which God chooses to operate in nature. By its unvarying uniformity this method creates in us the impression as if force had its separate existence and its own independent laws.[1]

The forces which are active in the universe are identical with life; for all forces are convertible into one, and this one is ultimately the energy of the divine will. Life is an effluence from God.

"It is a drop from the fountain of His own being, possessing as He does and necessarily must possess, life, consciousness, mentality, will-affection, moral sense, etc. The life He possesses, being infinite, must necessarily flood the universe. As He is eternally active, His life must assume all possible forms.

"Individual organisms are but drops of spray thrown up from the heaving sea of being. Between two vast durations, a past and future, they throb with life for a brief moment, and sink again into the billows, from which new personalities are incessantly emerging.

"The totality of life in the universe is God. His life could not be infinite unless it were the life of all organisms."[2]

Such like propositions plainly go to prove that "God is all in all." There are, however, two interpretations of emanation given modern philosophers. The effluence of life, force, and matter is regarded by some as necessary, involuntary, and unconscious, by others, on the contrary, as voluntary and conscious. The first interpretation is avowedly pantheistic; but the second, which admits consciousness and will in God and hence also personality, is supposed by its defenders to be theistic.

[1] See *Theism and Evolution*, by Rev. J. S. Van Dyke, D.D. (London, Hoder & Sloughton, 1886), chaps. xiii.–xvii.

[2] *Ibid.*, chap. xviii.

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Here we may end our exposition of pantheistic evolution, having passed in review the principal theories of our days which represent God either as the soul which animates and organizes the world or as the source from which all being flows in endless streams from eternity. It only remains to ask what advantages for evolution modern philosophers could expect to derive from systems which they have resuscitated from the dust of by-gone ages.

First, they tell us, that if God is taken for the immanent ground of the universe, monistic evolution is traced back to an ultimate absolutely sufficient cause and is rested on a principle of most perfect unity. For the Deity, self-existent and infinite, like a boundless ocean, contains all being and all forms of existence, and comprises all that is or can be in absolute oneness.

Secondly, by assuming God as the immanent ground of the universe, the order and beauty which nature manifests in all its realms are fully accounted for. For as God is the infinite spirit and works as the Supreme Intelligence, purpose and design, adaptation and harmony must be met with in all the effects which He produces; and as He is identical with the wide universe, the splendor of divine perfection must of necessity shine forth from each and all its portions.

Thirdly, after the main difficulties which are raised from a metaphysical point of view have been thus solved, evolution is rendered consistent with true philosophy. On the one hand, the reality of nature is maintained, and, on the other, the Deity is strongly asserted. The wonderful phenomena of the material world are explained, because their ultimate cause is inquired into, while at the same time the nature and the working of God are completely understood. The dignity and autonomy of human reason is kept intact, and yet the supremacy of the Deity is upheld. Evolution is in this way reconciled with theism and with religion. Though it denies a first cause distinct from the universe, it accepts the existence of God as the ultimate ground of all being and as the father of spirits. Nay more, evolution becomes reconciled with or rather clarifies Christianity. For doing away with blind faith in dogmas and replacing it with advanced knowledge, it discloses to mankind a divine revelation, ever going on and ever increasing in light and splendor.

It will be the object of another article to inquire whether pantheistic theories of evolution have succeeded or not in accomplishing such an astonishing task.

REV. JOHN J. MING, S. J.

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RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

RELIGIOUS persecution is a contradiction in terms. Persecution cannot be religious; or, conversely, religion cannot sanction persecution on the ground of sincere resistance to true belief. The spiritual writers have taught that it is sinful to use compulsion in the case of persons who are sincere in their unbelief; St. Francis Xavier writing, that a person would commit a sin who should even embrace what was true against his conscience.

The principle and the fact of persecution need not necessarily have anything in common; since the fact may be an accident of bad temper, while the principle can have no real existence. Take the two kinds of religious persecution, so called: that which is said to have been Catholic, and that which is said to have been Protestant. Perhaps the three best instances on the Catholic side —the instances which are most popularly believed in—are those of the Spanish Inquisition; the (purely imaginary) persecution of Galileo; and the (unquestionably true) Massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day. It may be well—so as to get at the distinction between the principle and the fact of persecution—that we briefly glance at the particulars of these scandals.

And first, as to the Spanish Inquisition. There was no "religious" persecution, nor, indeed, any persecution at all, in the principles and the objects of that tribunal. Probably, throughout the centuries, there has been no one fragment of historic fact more misconceived, more misrepresented, than the Inquisition. "Beaucoup en ont parlé," said Voltaire, "mais peu l'ont bien connue." It has been the same with the tradition about "monkish cruelty" as with most of the traditions so dear to Protestants. The modern English, of whom Gibbon said that they were "the most credulous and fanatic of any nation in Europe," have trusted to their imagination for their facts, and to their prejudice for their travesty of Catholic principles. "La nation la plus aisée a tromper, la plus difficile a détromper, et la plus puissante pour tromper les autres," as a distinguished French writer has said of England, has treated of everything Catholic in the spirit of a romancer whose sole object is to thrill his readers with sensation. "I verily believe," said Cobbett, "that there are more lies in English books than in all other books in the world put together." And certainly, as to the Inquisition in Spain, fiction and mendacity have con-

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tended in equal proportion in producing a fearful picture of what *was not.*

Now, first, as to the object of the Inquisition. It was founded by a Spanish king to resist two evils in particular: (1) the treason of Judaism and Islamism, and (2) the immoralities of the Manicheans or Albigenses. Fearful dangers call, necessarily, for severe remedies; and while, on the one hand, both Judaism and Islamism combined to destroy the social order of the Spanish nation, so, on the other hand, did the Albigenses or Manicheans try their utmost to corrupt the morals of the masses by doctrines and by practices which were infamous. These sectaries taught that there were two Christs, and that it was the bad Christ who suffered on the cross; they denied the resurrection, condemned marriage, and called the begetting of children a crime. They hated the clergy, and murdered them when they could; destroyed monasteries and convents and churches. Even Mosheim said: "Their shocking violation of decency was a consequence of their pernicious system: they looked upon decency and modesty as marks of inward corruption." The Council of Lateran, 1179, affirmed: "They respect neither the churches nor the monasteries; they spare neither orphans, age, nor sex." And since it has been objected that this Council "authoritatively sanctioned persecution," let it be answered that most of the sovereigns of Europe sent their ambassadors or delegates to the Council, with a view to trying to obliterate the sect—not for its "heresy," but on the ground that it was "inimical to human nature." The canon of the Council, which certainly favored suppressive measures (though some critics have had their doubts about its genuineness) was directed against a particular evil, at a particular time, and was, therefore, disciplinary, not doctrinal. It most certainly was never binding as *de fide*, but was regarded only as a measure for public safety. All Europe combined, for the time being, to institute some such effectually coercive measures as should save society from becoming utterly demoralized, and should protect religion from professing blasphemers. The canon, therefore, of the Council could not justly be construed into "the sanctioning of a Catholic persecution," since the persecution was directed against those persons only who utterly repudiated *all* religion.

But to return to the Inquisition in Spain: are we justified in the contention that it did not, in any sense, sanction religious persecution? And first, the Inquisition was *not* primarily ecclesiastical; while secondly, it never condemned men for their opinions. It was essentially royal, not ecclesiastical; only two religious being associated with thirteen laymen; and the two religious taking always the side of mercy. It is most important to remember, as

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a starting principle, that "the Catholic Church abhors blood"; that its spirit is mercy, not judgment; that no layman can be admitted to priest's orders who has ever participated in a sentence of death; and that there was no instance in Rome itself—under the sovereignty of the pontiffs—of any man being put to death by an Inquisition, or of a Jew or heretic being persecuted for his religion. Rome was always called "the Paradise of the Jews"; indeed it is the only city in Europe where Jews have been neither humbled nor ill-treated.

But our grand plea is that the Inquisition was primarily political, and only incidentally ecclesiastical. As M. Guizot has remarked, "L'Inquisition fut, d'abord, plus politique que religieuse; et destiné a maintenir l'ordre, plutot qu'a defendre la foi." Accordingly the Inquisition only punished those relapsed Jews who persisted in trying to corrupt Christians; nor did it punish them at all, if they would repent; it even allowed them to leave Spain, though it did not suffer them to remain in Spain except on the assurance that they would be harmless. What other tribunal in the world ever dealt so leniently with rebels? What other tribunal ever said to a law-breaker? "You can do penance if you will, you can frequent the sacraments, you can hear Mass; and if you do so, you shall be allowed to go scot free; but should you persist in your intention of breaking the law you shall either be banished or imprisoned." The Count de Maistre said that he considered the Inquisition "the most lenient tribunal in Europe." And the Count de Montalembert said that "its compassion and forgiveness were always pushed to the furthest possible point."

We should insist, then, that neither in object nor in process, neither in spirit nor in act, neither in its beginning nor in its ultimate development, did the Inquisition—so far as Catholic authority was concerned—sanction "religious persecution." And towards the end of its history, when the Popes ascertained that there was danger of its original purpose being abused, they requested that it should cease altogether.

(2) And now to glance for a moment at the "massacre on St. Bartholomew's day," another of the most "highly-colored" historic facts. The popular idea is that on the morning of the 24th of August, 1572, the wicked Papists in Paris arose at the sound of a bell, and put to death—and this too by preconcerted action—about four thousand most amiable non-Catholics; persons of a singularly peaceful disposition, and in every way excellent members of society; and that the Papists did this at the instigation of Catherine de Medicis, and with the approval of the reigning Catholic sovereign. Hence the verdict, "religious persecution." Now in this case there was unquestionably "persecution," but

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almost the only element that was absent was the "religious." Readers of history—not of history "made up" for sectarian purposes, and perverted so as to prove a foregone conclusion, but of the whole surrounding facts of a period, in their social as well as their religious bearings—know that the hundred and fifty years of French decadence, from (about) 1560 to 1710, were the most savage and atrocious years of Christian history; politically distraught, and morally degraded, and religiously without almost any religion at all. Knowing this, we are quite prepared for enormities, not only on the side of professing Protestants, but also on the side of professing Catholics. And the massacre of St. Bartholomew was but one instance out of many in which the fiends seem to have possessed the population. There was "not much to choose" between Catholics and Protestants; all society, in public sense, being so demoralized. At the time of the massacre the Huguenots were desperately bent upon securing a Protestant succession to the throne, while the Catholics were as eagerly bent upon securing a Catholic succession; so that Catherine de Medicis found pliable instruments to hand for carrying out a purely political massacre. That the Huguenots, so called, were a dangerous menace to the State, no one who is familiar with contemporary history can entertain the smallest particle of doubt. They were also, "religiously," most exasperating. They seized upon every opportunity for insulting Catholics; even fixing a piece of ribald writing on the King's palace in contempt for the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation. Churches and abbeys were demolished or desecrated; convents and colleges were despoiled, and thousands of priests and monks were wantonly butchered in cold blood, some even being purposely buried alive. In the province of Dauphiny alone the Huguenots slaughtered two hundred and fifty-six priests, and more than one hundred religious. And this prevailing outrage—indeed it was universal—naturally led to the long "wars of religion"; wars of which religion was the pretext, but of which the impulse was half political, half fiendish.

When the Massacre of St. Bartholomew had been accomplished, the king astutely informed the Sovereign Pontiff that he had won a victory over conspirators against religion, no less than against the State and society; and so the Pope was misled into authorizing a Te Deum, believing in the simple honesty of the king. No sooner did the Pope learn the whole truth (in those days a long, conflicting process), than he shed tears, and censured the king's cruelty in permitting so vast a public crime. In this case, therefore, as in the preceding case, we see that the *principle* of persecution was wholly absent from the mind of Catholic authority. Indeed, in the year 1580, toleration had been conceded to the profession

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of non-catholic novelties, while persecution had been strictly forbidden. Doubtless, the Protestant innovators were greatly disliked, and were treated very shyly, if not roughly; for that the belief of Christendom for fifteen centuries should be assailed, and the mysteries of the faith laughed to scorn, was enough to excite the population to reprisals which should be equally active and indignant. Yet the point to be impressed is that the persecution was not religious, on the side either of the Catholics or the Huguenots; the cause at heart was political; the period was demoralized, and the weapons used were those of the world and of the devil.

(3) A few words must suffice for the "Galileo controversy"—another of the misapprehended historical fragments. Galileo was *not* condemned for teaching the Copernican theory, but for treating the Scriptures irreverently, and for insolently disobeying authority. It is to Rome that we are chiefly indebted for what is called the Copernican theory. Copernicus himself delivered lectures in Rome by command of Pope Leo X.; he held there a professional chair; he published a treatise on the heliocentric hypothesis by command of and with the aid of Pope Paul III., and his work was printed and was sent forth to the world bearing the written sanction of the Pope. In the days of Galileo, the Copernican theory was taught in the Pope's own university. But now comes the *cause* of the "persecution." Galileo would persist in scandalizing the "common people" by irreverent remarks about the Scriptures. He was warned in a friendly way not to do so. He promised to desist, but broke his promise, and that, too, in a most insolent manner. Meanwhile, even Galileo, though behaving so unthankfully, received a pension for his scientific labors, and was placed in honorable position as a professor.

No judgment was given by any pontiff in regard to the Copernican theory, but only a condemnation of Galileo's private attitude in regard to the interpretation of Scripture. Protestants, who profess to honor the Scriptures, ought to be the first to honor the Popes for this reverence. But the enmity against "Popery" takes precedence of such reverence, as well as of critical care for historic facts.

Nor was Galileo "imprisoned" in the sense popularly accepted by the Protestants. He was simply sent to reside for four months in the palace of his own particular friend, who happened to be the Tuscan ambassador. "I have for a prison," he wrote, in a letter still extant, "the delightful palace of Trinità di Monte." And a little later he wrote: "Afterwards they sent me to my best friend, the Archbishop of Vienna, and I have always enjoyed the utmost tranquility."

The myth therefore of the imprisonment vanishes; while three

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facts come out as clear as day: (1) The science of Galileo was approved by the pontiffs—approved, that is, in the sense of being permissible—for of course, no Pope could decree its truth or its error, no Pope being infallible upon astronomy. (2) Galileo was censured, and was sent into retreat, for his persistence in bringing the Scriptures into contempt, and not for his astronomical theories. (3) Galileo was not "persecuted" by any Pope any more than any penitent would be said to be "persecuted" who should be ordered to give his mind to contemplation, after causing grievous scandal by his impiety. Thus "religious persecution," in the case of Galileo, resolves itself into the profoundest reverence for the Scriptures, and the tenderest treatment of the offender who had made light of them.

II.

And now to turn to the other side—to the persecution of Catholics by Protestants—we have to admit at once that the persecutions, for the most part, were originated by princes, not by people. It would be unjust to say that the subjects of Henry VIII. were responsible for his wholesale murder of faithful Catholics; as it would be unjust to say that the subjects of Queen Elizabeth were responsible for the carrying out of her Penal Laws. So again, in the persecution of Nonconformists—by Queen Elizabeth's High Commission or by Test Acts—it would be unjust to accuse Anglicans of a malevolent disposition, which might be individual but which was not general. The sole ground of the persecution by Henry VIII. was his irritation in regard to the pontiff's attitude; just as the sole ground of Queen Elizabeth's Penal Laws was her determination to prefer the throne before the Faith. The subjects of those two sovereigns were, in both cases, the sovereign's victims; and as to all the bitterness which ensued, it was a natural result of party feeling; of desire of gain on the part of courtiers and placemen, and of worldly servility on the part of dependants and subordinates. Thus the *fact* of persecution, and the *principle* of persecution, must not be regarded as being identical. Horrible as were the forty years of Elizabeth's reign, in regard to the persecution of Catholics, as well as the persecution of Nonconformists, it would be unjust to say that "the Protestants" were the persecutors; it was the ruling powers which compelled the Protestants to persecute, and in those days the "ruling powers" were absolute. We must remember that until within the last century, what we now call "popular liberties"—allied with, and secured by a free press—were hardly known in the national English career. Autocracy, in more or less modified form, was the fact and the spirit of government. So that we must not blame "the people"

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for being misgoverned or misled—for being compelled to do what their consciences detested.

A word here as to the persecutions by Queen Mary. In the last three years of her reign, there were hideous persecutions—though in the early part there was exceptional lenity. Can any one defend these persecutions? No; the most that can be hazarded is that provocation was at its height, and Christian endurance was at its depth. There was not much *religious* principle in these persecutions, there was the principle of expediency or self-interest. True, the Pontiff had nothing to do with the persecutions—no more than the Pontiff had to do with the plots which led to the massacre of St. Bartholomew—but a few Catholic ecclesiastics in England advised Queen Mary to make her throne secure by persecuting the enemies who would dethrone her. We must remember—and this is seldom remembered—that the Protestant faction in Queen Mary's reign was most violent; striving to dethrone the Queen; making attempts upon her life; publicly praying for her death; and publishing infamous libels upon her character. We must remember too, that the persecutors, Gardiner and Bonner, had themselves been cruelly persecuted in the previous reign; that Archbishop Cranmer and his fellow prelates were executed by those very laws which they themselves had enacted in the previous reign, and had put in practice against Anabaptists and other "heretics;" indeed, Cranmer, whom some people account a martyr, had consented in Edward's reign to the burning of six "heretics," and had actually burnt one Englishman "for heresy;" he had also burnt Joan Bocher for teaching that Christ was not incarnate of the Blessed Virgin, while as a Lutheran he had burnt Lambert and Askew for the very belief for which *he* afterwards suffered. No one, therefore, can feel pity for *him*. But all this provocation hardly excuses Queen Mary's counsellors for putting heretical rebels to death. As to Mary herself, she was not a persecutor. Sedition and apostasy drove her counsellors to severe measures, which *she* always deprecated and even abhorred. The effort of her whole life was to give back to a Catholic country the Catholic unity of which her father had robbed it. Her persecutions were forced on her—were not spontaneous. And at this point we may briefly touch on the delicate subject of "judicial equity," in regard to the persecution of any "heretic."

III.

There are necessarily two aspects of the question. The one is purely civil or political, the other, as it may *seem* to be, ecclesiastical. Let us take the political aspect first.

A sovereign—say, of a wholly Catholic country—becomes as-

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sured that a "religious sect," so called, is working the disturbance of the social order, as well as the disturbance of the faith. This was the case with those sovereigns who, in the time of the Albigenses, realized the national two-fold disturbance. Provided that the new sect had been perfectly quiet, had neither sought revolution nor proselytism, a sovereign would not have been justified in "persecuting"; he would only have been justified in "converting." But, in the case of the Albigenses, all the sovereigns of Europe were agreed as to the destructiveness of their impiety. It was a duty, therefore, to pass laws for the sect's restraint. It was all the more a duty, because, being Catholic sovereigns, they ruled over united Catholic peoples. To *them* "the faith" was not what it is with Protestants, opinionative, variable, quasi-natural, but the one divine truth of God, his divine will, and, therefore, of Catholic obligation. Shall we affirm, then, that Catholic sovereigns were not justified in making laws for the protection of their Catholic subjects? This would, indeed, be a wild assertion. We can imagine every Catholic priest to cry out, "If a man burn my church because I am a Catholic priest, or sacrilegiously profane the tabernacle on that church's altar, I call upon the civil power to protect my church, to punish the desecrators of holy places, to guard my parishioners and my congregation against gross and quite unprovoked insult." Can any one deny that this is "equity?" If so, there is an end of all government responsibility in regard to all true religious liberty.

But mark, also, that, in the case of Catholic kingdoms, all Catholic subjects are "in possession." For twelve centuries had Europe been Catholic, before the Albigenses were heard of. Were the Albigenses to claim the rights of twelve centuries? Or, to bring the case nearer home, to Great Britain, *which* party, let it be asked, were "in possession" at the time of the so-called Reformation? Were Catholics in possession or were Protestants? And since Catholics were indisputably the true heirs, was it "persecution" on their part to resist robbery? With what face could Protestants assert, in the reigns of Edward VI. or Queen Elizabeth, "*We* are in possession of the ancient faith. Catholics are intruders, usurpers. *We* claim the inheritance of fifteen centuries, the right of persecuting Catholics as rebels." Who does not see that equity is on the Catholic side, revolt and usurpation on the Protestant side? Even putting Christian charity out of the question—if it were possible to do this—the Catholics could say in England, as in France, as in any country which was disturbed by the new apostasy, "*We* are the true heirs; we built the cathedrals, churches, monasteries; our faith is the inheritance of all Christian time, the rightful possession of ourselves as of our forefathers." Equity, therefore, was

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wholly on the side of the Catholics. Appropriation was the "civil" crime of the Protestants, as much as it was a crime against religion.

But equity may take a larger grip or compass. While asserting that "religious persecution" is not, and never was, a Catholic principle, we must assert that the protection of Catholic peoples, equally against religious and civil wrong, is, and always was, a Catholic principle. In other words, to make laws for the protection of Catholic subjects is quite as much a duty of a Catholic sovereign as is the *not* persecuting any man for his opinions. If a king of Spain saw that by arresting the first offenders the original perpetrators of great crimes—not for their opinions but for their criminality—he could put a stop to immeasurable mischief in the future, was he not justified in arresting them? As a matter of fact, such wide policy was justified by the experiences of the after-generations. Spain enjoyed civil and religious peace, while England, France and Holland were full of outrage. The Inquisition frightened away from Spain that wicked "philosophy" which half ruined France, England and other countries. And the Spaniards at this day are less fickle, less superstitious, less the sport of every breeze of idle doctrine, than, perhaps, any other people in Europe. The Inquisition quenched enormity in its beginning; while so-called Protestantism has nurtured every error. Indeed, as several writers have remarked, even the French Revolution might have never reached such depths had an Inquisition stopped its "principles" in their beginning. England would certainly have been the better for the Inquisition in the place of the barbarous cruelties of Henry VIII. and the equally tyrannical rule of Elizabeth. The Inquisition was at once just and merciful. The tyrants of the Reformation were neither just nor merciful, and they have bequeathed infinite evils to men's souls.

Equity, therefore, can stand its trial without fear when apostasy accuses it of severity—a severity which apostasy has always practiced.

IV.

We have still to inquire, What was the essential difference in the character of persecutions by Catholics and by Protestants in what we may call their "ecclesiastical aspect?" We have conceded that Queen Mary persecuted, or rather that her counsellors did so, and we have only sought to find excuse for her on the ground that her enemies made her throne and her life insecure. But several points arise for our consideration if we would take a just view of the whole subject. Affirming, to begin with, that "religious persecution" is not, and never was, a Catholic principle—though there have been

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Catholics who have retaliated, who have avenged themselves, under a provocation which was almost unbearable—we have still to be able to answer the following questions before we can form a just estimate: (1) Were crimes against religion justly regarded in Catholic ages as crimes against the state, against society? (2) Was the severity with which such crimes were ordinarily visited in excess of the ordinary punishments of great crimes? (3) Had Catholic governments a greater moral right to punish heresy than any non-Catholic government could possess? (4) Did the high *non*-Catholic authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical, advocate the principle of persecution? (5) Did *non*-Catholic governments and *non*-Catholic ecclesiastics persecute more rigorously than did Catholics, the conditions being equal or nearly so; the provocations being of much the same kind?

Briefly: (1) Crimes against religion in Catholic countries might reasonably, we think, be regarded as more heinous than the same crimes in non-Catholic countries, because the Catholic religion postulates infallibility in all matters appertaining to faith; whereas, every Protestant sect repudiates infallibility and subjects all Christian doctrine to opinion. Now that one opinion should persecute another opinion is, on the face of it, ridiculous, but that divine authority should persecute dangerous opinions would be logical even though it were cruel. Add to this obvious truism the fact which has been before mentioned, that the Catholic religion is "in possession" in Catholic countries, and may therefore claim the precedence of numerous centuries in justification of its heirship of true authority, and we must admit that if Catholic governments have persecuted, they have had both logic and inheritance on their side.

(2) The severity with which heresy, apostasy, witchcraft, profanation, and such like great crimes against religion have sometimes been punished by Catholic governments has not been greater than, but only equal to, the ordinary severity exercised against "notorious criminals." In the Middle Ages severity was the rule with most governments, though it was never the rule with ecclesiastics. At one time, in France, a man who robbed on the high road was broken alive upon the rack. But then there was no necessity to rob on the high road. In the same way, if a relapsed Jew or an abandoned Manichæan chose to try to corrupt the faith of Catholics, to destroy churches, murder priests, or commit sacrilege, he chose to do what the law did not allow him to do, and had himself only to blame for the consequences. As to "severity," it was a question only of policy—and in our own day we hear it approved by learned judges; while as to "heresy"—not in opinion but in conduct; in the sense, that is, of seeking to corrupt others, and of

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making war upon the religion which was "in possession"—if Catholic governments believed the Catholic faith to be divine they were excusable in seeking to enforce the divine law.

(3) And this last remark, in great measure, answers our third inquiry. Had Catholic governments a greater moral right to punish heresy than any non-Catholic government can possess? Obviously they had a much greater. A Catholic government could have nothing whatever to do with deciding what was truth, what was error. Such decision belonged only to the teaching Church, but it had everything to do with preventing wicked men from making war on the (accepted) divine truth. Do we blame Moses and Aaron for being "too severe" on Korah, Nathan, and Abiram; or do we blame Elias for ordering that the priests of Baal should be taken down to the brook Cison and slain there? *À fortiori*, under the Christian covenant—which is the substance of the Jewish shadow—we cannot blame Catholic governments for decreeing that noisy apostates should be subjected to the civil or criminal law. Such men are the declared enemies of society, much more than are thieves or calumniators.

(4) And this principle of punishing noisy apostates has been approved by almost all Protestant authorities. Regardless of the absurd inconsistency of "private opinion persecuting private opinion," Luther advocated persecution with all his might. Zwinglius taught: "Evangelium vult sanguinem." Even the gentle Melancthon defended cruelty. Cranmer positively revelled in blood-shedding. So did Latimer and Ridley, who experienced it. Sandys, Bishop of London, wrote a book to justify religious persecution. Archbishop Abbot told the king that "to tolerate Catholics would be to draw down upon himself God's wrath and indignation." Archbishop Usher taught: "To give any toleration to Papists is a grievous sin." And the Parliament of King James I. urged the king to persecution as "necessary to advance the glory of God." In Scotland, John Knox called persecution "a holy and sacred duty," and he taught: "The people are bound to put to death the queen, along with all her priests." The Scotch Parliament, in 1560, decreed death to all Catholics. And yet all these "authorities" believed in *their* own infallibility—on which ground alone they persecuted Catholics. Were such folly not vicious it would be comic. Well might Rousseau say: "Of all the sects of Christianity, Protestantism is the most intolerant and inconsistent, uniting in itself all the objections which it urges against the Church of Rome."

(5) And so we come to the last point. Did non-Catholic governments and ecclesiastics persecute *more* rigorously than did

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Catholics? A big book would not suffice for the answer. The record of Protestantism is the record of persecution. Omitting Henry VIII. from the catalogue of persecutors—on the ground that he was more of an excommunicated madman than a sovereign who had any principle whatever—Edward VI.'s reign was a fitting brief prelude to the sanguinary forty years of Elizabeth. In regard to the Elizabethan era, let these questions be asked, by the way of determining the *greater* rigor of persecution. (1) Was it ever enacted in any Catholic country that every one who refused to attend the Catholic Mass should be fined; if persistent, should be banished the country; and, if returning, should be hanged? (2) Was it ever enacted in any Catholic country that no Protestant should hold any office, civil or military; that no Protestant should be allowed to wander more than five miles from his home on pain of forfeiture of lands or inheritance; that no Protestant should keep a horse worth more than five pounds, and if he did so, Catholics might take it from him? (3) Was it ever enacted in any Catholic country that if a man kept a Protestant schoolmaster for his children he should be fined forty shillings a day for the offence; if he sent his son abroad to be educated as a Protestant he should be fined a hundred pounds for the still greater offence; and that no Protestant children could inherit lands until they conformed to the Catholic faith? Was it ever enacted in any Catholic country that a Protestant should be racked ten times for his Protestantism —a punishment which was inflicted upon Father Southwell; or that a Protestant woman should be pressed to death between stones for harboring a Protestant clergyman—a punishment which was inflicted on Margaret Clitheroe? Or was it ever enacted in any Catholic country that five thousand Protestants should be sold as slaves, to be sent out to Jamaica or the West Indies—a punishment which was inflicted on Irish Catholics? But enough of this. Every one *now* knows the reality of these horrors, though for three centuries they have been omitted from Protestant histories.

V.

Let us sum up the case on both sides, in regard both to principle and to fact. We are so apt to forget in this nineteenth century that it was the custom—it was the law—for a long period to put people to dreadful deaths for irreligion. We need not argue the *principle* at this moment; it suffices that we establish the *fact;* because many persons, in these days, speak of "religious persecution" as if it were "an invention of modern Papists." Yet the English statute book should dissipate that delusion. We find that it was not until the time of George II. that the statute for burning persons for witchcraft, conjuration, enchantment, sorcery,

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was repealed; and we may be quite sure that the repeal would have been much earlier, had the national sentiment sought or demanded it. A statute of James I. decreed death to "heretics," and we all know what heretics meant in his day.

Until the time of Charles II. we find it in the statute book that heretical persons should be burned. In the time of William III. if any person denied the Trinity, he was to suffer the same penalties as those indicted for apostasy. Throughout England it was the law for a long period—though happily there were instances of mercy —to burn people for sacrilege, parricide, and for arson. And in regard to this ferocity, we find only one exception, since the time of the Protestant Reformation—that is, one exception only in the British empire—and this was in Catholic Ireland. During the whole period when Catholicism was dominant in Ireland there was no penal code against Protestantism. Irish Catholics never persecuted English Protestants. But Englishmen and Scotchmen have been always conspicuous in their severity against every one whom they were pleased to account heretical.

The *fact* of severity against irreligion—or against what was accounted irreligion, on the part of many governments through many centuries, must be remembered when judging particular cases of what is called "religious persecution." The principle may be disputed as we like, but the fact admits of no dispute whatever. Queen Elizabeth's High Commission—to take this one instance only—surpassed in its severity and malignity anything that is even fabled of the Inquisition. Hume, the essayist, was of this opinion; so were de Maistre and de Montalembert. Indeed, we may go so far as to say that the "religious persecution," during the whole of the reign of "good Queen Bess," would have done credit to the inventiveness and brutality of the most typical tyrants of Turkey or Algiers. Hume relates, as showing the spirit of Elizabeth's time, that "rewards were given to any wretch who would come forward and accuse Catholics." But we need not linger on so revolting a subject. Suffice it for our purpose that "religious persecution," as a fact, though we can hardly say as a principle, has been shown to be the dominant note of English Protestantism; and it has only quite recently fallen in abeyance, in consequence of Protestantism falling to pieces.

The *principle*, however, of persecution, or say of punishing the irreligious, must be argued on broad grounds of policy. Governments may inflict temporal penalties, "on the ground of policy," just as the spiritual power may inflict spiritual penalties "on the ground of piety "—on the ground of justice both to God and man. The Catholic Church has never approved of torture for irreligion; she has approved only of penance or reparation. Governments may

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do what they think best, in estimating the social value of religion, or in estimating the social harm done by irreligion; and they may attach what penalties they please to breaking their laws, which are designed for the national security and peace. This is "policy." But the Catholic Church (we need not say anything about Protestants, because they are so painfully inconsistent in their principles; believing in the necessity of *some* religion, but repudiating the living authority which can define it), thinks only of mercy towards the penitent, and of edification towards all classes of society. She abhors all religious persecution. Her Catholic kings or Catholic governments must please themselves; but if they choose to send an apostate to the stake, *she* will send a priest with him to console him, to give him Absolution and Holy Communion. The Catholic Church cannot be made responsible for such forms of judicial penalty as may seem good to Catholic sovereigns or governments. She may approve of the principle of reparation, but she is innocent of the details of retribution. Her mission is mercy and forgiveness. But if a sovereign's subjects will persist in breaking her laws, she cannot be held responsible for the consequences.

A. F. MARSHALL.

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THE GROWTH AND SPIRIT OF MODERN PSYCHOLOGY.

FOR a time it was thought necessary to write—"modern" psychology, a very proper noun being supposed by this manner of punctuation to shrug at an adjective of doubtful propriety and possibly to shrink from the connection. This need is no longer felt. The advance of psychological studies within the last few years is so decided, and the interest which they have awakened so general, that the inverted commas may now be regarded as superfluous. The adjective itself is retained for the present merely to show that a transition has taken place. Psychology, in other words, has passed into a new phase, and has become to some extent a new fashion.

Those who are familiar not only with the name of the science but with its local habitations as well, are perhaps less numerous than those who watch its development from afar, inhaling psychology from the pages of romance, or catching such glimpses through the columns of the press as make them eager to know more of psychical research. From the intense absorption of the professional worker down to the curiosity of the literary eclectic, there are all grades of interest and of appreciation. But in this way or in that, for one reason or for another, well-informed people keep an eye on the movement. If the mind does not reflect upon itself, it is pleased at seeing itself reflected.

This popularity is due in a measure to certain expressions which have recently become current and which leave wide play to the average fancy. What goes on in a psychological "laboratory?" How is an "experiment" on mind conducted? What sort of apparatus, arithmetic and method is used in mental "measurements?" These are queries that prick the attention more effectually than learned dissertations on analysis, introspection or the relation of soul and body. The new terminology suggests something tangible where all has hitherto been shadowy and vague. It hints at the unveiling of mysteries which have baffled the philosophers of the past. It awakens the hope that science may eventually devise formulas and laws for the world of mind as it has devised them for the world of matter. But the wonder grows when we pass from the modern treatment of normal processes to the equally modern investigation of abnormal conditions. An innate love of the occult seeks satisfaction in all that savors of the preternatural. The in-

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terest excited by the *working* of well-determined physical laws is feeble compared with that which many persons, with or without scientific training, manifest in phenomena that seem to transcend all law. Hence the apparent paradox that in an age which is in some respects so materialistic and in others so skeptical, the strange doings of mesmerism and the weird coincidences of telepathy are full of fascination. Indeed, for a large number of minds, psychology is synonymous with hypnotism, faith-cure, and excursions into the world of spirits. It is expected not only to reveal the soul's ordinary *activities*, but also to develop new psychical powers which will heighten the possibilities of life and overleap the barriers of death.

Exaggerated as these notions may be, they are less unjust than the opinion which regards the new science as a finer form of materialism or at best as a chapter in cerebral physiology. "Psychology without a soul" is a phrase often misused to brand, and presumably to crush, the audacious offspring before it is old enough to speak its defence. Nor is censure of this sort blunted when distinctions are drawn between empirical and rational psychology, between established facts and floating hypotheses, between psychology and psychologists. The science still shows its birthmarks, and these are enough to condemn it. For whatever it be, "physiological" or "experimental" or "psycho-physical," it proclaims that it is not metaphysical, and therein lies its chief depravity. Happily, such views are not held by the leaders of the spiritualistic school. The ablest among them, Mercier, Gutberlet and Farges, not only set a proper value upon the results of late investigation, but find a way to bring these into harmony with their philosophy of the soul. Spiritualism, in fact, is endangered more by the downright neglect of research than by the careful study and honest criticism of all that research brings forth. And if to-day its advocates have one thing more than another to regret it is that they have not been foremost in the psychological movement.

The first impulse came from another direction. It originated neither in materialism nor in spiritualism. The starting-point was a truth which every philosophic system must admit but which none can exclusively claim. Likewise, in its subsequent growth, the new psychology, while it advanced steadily to autonomy, by no means discarded as a whole the acquisitions of the past. On the contrary, without the development that preceded, the modern stage would have been impossible. Later on perhaps it will be easy to show that there has been no breach of continuity, and that whatever the outcome may be, the movement itself was amply justified. At present no such perspective is offered us. We are too near the beginning to see things in their true proportions.

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But this beginning has an interest of its own inasmuch as it may be considered the boldest effort of exact science, an effort in which by the very nature of the problems involved, thinkers of every school are concerned.

In the outline which follows there is no attempt at a history of psychology. If reference to earlier periods of the science is made, this is only to show that its actual development is in keeping with certain laws which govern the advance of knowledge, and that in many respects the new psychology, though a transformation, is really the complement of the old.

I.

The growth of any science is mainly determined by the nature of the problems which it attempts to solve, and these in turn must vary according to the progress that is made. New results enforce the acceptance of new principles, and, conversely, each principle as it is established opens up unsuspected avenues of research. Sudden modifications affecting the essentials of a science are rare. The point of view shifts gradually, and, in some cases, imperceptibly. By additions to knowledge which in themselves seem slight, by exceptions to what had already the semblance of law, and not unfrequently by the failure of the very hypothesis which prompted investigation, readjustment is brought about, and the course of research is altered.

At times these transformations are the outcome of important discoveries which supply fresh material for observation and experiment. Not only is there a new way of knowing; there is something new to be known. This is especially true of the natural sciences, in which the accumulation of facts is often too rapid for theory and synthetic co-ordination. But such radical changes are not always necessary in order that a science may slip from its traditional mould, and have its problems recast. Different treatment of the same phenomena, implying novel interpretations, detecting hidden dependencies and devising better methods or severer tests, suffices for a thorough renovation. Knowledge in this case advances not so much by widening its domain as by mapping out more accurately its hereditary possession.

The development of psychology conforms to this law of easier transition, and its several stages are marked by different views of well-known facts. Repeated analysis of the human mind has not brought to light faculties or processes essentially diverse from those which Aristotle's keen introspection perceived. But in the course of time other meanings have been attached to mental phenomena and other relations pointed out, necessitating a change in the psychological problem.

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In the Peripatetic system, both ancient and mediæval, the functions of mind were chiefly studied and valued as manifestations of the underlying soul. *Operatio* being the index of *esse*, thought and volition were understood and described in the terms of metaphysics, while the substance which they revealed took its place in the magnificent scale of being which descends from Deity to the film of "first matter."

It is true that among the later Scholastics we find thinkers who deviated from the traditional methods. Buridan, in the fourteenth century, may be fairly said to have approached the line of research which psychology follows at present, and to have enunciated principles which are now receiving experimental confirmation. But in his day philosophy was already on the decline. The thought of the age was drifting rapidly towards mysticism on one hand and the classicism of the Renaissance on the other. The old rivalry between the disciples of Aristotle and those of Plato was renewed, and a feverish activity with little or no result prevailed. Then came the storm of the sixteenth century.

The earliest psychology of England, taking its key-note from Locke, is decidedly empirical. And yet, as the "Essay" clearly shows, its dominant purpose is not the investigation of mental processes for their own sake, but the construction of a theory of knowledge. Sensations and ideas are principally studied, insofar as they represent external phenomena, and form the links between subject and object. Here, then, we have a new problem, and in its attempted solution a new version, so to speak, of conscious facts. The tendency, however, is still philosophical, and the main issue, though of undoubted importance, complicates, rather than lightens, the task of psychology. England's share in preparing the way for the modern science of mind consists, above all, in Hartley's revival of the Aristotelian theory concerning the association of ideas, the elaboration of which has been the favorite occupation of English psychologists from Hume down to Spencer and Mill.

In Germany the development of scientific psychology was still more tardy. From Leibnitz to Kant speculation is busy with those essential problems which demand a solution from every philosophical system, and becomes more and more involved as the haze of abstraction thickens and draws thought away from reality. To the German schools of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries psychology's debt is trifling. The "monads" are scarcely a substitute for the forms of Scholasticism, nor is the "pre-established harmony" much more satisfactory than the "influxus physicus" of Descartes. Inquiry into the elementary functions of mind was neglected, and if among the "popular philosophers" healthier germs occasionally appear, these certainly did not mature.

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Kant himself declared that psychology could never become an exact science; first, because mathematics could not be applied to mental processes, since these must take place in time, and be limited to a single dimension; secondly, because experiment upon other minds, and the profitable observations of one's own conscious states, are equally impossible. To the first of these reasons Herbart replied with a "mathematical psychology," based on the fact that states of consciousness not only follow each other in time, but also vary in their intensity, and, consequently, are of two dimensions. This was a step in the right direction; and the principle on which Herbart insisted has survived, though his theory of mental "inhibitions," and the formulas in which they were expressed, have rather an historical interest.

Kant's second objection was more serious. We have no such instrument as a psychoscope, under which mind can be placed and examined. All that we learn, beyond mere surmise, of what passes in the consciousness of another, is revealed to us by such corporeal functions as action and speech. Whoever, on the other hand, is accustomed to introspection, must know how hard it is to seize and examine his mental states methodically. There is less difficulty in holding a drop of mercury beneath one's finger. And when, of the many who study their own minds, no two are found to agree, to what tribunal must these "private judgments" be brought? Had Kant lived to see the development of philosophy during this century, he would certainly have enjoyed some rare results of introspection.

He would also have regretted his prediction concerning psychology. For, in spite of all this philosophical oscillation, the natural sciences were forging ahead, slowly, but on definite lines. From mere description they advanced to measurement, from qualitative analysis to quantitative determination. Physics and mechanics, going hand in hand, were the first to reach mathematical exactness; but, according as their principles and methods were applied to the study of organisms, physiological research became in its own way quantitative as well as qualitative. Organ and muscle and nerve were known not only to perform certain functions, but to perform them with an energy and a velocity which might be precisely ascertained. Vital processes, in other words, even those which minister most directly to the operations of mind, were found to observe laws already verified in the inorganic world.

Again, many of the discoveries accredited to physics and physiology were, in a manner, contributions to psychology. Every advance in optics and acoustics implied a better knowledge of the conditions by which vision and hearing are determined. Newton, splitting the white ray into its colors, and Helmholtz analyzing tone, do as much for the investigation of the senses as for that of their

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respective stimuli. Nor could physiology—as it studied the functions of eye and ear, as it traced excitation from periphery to centre, as it followed motor-impulse along its efferent path—do less than throw light on the intricate processes which parallel sensation, thought, and volition. Thus, while they furthered their own particular aims, these sciences approached nearer and nearer to the domain of psychology, and elaborated for its use invaluable data.

What is more, the close observation and delicate experiment of physicist and physiologist involved psychological problems. In roughly estimating his results, the scientist might, and often did, neglect the possible errors for which the organs of sense were responsible. But, for nicer determination, these variable factors, which even a perfect apparatus cannot eliminate, have to be taken into account. Not alone in astronomy is the "personal equation" of importance; allowance must be made for it wherever and whenever exact registration is demanded of the observer, or the greatest possible uniformity desired. Add to these conditions of method the fact that numerous phenomena with which physiology deals must receive their final interpretation from psychology, and it will be readily understood how the boundaries of these sciences overlap.

In a wider and more philosophical sense, biological research for a century past has been guided by principles which could not but modify the study of mind. Underlying every theory of evolution is the idea of a continuous development, resulting in gradual differentiation. To trace this process back to its earliest stages, a comparison of structure and function all along the series of organisms was required. Hence, the genetic method and, as essential to it, the comparative method. That both can be applied to the investigation of mental phenomena, and made to subserve the needs of a system, is abundantly evidenced by Mr. Spencer's "Principles of Psychology." But such forced philosophic adaptation does not lessen the value of those methods for empirical research. On the contrary, with due precaution and watchful criticism, they may become welcome aids to psychology, and indispensable aids where introspection and experiment are alike unavailing.

The outcome of these influences is that the psyche may now be regarded and studied in two ways. As the principle of mental activity in man, it is treated in "individual psychology" and, so far as is possible, by experimental methods. To its investigation in a wider sense, as embracing all forms of consciousness, "comparative psychology" is devoted. The purpose of this article is to sketch the growth, the methods and the achievements of experimental psychology.

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II.

If we had to choose a maxim of the philosophers as a motto for psychological investigation, none would be more apt than *Nihil in intellectu quod non fuerit prius in sensu.* Whether with one school we hold that between the lowest and the highest mental functions there is a difference of kind or, with another school, that there is merely a difference of degree in complexity, certain it is that sensation is the starting-point of the whole process. Both those who regard ideas as products of an essentially superior activity and those who see in them nothing more than a transformation or synthesis of sense-percepts, must agree that sensation is, in some way, the elementary operation of mind. Standing thus in the gateway of mental life, it is the first to challenge examination. But there are obviously special reasons why the so-called "inferior powers" should have the priority in experimental research. To the very essence of experiment it belongs, that we should be able to vary its conditions at will, and to keep them under control. Now it is true that we cannot grasp the mind and hold it up to external agencies as we hold a mirror before a candle. We can, however, shift the candle about, that is, we can vary the objective impression and catch its reflection in the judgment pronounced by the mind and note how far impression and judgment coincide.

Ordinary experience teaches us that the coincidence is not always perfect. In "measuring with the eye," in testing with the tongue, and in discerning with the ear, we are liable to mistakes. And this tendency grows as we descend from the estimate of great differences to the perception of those that are trifling. Most of us are content to observe these facts, to note them as "curious," and to dispense with further investigation. The scientist does more. What for others is insignificant may be to him of prime importance; and what they look upon as an isolated peculiarity may give him an inkling of a more general law. So it has happened in psychology.

Two separate impressions upon the skin or upon the retina, in order to be perceived as separate, must be at a certain distance from each other; the mere fact that, objectively, there is an infinitesimal space between two points is not sufficient for their subjective distinction. Again, the discrimination of two impressions, the heaviness of two weights or the length of two lines, depends, not upon their absolute but upon their relative difference. E. H. Weber was the first to observe these facts of perception and to deduce from them the principle that in comparing external impressions, we are able to determine their relations, but not their absolute value. This was in 1834.

Calculations looking in the same direction had already been

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made for other sense-functions and from other points of view. In 1738, Bernouilli established the dependence of the *fortune morale*, or pleasurable feeling, upon the *fortune physique*, the outer stimulus. A year later, Euler showed the connection between our perception of tone-intervals and the numeric proportions of the air-vibrations which are the physical cause of sound. Important, however, as these reckonings were, and necessarily bearing upon the relations between physical and psychical processes, they were not merged in any general law. The same must be said of the photometric experiments which have given Steinheil, Bouguer, Arago and Masson their scientific fame; their results were of narrow application, or at any rate were not interpreted on psychological principles. To group these loose-lying data, to give them their true significance, and to make them the starting-point of a more complete and more systematic investigation, was the task reserved for a man who united in himself the qualities of physicist, philosopher and mathematician. This man was Gustav Theodor Fechner.

In an historical chapter at the close of his "Elemente der Psychophysik," he sketches the development of the ideas embodied in that work. Imagine a man, he says, standing at a point in the circumference of a circle and looking for an object which lies within a step of him but behind his back. All round the ring he plods until at last, coming upon what he sought, he realizes that a simple turn of the head would have spared him his trouble. Such was Fechner's own experience. The purpose with which he set out was the discovery of a functional relation between soul and body, or, to express it in more general terms, between psychical and physical phenomena. This he did not conceive either as the union of form and matter or as a harmony in the Leibnitzian sense of the word, but as something analogous to physical determinations. Physics had shown the dependence of color and tone upon their external causes. Fechner sought the relation between sensation and the internal physical processes with which it is so intimately connected. In other words, his object was to find a measure for psychical phenomena, to determine their intensity as well as their quality.

This concept implied evidently a resetting of the psychological problem. As indications of the substantial soul, as reflections of the outer world, as phenomena gathered in groups or ranged in sequences according to definite laws, mental states had long been the subject of investigation; but no attempt had been made, so far as Fechner knew, to show the quantitative connections which, in the sphere of consciousness, parallel those which rule organic functions.

Inviting, however, as the problem was, its solution demanded

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both reflection and research. Fechner's first idea was that soul and body, or their respective operations, might stand to each other as arithmetical and geometrical series of a lower order to those of a higher order. As a schematic illustration, this manner of conceiving the relation was not altogether unsatisfactory, but it needed sharper definition. Still clinging to the geometrical series, Fechner was led by a roundabout of thought to the conviction that the *relative* increase of the bodily *vis viva* should be taken to measure the increase of the corresponding mental intensity; and that as the *vis viva* on the corporeal side might be conceived as resulting from a summation of absolute increments, a similar summation could be assumed on the psychical side.

This view was more precise, and furnished an interpretation for certain facts which earlier investigators had discovered. But the goal was not yet reached – the psychical measure was not yet fixed upon. It was, of course, clear that a unit of measurement, such as the metre for distance or the gramme for weight, could not be found for mental quanta. We cannot say that one sensation of light is twice as strong as another, or that one sound is three times as loud as another. What we perceive is that the impressions differ in intensity or seem to be equal; that they increase or decrease; that there is an under-limit below which stimuli produce no sensation, and an over-limit beyond which an increment in their strength is not noticed. Why not make these variations of perception, with due verification and appropriate formulas, the basis of psychical measurement? This was the question which Fechner proposed to himself and, later on, to a scientific friend, from whom he received the answer that the idea was a good one and might even become a happy one provided it could be demonstrated and supported by facts. The suggestion bore its fruit. By patient research and with Volkmann's assistance, Fechner not only gathered the data which he needed, but also opened up a perspective, extending far beyond his individual attainment.

It was in the course of this quest after facts that he learned of Weber's work in the same line; and though he did not regret his laborious progress round the circle, he was so impressed with the achievements of his forerunner that he attached Weber's name to the law for which his own results are the chief basis. "Weber's law," then, was reduced to this form: equal absolute increments of sensation correspond to equal relative increments of the stimulus, or, as it has since been expressed, the stimulus-strength must increase in a geometrical ratio if the strength of the sensation is to increase in an arithmetical ratio. If, for example, one-third of an ounce must be added to an ounce in order to produce a barely perceptible difference of sensation, then two thirds must be added

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to two ounces, three-thirds to three ounces, and so on, in order that an increase in weight may be noticed. The increment, in other words, must bear a constant proportion to the original stimulus with which the strengthened stimulus is compared.

We thus obtain not a direct but an indirect measure of sensation, the precision of which will depend partly on objective, partly on subjective, factors. Supposing that the physical conditions of stimulation are exactly determined, and that the attention is fully alert, it is possible to experimentally construct a scale in which each new degree of excitation will have a corresponding reinforcement of sensation. The lower limit of such a scale Fechner called the "threshold," adopting for sensation a term which Herbart had introduced to designate the entrance of a presentation into consciousness. Once we rise above this liminal quantity, we pass by "just observable differences" to a maximum beyond which objective additions are no longer remarked. The increment which a given stimulus must receive in order to effect such differences was styled by Fechner the "threshold of discrimination."

A gradation of this sort is obviously impossible without methodical procedure. If this be wanting, no skillful manipulation of apparatus, no flashes of genius or quickness of observation, can supply the defect. The next step, therefore, which followed upon the formulation of Weber's law was the adoption of the so called "psycho-physical methods." Here, too, Weber had led the way; but for wider application of the methods and especially for their theoretical discussion, Fechner's work cannot be too highly praised. Sensations of light, of tone, of pressure, and of temperature were in turn subjected to experiment, the various results expressed in mathematical terms, and even the philosophical bearings of these new data thoroughly set forth. The outcome of all this research was the "Elemente der Psychophysik," which made its appearance in 1860, just ten years after its fundamental idea took shape in the author's mind.

Fechner was far from exaggerating the merits of this work. In his preface he warns the reader that what follows is not an exposition of the elements of a science already well under way, but the presentation of an embryonic stage in what he hopes may become a science. Nor is he less circumspect in estimating the results which he obtained. Repeatedly he protests that further investigation is needed to fully elucidate the problems in hand, and even suggests how his own work may be improved. If, as is now generally thought, he overrated the importance of Weber's researches, and imputed to Weber's law a value which subsequent tests do not confirm, his right to be called the founder of the new psychology is none the less secure. Apart from what he actually

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accomplished in regard to principle, method and experiment, his title rests on the fact that he marked out new lines of research which prove more and more fruitful as they are developed. Whatever may be the verdict of posterity upon the contents of the "Psychophysik," its *suggestiveness* can never be called in question.

The discussion which it provoked has proved a help rather than a hindrance to the attaining of Fechner's chief purpose. It gave him, also, occasion to bring out more clearly various points of detail which, as expressed in the original treatise, were open to misconstruction. The last, and perhaps most satisfactory presentation of his views was published shortly before his death. Out of a life of eighty-six years, about forty had been devoted to psychological research, whose stimulating effects were plainly visible when Fechner, in 1887, ceased from his labors.

Others, in fact, had entered with ardor into the same field. As early as 1862, Wundt, in his "Beiträge zur Sinneswahrnehmung," had spoken of an "experimental psychology," and in his "Vorlesungen über die Menschen-und Thierseele" (1863) had plainly outlined the course to be pursued in his later research and publication. The work, however, for which we are most indebted to him is his "Grundzüge der Physiologischen Psychologie," the first edition of which appeared in 1874. The term "physiological" is significant not only as specifying the author's treatment of mental processes, but also as hinting at differences of view between Wundt and his predecessors. In determining the relations of psychical and physical phenomena, we may confine ourselves to the two extremes, viz., the outer stimulus and the resulting state of consciousness, without attending to the physiological media which intervene. The color-sense, for instance, may be studied by experiments in which various degrees of saturation are compared with the subjective impression, but in which no note is taken of what goes on in retina, nerve and brain. Fechner's investigations were mostly of this class, and belong to what he termed the "aeussere psychophysik." It is true that his "innere psychophysik" is an attempt to account for the intermediary organic processes, but much remained to be done before this aspect of the problem could be handled in a manner befitting its importance.

Wundt's psychology is based on the idea of a complete parallelism between psychical and physiological processes. Corresponding to every function of mind there is a function of the nerve-elements. External stimuli acting upon appropriate organs and passing along definite channels, set up changes in consciousness, and, conversely, changes in consciousness modify organic activities. Nerve-processes, as such, are investigated by physiology; mental processes, as such, by pure psychology, and the

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study of neuro-mental processes belongs to that border-science which is called "physiological psychology." It is evident that Wundt follows the same general line of thought as Fechner, but that at the same time he more closely determines the problem which inspired the "Psychophysik." The remarkable additions to our knowledge of the structure and functions of the nervous system which have been made during the last three decades, and in which Wundt himself has had a share, confirmed him, no doubt, in his view, and, to some extent, facilitated his task. He has, however, insisted—and with good right—that the fields of physiology and of psychology are distinct, and that the latter, though deeply indebted to the former, has a scope and a method of its own. In psychological experiment it is important that the physical conditions should be accurately fixed and varied; otherwise, definite results are impossible. Nor can an outer stimulus be properly applied, and its effects adequately understood, unless physiological factors be taken into account. But supposing these requirements entirely fulfilled, we have yet to take note of the essential element—that is, of what happens in the mind. The mental process is known to the experimentee alone, and to him only by self-observation. Were introspection infallible, its report, without further check, would be decisive. Such, however, is not the case. Deception glides so easily into our scrutiny of mind, especially where slight variations are to be detected, that rigorous control is needed in order to obtain anything like a precise record of our inner experience. This control is secured by experimental methods, and is more severe in proportion as they are perfect. Modern psychology, then, far from setting introspection aside, imparts to it a value which it could not otherwise possess, and for want of which it has served too often as a basis for inexact or erroneous conceptions.

Hence it is that immediately upon beginning its research the new science busied itself with testing its methods. By comparing the results which they severally give, by adapting them so far as may be necessary to various lines of investigation, by pointing out and if possible by eliminating conceivable sources of error, it is gradually enabled to assign each its proper value. The sharpest criticism and the nicest calculation have thus been called into requisition, and though the work is by no means at an end, it is assuring to see that one great mistake has been avoided, that, namely, of pressing on blindly without stopping to ask if the course had been rightly set.

The worth of a method may be, in part at least, determined by an examination of the principles upon which it is based. Its flaws

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and shortcomings may appear on a moment's reflection, or be detected by a simple calculation. Undue assumption, neglect of minute but important factors, hasty deductions and unwarranted extension which tend to vitiate a method, or limit its application, are often exposed by critical treatment. The ultimate test, however, is experiment. Even a method that in theory is sound may be rendered impracticable by reason of special conditions that bar its application. Corrections, on the other hand, which no amount of speculation could suggest, occur at once to those engaged in experimental research. To organize such research was one of the first steps taken by Wundt.

In 1879 he opened a laboratory of experimental psychology at the University of Leipzig. The undertaking was not without its difficulties. Space was wanting, appropriation was slow, and some of the on-lookers shook their heads in doubt first as to the legitimacy of such an institute and then as to its chances of success. However, a small band of workers gathered round the director, and under his leadership made a vigorous beginning. Results were soon obtained which justified the publication of a special review, and in 1881 the "Philosophische Studien" appeared. Wundt's initiative was speedily followed in other German universities, and psychological laboratories were founded at Göttingen, Berlin, Freiburg and Bonn.

Among the earliest members of the Leipzig institute was G. Stanley Hall, who introduced the new method into this country by establishing a laboratory at the Johns Hopkins University in 1888, and by publishing the "American Journal of Psychology," which is now in its sixth volume. At present there are fifteen laboratories in the United States, and the number will be increased in the course of this year. In January, 1894, Profs. Cattell and Baldwin issued the first number of "The Psychological Review" which counts among its contributors the leading psychologists of this country and of Europe. Add to this list of periodical publications the "Zeitschrift für Physiologie und Psychologie der Sinnesorgane" edited by Ebbinghaus, of Berlin, and it will be easily seen that literature on the subject is not lacking. Finally, to encourage psychological work, an International Association has been formed, which has met twice, at Paris in 1889 and at London in 1892. Nearer home we have the American Psychological Association, which held its first meeting at Philadelphia in 1892 and its second at New York in 1893. In little more than a quarter of a century, Fechner's prediction has been fulfilled; experiment has succeeded to mere introspection, and psychology is as much at home in the laboratory as it was in the library.

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III.

To the question, What has been accomplished? the simplest reply would be—*consule probatos auctores.* For those who have not such works at hand, an outline may possess some interest. But in any case, it is well to remember that the science is still in its infancy and that it makes no pretension to rival the acquisitions of older branches. Nor is it less necessary to keep in view a feature of research which is often misunderstood. Minuteness, detail, insistence upon microscopic elements and conditions—all this, most people allow, is a splendid proof of patient perseverance; but, *cui bono?* So-and-so has spent months, perhaps years, in proving that the lateral retina is less sensitive than the *fovea centralis;* some one else has written a volume on the temperature-sense, or the perception of tone, or the time-rate of various sensations. What does it all mean and what does it tell us about the soul? These are not fictitious queries. They suggest themselves naturally and are constantly proposed, not only by laymen but also by others in whom the synthetic tendency is impatient. In this respect, of course, psychology is no worse off than other sciences. What the world cares to know from the chemist, the physiologist, and even the historian is the "grand result," not the sifting and drop-by-drop accretions which it supposes. And yet as in every department of knowledge the advance is by inches more often than by miles, so in psychology the truest progress is seemingly slight. Whoever undertakes the solution of a problem which at first sight appears to be simple will generally find on closer view that it is exceedingly complex. As his investigation proceeds, he remarks that a trifling variation in the conditions of experiment produces unexpected results, each of which must be fully accounted for before he can safely pursue his way. Obliged thus to "divide and conquer," he narrows his plan of research until at the end his labor, though thorough, is spent upon a tithe of the original task. In other words, he has been busy with analysis, and the outcome is merely a thread in the fabric of science which jointly with others he is weaving. But results are multiplied, and adjusted by criticism, and reinforced by comparison till at length, by masterly synthesis, they are fashioned into theory and law.

No satisfactory generalization of this kind has yet been arrived at concerning the main problems of experimental psychology. It is now acknowledged, that in consequence of repeated tests, Weber's law possesses only an approximate value. It is verified in regard to auditory sensations, but receives little or no support from investigations on the other senses. Wundt, in this connection, calls attention to the fact, that in each sense-organ peculiar physiological conditions exist which help to explain deviations

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from the law. Every one, for instance, is familiar with the phenomenon of adaptation which plays so important a part in our sensations of light and of heat. This evidently renders the "threshold" unsteady, and thereby interferes with experiment. The same must be said of after-images, of sensations that are subjective in their origin, and of the fatigue that invariably arises when an organ is exposed to stimulation for any considerable length of time. Whether by making due allowance for all these factors we get any nearer to the real psycho-physical relation is a question that future research must decide. For the present it is worth while noting that each of these peculiar conditions which threatened at first to block the course of experiment have rather widened and extended it. If adaptation foils us in the observation of visual impressions, we can turn about and study adaptation itself. If after-images are as troublesome as they are irrepressible, they can at least become subjects of inquiry, and sources, perhaps, of new knowledge. Whenever, in a word, exceptions occur that tend to invalidate a law, they must be traced to their causes and turned to the profit of science.

It is, moreover, to be remarked, that though Weber's law, in the precise form which Fechner gave it, has not been fully verified, its underlying principle admits of no doubt. We are certain that sensation does not ascend in intensity with every increment of the physical stimulus. How is this fact to be understood? At some point in its passage from the outer world to mind, the impression evidently spends part of its force. On the other hand, its appearance or non-appearance in consciousness as a new intensity depends in some way on the amount of stimulation by which it is preceded. Two explanations are thus offered which, differ as they may in some respects, imply no essential contradiction. Adopting the physiological point of view, we may say either that the neural excitation does not keep pace with the increasing stimulus-strength, but rises more slowly; or, that feeble excitations, though fully transmitted through organ and nerve, become latent in the gray matter of the brain, and have to accumulate before they can arouse sensation. In this case the mental process is directly proportioned to the stimulus to which it responds, but the stimulus itself is diminished at the periphery, along the afferent path or in the cerebral centres.

According to the strictly psychological interpretation, the phenomena which we seek to explain are merely instances of a more general law, the law of the "relativity of our conscious states." Every process of mind has its value determined, not by any absolute measure, but by its relation to contiguous processes. Besides the neural transmission, and besides the sensation as such, there

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is our estimate of the sensation or, as it has been termed, the process of "apperception." It is by this process, says Wundt, that we compare different amounts of sensation, and since the basis of comparison is the sensation as presented in consciousness, our judgment must depend as well upon the actual condition of consciousness as upon that of the neural substance. Because also the excitation of the apperceptive centre implies a physiological process, this second interpretation harmonizes with the other and raises it to the rank of a higher principle by which our mental life is governed.

Both views, in the course of discussion, have found adherents and opponents. Both start out from incontestable facts to explain a phenomenon which is a complex of psychical and physiological elements. So far it is certain that neither can be exclusively accepted, and it is probable that both will be modified by further investigation. We have yet much to learn in regard to cerebral functions, and until these are more thoroughly studied, hypothesis must enter largely into our interpretation. On the other hand, what we call "consciousness" includes a great deal more than mere sensation. Feelings in the stricter sense of the word, associations, logical combinations, acts of memory, attention and will, all have their share in our mental "structure," and all must be accounted for before psychology can venture on its final generalization.

Some progress has already been made in the experimental investigation of these higher processes; but it seems advisable here to render our description of them more intelligible by a brief outline of the course pursued in obtaining such results. A thorough acquaintance with psychological methods is to be gained only by personal experience in the laboratory; and if the present sketch is no attempt at a pen-picture, it may serve to show how the difficulties of research, though numerous, are in a measure overcome.

Once a problem is well defined, the first step towards its solution is the arranging of physical conditions. The stimulus must be kept under exact control, its quantity ascertained, its constancy within necessary limits secured, and its variations precisely determined. For this purpose apparatus is needed which must be delicate in proportion as the work approaches a maximum of niceness. In some lines of experiment, instruments ready-made are found in the ordinary physical or physiological cabinet; in others, special contrivances are devised to meet special requirements of the problem. And in all cases the arrangement is considered more perfect according as the apparatus, by acting with mechanical precision, excludes the uncertainties of manipulation. A candle-flame, for example, is not the best source of light, nor would the

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highest skill of a pianist ensure a perfectly regular sequence of sound. Experiment, to be worth anything, must adopt more accurate means.

Of equal, and perhaps of greater importance, is the selection of an experimentee. Not every intelligent or educated person will answer this purpose. The subject, potentially at least, must be capable of close introspection; that is, if he does not already possess this habit, he should be able to acquire it by a reasonable amount of training. For it is intended not that stimulation shall sink silently into the depths of his consciousness without eliciting a response, but that he shall describe with the greatest possible accuracy the effect of the impression upon his mind. In drilling the novice, however, certain errors have to be avoided, which are occasioned at times by an over-anxiety to get uniform results, or results that bear out a preconceived notion. He should not be given the *à priori* idea that a standard exists to which his own report must correspond, nor should he be urged on by practice to become a machine. Failure to act mechanically is a defect in a piece of apparatus; in the subject of experiment it hints at some particular feature of consciousness which in itself demands explanation.

Proper apparatus and capable subjects are essential requisites for successful work. But in actual experiment many details have to be taken into consideration in order to ensure methodical precision. In most cases, for instance, the experimentee must be isolated as far as possible from all disturbing influences, so that the full force of attention may be given to the impression which is under investigation. Hence the use of the "dark room" in optical work, of the "still room" in experiments on hearing, and of many more delicate contrivances which not only exclude impressions upon organs other than the one which is being tested, but also limit the action upon a particular organ to a single stimulation. Again, in certain lines of work a choice must be made between informing the subject of what he is to expect or to observe, and leaving him in partial ignorance. The latter plan is often preferred because it frees the observer from bias, and checks the tendency to routine. In fact, this choice implies something more than a methodical precaution; it involves the problem as to how far anticipation affects our estimate of an impression. Another question that presents itself at the outset is this: should the experiment be repeated a great number of times upon two or three subjects, or should a score of subjects be tested with fewer experiments for each? If the first plan be followed, the results will approach constancy more and more, and may be regarded as typical in certain kinds of research. But when we have reason to believe that individual dif-

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ferences will be considerable. these can be reduced and something like an average obtained only by increasing the number of experimentees. It need not be added that the time required for getting satisfactory results will depend in great measure upon the way in which this question of method is answered.

Let us suppose that with due regard to these and other details, a piece of work has reached a stage at which the facts observed point to a definite conclusion. If we look over the record of these experiments all that we see at a glance is a succession of ledger-like pages covered with rows of figures, with here and there a mysterious sign or a brief annotation. To the unpracticed eye these protocol symbols mean nothing; nor do they mean much more to the psychologist until by proper interpretation their teaching is set forth, their variation ascribed to changing conditions, and the fact which they enunciate traced up to its cause. To obtain results by proper methods and to give such results a just interpretation—these are the main elements of research and the means of adding to our scientific knowledge.

The psychological problems which have thus been handled are by no means exhausted; yet their treatment is of sufficient interest to justify at least a hasty review.

1. *Analysis of Sense-Perceptions.*—Impressions made upon our organs of sense give rise not only to single sensations but also to those more complex states which the Germans designate as *Vorstellungen*, and which we with less precision call "presentations." Habitually we regard these combinations as simple processes, so closely are they welded by experience and so rapidly, almost automatically, are they formed. On nearer examination, however, we discern in them a large number of elements brought together in a variety of ways and under conditions which usually pass unnoticed. Nor are these elements and conditions identical for all our perceptions. In visual presentations, for instance, spatial relations play the leading part; in auditory presentations the time-element predominates; while in tactile and motor presentations both space and time are involved. One set of impressions is simultaneous, another successive. One is easily localized, another scarcely hints at the place whence, objectively, it proceeds.

Considerable progress has been made in the analysis of presentations whose elements are furnished by the highly developed senses of hearing and sight. The nature of musical intervals, of rhythm, harmony and melody, has been carefully defined. Still nicer work has been done on the visual field, the perception of motion, distance and perspective, and the curious phenomena of optical illusion. But in regard to taste and smell and *a fortiori* in regard to hunger, thirst and fatigue, our knowledge is meagre and

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unsatisfactory. So that while the mental ordering of impressions that chiefly acquaint us with the outer world, has been thoroughly investigated, the nature of those perceptions which are immediately connected with the sustenance of the organism or arise from systemic conditions, is still quite obscure.

2. *The Study of Attention.*—Objects within the field of vision are more or less clearly seen according to the retinal points which they impress. If their images fall upon the lateral retina, the corresponding objects are indistinctly seen. The object which darts its ray to the *fovea centralis* is perceived with greatest distinctness. Something analogous takes place in the mind. Of the sensations, perceptions, thoughts or feelings that enter at a given moment into the mental content, but one is at the focus of attention; the rest are stationed in the outlying area of consciousness. By what means is this mental fixation brought about? Under what conditions does it veer round from one image to another? How far does it yield to the force of external impressions or the drift of association, and how far is it under the control of the will? Is it steady or fluctuating? Does it weary with anticipation, grow firm with long repetition or spring up at sudden surprise? The answers both qualitative and quantitative that experiment has given to these questions, are among the best contributions to our knowledge of mind.

3. *The Succession of Mental States.*—That feelings and ideas group themselves in definite ways, and that if not interfered with, they follow each other in a certain order through consciousness, are facts which have long since been reduced to the "laws of association." Succession, however, implies time, and time can be measured. It is possible, then, to determine in some way the duration of mental processes, to estimate how long it takes to see, to hear, to judge, to choose. It would, of course, be useless to attempt measurements of this kind upon our ordinary speed of thought. At times we think with remarkable rapidity; at others, our ideas seem to drag; and again when a choice is necessary, the swarming of ideas is a cause of hesitation. The conditions, therefore, of the problem must be simplified to such a degree that the whole force of the attention is centred upon a single impression or limited to a small number of impressions. We may then determine, not how long it takes the mind habitually to act, but how quickly it can act under the most favorable conditions. This action, moreover, cannot be directly measured. As impressions reach the mind through the organism, the response must travel back through some organic process in order that it may be registered. Knowing the time-point at which the impression was given and that at which the mental process is recorded, we have an interval which is filled

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up with a series of actions, partly physiological and partly psychical, and which is usually called the "reaction-time." This interval, in its totality, is easily measured. We wish, for instance, to know how long it takes to hear. The same stroke of the hammer that produces the sound closes an electric circuit and sets the chronoscope in motion; the experimentee, on hearing the sound, opens his telegraph-key, breaks the circuit and brings the chronoscope to rest; the dial shows that so many thousandths of a second have elapsed. But meanwhile a number of processes have taken place. From the ear, the sound-stimulus has sped along the nerve to the brain, acts of recognition and volition have been performed and a motor impulse has hurried back, forcing the muscles to contract. Were all the physiological factors in this plexus accurately measured, a simple subtraction would give us the time occupied by the psycho-physical process. In point of fact, however, we are not yet certain as to what takes place in the brain and much less as to the duration of its functions. What we measure in this case is the mental act plus the afferent, central, and efferent neural transmissions.

But this measurement serves a purpose. Given the time required for a single perception, it is possible to determine by further experiment the time taken up by more complicated mental operations. When the subject is obliged to choose between two impressions, to perform a calculation or to associate an idea with the present perception, his reaction will naturally be longer than when he merely hears a sound or sees a light-flash. The record will show a certain time-surplus, and this is properly assigned to the additional process of mind.

In all such experiments, we may expect a considerable variety of results, according to the method employed, the amount of practice, the degree of concentration and the individual constitution. Partly by multiplying the experiments, partly by accounting for their variations, something like uniformity is obtained. But over and above the determination of the mental time-rate, these researches have brought to notice many of those subtle conditions whose influence upon consciousness is as important as it was hitherto unsuspected. And though the labor of analysis is tenfold increased, it is certain that the value of the corresponding synthesis is proportionately enhanced.

4. *The Time-Sense.*—The investigations just mentioned are a reply to the question—what is the time of our thought? Conversely, we may ask, what is our thought of time? The one problem turns upon the duration of mental acts; the other upon the character of the act by which we estimate duration. In a large way, we all know that objectively equal time-lengths seem longer

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or shorter according to our circumstances. On the clock-face an hour is always sixty minutes; but in grief or suffering or suspense, each minute for us is an hour, while for our seasons of pleasure and joy, the hours themselves are too swift. The subjective factors in our estimate always overween when they are strengthened by emotional states. If these latter be excluded, we are more likely to coincide in our time-judgment with the objective measure. This judgment, however, in order to be accurate, supposes a due concentration of the attention, and as this cannot be held steady through long periods, comparatively brief stretches are alone available for experiment. It is safer, in other words, to compare seconds with seconds than hours with hours. Hence the problem of the time-sense may be restated as the "valuation of short intervals."

Under these limitations, research has of late made remarkable progress, establishing, along with other peculiarities of our time-estimate, the noteworthy fact that shorter intervals are overrated while longer intervals are underrated. This result becomes in turn the starting-point of fresh investigation from which we may hope a clearer insight into what is still one of the most intricate psychological problems.

5. *Feelings and Emotions.*—Here we come upon psychical processes which seem at first sight to elude experiment. Largely as they enter into everyday life, and familiar as they are in various forms, they mock at qualitative introspection, to say nothing of quantitative determination. We never mistake a thrill of gladness for a pang of sorrow nor the promptings of hatred for those of affection; yet sharp-eyed analysis is needed to tell us in what these opposite feelings precisely consist. That they color our thought and affect our volitions and often assert their influence in our outward actions, is also a fact of experience that complicates the problem while it presses for an explanation. It is true that these states are shared in, more evidently than the intellectual activities, by the organism, and from this it might be inferred that their nature could be more easily determined. Emotion when it is freed from restraint reflects itself in our exterior, in the flash of the eye, the quivering of the lips or the flush that spreads over the face. But these outward signs are too vague to form the basis of exact mensuration. They tell us of anger, but not of its degree, of fear and shame and delight, but not of their intensities.

In spite of such difficulties, investigation has been busy, since the first decade of this century, upon the relation between emotion and its bodily expression. From Bell (1806) to Darwin (1872), a lively interest was manifested in the subject, and much valuable material accumulated, which however is chiefly of an

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anatomical and physiological character. More attention has been recently paid to the psychological features of emotion, without of course neglecting its externalization. Respiration, heart beat, and increase of volume in different members of the body, have each in turn served as indices of the parallel feeling. The latest researches are by Lehman and appear in his work—"Die Hauptgesetze des Menschlichen Gefühlsleben" (1892). By combining the three classes of movement referred to above, this author has succeeded in giving a graphic representation of various emotions so far as they affect the respiratory and circulatory processes. If we conceive mental calm as a straight line or as one whose rhythmic curvings are as regular as the normal pulse allows, any brusque emotion will trace a sudden excursion above or below the line to an extent that depends upon the strength and nature of the emotion. What is more, the curve will vary according to the kind of ideas that arouse or accompany the most moderate feeling; and no other psychological experiment is so striking as this, in which we can literally follow the "train of thought," or note the ebb and flow of emotion.

In a summary like this it is impossible to do justice to individual psychologists whose researches on particular subjects have been epoch-making for the science. Beginning with the work of Ebbinghaus on memory and that of Goldscheider on the temperature-sense, a long list of names might be added to the roll of honor. Nor have there been wanting in these latter years men who, like Müller and Münsterberg, James, Külpe and Ladd, have proposed to set psychology on new theoretical foundations or thoroughly to revise its methods. All such movements, be their ultimate value what it may, are signs of earnestness and activity. But there is one means by which, without lengthy description, an idea may be given of the proportions which psychological research has attained. Glancing over the *literature* of the science for four years only, we find that the number of publications dealing in one way or another with problems of mental life was, in 1889, nine hundred; in 1890, thirteen hundred and twenty-five; in 1891, eleven hundred and seventy-one; in 1892, eleven hundred and fifty-eight—an average of three publications *per diem*.

These figures have an import of their own which needs no comment. But they have also, by implication, a meaning which shows the trend of the science: they are the effect of specialization and they compel specialization. Argue as we may about the pedagogical value of specialized studies, we cannot rule out the fact that they are the main-spring of scientific progress. That steady differentiation which has given to the various empirical branches a certain independence has affected philosophy as well. Logic,

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psychology, and ethics tend more and more towards autonomy, as special research widens out their respective domains. And as new workers crowd into the field, the activity of each, in order to be productive, must be restricted, and make up in depth what is apparently lost by the limitation of surface.

It does not follow, however, that the specialist in psychology or in any other science can afford to lose sight of those relations which, on a higher plane, bind all branches of knowledge to unity, or to dispense with that broader education which makes his after-building secure. But it does follow that the preparatory training must be revised so as to balance by its generality the specialization which is to come later on. How the revision shall be accomplished is a problem for pedagogics. Any scheme of education that is proposed as a solution must keep in view not only the abstract bearing of science upon science, but also the capacity of those who are educated. To train the mind without a knowledge of the mind is absurd. To force it, irrespective of its aptitudes, into a rigid mould, is dangerous. And it is equally fatal to adopt a system in which the powers of observation, of concentration, and, above all, of independent thinking, are not adequately developed. We are thus brought round to a new and more practical aspect of psychology—its application in the school-room. In whatever fashion the teacher performs his task, he is, consciously or unconsciously, applying psychological notions. Is there any reason why these should be wrong rather than right, vague and tentative when they might be precise and methodical? It cannot be said that modern psychology has, as yet, rendered to pedagogics the full share of usefulness which the relations of the two sciences would lead us to expect. But noteworthy advance in this direction has been made especially by some of our American psychologists. Further results will doubtless prove that the experimental study of mind may be turned, indirectly at least, to the profit of all the sciences, and that whatever psychology owes them may, in time, be amply repaid. In rendering this practical service, based upon exact and painstaking research, the new psychology not only helps us to know the mind but also helps the mind to know. In both respects it has progressed; in neither can it be blamed for being modern.

E. A. Pace.

Catholic University.

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INDIAN BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

"Sic Vos Non Vobis."

(SECOND ARTICLE.)[1]

IT is probable that few students of American history can study the bibliography of the Algonquian Languages, without becoming deeply interested in its suggestive pages.

In these pages may be found the index to events related, which are essentially connected with the history of North America, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

And it is probable also, that, to many, the true nature and bearing of these events have been imperfectly understood, and by others overlooked or forgotten.

Whether we follow the eminent compiler of the bibliographies of the Indian languages to the cantons of the Indian nations west of the Mississippi whom he visited while engaged in his work and amongst whom exposure and unsuitable nourishment weakened his system; whether we watch him while searching the libraries of sympathetic American bibliophiles, or while enjoying the cheerful co-operation and *bonhomie* of the custodians of the hierarchical, the collegiate, the conventual, the parochial, and the missionary archives of Canada; or whether we wonder at his courage and industry while exploring the literary vastness of the British Museum, or while searching the archives and libraries of Continental Europe for some book or manuscript he felt sure was extant, but of which he had but slight clue to work upon for its discovery; it will be difficult to withold our sincere tribute to his self-sacrificing energy and to express our gratitude for the aid he has rendered in the development of this important field of American literature, by placing so much reliable data within our reach.

"The Algonquian speaking peoples," writes Mr. Pilling, "covered a greater extent of country, perhaps, than those of any other of the linguistic stocks of North America, stretching from Labrador to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Churchill River of Hudson Bay to Pamlico Sound in North Carolina; and the literature of their languages is by far the greatest in extent of any of the stocks north of Mexico, being equalled, if at all by only one

[1] See The American Catholic Quarterly Review, for October, 1893.

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south of that line, namely the Nahuatl. Probably every language of the family is on record, and of the more prominent, extensive record has been made."

In two, the Massachusetts and the Cree, the whole Bible has been printed, the former by the way being the first Bible printed upon this continent. In two others, the Chippewa and the Micmac, nearly the whole of the scriptures has been printed, and portions thereof have appeared in a number of others.

In the Abnaki, Blackfoot, Chippewa, Cree, Delaware, Micmac and Nipissing, rather extensive dictionaries have been printed, and of the Abnaki, Nipissing, Blackfoot, Chippewa, Cree, Massachusetts, Illinois, Montagnais and Pottawotomi, there are manuscript dictionaries in existence.

Of grammars, we have in print the Abnaki, Blackfoot, Chippewa, Cree, Massachusetts, Micmac and Nipissing, and in manuscript the Illinois, Menominee, Montagnais and Pottawotomi. In nearly every language of the family, prayer-books, hymn-books, tracts, and scriptural texts have appeared, and several of them are represented by school-books of various kinds, *i.e.*, primers, spellers, and readers; and in one of them, the Chippewa, there was printed in 1840, a geography for beginners.

The Algonquian bibliography embraces 2245 titular entries, of which 1926 relate to printed books and articles, and 319 to manuscripts.

Of these 2014 have been seen and described by the compiler—1850 of the prints and 164 of the manuscripts, leaving as derived from outside sources 231, 76 of the prints and 155 manuscripts.

Of those unseen by the compiler, titles and descriptions of probably one-half have been received from persons who have actually seen the works and described them for him.

In addition to these there are given 130 full titles of printed covers, second and third volumes, etc., all of which have been seen and described, with one exception by the compiler; while in the notes mention is made of 243 printed and manuscript works, 146 of which have been seen and 97, derived from others, mostly printed sources.

The chronological chain begins with Marc Lescarbot's "Histoire de la Nouvelle France,"[1] Paris, 1609, in which examples are given of the Souriquois-Etchemin, of the Abnaqui nation, language, and it ends with a notice of the linguistic studies of Mr. Alexander Francis Chamberlain,[2] and his treatise on the language of the Mississaqua Indians, in 1891.

[1] For a description of Lescarbot, see succeeding pages.

[2] *Notes of the Customs, History and Beliefs of the Mississaquas*, by A. F. Chamberlain, B.A. Toronto. 1891.

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Now although nearly three centuries intervene between the beginning and the ending of the chain, the Souriquois-Etchemins are still constituents of the Abnaqui nation, and with the Mississaqua nation were contemporaries before Marc Lescarbot's time. The homes of these nations are within the Dominion of Canada, and mostly in the same localities occupied by them before the white man had landed upon their soil. It will be remembered, that when the Iroquoian Confederacy sent a gigantic fleet of war canoes against the Chippewa nation on Lake Superior in the seventeenth century, the cantons of the Mississaqua nation were traversed by the New York invaders and literally wiped out of existence, as was supposed, but they survived.

The nations of the Algonquian confederacy whose languages are comprised in this work are the Abnaki, Acadian, Algonquian (distinct), Arapaho, Atsina, Blackfoot, Brotherton, Cheyenne, Chippewa, Cree, Delaware, Etchemin, Hudson Bay, Illinois, Kaskaskia, Kikapoo, Leni Lenapé (Delaware), Long Island, Maliseet, Manhattan, Mascoutin, Massachusetts, Menominee, Miami, Micmac, Mississaqua, Mohegan, Montagnais, Montauk, Munsee, Nanticoke, Narragansett, Naugatuck, Nehethawa, New England, New Jersey, New York, Nipissing, Norridgewock, Ottawa, Pampticough, Pamunkey, Passamaquoddy, Pennsylvania, Penobscot, Peoria, Pequot, Piankashaw, Pottawotomi, Powhattan, Quiripi, Rhode Island, Sac and Fox, Sankikani, Satsika, Savanna, Shawnee, Sheshtapoosh, Skoffie, Souriquois, Unquachog, Virginia, Wapanoc and Wea.

Besides these there are tributary peoples of the national stocks, many of the names of whom are more familiarly known than the names of the parent stocks, and these are comprised in the languages of the Abbitibi of the Cree, Blood Indians of the Blackfoot, Cahokia of the Illinois, Caniba of the Abnaki, Esopus of the Munsee, Fall Indians of the Atsina, Fox of the Sac and Fox, Gaspesian of the Micmac, Gros Ventre of the Atsina, Knisteneau of the Cree, Lenapé of the Delaware, Mareschit of the Maliseet, Melicete of the Maliseet, Minsi of the Munsee, Moose of the Cree, Moosonee of the Chippewa, Mountaineer of the Montagnais, Nantic of the Narragansett, Natic of the Massachusetts, New Sweden of the Delaware, Ojibwa and Ojipwe of the Chippewa, Old Algonkin of the Algonquian, Openango of the Passamaquoddy, Piegan of the Blackfoot and Satsika, Plymouth of the Massachusetts, Quoddy of the Passamaquoddy, Sahkey of the Sac and Fox, St. Francis of the Abnaki, Saint John of the same, Sauk of the Sac and Fox, Salteux of the Chippewa, Shinwank of the same, Soto of the Chippewa, Stockbridge of the Mohegan, Tamarois of the Illinois, Tarratine of the Abnaki, Twightwee of the Miami and Unami of the Delaware.[1]

[1] *Algonquian Bibliography*, preface viii.

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Here are designated more than one hundred distinct nationalities, comprising the circle of the Algonquian League as it existed before the advent of the European on North American soil, whose languages are embraced in this bibliography.

How long these languages had existed prior to the arrival of Jacques Cartier, in 1534, it would be impossible to state with any degree of positive certainty. But it was due to the intelligence of this French navigator that the existence of some of the languages of the North American Indian nations was first made known to the people of the Old World when he published the account of his voyage up the River Saint Lawrence, in Paris, more than three centuries and a half ago.

At the epoch of the advent of the European, the entire native population of the North American Continent was Pagan.

The inception of this Indian bibliography, which, in the Algonquian circle alone, comprises, as stated, 2245 titular notices, was coincident with the crusade of the Europeans for the conversion of these peoples to Christianity.

A scrutiny of Mr. Pilling's chronological index discloses the fact that 122 of the titular entries of the Algonquian bibliography relate to the seventeenth century, 213 to the eighteenth century, and 1910 to the present or nineteenth century. Of the 112 of the seventeenth century, 68 relate to Indian nations who had previously and during that century dwelt upon the soil and contiguous thereto, known in American annals as New England, but who are now extinct.

Of the 213 prints or manuscripts originating during the eighteenth century, nearly one-half the number have relation to extinct nations who had previously dominated the soil of New England, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the islands contiguous to the Atlantic coast. Of the 1910 works or manuscripts originating during the present century, 372 relate to Indian nationalities, who at a remote period were lords of the soil of the countries mentioned above, and whose necrology is a part of the history of the American Republic.

Of the 319 manuscripts recorded by Mr. Pilling and forming a part of the Algonquian bibliography, most of which he has seen and minutely described, the greater number of them are in the handwriting of scholarly and distinguished Catholic missionaries, which were written during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in the languages of Algonquian nations, as manuals, scriptural works, sermons, translations of prayers and litanies, instructions for the administration of the sacraments, the examination of conscience, the acts of contrition, faith, hope and charity, prayers for confession, before and after communion, and doctrinal explana-

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tions of the faith these holy men sought to inculcate in the minds of their impressionable neophytes, designed for practical use for themselves, or for the assistance of those who might succeed them in their sacerdotal functions. For the more intelligent assistance of those who might succeed to their missionary work, they compiled grammars, vocabularies, dictionaries and linguistic treatises of the vernacular of those whose spiritual care their successors were to assume.

Partially hidden, it may be claimed, as these precious manuscripts have been for more than a century, their existence and their import has been known to comparatively few American writers. They have now been collocated by Mr. Pilling, and their contents minutely described.

It is known that the documents piled *en masse* in the Tower of London, when recently arranged and indexed, so that they might be examined, proved upon inspection to be of such a nature, as to change the face of the history of the epochs to which they related.

It is not claimed that the French manuscripts stored away in Canada will essentially affect the status of North American history, as it has been written; but they are calculated to shed new light upon that portion of this history which relates to the Catholic Church. And no writer of American history in the future should ignore their existence or fail to explain their significance.

As the greater portion of the bibliography of Algonquian Languages comprises the description of printed works, we shall briefly consider such of these as relate to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries first and consider the manuscripts of the same epochs subsequently.

In doing so we shall group these works according to nationality in their chronological order, which will include the French, the Dutch, the German and the English.

The earliest of the French, as stated, is Lescarbot, which is noticed as follows:

"Lescarbot Marc, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, contenant les navigations, decouvertes, et habitations faites par les Francais és Indes Occidentales et Nouvelle France souz (*sic*) l'aveu et authorité de nos Rois Tres Chrestiens, et les diverses fortunes d'iceux en l'execution de ces choses, depuis cent ans Jusques à hui. En quoí est comprise l'Histoire Morale, Naturelle et Geographique de ladite province: Avec les tables et figures d'icelle. Par Marc Lescarbot Advocat en Parlement, Témoine oculaire des choses ici recitées.

Multa renascentur quæ iam
Decedere cadéntque.

A Paris chez Jean Milot, tenant sa boutique sur les degrez de la

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grand salle du palais, 1609, pp. 956." The linguistics in this edition are as already described.

Subsequent editions of Lescarbot are also noticed. This author, it should be stated, was a pronounced opponent of the Catholic missionaries. Claude Duret in his "Thresor de l'Histoire de Langues," Paris, 1613, reprints Lescarbot's linguistics. Champlain is noticed as follows:

CHAMPLAIN SAMUEL DE. Les voyages de la Nouvelle France occidentale dicte (sic) Canada, faits par le Sr. de Champlain Xainctongeois, Capitaine pour le Roy en la Marine du Ponant, et toutes les Descouvertes qu'il a faites en ce païs depuis l'an 1603, iusques en l'an 1629. On se voit comme ce pays à esté premierement decouvert par les François, sous l'authorité de nos Roys tres Chrestiens, iusques au regne de sa Majesté à present regnant Louis XIII. Roy de France and de Navarre, etc. Avec un Catechisme ou instruction traduicte du François au langage des peuples Sauvages de quelque contrés, avec ce qui s'est passé en ladite Nouvelle France en l'année 1631. A monseigneur le cardinal duc de Richelieu. A Paris, chez Louis Sevestre, ruë du Meurier prés la Porte, 1632. Small quarto, pp. 330.

The linguistic examples in the first edition as quoted above, are in the Montagnais language, by Pére Enemond Masse, S. J., one of the earliest of the Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century. Father Masse's experience as a missionary to the North American Indians, was at first marked with many adventures and trials, which he underwent at the hands of the English.

In 1610 a fund was raised to sustain a mission in Acadia; and Fathers Peter Biard and Enemond Masse, both Jesuits, were appointed to this mission. Opposition on the part of two Huguenots who had an interest in the vessel in which they had intended to embark, prevented their departure.

A French lady, Antoinette de Pons, Marquise de Guercheville, who had been active in raising means for this missionary work, purchased the interest of the Huguenots in this vessel and cargo and assigned these shares for the benefit of the proposed mission.

The trading vessel having on board the two Jesuit missionaries, Biard and Masse, sailed from Rouen in January, 1611, and after a voyage of four months arrived at Port Royal.

The missionaries remained in the vicinity two years, enduring hardships and insults from Biencourt, supercargo and joint owner, with the mission, of the enterprise.

This Frenchman acted brutally and even prevented the priests from leaving the settlement. Madam de Pons being apprised of this state of affairs, obtained an extensive grant of territory extending from the St. Lawrence to Florida, from Louis XIII., and

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purchased the rights of the grantee of Port Royal. Having thus acquired a domain entirely under her own control she resolved, "to establish a mission for the conversion of the Indians, where Catholic priests could begin the good work unhampered by any claims or interference of proprietors or merchants, and fitted out a vessel at Honfleur under the command of the Sieur de la Saussaye. It carried Father Quentin and Brother Gilbert du Thet with thirty persons who were to winter in the country.

"The vessel sailed from France, March 12, 1613, and putting in at Port Royal in May, took Fathers Biard and Masse on board, ran along the coast and entered a fine harbor on the eastern shore of Mount Desert Island.

"Here the missionaries landed and planting a cross, offered the holy sacrifice of the Mass, calling the port Saint Sauveur." A fine location for a settlement was selected and the missionary expedition landed. M. de Saussaye gave no attention to building defensive works but cultivated the fertile soil, some habitations were built on shore and the vessel remained at anchor in the harbor. The Indians were friendly and appearances favorable. One day in September while M. de Saussaye was temporarily absent, an English vessel appeared off the harbor, and immediately opened fire on Madame de Pons's vessel, which was forced to surrender. Brother Gilbert du Thet was mortally wounded, carried ashore, and died the following day. The attacking vessel was commanded by Samuel Argall, deputy governor of Virginia and an English buccaneer of high renown; he robbed de Saussaye's desk of its papers and effects, and plundered the settlers. Putting Father Masse and fourteen Frenchmen in a small craft he set it adrift. On the ground that the French were intruders, he not only destroyed Saint Sauveur but subsequently Port Royal and the port on Ste. Croix Island. Argall's vessel on which were Fathers Biard and Quentin met with storms and was driven to the Azores, whence the survivors of the missionary expedition finally made their way to France.[1] Father Masse and companions were picked up at sea and carried to England, and soon after reached France.

The missionary again left his native country, in 1625, for Canada, and labored with the Algonkins and Montagnais till Quebec was taken in 1629, and he was, a second time, taken prisoner, and carried to England, but finally allowed to return to France. In 1633, he again returned to Canada, and was assigned to the care of the Montagnais Indians with whom he remained for thirteen years, and died in 1646, in his 72d year.

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[1] *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 222–23. See also the interesting story of this mission in the works quoted by Dr. Shea's foot note.

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The next in the series of French works noticed is as follows:

"Le Jeune, Père Paul. Relation de ce qui s'est passé en La Nouvelle France en l'année 1633. Envoyée au R. P. Barth Jacquinot Provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus en la Province de France, par le P. Paul le Jeune de la mesme Compagnie, Superieur de la residence de Kebec." (*sic.*)

"A Paris chez Sebastian Cramoisy rue S. Jacques, aux Cicognes, 1634, avec privilege du Roy." In which are examples of prayers in Montagnais.

The "relations" of the same missionary for the succeeding year to the same Father Superior, and from the same press in Paris, 1635, contain sermons in the Montagnais language with French interlinear translation.

The "relations" for the succeeding year, by the same Father Superior of the Jesuits at Quebec, having similar examples, was printed, "En Avignon, de l'imprimerie de Jacques Bramereau, imprimeur de sa Sainctete, de la Ville, et Université. Avec permission des superieurs. 1636.

In "Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année 1642–1643," to Rev. Jean Filleau, Provincial of the Jesuits in France, by Father Barth Vimont S. J., Superior at Quebec, is a letter in the Ottawa language, dictated by an Indian, with interlinear French translation. Paris, 1644. Cramoisy.

The eighteenth century opens with the Baron La Hontan. Seven *fac similes*, title-pages of vols. 1, 2, and 3, and four other title-pages differing in appearance, of the same work; the first of the series will be sufficient to indicate the scope of the books of this adventurer:

Nouveau Voyages
de
Mr. Le Baron de La Hontan
Dans
L'Amerique Septentrionale,
qui contiennent une rélation des différens Peuples qui y habitent; la nature de leur Gouvernement; leur Commerce; leurs Coutumes, leur Religion, et leur manière de faire la Guerre.
L'intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le Commerce qu'ils font avec ces Nations; l'avantage que l'Angleterre peut retirer dans ce pays, etant en guerre avec la France. (*Sic.*)
Le tout enrichi de cartes et de figures.
Tome Premier.
Honoratus qui virtutem honorat.
A La Haye.
Chez Frêres l'Honoré, marchands Libraires.
MDCCIII.

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The linguistics in Baron La Hontan's works are insignificant, and comprise, *Petit dictionaire des sauvages*, French and Algonkin, about twenty pages; conjugation of the verb "*to love*" in Algonkin, sakia, two pages; Algonkin numerals, and Huron words.

La Hontan's books obtained a large circulation. The first edition, in French, was printed at the Hague, in 1703; other editions followed, in 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, and 1731, all in French. English editions were printed, in London, 1703 and 1735. German editions, at Hamburg, 1709; at Leipzig, in 1711 and 1721. Dutch editions, at Amsterdam, in 1721, 1728, 1739, and 1741.

Why so much space was given by Mr. Pilling to this recreant French adventurer's books, comprising, as stated, seven *fac similes*, and as many pages of double columns descriptive of the respective editions does not appear, although it is generally admitted that he cannot be quoted with confidence. La Hontan ranked with Tilly, de Beauvais, Durantay, La Forét, Du l'Hut, and the elder de Tonty, all daring adventurers of this epoch in the Northwest; another contemporary, and Gascon like himself, M. de la Mothe Cadillac, who successfully conducted the hazardous and romantic expedition from Trois Riviéres to the shore of the *d'etroit du Lac Erie*, where he built Fort Pontchartrain, was of the same school of adventurers and gallant soldiers. But, in the light of contemporaneous history, La Hontan might be designated "The Gascon Knight of the Pen." His name appears in frontier colonial history at Forts Frontenac, Niagara, Saint Joseph, Michilimacinac, Sault Ste. Marie, and Green Bay. He was trusted by Frontenac, and promoted from the ranks. He was born near Mont de Marson, Gascony, in 1667, and served while a mere youth in Canada, in 1683. Why he subsequently became an exile from his native country is not clear; he died at Hanover, in 1715.

It is a relief to turn from La Hontan to Charlevoix, whose descriptive letters follow, in chronological order, among the printed works of the eighteenth century, and are noticed as follows:

"Charlevoix, PIERRE FRANCOIS XAVIER DE. Histoire et description generale de la Nouvelle France, avec le journal historique d'un Voyage, fait par ordre du Roi, dans l'Amérique Septentrionale. Par le P. de Charlevoix, de la Compagnie de Jésus.

"A Paris, chez Nyon Fils, Libraire, Quai des Augustins, a l'occasion. 1745. Avec approbation et privilege du Roi."

3 vols., 4°, maps.

The linguistics in the first edition are to be found in the 11th letter, and relate principally to the Algonquian languages and their distribution in Canada. Another edition of the same date, title and contents is described. A third edition is in 6 volumes,

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12°. The title page to the 5th and 6th volumes is given as follows:

"Journal d'un voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans l'Amerique septentrionale; addressée à Madame la Duchesse de Lesdiguieres. Par le P. de Charlevoix de la Compagnie de Jésus. Chez Didot Libraire Quai des Augustins a la Bible d'or, etc."

The linguistics differing from those of the first edition are to be found in volume 5. Other Paris editions of the same year are noticed: Chez Rollin Fils Libraire, Quai des Augustins à St. Athanaise, et au Palmier. Also, chez Pierre François Giffart, Rue St. Jacques à Ste. Therese.

English editions of similar tenor are noted, printed for R. & J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, London, and for R. Goadby; sold by R. Baldwin in Pater-Noster Row, London, 1763. A Dublin edition, by John Exshaw and James Potts, in Dame Street, 1766, is also noticed. In the biographical sketch of Charlevoix, taken from Appleton's "Cyclop. of Am. Biog.," mention is made of one of Dr. Shea's greatest works, his translation of "Charlevoix," in 6 volumes, New York (1865–1872). A work of great value to the historical reader on account of the abundant notes which literally illustrate the text. In the meantime occurred the conquest of Canada. La Nouvelle France, that great empire in the New World, was lost by the extravagance and corruption prevailing at the time in the French court; while the brave soldiers of France, without support and without supplies, yielded up their lives and the supremacy of France on the Plains of Abraham.

This event was a sad blow to the Algonquian confederacy; at the same time missionary zeal for the conversion of the North American Indian was no longer supplied from France.

Jean Baptiste de La Brosse, missionary of the Society of Jesus among the Montagnais Indians in Canada, composed and had printed in Quebec a manual of prayers entirely in the language of this nation, which Mr. Pilling notices as follows:

"Nehiro-iriniui aiamike massinahigan. Shatshegustsh, Mittinekapitsh, Iskuamiskutsh, Netshekatsh, Misht, Assinitsh, Shekutimitsh, Eknanatsh, Asuabmushuanitsh, Piakuagamitsh.

"Gaie missi, nehiro iriniui Astshitsh ka tatjits, kakueiasku aiamikatjits ka utshi.—Ornaments."

Uabistiguiatsh (Quebec) Massinahitsetuau, Broun gaie Girmor. 1767. Pp. 96. Small quarto. With approbation of Bishop Briant. The Indian name of Father Labrosse is given as *Tshitshisahigan, i.e., the broom.*

Mr. Pilling quotes from Dr. James Hammond Trumbull as fol-

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lows. "The title-page shows that this manual was prepared for the use of the Montagnais Indians of the missions on the Saguenay and about Lake St John, etc., and all Nehiro Iriniui places wheresoever, who rightly pray, *i.e.*, are Christians."

A *fac simile* of the title-page of this prayer-book is given with the Montagnais description of its contents as literally given above. Copies were seen in the archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec and in the libraries of the British Museum, Congress, Gagnon, Harvard, Laval, Lenox, and Trumbull.

Mr. Pilling notices identical reprints at Quebec in 1817 and 1844.

The same year, 1767, Father Labrosse published a primer in Montagnais, a *fac simile* of the first page of which is given. This is an unique little work of 8 folio pages, 7 by 9 inches. The *fac simile* is reduced.

"In an account-book of Messrs Brown & Gilmore," continues Mr. Pilling, "who printed the work, now belonging to Surgeon-Major Neilson, of Quebec, appears the following entry: 'July 8, 1767. Received on account of general printing and of Père La Brosse for 3000 Indian alphabets, making one sheet quarto (size of the primer), £10.4.0.'" Copy of this work was seen in the archives of Laval University, Quebec. "I have received," continues Mr. Pilling, "through the kindness of Surgeon-Major Neilson, Quebec, Canada, the owner of the account-books of Messrs. Brown & Gilmore, among the first of the Canadian printers, the following extracts from their records concerning various publications of Father La Brosse."

"October 25, 1766. To 1000 Indian Kalendars for Père La Brosse, £4.10.0."

"July 8, 1767. To 200 catalogues of the Indians at Tadousack, etc., £1.16.0."

"Oct. 15, 1767. Received on account of general printing for 2000 Indian prayer-books, containing 6 sheets in 8vo., in English character of type, in Algonkin language, at $25 per sheet, from La Brosse, Jesuite missionary, £45.0.0."

"Do. to make the Indian alphabets in quarto at the same price with the above 8vo., £1.1.0."

"May 7, 1768. To general printing, 100 Indian kalendars for Père La Brosse, £2.6.0."

"Sept. 24, 1768. To general printing for a balance remaining on La Brosse's Indian kalendars per Madame Germain, £0.4.0."

"J. Bte La Brosse Jesuite, owes as follows, the dates as per margin from Mem^{d} Book.

"Nov. 10, 1770. 600 Indian alphabets in Abenaquis language making half a sheet 8vo. in English character of type, £3.0.0.

"July 29, 1773. Printed for J. B^{te} La Brosse Indian calendars

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for 1773, 4, 5, 6, 7–8, for each year 127 copies, and delivered them to Louis Germain his agent a 25/6 per year, £7.13.0.

"April 11, 1774. Received of J. B^te^ La Brosse by the hands of Louis Germain for Indian calendars, £7.13.0.

"April 11, 1774. Received of J. B. La Brosse, by the hands of Louis Germain for Indian calendars, £7.13.0.

"June 5, 1778. Printed for the Rev. J. B^te^ La Brosse, Jesuit missionary, Indian almanacs for 7 years to come, 500 copies for each year, making on the whole 3500, for £18.4.0."

The aggregate paid by Father La Brosse for printing his Indian books and calendars exceeds £100 sterling. Comparing the value of money at the time with its present standard, the expenditure was comparatively large.

It may be observed that the names of but few of the Catholic missionaries who labored on the soil of North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, appear in the notices of the printed works in the Algonquian bibliography.

In this connection the linguistic results of the devotion of Father La Brosse to the intelligent improvement of the Montagnais, deserve the highest praise. These works were composed by him in the mission house at Tadoussac, probably during the long winter seasons which prevail in that region. What patience, what tedious and uninteresting study was required for each page, may be imagined.

The theatre of his missionary labors at the time was far removed from the French settlements and from Quebec. St. John's Lake lies about two hundred miles in a direct line inland from Quebec. Tadoussac could be reached by water between May and October by skillfully coasting down the St. Lawrence and up the Sagnenay in eight or ten days, allowing for camping at night and for the delays of foggy weather.

This region has become a favorite summer resort. Mr. Pilling quotes as follows from the journal of Father de La Brosse: "In the summer of 1766, Father Jean B^te^ de la Brosse, S.J., a native of Magnat, France (aged 42 years), arrived at Tadoussac, having been sent by Father de Glapion, Superior of the Jesuits of Quebec, to take charge of the Montagnais mission.

"Father Claude Godefroi Coquart, S.J., died on the 4th of July of the preceding year, at the mission of St. Francis Xavier.

"During 1767 for the benefit of those who can read and those who will learn to read, I had printed 3000 books of alphabets (primers) and 2000 books of prayers and catechism.

"The last touch was given to this work on the last day of October at the ninth moon. In the following year (1768) I wintered in the mission house.

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"I taught many Savages to read, write, sing by note, and assist at ceremonies and rites, Mass and evening office.

"In the following year, toward the end of November, I moved to a point of land below the Jeremie Islands, called de Betsiamis, and there wintered among the Savages, teaching them to read, write, and sing by note. In the following year, 1770, having traversed the tribes of the King's domains (George iii of England) I moved to Quebec and wintered in the parish of St. Lawrence on the Isle of Orleans."

Father de La Brosse died at the early age of fifty-eight, at Tadoussac, where he was buried April 11, 1782, having spent sixteen years among the "Savages" in the Saguenay region, and almost completely isolated from civilized life. A notable fact connects with this history and the history of the brother missionaries of Father La Brosse who were engaged in evangelizing the Indian nations of Canada.

Little did Father La Brosse imagine while winning the Montagnais from paganism to Christianity in the isolated regions of the Saguenay, while teaching these "savages" to "read, write, and sing by note," and while providing for his neophytes thousands of devotional works which he had translated for them and had printed in their own language, that events were culminating in the capital of the Christian world destined in their results, to prove fatal to the existence of the Society of Jesus, of which he was a member. The influence of the Bourbon courts of Europe had placed the tiara on the head of Pope Clement XIV.—and the intrigues of the ministers of these courts was now concentrated in Rome to force this pontiff to crush with his signature, the most wonderful organization the world had ever seen. The reason and vitality of Clement had become weakened under the terrible pressure, and in a state of mind bordering on imbecility, he signed the brief, promulgated August 16, 1773, for the suppression of the Society of Jesus, and appointed a committee of cardinals, most of whom had been won to the side of the intriguers, to carry its conditions into effect.

Wherever this brief was promulgated through the episcopacy of the Church, the work of the Jesuit missionaries became paralyzed.[1]

[1] Alfani Rome, "Er a huit heures de soir touts les maisons des Jésuits sont investie par la garde corse et par les sbires. On notifié au Général de la Compagnie, Laurent Ricci, et aux Péres le bref de suppression. Alfani et Macedonio (de la commission) apposent les scelles sur les papiers ainsi que sur chaque maison de l'ordre. Laurent Ricci est transféré au College des Anglais; puis, sous les yeux des deux délégués pontificaux, le pillage des églises, des sacristies et des archives de la Societé s'organise.

"Il dura longtemps, et l'image de cette inertie en liaire accordant l'impunité a touts les scandales qui en jaillirent ne s'est jamais effacé de la mémoire des Romains.

"On avait exproprié les Jésuites; on ne songea pas à assurer leur existence.

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What was the effect of the brief of suppression upon the status and works of the Jesuit missionaries at the time in Canada, which was ruled by a British Governor-General in Quebec?

In defiance of the treaty made by Gen. Amherst at Montreal, which was subsequently ratified by France and England, in which the free exercise of the Catholic religion was guaranteed to the French race in Canada, the British government inhibited the Jesuits and other religious orders, after the conquest, from adding by immigration or by ordination, new members to their respective communities; the intention being to limit their existence to the living members. There were in 1773, in all Canada, but thirteen members of the Society of Jesus, whose names, ages and residences were as follows: The Father Superior was De Glapion, Augustin Louis, Quebec, aged 55; Cazot, Jean Joseph, Quebec, aged 46; De La Brosse, Tadoussac, aged 50; Du Jaunay, Pierre, Chaplain of the Ursulines at Quebec, aged 70; Floquet, Pierre René, at Montreal, aged 58; Giralt, S. T. de Villeneuve, with the Hurons at Loretto, aged 56; Gordan, Antoine, with the Iroquois at St. Regis, aged 49; Huguet, Joseph, Iroquois missionary at Sault St. Louis, Caughnawaga, aged 49; La Franc, Louis M., missionary with the Ottawas of the Upper Lakes, aged 58; Maquet, Alexis, at Quebec, aged 64; Meurin, Sebastian L., missionary at Kaskaskia, Illinois, aged 67; Potier, Pierre, Huron missionary at Detroit, aged 66; Will, Bernard, at Montreal, aged 50.

In this year, Jean Olivier Briand, occupied the episcopal chair of the saintly Laval. He had not been apprised of the publication at Rome of the fatal brief of Clement XIV., nor of the events which had succeeded in the Christian world immediately following its publication.

"Ricci et les Jésuites enfermés dans le chateau Saint-Ange ne se plaignirent pas de la captivite qu 'on leur infligiat.

"Ils déclarerent qu 'ils etaient plus que jamais enfants de l'obeissance, et que comme membres de la société de Jésus, ou Prêtres Catholiques ils n'avaient rien à se reprocher des accusations dont on les chargeait."

Chrétineau-Joly, *Histoire, etc., de la Compagnie de Jésus.* Paris. 1846. Tome 5, pp. 306-8.

We will add from the foot-notes of Joly, that Alfani and Macedonio were prelates appointed by the commission of cardinals expressly to do their disgraceful work.

Both prelates were at the time in such positions as would lead them to the cardinalate.

Pius VI., to mark his displeasure, deprived Alfani of his functions at the Roman court.

Macedonio was the nephew of Clement XIV., and as such, according to custom, expected to receive the cardinal's hat from the successor of his late uncle. Pius VI. disregarded this custom, and with fitting contempt ignored the spoliation of the Jesuits' possessions in the Eternal City. Both prelates had so disgraced themselves as to be signally marked with the opprobrium they so richly deserved.

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Nor did the official communication of the brief reach Bishop Briand at Quebec until 1774. Accompanying the certified copy of the brief were the instructions for its formulation prepared by the committee of cardinals above mentioned.

In these instructions the bishop was commanded under penalty of excommunication to forthwith assemble all the Jesuits within his episcopal jurisdiction at his palace, to read to them the brief of the Pope, and upon their submission, the act of which they were to sign, they were then required to relinquish the habit of their order and the name of Jesuits and to cease their functions as such thereafter.

This was the painful duty the Bishop of Quebec was commanded to perform, under the penalty stated; and unless the brief was promulgated in the manner directed, unless the missionary fathers were withdrawn from the respective fields of their labors, unless they came before the bishop at Quebec, signed their submission to the brief and then unfrocked themselves as Jesuits, the unfortunate brief would be inoperative, null and void, so far as Canada was concerned, and the bishop would have to suffer the penalty of his disobedience to the mandate of the See of Rome. It was a serious predicament for Bishop Briand. His obedience would so demoralize religion and education in Canada, that the consequences would be deplorable, for he had no priests to replace the Jesuits either on the St. Lawrence or in the far distant missions, while to dissolve the relations existing between the missionaries and the Indian peoples with whom they were domiciled, would not be tolerated by these nations nor submitted to without serious danger to the peace of Canada.

On the other hand his failure to comply with the papal instructions might cost him his mitre.

But before he could decide upon the course to be pursued, he was sent for by the Governor-General of Canada, and explicitly informed by this representative of British power, that being aware of the events in Rome, and also of the fact of the arrival of the brief, at Quebec, he as bishop and spiritual ruler of Canada, was forbidden to promulgate the brief he had received, or even to make known its reception, which he must keep a profound secret. For reasons of State His Majesty's Government in Canada would insist upon this course. The Governor-General added that it would be impolitic on his part to permit the religious status of the Canadian people to be demoralized and he would be called to strict account by his majesty if he sanctioned any measure calculated to disturb the present peaceful relations between the government and the Indian nations.

Did Bishop Briand obey the mandate of Rome, or the positive

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commands of the representative of George III., whose rule was supreme?

Certain it is no Jesuit of the old régime was ever unfrocked in Canada under authority of the brief of Clement XIV. In that country, ruled by a heretic; in White Russia, ruled by the schismatic Catherine II.; in Prussia, ruled by Frederick II., a liberal scholar and an admirer of erudite men, the Jesuits retained their autonomy.

No notice was ever taken of Bishop Briand's letter of explanation sent to Rome. Clement XIV. became decidedly insane, but recovered his reason before his death in 1774. Pius VI. succeeded to the tiara February 15, 1775, and a change of policy ensued. But what of the thirteen venerable Fathers existing at the epoch of these events? One by one they ended their days in peace and were called to their eternal reward. The last survivor was the venerable Jean Joseph Cazot, who was permitted to witness the dawn of the nineteenth century. He expired on the 16th of March, 1800, last of the line of illustrious and saintly members of his order belonging to the old régime in Canada.

Upon his demise, the government took possession of the estates, property and papers of the Jesuits in Canada; and but a few years since, after a memorable struggle, the Fathers of the present régime in Canada recovered a tithe of the value of the vast estates which had been sequestered nearly a century ago.

A notice of the geographical works of La Harpe, Jean Francois de, 32 vols., 8° and atlas, Paris, 1780–1801, in the 14th volume of which are some linguistics, Abnaki, etc., closes the French group of printed works comprised in the notices of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The Dutch group for the same period is not extensive; limited, as it is, there is evidence of the high literary standard of the Dutch writers of the time in the works named. The most important is noticed as follows: "Donck Adriaen Van der. Beschryvinge Van Nieuvv-Nederlant. Ghelijck het tekenwoordigh in staet is Begrijpende de Nature, Aert, gelegentheyt en vrucht-berheyt van het selve Lant; mitsgaders de proffijtelijcke en de gewenste toevallen, die aldaer tot onderhout der Menschen soo uyt haer selven als van buyten ingebracht gevonden worden," etc. Amsterdam, 1655, with two fine, large *fac-similes*.

In this description of the New Netherlands given by Van der Donck, who was Director-General of the Dutch West India Company, the linguistics relate to the Indian nations, the Manhattan, Mingua Savanoos and Wapanoos. Three Dutch editions and one New York translation, 1841, are described.

An earlier work in the Dutch group is that of Joannes de Laet.

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"Beschrijvinghe van West Indien door Joannes de Laet. Tweede druck," etc. Tot Leyden bij de Elzeviers. A°. 1630. The linguistic given by de Laet relate to the Souriquois language.

Nearly a century later appeared the first in the German group, noticed as follows:

Grube Rev. Bernard Adam. Dellawaerisches Gesang Büchlein. Bethlehem (Pa). J. Brandmüller, 1763. Text pp., 1–8, 16°., an excellent *fac simile* of the title page of this little hymn ook, which is entirely in the Delaware language, except the German title above and headings in the same language to the hymns. A second work by the same author, "Harmony of the Gospels," translated into the Delaware tongue, issued from the same press in the same year, is noticed.

Rev. Mr. Grube was a Moravian missionary, a native of Erfurth, Germany, who came as a missionary to Pennsylvania in 1746 with a Moravian colony. He died at Bethlehem in 1808 in his ninety-second year.

The work of another Moravian missionary is noticed as follows:

"Zeisberger, Rev. David. Essay of a Delaware-Indian and English spelling-book, for the use of the schools of the Christian Indians on Muskingum River. By David Zeisberger, Missionary among the Western Indians. Philadelphia. Printed by Henry Miller, 1776, pp. 113, 16°."

This closes the series of works in the groups named of the two previous centuries. The English works during the same period will be considered in another article.

RICHARD R. ELLIOTT.

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HIGHER CRITICISM AND THE BIBLE.

TO the general public, "Higher Criticism" does not mean anything very definite. Yet the word has become, in quite recent times, so familiar that it is found, not only in the ponderous tome of the German scholar and in the theological lecture-hall, but is bandied about in the drawing-room, and is used in the popular literature for sale at the railroad book-stalls, in the monthly reviews, and in the daily newspapers, and has been adopted into the ordinary language of the specialist and the amateur alike. Though, perhaps, not well chosen, the term is now established, and, until a better one is found to replace it, it is sure to remain. But what does the word mean? It is the primary purpose of the present article neither to defend nor to refute "Higher Biblical Criticism," but simply to answer the above question, to state wherein higher biblical criticism consists, and to give an *exposè* of its nature, different kinds, aims, methods, principles, assumptions, and results.

Such an exposition will be the best recommendation of whatever is true in higher criticism, and the best refutation of its objectionable features. Yet, if occasion offers, some of the latter will be briefly refuted. As Higher Criticism is a part of "Biblical Introduction," it will be well to begin by explaining the latter.

"Biblical Introduction" is the science which has for its object to prepare the mind of the reader to understand Sacred Scripture properly. It is a summary of all the indispensable or useful information, it is a systematic collection of all the preliminary and subsidiary knowledge presupposed in the reader as a proximate preparation for the intelligent study of Scripture in whole or in part. Its limits are not precisely defined. It formerly meant all sorts of antiquarian odds and ends of information on Sacred Scripture, without unity and without definite limits. Even yet there is some difficulty in fixing its boundaries. It once included "Biblical Geography," "Biblical Archæology," "Biblical Philology," "Biblical Chronology," and "Biblical Hermeneutics," all of which, however, are now handled much more exhaustively in separate treatises. As now limited in extent, "Biblical Introduction" deals with all the *preliminary* questions generally discussed under the headings of authorship, time and place of composition, analysis of contents, scope of writer, occasion that called forth the book, class of readers for whom it was first composed. The aim and result of

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all this is, that the authority of Scripture being once solidly established, the reader may correctly interpret it and quote it both to defend the truth and to refute error. In other words, the scope of "Biblical Introduction" is to give a clear and comprehensive view of the character of the Bible, and of the actual situation or environment out of which it grew, and from which alone it can be scientifically understood and interpreted. It supplies the preparatory information which should precede the scientific study of the text.

Introduction is critical in character. "Criticism" is a method of investigation for the purpose of ascertaining the truth. In every department of science it has its place. It inquires into the character and reliability of all sources of information. It investigates the value of traditional opinions. It is a sifting or winnowing process, instituted for the purpose of separating the wheat from the chaff, truth from error, fact from fiction. It is necessary for all true progress, not only in Biblical studies, but in all other branches of knowledge. This is ideal criticism; the actual is frequently quite another thing. Is there any reason why the general principles of criticism employed in all other branches of knowledge should not be applied to Sacred Scripture? Does the fact that Scripture is sacred exempt it from the same critical investigations to which all literature and all history have been subjected? Why should we fear, in the case of Scripture, the most rigorous analysis? If Scripture is the Word of God, it will come out of the fiery ordeal unscathed. To hold the contrary would betray a want of faith in God's Word. If introduction were not critical, it would not be a science. To separate the genuine from the spurious, the pure from the corrupt, would be impossible without some fixed principles, without some solid criteria to guide the scholar in his investigation of facts. Such criteria we are supposed to possess in the science of Introduction. Hence the name "Critical" Introduction.

But Introduction investigates such questions as the authorship, date and place of composition of books. Now, these are facts which belong to the domain of history. Hence the name critico-"historical" Introduction. But Scripture is literature. Hence, again, the name critico-historical "Literary" Introduction. But Introduction is not, as some modern writers would have it, a mere part of the general literature of the world; for, if it were so, it would form no part of a course of theology. It is "sacred" literature. It is a species by itself, and must have a special treatment. In studying any literary work, it is necessary to consider all the motives that prompted the writer and all the influences brought to bear upon him, and resulting in the produc-

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tion of the book such precisely as it is But in the composition of every book of Sacred Scripture, the writer was moved by that peculiar supernatural influence called inspiration, which gave to the book its distinctive character, and which made Scripture what it is—Sacred.

Any attempt, therefore, at an Introduction which should omit, or purposely ignore, as all rationalists do, the inspiration of the books, would be an incomplete treatment of the subject. It would separate what God has joined together, the Divine and human elements in Holy Writ.

Because its investigations are conducted on two distinct lines, Biblical Criticism, in the now usual sense of the word, is divided into two kinds; one of which is called "Lower," the other is called "Higher Criticism." They are both branches of the same study, differing in degree, but not in kind. Yet they do differ; for it may very easily happen that a book, taken as a whole, may be the genuine product of the man whose name it bears, and yet may contain some spurious passages, or be slightly mutilated in some of its details. We may contend that St. John wrote the first Epistle ascribed to him, and yet deny that he wrote the famous "Comma Joanneum," or the "testimony of the three heavenly witnesses."

"Lower Criticism" is taken to mean that department of general Biblical Criticism which busies itself with *minute* inquiries into the correct reading, and concerns itself with the punctuation, letters, syllables, prefixes, suffixes, words, phrases, sentences, and even paragraphs of the Sacred Text. It aims at the restoration of the Text to its original state. It furnishes the translator, the commentator, and the Higher Critic with a solid basis to work upon. It is limited to those principles and processes, which enable the critic to detect and correct alterations in the text, to decide upon the genuineness of disputed various readings, to obtain, as far as possible, the original words of Scripture, and, by a process of elimination, to reproduce an edition conformable to the original as it left the hand of the Sacred Penman. From the actual condition of the text, it aims to deduce its original condition. For this, microscopic accuracy and patient attention to the minutest details are needed. The materials on which "Lower Criticism" works are the manuscripts of the Bible in the Greek and Hebrew originals, ancient translations into various languages, and the writings of early ecclesiastical writers, chiefly the Fathers, who have quoted Scripture so largely as to be serviceable as witnesses to the condition of the text, from which they quote. But for the loss of the original Greek and Hebrew autographs, "Textual Criticism" would never have been found necessary. As it is,

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however, accidental and unintentional errors could not have been avoided without a perpetual miracle, or, rather, without a series of miracles as continuous as time, and as extensive as Christendom.

"Higher Biblical Criticism" is so called to distinguish it from the "Lower," on which it is based. "Higher Biblical Criticism" does not necessarily mean an attempt to discredit the Bible; it does not necessarily mean an attempt to repudiate its authority; it does not mean the rejection of inspiration; nor does it imply a denial of the truths of supernatural religion. It is a science the object of which is to investigate the authority of *entire* books of Holy Scripture. The "Higher Critic" takes these documents as they leave the hand of the "Lower Critic," and examines them as literature and as history. His object is to place the reader of Scripture, as far as is possible, side by side with the inspired writer, to show the circumstances of time, place, and person, under which the books were composed, and to make him realize how the contents of the book correspond with such circumstances. In other words, the object of the "Higher Critic" is to enable the reader to understand Scripture rightly. To do this, it helps very much to know who wrote the book, when, where, on what occasion, for what purpose, and from what sources, or pre-existing materials, and for what class of persons the book was composed. This is the principal group of questions which the "Higher Critic" proposes to answer. He discusses them, too, by the same methods that are used in discussing similar questions in the case of classical Greek and Latin literature. Hence, "Higher Criticism" is not a modern science. In germ it is older than Christianity, and has nothing new about it but the name and the development. Yet there prevails an impression, fostered by the critics themselves, that this science is a decidedly modern invention. This is a mistake. The general principles on which it is based were known and cultivated some centuries before the birth of Christ, chiefly at Alexandria, where a school of critics thoroughly discussed the Iliad, and the Odyssey of Homer, and other ancient classical works. Dionysius of Halycarnassus in the first century before Christ was remarkable for his critical acumen. "Higher Criticism," therefore, is not an invention of biblical, but of classical scholars, who used it while studying the classical productions of ancient Greece and Rome. Yet when Christian scholars undertook to study Sacred Scripture critically according to the methods of general literary and historical criticism, they too, adopted the same term with the additional qualifying adjective "Biblical." Hence the phrase "Higher Biblical Criticism." In the early Christian Church such scholars as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome defended

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against Porphyry, Celsus and others, the books of Scripture by the same general principles as we do to-day.

By Higher Biblical Criticism is, therefore, meant a critical inquiry into the *Divine* authority of Sacred Scripture, which depends on its inspiration; into its *ecclesiastical* authority, which depends on its Canonicity; and into its *human* authority, which results from the Genuinity, Integrity and Credibility of the sacred books. It is the business of the higher critic to analyze the documents with which he has to deal, to determine their value, relative age and general credibility. If such is the meaning of the word, surely no valid objection can be made against this science itself, but only against the *manner* in which it is sometimes cultivated. For, thus understood, the exercise of criticism is not only allowable, but even desirable. The best way to know what a thing is, is to learn how it came about, how it came into existence. There is no reason why a Christian should be afraid of the most searching inquiry into the human authorship, date of composition and meaning of the several books of Sacred Scripture, provided, of course, that the critic is not misled by false principles in his researches. Though the above is the only legitimate meaning of Higher Criticism, yet it must be confessed that the word is often used as if it meant a transcendental kind of criticism cultivated only by men of altogether exceptionally superior intellectual abilities. No doubt some of the critics are self-complacent enough not to suppress thoughts of this kind; for the arrogant tone adopted by some of them would seem to show that they fancy themselves placed on pedestals to proclaim to the world a new Gospel. On the contrary, the humble duty even of the "Higher Critic" is to ascertain, collect, and classify facts, and then draw such conclusions only as the facts justify, and not to be too certain of the results.

The object of Higher Criticism is attained partly by *external*, partly by *internal* arguments. The former are drawn from sources extrinsic to the book under discussion. The latter are found in what the book says about its own origin, and in the allusions which it makes, either implicitly or explicity, to its own author. Yet here it is necessary to decide whether such statements were made by the author himself, or subsequently interpolated by an editor or redactor. Also whether the book was not written in the spirit of the supposed author, yet without intention to deceive. Thus, the Book of Wisdom "is written in the person of Solomon, and contains his sentiments. It is uncertain who was its author." Or the book may convey, by inference, some hint which could serve as a clue to discover its author in allusions more or less remote to facts otherwise known, or to habits and customs known to have belonged only to a limited period of time, or in

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local and personal allusions, or in historical or archæological or religious data, or in such other indications as might point more or less unequivocally to the age, the place, the author. The presumption is that every forgery will bear the ear-marks of forgery, and that in a book, especially of any size, something is pretty sure to leak out to betray the author or to locate the origin of the book both in time and space. Thus, the remark made in Joshua 16, 10: That the "Canaanites dwelt in Gazer unto this day," seems to imply that this book was written before the destruction of Gezar by Pharao, which took place in the time of Solomon. Also the casual remark in Judges that the Jebusites dwelt in Jerusalem among the Benjamites "unto this day," is understood to mean that the book was composed before David captured the citadel on Mount Sion, II. Kings 5, 6–9. An old custom that prevailed in the days of Ruth is expressly called an antiquated custom, making it clear that the book containing this narrative was written so long after the events therein recorded, that the custom had time to become obsolete. "Now this was a custom in former times in Israel," Ruth 4, 7.

There is no reason why this principle should not hold in sacred as well as in profane literature. For, in the composition of every book of Scripture, human co-operation went hand in hand with divine operation. The primary cause of the book is God. The instrumental cause is man. The book came *from* God as its first source; but it came *through* men as its channel. There are, therefore, in Scripture many accidental properties of a purely human origin, and peculiar to each writer. This human factor in a sacred book consists of the words, the style, the arrangement, and distribution of the materials; all of which are the mere vehicles for the communication of the divine thought, the envelope in which the message is conveyed to those to whom it is addressed. There can be no doubt that the sacred penman retains his personal, local, and national habits, customs, and manners, his literary style, his logical methods, his previous grade of education. Hence, his choice of a language in which to write, the selection of the individual words, and the combination of them into sentences and paragraphs, as well as the order and sequence of ideas, depend in great measure on the free will of the writer. Hence, each writer has reproduced himself in his book, and, if we were familiar enough with him and his entire environment, we could see him as unmistakably in his writings as we could in a photograph. In fact, that the books of Scripture reflect the peculiarities of their several writers, as unmistakably as if they wrote not under the influence of inspiration, is obvious even to the casual reader. Each book reflects the habits, character, and trend of thought, the tone, color,

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sentiment, the modulation of mood and passion, even the very atmosphere in which the writer lived and moved. Therefore, much of what is in the book is the product of the place, the man, the age in which he lived, the people, and the civilization under which it was composed. To most people it is impossible to believe that any one can so divest himself of himself and of his own individuality, clothe himself in the personality of another, and, projecting himself into a distant age, write as though he belonged to that age. Much of this holds true in sacred as well as in profane literature. Hence it is, that, in the *absence* of sufficient external evidence, the peculiarities just described are taken as proof more or less conclusive, that a given book was written at such a time, among such a people, under such a form of government, under the influence of such a degree of culture, civil and religious, by such a person, for such a purpose. All such intimations of date, and place of composition, etc., are called the "Internal Criteria." It is a matter of prime importance, to decide whether internal or external proofs are preferable. Advanced critics reject most external testimony, and depend almost exclusively on internal evidence, which is subjective and mostly fanciful and capricious. Ultra conservative critics rely almost entirely on external evidence. Both may be wrong. Each kind of proof is good in its place; for it sometimes happens, that the only proof for the human authorship of a book is external, as in the case of Jude. It also sometimes happens that the only evidence that can be alleged to determine the date of composition of a book is internal, as in the case of Ruth. However, we must make a broad distinction between the value of internal proofs *for* and *against* the authorship or date of composition of any work. A book written originally in English, in whose warp and woof there is constant mention of telephones, phonographs, Gatling guns, Grover Cleveland, the Wilson Silver Bill, we may safely conclude was written neither in the time of Moses nor of St. Paul, but was composed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. But to tell who, of all the millions speaking English in Great Britain and America wrote the book, internal arguments are of little avail. There may be, for all we know, ten thousand men capable of writing it. Hence, the Holy Father, in his "Encyclical on the Study of Sacred Scripture," very properly reproves the excessive and almost exclusive use by critics of this kind of arguments. For there can be no doubt that, comparing *kind* with *kind*, the external are preferable. That a given book is the work of such a writer is a question of fact. As such, it belongs to the province of history, and is to be proved by competent witnesses, if such can be found. "Facta probanda per testes." St. Augustine reproaches the Manichaeans

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of his time with inconsistency. "When," he says, "I affirm that St. Matthew wrote the account of the Virgin birth of the Saviour in the first chapters of his Gospel, you immediately answer that that portion of his Gospel was not written by Matthew, although the Universal Church teaches that it was written by him. You then quote the book of Manes, in which the Virgin birth is denied. Now, as you are certain, and for stronger reasons than you are certain, that Manes wrote his gospel, so am I certain that Matthew wrote his Gospel, namely, the testimony of all who are competent to speak, and who form an unbroken succession from the time of Matthew to our own day."—*Contra Faustum*, lib. 28, c. 2.

The human authority of a book of Scripture is established if we can demonstrate its *genuinity*, *integrity* and *veracity*. These qualities the "higher critic" endeavors to prove principally from a *literary* and *historical* standpoint.

As to *genuinity*, the critic inquires whether the writing in question is the product of the man whose name it bears. If not, was the work falsely ascribed to some great name for the purpose of giving it a more ready credence and a wider circulation than it would otherwise have had, and with the intention to deceive? or, though pseudonymous, was it written in good faith, in the *spirit* as well as in the *name* of its reputed author? If no date or name is given, can it be shown that the work is contemporary with the facts therein related? Many books of the Old Testament are anonymous, and neither Jewish nor Christian tradition can tell when or by whom they were written. Humanly speaking, the degree of authority which we recognize in a writing will depend largely on the length of time that has elapsed between the occurrence of the events and the date of composition of a narrative. This is true, especially if the work relates prodigies or promulgates laws for the first time, since not every author is competent to impose laws on a people. Statements made by an eye-witness are naturally more reliable than statements made by hearsay; and the testimony of a contemporary witness, all things being equal, is preferable to that of a writer who is later by several centuries. Yet, if we are assured that God is the author of a book, the date of composition is to Christians, unless from a scientific point of view, a matter of comparatively little consequence.

Integrity is an application or extension of genuinity to each part of a book. It is akin to textual criticism, only it concerns larger portions of the work. It is generally defined immunity from corruption. Under this head the higher critic searches, though often in vain, for sufficient data to enable him to pronounce whether the book is the product of one mind, or a collection of fragments by many authors, subsequently blended and

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fused into one by a later editor. If so, whence were the original materials obtained? How many independent documents were incorporated into the work? Of what date were they respectively? To what extent did the final redactor make omissions, additions and alterations in each while dovetailing them into one? In the case of works written so many centuries ago, as the books of Holy Scripture, it is too much to expect that all such questions should ever be apodictically answered. For, from the nature of the case, the results of such inquiries may have all the shades of difference that separate impossibility from possibility, and this from probability, and this again from actual certainty.

As to *veracity*, a writer is a witness; therefore, to be reliable, he should have the requisite qualities of every good witness, namely, a knowledge of the truth, and a sincere desire to impart it to others. The knowledge required in a witness is not necessarily erudition, nor learning, nor scientific acquirements, but simply an acquaintance with the facts related, if the book is historical; or with the doctrinal principles enunciated, if the book is didactic in character. A very ignorant man may be a very good witness, provided he have his eyes and ears open to what goes on around him. On the other hand, the most learned man may be a very useless witness, if so lost in contemplation and abstract metaphysical speculation as to be unconscious of lesser, though, nearer realities.

These subjects are studied according to the "literary method" whenever the Higher Critic inquires whether a book is prose or poetry; and if prose, whether it is legal, historical or didactic; and if poetry, whether it is epic, lyric, pastoral or dramatic. In the first and second chapters of St. Luke's Gospel are found three canticles, the "Magnificat," composed by the Blessed Virgin Mary; the "Benedictus," composed by Zachary; and the "Nunc dimittis," by the aged Simeon; all poetry. The entire 49th chapter of Genesis, containing Jacob's prophecy about Shiloh; the 23d and 24th chapters of Numbers, containing Balaam's prophecy about the star to rise out of Jacob; the 15th chapter of Exodus, or the Song sung by Moses, his sister Miriam, and the children of Israel after the passage of the Red Sea; the entire 32d chapter of Deuteronomy, containing the canticle of Moses; and the whole of the 33d chapter containing his last blessing; the 2d chapter of II. Samuel, from 18th to 28th verse, giving David's lamentation over Saul and Jonathan: "And he bade them teach the children of Israel the song of the bow; behold, it is written in the book of Jasher. 'How are the mighty fallen; tell it not in Gath'"; the 22d and 23d chapters of II. Samuel; the whole book of Psalms; thirty-nine out of the forty-two chapters of Job; and the entire Canticle of Canticles, are all Hebrew poetry. In fact, many ancient poems

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of all sorts, numerous enough to make a collection almost equal to the Psalter with its one hundred and fifty psalms, have been incorporated into the Pentateuch alone and the book of Josue. Many critics, depending entirely on the analysis of Genesis from a purely literary standpoint, claim to have discovered in it several independent narratives differing in style, method and scope, and all covering more or less the same period of history.

They suppose that considerable portions of the ancient literature of all nations are of a composite character, consisting of older narratives incorporated with only such modifications as to allow the parts to be juxtaposed and fitted together into a more or less continuous narrative. Some of the most conservative Catholic Scripturists admit that some books may embody documents older by centuries than the books in the form in which we now possess them. What harm if Genesis contains documents written originally by Abraham? What harm if the early chapters of Esdras were written by Shashbasar or Zorobabel seventy-five years before the time of Esdras? And if the fourth book of Kings, though written during the Babylonian captivity, and composed of original documents once preserved in the public archives, contains whole chapters literally copied from the same reliable sources, so much the more credible is the book from a purely human point of view. In this literary work the critics themselves admit that they have too much relied upon the unreliable, for they have depended too much on mere theory and speculation, and apply their critical analysis to materials so volatile and impalpable as to escape the analytical process.

We frequently hear them say that two books, or two parts of the same book, if sufficiently different in style, must have been written by two authors, apparently forgetting that the same man may vary his style to suit the varying character of the topics treated, and that, with advancing age and wider experience and broader culture, style may undergo changes to suit the changed subjective condition of the writer. George Washington's messages to Congress were quite different from his Farewell Address, and his business note is quite unlike the letter which a merchant would write home to his wife. It is the height of presumption to pretend to be so well acquainted, for instance, with Isaias, an oriental living two thousand five hundred years ago, and under the influence of another religion and of another civilization, as to know beforehand the style of language he would use on a given occasion. It is an overweening criticism that pretends to know *a priori* just what a writer should say, and how he would say it, and, on discovering that he acted otherwise, declares the writing spurious. The critics do not know themselves what they would have said two thousand

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five hundred years ago, were they then living. It is so different from his usual style that no one could have believed, till the strange fact had been demonstrated beyond a possibility of doubt, that the poet Petrarch was the author of the work, "*De Republica bene Administranda*"; nor, till it was proved, would any one believe that the fanciful poet Boccaccio had written the very dry and very prosy treatise, "*De montibus, sylvis, fontibus, lacubus, fluminibus, stagnis, seu paludibus, et de nominibus maris liber.*"

The uncertainty that characterizes the conclusions of literary analysis is now tacitly admitted by many critics, who consequently seek to support their philological conclusions by the *historical* method. This method is used whenever the investigations are based, not so much on data contained in the book itself, as on works of contemporary or subsequent writers. The critic asks, what do the other books of the Bible, what do the monuments and other literary remains of surrounding nations say about the book, or the contents of the book, under discussion? Answer to these inquiries is made possible by the fact that the peculiar geographical position of Palestine, the principal stage on which the events of Bible history were enacted, brings it into close contact with such ancient peoples as the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Greeks, and Romans, and by the fact that the Hebrews had much in common with many of these nations in habits, customs, religious and political ideas, language, etc. Hence, we have the right to expect that much of what is recorded in Scripture should be related also in the literary remains of these nations. Such is the fact. For the result of comparing the sacred with the profane records is, in many instances, a remarkable confirmation of the Biblical narrative.

Many statements of Scripture, though once unsupported by other testimony, have received unexpected confirmation from the contemporary monuments of surrounding nations. Thus the very interesting "Moabite Stone," which was erected by King Mesha at Dibon, in the land of Moab, about B.C. 900 or 896, at a distance of twelve miles east of the Dead Sea, and discovered in 1868, bears thirty-four lines of a closely written Hebrew inscription, which throws a flood of light on several portions of the third and fourth Books of Kings. Also the famous "Black Obelisk" contains in its Assyrian cuneiform inscription a remarkable corroboration of the Biblical account of Jehu, King of Israel. Again, the passage, Isaias xx., 1, in which "Sargon, King of Assyria," is mentioned only casually and for the first and last time, not only in the whole Bible but in all known literature, was the sole evidence for two thousand five hundred years of there ever having been such a person as "Sargon, King of Assyria." But the discov-

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eries recently made in the cuneiform inscriptions found at Nineveh give us a complete history of the man and of the dynasty which he founded.

A very limited familiarity with "Higher Criticism" is enough to show that the critics are not all of the same way of thinking. Their literary equipment, their scientific acquirements, their intellectual calibre, and their philosophical prejudices, are as various as can well be imagined. Nor is it easy to find comprehensive terms by which to designate, with any degree of accuracy, all the varying shades of opinion that prevail among the critics of even one school. In general they may be divided into *two classes:* the first called positive, moderate, conservative: the second, negative, advanced, radical, destructive. Yet these two classes so shade and blend into each other that it is not possible to classify all the individuals under the one or under the other category. Nor are these terms always unequivocal. "Destructive Criticism" is usually employed, in a sense offensive to most Christians, to designate a criticism so conducted as to tend to undermine the long-established belief in the authority of Sacred Scripture; whereas "Conservative Criticism" is that which tends to preserve in *statu quo* the traditional belief in Scripture, or the opinions prevalent at any one time. Still, neither is essentially good nor essentially bad. All depends on what is destroyed, and on what is preserved. "Destructive Criticism" did good work when it discredited the once prevalent belief in the *verbal* inspiration of Scripture, according to which every word, every syllable, every letter, every punctuation mark, and every vowel point was said to have been revealed to the sacred penman while in a trance or ecstacy, during which he committed all to writing as mechanically as a type-writer.

The idea is quite prevalent that all higher criticism is necessarily "Destructive." Nothing could be more false and misleading. There is a criticism of doubt, which destroys; and there is a criticism of faith, which preserves; or, if it destroys the false, it is in order to build up the true instead. One may avail himself of Higher Criticism to defend as well as to attack, the authority of Sacred Scripture. Higher criticism is simply the application of scientific methods to the study of ancient documents, and can be used for defence or attack. There may also be a lack of candor and honesty in either case. Mere mental inertia and an unwillingness to unlearn what has once been learned may induce some to adhere to inherited notions which may be none the more true for being inherited. On the other hand, an itching for what is startling and paradoxical has led many a one to run after novelty. Yet we must admit that, though first cultivated by Catholics, Biblical Criticism, especially in its most objectionable features, is now intimately bound up with Rationalism.

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The attitude of "Higher Critics" toward Christianity is so various that it cannot be described with any degree of brevity and, at the same time, with accuracy. Some "Higher Critics" are antagonistic to the Christian religion, which they believe to be false. Some consider it only as the best religion discovered up to date; but contend that, by virtue of the law of progressive evolution and by the continuous development of human reason, Christianity will yet be so transformed as ultimately to be fit for its mission of elevating the human race to a higher spiritual level than ever before attained. But many "Higher Critics" are sincere Christians and look upon Biblical criticism merely as a literary and historical science, and as applicable to the Bible as it is to the other literary remains of antiquity. They are firmly convinced that their faith will remain absolutely unshaken by the results of critical investigations; or, rather, they feel that their faith will be strengthened by it. The divine authority of Scripture does not depend upon its human, but on its divine, authorship. Believing, as these Christian critics do, that all truth is harmonious, they cannot be convinced that criticism, if sober and worthy of the name, can ever result in antagonism to the Christian faith. Between this class of critics, who are Catholic or orthodox Protestant, and radical critics, there is a difference, not merely of degree, but of kind; a difference, not only in the results attained, but in the principles which form the basis of investigation. For the former admit, and the latter reject, the presence of the supernatural element in Scripture, namely, revealed religion and its chief criteria, miracles and prophecies.

But what, you may ask, do Higher Critics hope to accomplish? By what *motives* are they actuated? Here again there is a vast difference between the two classes of critics in their *aims*.

It is well known that some critics are influenced by purely *secular*, others by purely *religious*, motives; while most are led by a mixture of both kinds of motives. The first have a purely scholarly interest, and study Scripture for *literary* or for *historical* purposes. They ask who wrote the Bible, just as we ask who wrote the plays commonly ascribed to Shakespeare, or who wrote the Koran, the Zend Avesta, or the Rig Veda? To them the Bible is merely one of the most interesting remains of the literature of antiquity that has come down to us. To them the Bible has only an historical interest, and they study it as they would any other ancient work, for the sake of the historical or antiquarian information that it gives of a most interesting people, the Hebrews. Its religious character begets no presumption in its favor, nor, perhaps, does it produce against it any unfavorable prejudice. Yet it must be acknowledged that with a rapidly increasing class of negative critics there is a poorly disguised intention to weaken and

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even to destroy the authority of the Bible as a channel of revealed religion.

The other class of critics approach, and continue, the study of the Sacred Books full of intense Christian faith. To them the Bible may be the most enchanting literature ever produced; but, above all, it is a book of religion. It occupies a unique position. It is the Book of Books; it is *the* Book. It is not merely the word of man, but it is also and principally the Word of God. They may apply to it nearly all the fundamental principles of higher Biblical criticism, but they do so in order the better to understand the Book, and to render it more serviceable for practical, devotional or theological purposes. The literary and historical features of the Book, though interesting, are only the shell that conceals the kernel of Divine Revelation.

As to the *assumptions* of advanced critics, they are such as to promote the aims just described. The first assumption is that Scripture is to be treated just as profane literature. This is true, but only to a certain extent; for Scripture, though literature, is sacred literature. A Book whose author is God should not be handled after the same fashion, nor by the same standards, as purely human literature.

Nor is the historian free, as negative critics contend, to treat Scripture as he would any other source of historical information. Once admit that God is its author, and it will be self-evident that the mere fact that Isaias mentioned Cyrus by name some centuries before his birth, does not prove that the book was written after the time of Cyrus. Nor is the assumption any more tenable that an ancient Oriental, never trained in the strict scientific methods that prevail in a European University, nor ever drilled in the prosy, dry-as-chaff logic of Aristotle, should be judged by the same standard as a modern Occidental. But while more scope should be given to the play of imagination in the poetic Oriental, it is certain, in point of fact, that more accuracy has been demanded of him, than of the technical modern European. One solitary mistake of detail, one hyperbole, one imaginary anachronism, has been deemed sufficient reason for denying all authority to an entire book, even when it was manifest that the objectionable statement was of the critic's own creation, or was due to the ignorance of the reader, or to the negligence and sleepiness of some subsequent scribe. And all this, because destructive critics have acted on the very absurd assumption that, just to suit them, an ancient Semite was obliged to express his thoughts after the same fashion, with the same sobriety and precision, and in the same jejune style of exposition as a modern scientist.

It is a very common mode of proceeding for destructive critics

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to support their theories by reasoning from the abstract *possibility* of an event, to the *existence* of the same. We have all grades of possibility suddenly changed into actuality. "It is not impossible"; "It is possible"; "It is quite possible"; "It is very possible that such might have been the case." Without further demonstration, and on the very next page, you are surprised to find that it *is* the case. Wellhausen informs us that it was "possible" for the Aaronic priesthood, during the exile, to have written much of the Pentateuch; from which he leaves us to infer that they did write it. But we do not ask whether they might, could, would, or should, have written it; but *did* they? It was Harduin's theory that the "Odes of Horace, the Æneid of Virgil, and the histories of Livy and Tacitus, as well as the entire collection of Latin classical literature, were the forgeries of Benedictine monks of the thirteenth century." Cardinal Newman, in his "Grammar of Assent," remarks on this: "No doubt the numerous religious bodies then existing over the face of Europe had leisure enough, in the course of a century, to compose not only all the classics, but all the Church Fathers as well. The question is whether they had the ability?" Even had they the ability, the further question would still remain, whether they exercised that ability, whether they *did* do what they *could* do?

A large part of the arguments by which the advanced critics endeavor to prove the late date and unhistorical character of the Scriptural Books may be described as "Argumenta e Silentio." They tacitly take it for granted that every writer living 2000 or 3000 years ago, under the influence of another civilization, and in a very differently constituted society, should have mentioned everything that we could now wish him to have mentioned; that in fact he should have mentioned everything mentionable, and should have treated every topic as exhaustively and as systematically as does now the author of a text-book for colleges and academies or even for the learned world. That such a law, custom, institution, person is not mentioned, is made to mean that the author knew nothing about it; and that, therefore, either he lived at a later date, or such things did not exist at the time. The critics seem to forget that writers frequently do not mention things which, nevertheless, must have been as familiar to them as their own names. Not to be superfluous, writers often pass over in silence, or but slightly notice, the most important events. No one would now seriously venture to inform us, that Mr. Cleveland is the President of the United States. The "Argumenta e Silentio" are proverbially inconclusive. If, in the distant future, the same unreliable critical principles are applied to our early American history, where shall we be? On the pedestal of a monument erected to the

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memory of Thomas Jefferson, at Monticello, in Virginia, there is this inscription: "Thos. Jefferson, Author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the Statute for Religious Liberty and Founder of the University of Virginia." And yet, strange as it may appear, not so much as one word about his having been President of the United States.

If two thousand or three thousand years hence this monument comes under the notice of some of the "Higher Critics" of the future, it will be considered "confirmation strong as Holy Writ" that Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, was quite a different man from Thomas Jefferson, Framer of the Declaration of Independence.

Besides, the inconsistencies which we are inclined to ascribe to the *historian* are really found in the *facts*, over which he has no control. The historian does not *make* the facts of history; he *relates* them. In the Declaration of Independence, written by Thomas Jefferson, we read: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Yet it is not the fault of the historian, who informs us that while these words were being penned and adopted, the slave trade was carried on, not only in the Southern States, but also in New England, and even in Massachusetts. Yet, no doubt, some thousands of years hence, relying on the words of this Declaration, some critic of the day will prove to his own satisfaction that this Declaration of Independence was written by Thomas Jefferson only after the Proclamation of Emancipation by Abraham Lincoln during the late civil war.

Another baseless assumption of negative critics is that the general principles of Atheistic and Deistic evolution, admitted by many scientists to account for the origin of the various species of plants and animals, should also be applied to explain the origin of the Christian religion. This absurd theory is based on the denial of the possibility and of the consequent existence of the supernatural order. This is their fixed and unalterable principle, before which even facts must give way. This explains the seeming want of candor in some of the critics, and why they meet with evasive answers the clearest proofs which run counter to their own theory. It is because, to their mind, any solution, however improbable, of a difficulty is antecedently more probable than the occurrence of the supernatural. They allow this philosophical bias to warp their judgment to such an extent as to interfere with the results of historical research. They entertain an *a priori* conviction of the impossibility of miracles and prophecies. To this pre-conceived

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theory they adjust the documentary evidence, and the final result is, of course, in perfect harmony with the theories with which they first set out. But is it not manifestly unreasonable to allow considerations of a *philosophical* character to enter into the discussion of such *historical* problems as, for instance, the date of composition of a book? That a book contains an account of miraculous events does not prove that such book was not composed by a writer contemporary with the events related. We have in our own day similar narratives written when and where the events are said to have occurred. The accounts may be true or false. That is another question. But what is insisted upon is that miraculous events can be recorded by a writer contemporary with the events, and that, therefore, the supernatural character of the contents of a book need not have anything to do with its date of composition. The life of St. Martin of Tours, though full of the marvellous, was written by his friend and contemporary Sulpicius Severus. What he wrote may or may not be true. Yet he wrote it. Hence the difficulty of understanding how a man, who bases his historical criticism on the postulate of the utter impossibility of the supernatural, can be a critic at all. He may be a philosopher, and a bad one at that. But he is no critic, good or bad. An historical critic has to do with *facts* rather than with *theories*, and such theories as he advocates he should base on the facts, and not adjust the facts to his theories.

By a strange perversion of the proper meaning of the term it has come about that the critic that is in substantial agreement with the views on Scripture that have been prevalent among the great mass of Christians to the present day, is considered no critic at all, no matter how independently he may have arrived at his conclusions. He is a mere traditionalist. Only the radicals are the true critics. Yet, it is not at all evident that the adoption of a rationalistic philosophy should be an indispensable requisite to the study of "Higher Biblical Criticism;" nor is it by any means a self-evident truth that a belief in the power of God to reveal supernatural truths to his intelligent creatures should be considered proof of mental incapacity; or should be thought to unfit a man for the literary and historical researches connected with the study of the Word of God. It is not an established law of nature that every Christian critic is necessarily wrong, and that every rationalistic critic is ever and always in the right. What has belief in the power of God to reveal his will to man, to work miracles, or to foretell the future, got to do with one's ability to prove who wrote the last chapters of the prophet Isaias? All that can be reasonably demanded of the Christian critic is, that he should not allow his theological convictions to bias his scientific researches;

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and, in turn, he has the same right to expect the rationalist to keep his philosophical prejudices out of his argument, and to keep in abeyance any mere subjective speculations that he may entertain about the impossibility of the supernatural order. Such philosophical opinions have no conceivable right to intrude themselves into the domain of literary and historical criticism. With radical critics, it may be a fundamental principle that divine revelation is impossible, that miracles are so many myths, and that prophecy is all "Vaticinium post eventum," but, even so, such are only speculative opinions, rejected by the majority of mankind, and repugnant to the essential relations of dominion and dependence that exist between the creator and the creature. It is, therefore, evident that to make this subjective speculation in philosophy an objective fact in historical research, is to introduce into historico-Biblical criticism an element wholly foreign to its nature, and to destroy the difference which exists between fact and fancy, and between subjective theory and objective reality. It is to make a substantial something out of an ethereal nothing. If the radical critic chooses to entertain such absurd notions, he is welcome to them; but let him not represent them as admitted fundamental principles, nor bring them forward as the corner-stone of an edifice to which they belong by no right or title.

This view is held by Professor Sanday, an authority on such subjects. He says: "It ought now to be distinctly understood, that the Higher Criticism of the Bible, *as such*, makes no assumptions of a philosophical or theological character, and certainly none which interferes with a full belief in the real objective inspiration of the books to which it is applied. It is what it professes to be, and it does what it professes to do, and nothing more. It discusses the authorship and date of composition of the Biblical books by the same methods as those by which it discusses the same questions in the case of a classic of profane literature. When the book to be examined is historical, it discusses also its value and character as history, but it does this on the grounds which come properly within the province of criticism, and it entirely refuses to be bound by the postulate of the impossibility of the supernatural. If there are critics who adopt this postulate, they do not do so *as critics*, and my own belief is, that by so doing they spoil their criticism."

Other critics there are who place but little reliance on any writing that contains an account of the supernatural. This miracle they reject as antecedently improbable; that, as not necessary to the end in view; the other, as not supported by sufficient testimony. At the bottom of all this there is a deep-seated distrust of all supernatural narratives; hence the unreasonable demand

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that any account of the miraculous, to be believed, should be supported by evidence immeasurably stronger than that which would be judged sufficient to substantiate events which do not run counter to the ordinary experience of mankind. In all this there is much that seems antagonistic to the spirit of Christian faith; for while, in principle, the supernatural is not flatly denied, it is, in practice, timidly thrust into the background as a thing to be ashamed of and disagreeable to handle.

It cannot be admitted that researches conducted on principles so false as many of those used by the radical critics can lead to good results. They tell us that higher criticism has caused a new era to dawn upon the race; that the Christian world is in a state of chronic agitation over its results, and that everything old is soon to be swept into oblivion by the critical new broom. It is not too much to say that something like intimidation is practiced towards those who are bold enough to reserve their judgment and to doubt whether all these things be true or not. It is represented as proof of pitiable ignorance to refuse to accept implicitly all that the critics would have us believe. The consequence is, that many profess adhesion to the critics' hypotheses, and accept them as scientifically established, not because they have ever understood them, but for fear of being behind the times, and appearing unscientific and uncritical. The slavery is all the more unjustifiable, because exercised by those who have no divine authority to teach. It is much like a game of bluff in which a few daring men call upon Christians to surrender all they possess. But we should be in no hurry to abandon our position. We are in possession, which is nine points of the law. The burden of proof rests upon the negative critics. Of course, the discovery of every new truth should be welcome to every honest man; and it would be wrong to dispute, or wilfully to ignore, the facts, as do some of the negative critics, because of a theory; but we are in no danger of thus acting, so long as the so-called results of destructive criticism do not rest on clearly established facts. But what, in point of fact, are the results of higher Biblical criticism? Of conservative criticism, much good; of destructive criticism, some good, much plausible conjecture, and many specious hypotheses.

Dr. Driver, of Oxford, informs us, by way of admission, that Moses was the ultimate founder of the national and religious life in the Hebrew commonwealth. Here is one good result for which we should be thankful to Dr. Driver's higher criticism. But not to him alone, for he informs us that this rehabilitation of Moses has the support of Julius Wellhausen, and that their joint verdict has the "endorsement of Abraham Kuenen." What would ever have become of Moses in the other world if his existence had not

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been "endorsed by Kuenen?" But now Moses is safe. Accordingly, the wag was right when he said that he "had paid fifty cents to hear what Ingersoll had to say about Moses; but that he would pay fifty dollars to hear what Moses had to say about Ingersoll."

Mr. H. L. Hastings in a formidable list, gives us as among the results of Higher Criticism some of the discordant hypotheses published since 1850 on the origin and authorship of the Old and New Testament Books. For Genesis there have been 16 theories, Exodus 13, Leviticus 22, Numbers 8, Deuteronomy, 17; total for Pentateuch, 76 theories. For Joshua 10, Judges 7, Ruth 4, Samuel 20, Kings 24, Chronicles 17, Esdras 14, Nehemias, 11, Esther, 6; total for Historical Books, 113. For Job 26, Psalms 19, Proverbs 24, Ecclesiastes 21, Canticle of Canticles, 18; total for Poetical Books, 108. For Isaias 27, Jeremiah 24, Lamentations 10, Esechiel 15, Daniel, 22; total for Great Prophets, 98; for all the Minor Prophets, 144; total for the Old Testament, 599. For Matthew 10, Luke 9, Mark 7, John, 15; total for Gospels, 41. Acts 12, Paul's Epistles 111, other Epistles, 44; total for New Testament, 208. Grand total of theories for the entire Bible, 747. Of these 609 have already gone into oblivion, and there is no reason to fear that many of the remaining 144 may not soon follow them to the shelves of the libraries, to be dusted no more.

Thus we see that not all the principles of modern Higher Biblical Criticism will stand an examination. Baseless assumptions have been placed on a level with ascertained facts; hasty conclusions have been put forward as principles of science; and we have been called upon to accept the unwarranted prepossessions of critics, uninspired men like ourselves, as the revelation of a new Gospel. It will be admitted that we have the right to protest against the arrogance and the dictatorial tone with which so many negative critics would convey the impression that, because they have chosen to assume a position and advocate theories, therefore, we, without further discussion, must consider ourselves obliged to accept their word as final. No real Pope was ever so loud as they in proclaiming the dogma of their own infallibility. But in all this, the fault lies, not so much with the true Higher Criticism, as it does with the Higher Critics.

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THE MAID OF ORLEANS AND THE NEW WOMANHOOD.

La Vraie Jeanne d'Arc. La Paysanne et l'Inspirée, d'apres ses aveux, les temoins oculaires et la libre-pensée. Par *Pere J. B. J. Ayroles, S. J.* Gaume & Cie: Paris.
Jeanne d'Arc sur les Autels. Par le même.
La Pucelle devant l'Eglise de son temps. Par le même.
The New Womanhood. J. C. Fernald.

THE interest manifested in the cause of Joan of Arc, not only in France but throughout the world, calls forth a reflection upon the reasons of this almost unexpected agitation in which the Church plays a leading part. It may be explained in various ways according to different points of view, but there is one interpretation which seems quite unmistakable and of deep significance. The movement shows plainly the attitude of the Catholic Church towards what is called the *Woman Question.*

This question, requiring, as it does, an answer as to the rightful bounds of woman's sphere amid the rapid and astonishing developments of our modern civilization, is one of the most obtrusive among the social problems of the day. It may be briefly characterized as an effort to secure greater self-dependence (independence from man), recognition (on an equal basis with man) of woman's services in the economic and business spheres, as well as in the liberal professions, and, thirdly, political rights.

How far and under what circumstances these claims are admissible, constitutes the central knot of the problem. Widely contrasting solutions are presented on the one hand by the advocates of "woman's rights," and, on the other, by the more conservative defenders of the womanly prerogatives which, whilst placing her out of *concours* with man in manly spheres, put her above him in her own. The extremists' opinions are heard daily from platform and lecture-halls, at women's clubs and in the public press. They tend towards sweeping away every barrier that marks a dividing line between the sexes, even as to the matter of a distinctive dress, look to the polls as an essential means of remedying their wrongs, and have expectations of some day seeing a member of the sex appointed by popular vote Chief Executive of the Nation. The more conservative element, acknowledging the necessity that frequently forces woman to become self-supporting, and recognizing her ability to command success in whatever field she enters, still

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deplores that necessity and clings to the belief that home is woman's true realm. A non-Catholic writer of our day gives a strong exposition of this view: "Woman's mental as surely as her physical qualities call her to the home life as her special and peculiar work. It is not that she can do nothing else, but that she can do this as no other can. If she does not make home, home cannot be made. The world needs her there. . . . . The world's civilization, the moulding of the ages to come, depend on the distinctively womanly qualities of mind acting in their highest beauty and perfection in human homes."[1]

As in all other questions and problems that affect the true welfare of man, the Catholic Church is interested in this one and has her solution of it. Her answers, although often seemingly conservative and tardily given, are always practical, and whilst meeting the new needs, anticipate those which lie ahead of the advancing race of men; for, as has been well said by a keen observer of our national, social, and moral life: "The true Church does not borrow truth from races and civilizations, but imparts it."[2]

The influence by which the Church effects a solution of social problems is twofold. First, by her teaching. Thus we explain the development of dogma. A new definition of some article of faith implies, as a rule, that the Church wishes to meet some popular error, intellectual or moral, by opposing to it some truth that will arouse the attention of her children and preserve them from the contagion of a false opinion. In this way the dogma of Papal Infallibility met the universal skepticism in matters of religion by pitting a reliable defining voice of truth against the wranglings of doubt, just as the definition of the Immaculate Conception raised the standard of pure womanhood as a signal of opposition to the false maxims of the era that threaten the very foundations of Christian families and homes.

The second means by which the Church exercises her influence upon the social body in order to correct and remedy a dangerous moral tendency, is to awaken enthusiasm in behalf of a noble ideal, represented by some hero or heroine upon whose brow she places the diadem of sanctity, and thus directs the aspirations of her children to the imitation of a great and lofty model.

Such is the aim of the divinely guided and inspired Church in selecting the saintly Maid of Orleans as a candidate for canonization. It is an ideal most in harmony with that of the "New Womanhood," and the aim of this paper is to point out how every legitimate aspiration of the sex is verified and emphasized in the fair and noble figure of Jeanne d'Arc.

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[1] J. C. Fernald, *The New Womanhood.*

[2] Hecker, *The Church and the Age*, chap. xi.

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Not as if we believed that every woman in our day might undertake what the French heroine was called to do by a special design of Providence—the virtues of the saints, not their actions, are for our imitation—but to show in the recitation of some of the more striking and relevant features of her life that every womanly grace and virtue is compatible with noble and chivalrous deeds, and that an unselfish patriotism has the full sanction of heaven, not only recognized by the Church, but ennobled and immortalized by her as worthy of proportionate imitation.

In doing this a contrast will incidentally be drawn between the holy independence of Joan of Arc (in the first stage of her young life) and the claims of the "Woman's Rights" party in our day; further to show the purpose that animated her in assuming the warrior's garb and the leader's task, and on the other hand women's present aspirations to political and professional rights; then to point out the self-sacrificing spirit of the Maid in her martyrdom, and the self-glorification of the modern society woman whose aim is to escape the so-called degradation of her sex; and, finally to draw attention to the victory of Joan which renders her immortal, as opposed to the empty sounds of a passing eulogy accorded those who seek victory not for their country and in God's cause, but from a more selfish motive.

I.

No woman of the present time who steps into the arena of public life, shows greater independence than did the Maid of Orleans when, forced by a divinely-appointed vocation, she began that extraordinary career which has made her one of the most striking figures in history. None of her sex, however, could feel more reluctance to assume a conspicuous rôle, could shrink so humbly from a great mission, nor cling with such lingering regret to family and home as did this gentle shepherdess. It was only obedience to an emphatic and unmistakable command from heaven that at length made her bid adieu forever to the scenes of her childhood and go forth to the rescue of her king and country.

A strange novitiate for her after career is that which her biographers trace for us in the record of those early years! And yet scarcely so. Strange, perhaps, if we look solely at the mail-clad warrior and the intrepid knight, the inspirer of armies and the champion of battles; but most congruous if we turn our gaze upon the tortured captive in prison-cell, the heroic martyr amidst the scorching flames in the market-place of old Rouen, the "Venerable Servant of God" on the calendar of the Church. For solitude is often the most congenial atmosphere for the development of strength of character, simplicity and lowliness form the firmest

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foundation for future greatness, and a good Christian home is the best nursery not only for the gentler virtues but also for those that upon occasion may become heroic. Joan had a good home. She had good parents,—poor in the wealth of this world, but noted, even in a devout neighborhood, for their exemplary life and fervent piety. In the panorama of our heroine's life, the pictures of her childhood and youth are fair and beautiful. They fade from the canvas all too quickly. The first glimpse we catch of her is among the sloping hills or in the sunlit valleys or the deep shadows of the forest at Domremy in Lorraine,—a lovable child with soft dark eyes, so beautiful in their expression, old chroniclers tell us, that angry beasts were subdued by her glance; so gentle a little maid that the birds of the air flocked about her and took their food from her hands. Later we see her at her mother's side learning household duties as well as to spin and to sew. An apt scholar she must have been, for in the two latter accomplishments she became as proficient as any woman of her time and country.[1] These thoroughly feminine occupations, together with a knowledge of the Pater, Ave and Credo and of her religious duties, formed the sum total of Jeanette's education. A meagre curriculum, truly, and quite enough to excite the scornful pity of our college-bred girls. Education is a most desirable blessing provided it performs its threefold duty of training simultaneously the moral, mental and physical being. Joan could neither read nor write, she never opened a book, yet she considered herself by no means ignorant.[2] Better, far better her illiterateness with her pure soul, useful hands and robust body than the highest mental culture with distaste or inability for needlework,—that most beautiful of accomplishments for women,—a perverted sense of moral obligations and a shallow free-thinking habit. Fernald has something apposite to say on this subject: "There are some who aver that all the feminine qualities we have sketched are the result of education, and they are going to educate them out of woman, and the heart of every man answers, 'Now God forbid!'" . . . . So he opposes any proposed reconstruction of woman, which would turn all that admired half of the race into a second edition of men. "If education has made her the beautiful and gracious being she is, only let us know exactly what education has done it, and we will defend just that style of education against all comers, and maintain it while the earth remaineth. . . . . Far better was the old red school-house, with its 'Three R's' and no worries, sending home a red-cheeked girl to do

[1] "Elle savait coudre et filer aussi bien que femme de France."—*Interrogatoire* des 22 et 23 février, *Procès*.

[2] "J'ai pris ma crèance et ai ètè enseignèe bien et dûment, comme on bon enfant doit faire."—*Procès* t. I, p. 209.

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whatever might be to do in kitchen, or dairy, or bedroom or parlor —a working, skipping, merry lass, growing to useful womanhood with bounding health, and scattering help all the way along. Yes, a few studies thoroughly learned, knowledge of actual life attained, the conscious power of doing things that count in the world just as well as any one can do them, and hearty health to keep doing, advancing and enjoying, are worth a thousand times more than 'passing,' with pallid cheek, feeble hand and faltering step, the strictest written examination on a host of studies for which the learner knows no earthly use,—unless she can get paid to teach them over again to other poor souls to whom they shall be equally useless." One of Jeanette's heavenly instructresses, we may remark, was Saint Catharine of Alexandria who was versed in all the sciences of her day and successfully combated the celebrated Neo-Platonic philosophers of that famous school. Yet the future heroine was simply told to frequent the church and be a good child,—this was sufficient knowledge for the great work of saving her soul and her country. The history of Joan of Arc proclaims that faith without profuse learning is better than learning without faith, and that a simple heart given to God and enlightened and strengthened by divine grace, is mightier than all human wisdom and science.

Again, and most frequently, we find the peasant's daughter tending her father's sheep, weaving garlands of flowers meanwhile, wherewith to crown our Blessed Lady's statue, whilst her companions danced and sang in the innocent mirth of childhood, or, perhaps, leaving her gentle charges in some safe place, whilst she entered the church to pour forth her loving heart in prayer, or going, as she did at least every Saturday with her sister, on a little pilgrimage to the church of Notre Dame de Bermont.[1]

A wonderful picture now comes before us. We know it well, and never tire of looking at it. In its glowing colors we find the key to all the after marvels of that short eventful life. A girl of thirteen is working in her father's garden about the hour of noon; suddenly, she is enveloped in a light not of earth, angelic forms fill the air, one more superb and radiant than the others, and a voice is heard the sound of which is sweeter than softest music, telling the child to be good and to go often to church. The sounds

[1] Bermont, called also Belmont or Beaumont, was formerly a hospice for lepers, founded at the close of the thirteenth century by Pierre de Bourlémont, Sieur de Domremy, at a time when leprosy, introduced from the Orient, had spread throughout Europe. In 1834, the chapel, which had fallen into ruin, was bought by M. Saincère, of Vaucouleurs, who had it restored. The statue of the Blessed Virgin, before which Jeanne and her sister so often prayed and burnt their tapers, is still to be seen in the choir.

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were so sweet that Jeanne wept when they ceased, and begged St. Michael, for it was he, the tutelary angel of France, to take her with him. He bade her stay on earth, as God had a great work for her to do The girl's own voice must have caught the celestial tone, for all of her biographers allude to its remarkable sweetness. Could there be a better dower for a woman? This was the first of many visions that followed during four years. Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret were her especial guardians. Jeanne's mission was begun. "It is a history more romantic than romance itself would dare to be."—(Faber–Bethlehem.) Can we suppose it possible that the destiny of nations is to be moulded by those small clasped hands? that the deliverer for whom France has looked, and looked in vain, is to be found in that girlish form now kneeling with rapt, awe-struck countenance and tear-dimmed eyes? For, like those shepherds of old, who also saw a great light and heard voices from on high, Jeanne, too, was "sore afraid." Strange are the ways of divine Providence in ruling the nations. Thrice do we thus find God choosing peasant maidens, shepherdesses, of pure and simple lives, to save France from threatened dangers—Joan of Arc, in the fifteenth century, to rescue it from the English invader; St. Genevieve, a thousand years before, to defend Paris from the barbarians of the North; Barnadette, in our own generation, to oppose to the on-rushing tide of infidelity—a deadlier foe than the wild hordes of Attila—the miracles of faith at Lourdes.

Henceforth, nothing is changed outwardly in the girlish life. Jeanne is the same gentle creature, submissive to her parents, devoted to her friends, faithful to her duties, modest, and easily abashed.[1] Her companions can find nothing to reproach her with, save her piety. She goes daily to Mass, and to the evening service in the church near her home, often to the tribunal of penance, there to confess her sins with tears of contrition, and to the altar to fortify her soul with the bread of life. The afflicted are sure to receive sympathy from her, she cares for the sick and relieves the poor as best she can.[2]

Other scenes there are, occasionally, not so peaceful. Now and then, some roving band of Burgundian or English soldiers would appear in the neighborhood, and the young men of Domremy, which was decidedly Armagnac in its adherence, would go out to

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[1] "C'était une excellente créature, somise a ses parents, et qui aimait tendrement ses amis; elle avait la réserve de son sexe, et s'intimidait facilement."—Testimony of Hauvielte, an intimate friend of Joan.—*Procès.*

[2] "Elle était d'une piété exemplaire, elle allait volontiers a l'église et approchait souvent des Sacraments, elle soignait les malades, et donnait aux pauvres."—Deposition of Simon Musnier, laborer.—*Procès.*

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repel the marauders. The tender heart of Jeanne was stirred with pity and indignation when she saw her friends and neighbors return bleeding and crippled from such encounters. On one occasion, we find her fleeing from her home, with her parents, before the enemy, and returning to find the church, that was so dear to her, reduced to ashes by their sacrilegious hands. These incidents served to strengthen her grief at the condition of her unhappy country. Nevertheless, viewed from the surface, hers appears rather an uneventful history—what in modern parlance would be called a "colorless" life. But underneath that quiet flow was an undercurrent of supernatural forces that was working such wonders as the world has seldom witnessed. The heavenly visitations became more frequent, the object of the mission more defined, the command to act more pronounced. Jeanne still hesitated. She told her great secret to no one, least of all could she entrust it to her father; but he suspected her, and set a close watch over her least she should escape from home. He was so determined to frustrate any such design on her part, that he ordered her brothers to drown her, if necessary, rather than let her go, and if they did not do so he would.[1] Physiologists, seeking traces of heredity, may find in this incident a source of that firmness of purpose and indomitable will that enabled the youthful heroine to overcome so many formidable obstacles to the accomplishment of her divinely appointed mission. From her mother, Isabeau Vauthon, whose surname of Romée was one usually given those who had made pilgrimage to the Eternal city, Jeanne doubtless inherited not only her loyal faith and fervent piety, but also the many graces and womanly traits that formed such striking and admirable contrasts in her noble character.

A time comes when Joan realizes that she must no longer delay. She bows before the will of God. The will of God! that was her guiding star, and perfect faith in the divine character of her call leads her to follow it on out of the grateful shadows into the bright glare of the world. The shrinking, the dread, the faint-heartedness, have all become merged into obedience. God has given her a mission; all else must be subordinate to that. A different spirit this from that which urges our young girls to leave the safe shelter of home for the sake of being independent, to escape the monotonous round of lowly duties, or the restraints of parental guidance. "I have fitted the girls for a life-work." It is a mother who speaks and a mother who is forced to do and to be in the unceasing battle of life. "But I shall not force them into it while I have

[1] "Si je cuidoye que la chose advensit que j'ay songié d'elle, je vouldroye que la noyessiés, et se vous ne le faisiés, je la noieroye moy-mesme."—Interrogatoire du 12 Mars.—*Procès.*

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strength and ability to earn their living. Knowing the world as I do; cognizant, as I cannot fail to be, of its grime and greed, I would no more send them out into it than I would push a boy into Niagara because he knew how to swim. . . . . You may talk as you choose about the beauty of independence, and the glory of being self-supporting; but a great deal of your talk springs from ignorance pure and simple. Ten times out of eleven the girl who goes out into the world, *unnecessarily*, to earn a living, hardens, and, most generally, in the other case, her heart breaks. . . . . Good shepherds and good mothers guard their lambs. We do not need a larger liberty for our girls so much to-day as we need better care-takers. Bye-and-bye the necessity will come that tests their courage and their strength. See to it, if possible, in their days of earliest youth that we preserve their hearts pure and their minds undefiled. A gently-reared, delicate-minded, pure, natural woman will always wield a greater power and command a higher place in the world than a bold, pushing, self-assertive one."

II.

"*Gesta Dei per puellam.*" Unless we believe this assertion, so well supported by the strongest and most incontestable proofs, it were impossible to account for the marvelous achievements accomplished by the Maid of Orleans in her brief career as the saviour of France. Patriotism is one of the noblest motives that can stimulate human action. To attain its highest estate, it must, however, be chastened and consecrated by the love of God. Love of country forms as integral a portion of woman's nature as it does of man's. It may smoulder unsuspected in her heart during times of peace and prosperity, but in a crisis it flames out into such deeds of heroism as have illumined the pages of history with some of its most brilliant exploits, rendering the doers of them immortal in the annals of the world. In Joan of Arc we find an example of patriotism of the most exalted type. That she undertook her mission in obedience to a heavenly inspiration, manifested by directly supernatural means, is a fact which satisfies one of those indispensable requisites to justify woman in claiming prerogatives which otherwise lie beyond her sphere. "It is by order of God that I went to the king. . . . . I would rather have been drawn asunder by horses than to have gone to him without the permission of God, in whose hands are all my actions," testifies the prisoner during her trial. And speaking of the saints and angels who acted as the divine messengers: "I saw them with my own eyes as plainly as I see you, my judges, and I believe what they said and did as firmly as I believe in the Passion and death of Jesus Christ, our Saviour." There is no uncertain ring in the expression of this

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conviction. Without this stamp of the divine authorization, the career of the Maid of Orleans as a military leader would never have received the sanction of the Church. This remark must not be understood as a wish to limit unduly the legitimate field of woman's activity, or to make the Church responsible for a view that might seem contrary to the progressive movement of our day, which assigns to woman a larger sphere of action than was formerly the case. The aspirations of our sex to take part in public life, or in those interests which are of a professional nature, are not to be condemned so long as they lie within the range of woman's actual ability. "We hear much said," writes the eminent Paulist, Father Hecker, "and not a little is written, in the United States and in England, about the exclusion of women from spheres of action for which her natural aptitudes make her equal, and in many cases render her superior, to man; of her partial education, and in many cases the inferior position which she is forced to accept in society.

"Strange that we hear no such complaints in Catholic society or from Catholic women! Is it because they have been taught to hug the chains which make them slaves? or that they are denied liberty of speech? or that their lips are closed by arbitrary authority? Not at all. The reason is plain. Women, no less than men, are free to occupy any position whose duties and functions they have the intelligence or aptitude to fulfill. They have the opportunities, and are free to obtain the highest education their capacities are capable of. This every Catholic woman knows and feels, and hence the absence of all consciousness in the Church of being deprived of her rights, of oppression, and of injustice.

"One has but to open his eyes and read the pages of ecclesiastical history to be convinced that in the Catholic Church there has been no lack of freedom of action for women. . . . . There is no kind of labor, literary, scientific, mechanical, as well as charitable, in which they may not engage according to their abilities and strength. . . . . All roads in the Church are open to woman's energies and capacities, and she knows and is conscious of this freedom; and, what is more, she is equally aware that whatever she has ability to do will receive from the Church encouragement, sanction, and that honor which is due to her labor, her devotion and her genius."

This is surely allowing women the widest possible range, and we fear that many of those brought up in the conservative views of a generation not without its beneficial influence in modern society, will consider it more than a safe concession in practice. Yet note the important limitation that "they have the intelligence or aptitude to fulfil." Woman, as a rule, and by reason of her natural constitution of mind and body, cannot be said to have the

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capacity or aptitude to fulfil satisfactorily the functions demanded from a leader of men either in the political or military sphere. Vocations to a conspicuous rôle, such as that of Joan of Arc, are an exception rather than a rule among women; and as exceptions they but emphasize the rule. The ordinary way of divine Providence is to guard the daughters of the Church in the safe harbor of the home or the cloister, rather than to launch them, unless necessity compels, among the breakers of public life among men and in distinctively manly pursuits. Occasionally, even in our day, it places in a woman's hand the actual weapons of war,[1] generally, it prefers to see her labor for the good of others with pen or needle rather than with sword or firearms; and when it conducts her to the field of battle, as the records of war in every country of the world testify that it often does, we find her there not in the war-like uniform of a combatant, but in the sombre habit of a Sister of Mercy or of Charity. Woman's scenes of contest are oftenest within her own heart; there must ever be won her most signal victories. Many a struggle is fought, many a silent conquest gained there, more glorious than Patay or Orleans, of which God is the sole witness, the recording angel the only historian. Heroines in private life are many in comparison to those of whom the world hears and sings the praise. It is not to be forgotten that the woman of truly heroic mould, called to serve her country in any public capacity must invariably retain the womanly qualities which mark her as belonging to a different, if not inferior order of beings. The saintly Maid of Orleans is an evidence of how a woman when called by God to a masculine sphere, may still preserve an attraction for her own and carry into the new mode of life all the lovely characteristics of pure womanhood. One phrase from her own lips testifies strongly in her favor in this respect: "War is not my condition," she asserts, "certes, I would rather be at home spinning beside my poor mother, but I must go and do battle; for such is the will of my Lord."

It is not essential to enter here upon a lengthy description of the political condition of France during the early years of the fifteenth century. It will suffice for our purpose to remind the reader of the disastrous situation which arose out of the claims of Edward III. of England to the French throne; of the hundred years of strife that resulted therefrom; of Crécy, Poitiers, Agincourt and many lesser fields upon which the pride of French chivalry had perished; of the wide swathes cut by famine and

[1] A late dispatch from Berlin contains the following: "Official and private reports on the recent revolt of natives in the Cameroons call attention to the great heroism of Margaret Leuse, a Sister of Mercy, who passed through the thick of the fighting armed with only a revolver, and tended to the wounded in the midst of a hail of bullets."

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pestilence in the ranks of those whom war had spared.[1] Then, too, of the insanity of Charles VI., of the infamous treaty of Troyes, the unnatural conduct of Queen Isabella in signing away the rights of her son, Charles VII., in favor of Henry V. of England, and of the civil war between the houses of Orleans and Burgundy, of the alliance of the latter with the English. When we recall these facts we can hardly consider Disraeli's scornful boast an exaggeration: "Our Henry V.," he says, "had reduced the kingdom of France to the town of Bourges."

Upon the death of Charles in 1422, Henry VI., son and successor to Henry V., was proclaimed king of England and France. As he was only a child, his uncle, the Duke of Bedford, was appointed regent in France. In 1429 all the northern portion of the realm, including Paris, was in the possession of England. A few southern provinces were all that could be claimed by the Dauphin, Charles VII., and he had neither troops nor resources to defend these against his enemies. Orleans had been in a state of siege for months; it seemed inevitable that it must soon capitulate, and when that happened the doom of France was sealed. Charles, called in derison, "King of Bourges," had retired to Chinon, and was determined that, as soon as Orleans fell, he would abandon his unhappy kingdom and seek an honorable asylum in Spain or Scotland.

The disheartening defeat of Rouvray-Saint-Denis added to the hopelessness of the situation. The soldiers were demoralized, the chiefs disheartened. It seemed a question of only a month or two when France must become what Canada is to-day, a province of England. It was at this critical moment that God sent the French a deliverer in the person of the virgin-knight, Joan of Arc.

We last saw Jeanne at the humble home by the Meuse. In obedience to the directions of her Saints, she departed from it and went to Sieur Robert de Beaudricourt, Captain of the King's forces at Vaucouleurs, to tell him the work she was appointed to do, and to ask him to send her to the King. When he heard her announce that she, an ignorant peasant girl of seventeen, was commissioned to raise the siege of Orleans and to lead the Dauphin to Rheims to be crowned, he thought her a fool or mad. Thrice was

[1] Petrarch, whilst in France, writing probably about the middle of the fourteenth century, thus describes the sad condition of the realm: "Nothing presented itself to my eyes but a fearful solitude, an extreme poverty, lands uncultivated, houses in ruins. Even the neighborhood of Paris manifested everywhere marks of destruction and conflagration. The streets are deserted, the roads overgrown with weeds, the whole is a vast solitude." And Des Serres, describing the unhappy kingdom at the close of the same century, gives a similar picture: "In sooth the estate of France was most miserable. There appeared nothing but a horrible face, confusion, poverty, desolation, solitarinesse and feare."

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she rebuffed, thrice did she return to urge her request. She did not lose courage. Faith had been her inspiration, hope was now her support. When her mission was first definitely made known to her, timid little Jeannette had wept and remonstrated, saying that she was only a poor girl and did not know how to ride or make war. The answer of the Saints was: Have no doubts; God will be your aid. Whenceforth we see no more faltering. "Before Lent is over I must be with the King," she says, "if I have to wear my legs off to the knee, for there is no one in the world who can save France but myself."

Jeanne's piety during the wearisome delay at Vaucouleurs was the admiration of the city. She spent much time in church praying fervently, she fasted rigorously, she went frequently to confession and communion. She staid at the house of a wheelwright, whose wife became deeply attached to the saintly girl. Here a short digression may be made to recall a fact of which all women may feel proud. In the history of the Maid of Orleans no mention is made of a woman being found in the ranks of her enemies. They were ever her friends, and the witnesses to her devout and spotless life. We have only to mention the Queen, Marie of Anjou, who received her with the greatest kindness, Yolande of Aragon, Queen of Sicily, and the other noble ladies who testified as to her virtue before the king would believe in her inspiration; the wife and saintly aunt of John of Luxembourg who pleaded with him in her behalf; the peasant woman who was burnt at the stake in Paris at the time Joan suffered a like fate, for declaring her faith in the Maid's goodness and the reality of her mission.

Gradually her holiness, her courage and confidence, began to bring conviction to the minds of the people of Vaucouleurs and of the surrounding country. They recalled, too, and Jeanne herself often spoke of it, an ancient prophecy which foretold that the harm done to France by one woman should be repaired by a chaste virgin: "La France perdue par une femme sera relevée par une vièrge venue des marches de Lorraine." What more natural than that this prediction should be applied to Isabelle of Bavaria and to the shepherdess of Domremy? This strengthened her cause. Robert de Baudricourt at length yielded. The Maid had spoken to him of the defeat of the royal forces at Rouvray and predicted that if he did not send her to the King some worse thing would happen. A day after, the news reached him of the lost battle, and he feared any further hesitation. So the day at last comes when Jeanne's hopes are realized, and she is on her way to the court, accompanied by one of her brothers and under the care of John of Metz and Bertrand of Polengy, two noble knights who have sworn to conduct her safely to the King. Before the departure, Isabelle

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Romée came to Vaucouleurs to grant the coveted forgiveness to her eldest daughter, her dear Jeannette, for having fled from home without her permission, and to bid her what proved to be a last adieu. Twice again do Joan's biographers mention this loving and good mother. Shortly after her sad parting with Jeanette, we hear of her at the distant shrine of Notre Dame du Puy whither she has gone to attend the exercises of a jubilee;[1] and more than twenty-five years later she appears before the Commissioners whose reversal of the former trial rehabilitated the heroine's memory; she is now aged, clothed in widow's garb and leans on the arms of her sons.

Briefly must we pass over the interview with Charles VII. at Chinon; the proofs she gave him of the divine source of her mission; her examination and triumph before the States General Council at Poitiers. Asked for a proof in support of her claims, that is for a miracle, she had told them she would give it at Orleans. And to Orleans they finally allowed her to go, with a large supply of provisions for the beleaguered city and at the head of an army of ten thousand men. The humble girl who appeared before the Sieur de Beaudricourt in her coarse red peasant's dress, is now transformed into a knight of France, attended by a suite befitting her rank as a chief in the army, clad in a suit of rich armor made for her by order of the king, riding a noble horse with the grace of a practiced cavalier, wearing the sword of Saint Catharine, and carrying a silvery banner inscribed with the names of Jesus and Mary and embroidered with the fleurs de lys. The almost incredible feats of valor at Orleans and the speedy relief of the besieged city; the astonishing and chivalrous deeds that opened the route to Rheims for the Dauphin through a country beset by his enemies; the magnificent ceremonial at the coronation of the King; these brilliant incidents close the short chapter of the Maid's successes, though not of her bravery and heroism. Henceforth she enters upon a different road to glory and the shadows begin to fall.

The devotional features of Joan's life in camp and afield would almost lead one to suppose they were those of a member of a religious order. Everywhere and at all times we find that beneath

[1] Whenever Good Friday fell on the 25th of March, France enjoyed the privilege of a grand jubilee. This occurred in 1429. Many of the devout looked to the jubilee as a means of obtaining deliverance from the evils that oppressed their unhappy country. The duration of the Great Pardon had on this occasion been extended by the Pope, Martin V. at the request of Charles VII., to April 3d. Jeanne was then before the Commission at Poitiers and therefore could not go to Notre Dame du Puy, but not only was she represented by her mother, but also by the two knights who accompanied her from Vaucouleurs. It is supposed that the Maid exacted a promise from each of them to be present.

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the warrior's coat of mail beat the same fervent, devout, humble heart of the simple shepherdess of Domremy. The honors that were showered upon her served but to make her more earnest in the service of God. She assisted at the Holy Sacrifice whenever it was possible; she went to confession almost daily, and although many witnesses declared, during her trial, that no one had ever discerned the slightest fault in her conduct, she always gave evidence of the deepest contrition. In presence of the Blessed Sacrament, or when receiving it, she had the appearance of one inspired. Every evening bells were sounded to assemble the soldiers; prayers were then conducted by the priests, and hymns and canticles were sung in honor of God and His Blessed Mother. It is not surprising to learn that the saintly Maid tried to maintain strict discipline in the army. She forbade blasphemy and pillage, and punished them severely. Before leaving Blois *en route* for Orleans, she, by proclamation, ordered all the soldiers to make their peace with God and to promise to reform their lives, saying that if they were in a state of mortal sin, God would not permit them to be victorious. The same order was repeated and carried into effect after the English were forced to raise the siege of Orleans. She had prayers and Masses of thanksgiving offered immediately after this signal victory. The story is well known of how she had all the miserable female followers of the army driven away, and of how the sword she prized so highly was broken over the back of one of these creatures who brought disgrace on the name of woman and dishonored the virtue that the Maid held as the dearest treasure of her soul. She never spoke to men after sundown, seldom at any time, and kept aloof from them as much as possible. Only in battle did she mingle with them. It seems almost like a miracle, yet it was asserted under oath by Count Dunois, who was considered the most virtuous man in the army, and who had therefore been placed in special charge of the Maid by the king, that no one ever manifested the slightest wrongful sentiment towards her, and her very presence seemed to exhale an atmosphere of purity, and that all respected her as an angel.

Thus, when woman is destined to lead a manly life, she finds her greatest safeguard in fidelity to God and her religious duties. Self-respect will always command the respect of others, and no occupation is incompatible with the practice of the loftiest virtues. "Intelligence and liberty are not a hindrance, but a help to religious life," says the learned Paulist cited above; and, again: "Is divine grace given only at the cost of natural strength? Is a true Christian life possible only through the sacrifice of a successful career? . . . . The general history of the Catholic religion in the

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past condemns these suppositions as the grossest errors and falsest calumnies." The distinction should, however, be sharply defined, in regard to entering professional callings or political fields, between positive duty and the gratification of an abnormal impulse or a desire for personal aggrandizement. The first justifies a woman; the egotistical motives can but abase her. The noble and exalted aspirations of the glorious Maid of Orleans are such as should animate any woman whose destiny leads her to become a champion for her country or her fellow-beings.

III.

The representatives of modern womanhood cannot wholly escape Balzac's epigrammatic and incisive thrust at human nature: "Glory is deified egotism." It is so easy for our much-neglected race to fall into the error of claiming too much, and thereby hurting the just demands in behalf of the sex. A concerted movement by women to bring about some much-needed reform of moral or social evils, to advance the good of humanity, or to raise the position of their kind to a loftier plane, must not be confounded with the restless attitude of the boisterous "reformers," whose immoderate claims endanger, as they disgrace, the very cause they so loudly profess to advocate. Let us again turn to the pages of Fernald: ". . . . Through the fevered discussion of the 'rights' of woman, which has been one of the striking phenomena of our day—surging upon the shores of our literature, our politics and our social life with much of false assertion and unreasonable demand—beating frantically sometimes against barriers of political economy and social morality, whose fall would unsettle the very foundations of society—it cannot be doubted that a great tide of achievement for woman has been gaining ground. We gladly hail the good already done in the reform of barbarous laws and the opening of new opportunities of education and industry. But we have need to watch against that tendency to Nihilism which is the peril of all reforms. Some there are who would sweep away everything existing in order that their new theories might possess the ground alone. But Christian American womanhood, as it exists to-day, at this height of human advancement, is too fair and precious a treasure to be rashly flung into the crucible of any experiment in the hope that some better thing may come out."

A woman who plunges into the vortex of public life in order to shake off what she considers the shackles of home duties, who enters the field of manly activity because she prefers it to womanly pursuits, or who selects a masculine profession through choice rather than by necessity, has lost something of her normal nature. For the woman who is obliged to become self-supporting or to

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maintain those dependent upon her and who strives to do this conscientiously wherever and however circumstances make her talents or qualifications most available, the world has sympathy, admiration, respect. For the arrogant, self-asserting, loud-voiced woman ranting about the wrongs of her sex and the tyranny of man and the laws he has made, no refined, well-bred person can feel aught but aversion and disgust. The difference between a woman acting and perfectly accomplishing a man's part in exceptional circumstances, and a woman aspiring to take man's part as her legitimate sphere of action, is the difference between exceptional effort and normal aspiration; in the one case it proceeds from an impulse either divine, as with Joan of Arc, or heroically human; and in the other, it is made the purpose of an education which aims at transplanting woman out of her sphere without compensating for the void thus created. The course of action taken by the Maid of Orleans was the result of supernatural interposition, and it was an exceptional effort made lawful by an unusual and extraordinary combination of circumstances. In adopting and pursuing it she was as self sacrificing as she was independent and courageous. Unselfish devotion to a noble cause, such as hers, generally attains its object, whilst incidentally it commands the reverence and homage of friend and foe alike. Yet, in how many instances does it not lead to self-immolation, to martyrdom?

The final scenes in the life of our heroine bring home to us the fact that the triple love of her heart,—so blended that it was but one love,—love of God, her king and her country, survived suffering and triumphed over death. Great as she was in battle, Joan of Arc seems greater still during her cruel imprisonment, her harassing trial, and the dreadful tragedy that closed her wonderful life. The details of those months of agony would alone plead touchingly and irresistibly that to all her other glorious titles the Church will soon add the still more glorious one of Saint.

During the triumphal entry of Charles VII. into Rheims and at the brilliant ceremony of the coronation in the venerable cathedral, the virgin-knight had attained the acme of her earthly fame. She rode beside her king in the procession and shared with him the enthusiastic ovation given by the citizens. During the coronation function she again occupied a place of honor at his side and was the cynosure of all eyes. Fair indeed she is to look upon, her lithe and robust form clothed in shining armor, her head unhelmeted, her dark ringlets falling to her shoulders, her soft eyes luminous with happiness, her hand supporting the consecrated banner that had so often led the French troops on to victory. Was the shepherdess blinded by the bright sunshine of prosperity? Did the peasant's daughter forget from the dizzy

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heights of renown the humble cottage at Domremy? No! In prosperity as in adversity, in the days of happiness as in the days of misfortune, there is ever the same simplicity and humility, the same pathetic yearning for parents and home and for the lowly occupations of her former peaceful life. After the coronation, the heroine of the hour cast herself at the feet of Charles, and with tears in her eyes exclaimed: "Now, gentle king, the good pleasure of God is accomplished, that you should come to Rheims to be consecrated and thus show that you are the true king to whom belongs the kingdom," and then she added: "I would that I could go back now to my father and mother, to serve them and to tend their flocks with my sister and brothers,—they would be very glad to see me." But her inspiring presence was considered necessary in the army and Charles refused her request, although it was repeated several times.

Upon another occasion, moved at sight of the loyalty of the country people who flocked in large numbers to see their king and the renowned Maid, she said to Dunois who rode beside her: "My God! but these poor people are good and devoted; there are no others to compare with them. I wish if it were the will of God, it might be my lot to die and be buried in these parts." "Do you expect to die soon, Jeanne?" he asked. Her response was that she would not last more than a year, scarcely that. Ten months thereafter she was taken prisoner.

Whilst the army was at Rheims, Jeanne's father and the uncle who had taken her to Robert de Beaudricourt, and also several of the old friends and companions from Domremy, came to see her. It was probably Jacques d'Arc's last meeting with the daughter whose valor has made his name rank not only among the nobility of the land she saved, but caused it to become famous for all time throughout the world. "Are you not afraid of being killed in war?" queried one of the young peasants. "My only fear is of treachery," replied the Maid. The words were prophetic.

The treachery came at Compiègne on the 23d May, 1430. The city was besieged by the English and their French allies. A sortie, lead by Jeanne, was to be made that day against the enemy. She assisted at Mass and received Holy Communion. She afterwards remarked to some companions: "I shall soon be betrayed, sold, and delivered over to death. I beseech you to pray for me." The attack was made, but, notwithstanding the prodigies of valor performed by the heroic girl, proved unsuccessful, and the gallant band was forced to retreat. They found the gates of the city closed. Treachery! Jeanne was surrounded by the enemy and had to surrender. She became the prisoner of John of Luxem-

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bourg. Six months later the knight, after long hesitation, and owing principally to the misrepresentations of the ejected Bishop of Beauvais, Pierre Cauchon, accepted the sum offered by the English and sold his countrywoman, his prisoner of war, to the enemies whom she had so many times humiliated and who were thirsting for vengeance. They gladly paid a king's ransom for her.

The captive was taken to Rouen and placed in an English dungeon. Her treatment there exceeds belief. The heart quails and the cheek blanches at the thought of it. The physical endurance that in campaigns had made her the wonder of all who witnessed it, was now to be transmuted in the crucible of suffering into the Christian virtue of fortitude. In shame for our common humanity we draw a veil over the minutiæ of those terrible months of moral and physical torture. The contracted iron cage, made expressly for her; the iron chains around neck and waist and ankles, that by day fastened her to the wall and by night to her cot so tightly that it was impossible for her to move—these are but some of her bodily afflictions. Five English soldiers guarded her constantly; three in her cell, two outside of the door. All spiritual consolation was denied her. She was not allowed to assist at Mass nor to receive her Lord in the Blessed Eucharist. The chapel of the chateau had to be passed on the way from Jeanne's cell to the hall where her trial took place. She asked: "Is the Body of my Saviour there?" Being told it was, she entered and relieved her sorrowful heart in prayer. Her judges, hearing this, forbade her the privilege, and there was nothing left for the saintly girl to do but stop as she passed and to kneel and kiss the door through which she dare not enter to her Beloved. Day by day she stood before her judges, without counsel, and was plied with questions by those learned doctors—questions that it would have puzzled one of their own number to answer. Thus was she tortured in mind and in body. But all the cruelty of her jailers, all the subtlety and scheming and hatred of her judges could not force the courageous Joan to deny that her mission was divine. Her innocence, her candor, her patience acted as a foil to their satanic machinations.

Even when shown the instruments of torture and the executioner ready to use them on her wasted body, she could not be forced into an acknowledgment that she had been deluded or had sought to delude others. She was told that her obstinacy would cause the loss of her soul as well as the death of her body. "Even if I should be in the judgment," replied the dauntless Maid; "if I should see the fire lighted, the faggots prepared, the executioner ready; if I should be in the fire, I would maintain what I have said even in death."

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And so the charges against Jeanne were pronounced proven and she must die. An explanation of the part taken by the schism-tainted and disloyal University of Paris, and by the unworthy churchman, Pierre Cauchon, whom the people of Beauvais had driven from his see because he was a creature of the English, in the execution of the Maid of Orleans, does not lie within the scope of this paper. It is an interesting history, though, and throws light on many things not otherwise comprehensible. We must hasten on to the last act in the mournful tragedy.

On the 24th of May the prisoner was taken to the cemetery of Ouen for sentence. By fraud she was induced to sign a paper purporting to be a promise not to wear masculine attire, nor to bear arms, and other things of like small importance. Jeanne not being able to write, put her mark to it. Another paper had been substituted for the one they read to her. This contained an acknowledgment that she had sworn falsely as to her visions and voices, that she had adored demons, and many more similar assertions. As she was now said to have retracted, her sentence was changed from one of death to perpetual imprisonment on bread and water. This was only a pretence at clemency. Jeanne was returned to her prison and there treated with greater insult and cruelty than before. She complained that she was beaten, dragged by the hair, and tormented in every possible way. Finding they could not succeed in making her break the promise she had made to wear only womanly garments, her jailors removed these at night whilst she slept, and left her nothing but men's clothes. These she was obliged to put on. Her judges entered her cell, said it was easy to see that she still clung to her illusions, and asked her if she had seen any more visions. Jeanne had already repented of her fears, and now heroically declared that she believed more firmly than ever the voices were from heaven; that she had not understood the abjuration; that she had signed it only through horror of death by fire, and that she would rather die than remain where she was. This sufficed. The court promptly declared she had relapsed.

The following morning, May 30, 1431, a Dominican priest, Martin l'Advenu, came to tell Jeanne she was to die that day at the stake. When she heard the horrible death in store for her, the brave heart was overcome by terror, and the poor girl wept piteously. Are we not reminded of another Heart, the source whence every heart that suffers must draw strength and courage, and which yet at the foresight of coming suffering throbbed with such anguish that the Sacred Blood was forced through the pores of the divine body! Soon, however, the poor victim became resigned and began to prepare for her dreadful doom. She made

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her confession and begged to be allowed to receive the Holy Eucharist, so long denied her. After some discussion, Cauchon consented. Holy Communion to one condemned to death as a heretic and schismatic! By this contradiction the unscrupulous bishop and his party betrayed their inconsistency and injustice. A procession accompanied the Blessed Sacrament to the cell of the condemned chanting the litany for the agonizing, and at each response saying, "Pray for her." The scene was touching in the extreme, and the devotion and humble piety of the Maid when receiving her Viaticum edified all beholders. Shortly afterwards she was placed in the executioner's cart, and guarded by eight hundred armed soldiers, was taken to the Vieux-Marché where everything was in readiness for her execution.

Three platforms had been erected, one for the judges, another for church and state dignitaries, still another for the Maid of Orleans. A long sermon was preached by Nicholas Midi reproaching Jeanne for her relapse; she listened to it calmly and patiently. Then Cauchon addressed his victim, who had said to him: "Bishop, I die through you," and exhorted her to be truly repentant. Without waiting for the close of his harangue, Jeanne cast herself upon her knees and began to invoke the mercy of God and the assistance of the saints. In the name of the dying Saviour she implored all there present of whatever condition or party, to forgive her any offence she might have given them, as she on her part freely forgave all who had injured her. Could charity go further than this? Faith and hope were now perfected in charity. Faith and hope and charity, these three are one; but the greatest is charity. Was not Joan's Christ-like charity? To forgive not only the English who were dishonoring the code of civilized nations by executing a prisoner of war, but the French who had delivered her up to her enemies, the French who had condemned her, the French who raised not a lance, nay, not even a voice to save her from such a horrible fate.

Her sublime words were as a dagger in the breasts of her hearers. Her very judges could not restrain their tears. It was the greatest of the Maid's victories. She requested every priest there present to say a Mass for her soul and all the people to pray for her. She expressed a wish for a cross and an English soldier made one of sticks. She took it reverently, kissed it repeatedly, and placed it over her heart. She next begged one of the priests to bring the processional cross from the neighboring church and to hold it where she could see the figure of her expiring Saviour whilst she, too, was in her agony. The crowds grew tired of the delay and some one called to the executioner to do his duty. Joan was seized and roughly dragged towards the fatal pile of

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faggots, placed upon it, tied to a stake and the fire was lighted. The Dominican stood at her side, forgetful of all save the soul committed to his care, until the flames began to ascend and poor Jeanette herself urged him to leave her. "Stand below, raise the cross that I may see it and speak pious words to me until the end come." She maintained to the very last, her confessor deposed, that the voices were from God, that whatever she had done was by the order of God, and that she did not believe the voices had misled her.

Those who heard the Maid protest her innocence from the midst of the flames, and who saw her enduring this horrible death with such noble fortitude were moved to compassion.

The flames crept slowly upward. As they enveloped her and scorched the shrinking flesh, Joan asked to be sprinkled with holy water. Once more she invoked the assistance of her heavenly Mother and of the saints, and thanked God, yes even in that moment of excruciating pain, thanked God for all the graces He had bestowed on her. The remorseless fire had well-nigh finished its deadly work. The dying head fell upon her breast, and with a cry of "Jesus, Jesus, Jesus," the soul of the martyr passed to its reward.

Consummatum est.

No craving for the applause of men, no desire for posthumous fame, can be detected in the career of the glorious Maid of Orleans. On the altar of a heaven-inspired duty she had immolated self. Devotedness was equalled by disinterestedness. Of the king and the country she had served so well, she asked nothing for herself or for those who were dear to her. The sole request she made of her celestial visitants was that she might be enabled to save her soul and thus be one day with them in Paradise. No trace of selfish ambition ever marred the beauty of the love that was the dominating impulse of her life. But the memory of such deeds, such virtues as hers cannot die: History records them, the Church crowns them. Hence the renown and glory never anticipated by the saintly heroine followed swiftly upon her ignominious death and have not only survived but augmented up to the present day.

The vindictiveness of Joan's enemies had to all appearance triumphed. It had calumniated her character, it had tortured her soul and body, it had burned her at the stake as a witch, a heretic and a seducer of the people.[1] Her heart would not yield to the

[1] A notice placed on a post at the place of execution gave this summary of the crimes imputed to her: *Jehanne qui s'est fait nommer la Pucelle, menteresse, pernicieuse, abuseresse du peuple*, divineresse, superstitieuse, blasphemeresse de Dieu, pré

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fire, but by order of the English, it together with the ashes of the rest of the body, was thrown into the Seine that nothing might remain to become an object of veneration. Oblivion if possible, if not, at least execration and anathema. How vain the wicked designs of men! At the moment the martyr breathed her last a white dove was seen to issue from the flames and wend its way heavenward; the fact was attested by an English soldier who had so hated the Maid in life that he had sworn he would gladly with his own hands carry the wood wherewith to burn her. Her executioner was so overcome by remorse that he went at once to one of the friars and declared his sorrow for the part he had taken in the act, for he believed the victim to have been innocent and a saint. Many of those who were answerable for her condemnation came to an unhappy and tragic end, thus verifying the prediction of Joan that such would be the case. The patriotism she had revived in the hearts of her countrymen resulted in the final overthrow of English domination in France that she had prophesied. The people believed in her exalted memory, and showered maledictions on those who had compassed her sad end. A revision of her trial was begun some years after her cruel execution at the request of Charles VII. In 1455 the Pope, Calixtus III., appointed a commission to reinvestigate the records of the Process of 1431. It declared that the court which had tried and condemned the Maid had acted without jurisdiction and that its decisions were unjust, null and void. Joan of Arc was pronounced innocent of all the charges against her. This rehabilitation of her memory was received with joy and gratitude. At Rouen a grand fête was inaugurated, during which the announcement of the heroine's vindication was publicly read, processions took place in the squares and solemn services were held in the churches. This was followed by similar proceedings throughout the kingdom, the highest dignitaries of Church and State participating in them.

These demonstrations were the prelude, the first exultant notes, which thousands of voices soon united in swelling into a mighty anthem of praise and reparation to the saintly Maid of Orleans. The ages caught up the strain. It has been borne along by the sound waves of time, now rising, now falling into soft, low cadences, until now, in our day no heart, no nation but is attuned to add to its volume and most perfect harmony.[1]

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somptueuse, malcréant de la foi de Jesus-Christ, vanteresse, idolâtre, cruelle, dissolue, invocateresse de diables, apostatesse, schismatique et hérétique.—Preuves de l'Hist. de la Ville de Paris, par dom Filibien.

[1] The eminent English Cardinal Monsg. Howard, was some years ago appointed prosecutor of the Cause of the Maid's Beatification. It is said that Queen Victoria, desiring to have before her eyes a model of purity, had painted a picture of Joan of Arc.

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In the fifteenth century Joan of Arc was vindicated by the Church whose unworthy and unauthorized representatives had condemned her: in the nineteenth the chief representative of that Church, Leo XIII., ever watchful of the tendencies of the age, ever keen sighted as to the exigencies and dangers of the day, gives fresh *éclat* to the rehabilitation and adds to its effectiveness by pronouncing the object of it "worthy of veneration." The first degree in the process of canonization is attained, and the universal gratification expressed proves how popular is the decision. Throughout France preparations are being made to fittingly celebrate the great event as a national honor, and other countries will not be slow to follow the example thus set them.

The Church of God is endowed with perpetual youth. Centuries ebb away but leave no trace upon her nor take from her aught of vigor or of beauty. Hence that precipitation which so often mars human actions and warps human judgments finds no *raison d'être* in the councils and verdicts of the fair Spouse of Christ. Wisdom, carefulness, slow deliberation are the distinguishing marks of her proceedings. Nowhere are these characteristics more evident than in the process of canonization, which is never accomplished hastily, whilst frequently it extends over a period of many years. This fact is strongly emphasized in the case of our French heroine. Providence undoubtedly has some special design in the lateness of her Beatification. Is it presumptuous to venture a surmise? This is woman's age. She is coming to the front as never before. A spirit of restless activity pervades the sex. "Independence, equal rights, progress"—these the shibboleths of the New Womanhood. Dangers attend the onward movement, treacherous shoals, unsuspected pitfalls lie ahead. What wiser, then, what kinder, than to raise a standard, to present to the women of the new era a noble ideal in which they can find an example of the virtues necessary to them if they would pursue the newly opened highways in safety and honor?

This desideratum could not have been effected more appropriately than by the action of the Church in proclaiming in our day the cult of the Maid of Orleans. Her history proves that this much-vaunted nineteenth century, with all its advanced ideas, can furnish no substitute for home, can place a woman in no position where her influence is so indispensable, so far-reaching, her power so absolute, as within its blessed precincts, can never compensate for the lack of a carefully-guarded and well-trained childhood.

Fernald speaks to the point also on this subject: "In the growing—and, in the main, healthy—desire for independence felt by our girls, there is danger of shutting themselves out into the world where there are no homes. . . . We do not know of one woman

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who is at the front of any good work, who was thrown out upon the world untrained and unguided in early life. . . . The really lovely and noble woman has her foot on the threshold of home. Even if much of her life be public and lonely, the corner-stone of her character has been laid in a cherished home of the past. If she keeps gentle, sweet, tender" (as did Joan of Arc) "amid the strain of conflict and the press of surrounding evil, you will pretty surely find there is some dear old mother or faithful daughter keeping the shelter of a lovely home for her, ... *somewhere* a woman's hand reaches out to her from *a distinctively womanly life.*" The simplicity of Joan suggests an antidote for the prevailing extravagance, luxury and ostentation of our modern civilization. Her piety and fidelity, her humility and prudence, which brought her unscathed through the severest ordeals, forge the best armor and weapons for a woman's protection in any position she may occupy in private or public life. God has not unfrequently chosen a woman to perform some extraordinary task; He has never selected one who did not possess the virtues that prevented her from frustrating the work. Debbora, Judith, Esther were not only heroines, not simply patriots; they were women whose beauty of soul and spotless character rendered them fit instruments of God's designs, and in acting as such they escaped danger, because their impulse came from Him, and they followed it with no thought of personal renown nor with any desire for popularity or the praises of men. Many points of resemblance can be traced between these Jewish liberators of their country and the heroic Maid of Orleans, in character as well as in actions. Debbora, wise in council as well as brave in war; Judith, of whom it is said, "Chastity was joined to her virtue;" Esther, no less remarkable for the charm and candor of her soul than for her courage in risking her life in order to save her people. If the woman of the day would be as brave, as chivalrous, as admirable as these, she cannot disregard the lessons with which their histories are so fraught.

After all has been said about the modern woman, it seems that the most ambitious of the sex could scarcely expect to improve on the ideal depicted for us by a skilful artist of long ago. This woman was valiant, we are told. Her education must have been as many-sided as that of the present requirement; for, in addition to the long list of her distinctively feminine and domestic accomplishments, "she opened her mouth to wisdom," and must have, therefore, not neglected mental culture; "she hath strengthened her arm and hath put out her hand to strong things;" so, doubtless, she had not neglected physical training. Philanthropy had also its place; "She opened her hand to the needy, and stretched out her hands to the poor," and in the portentous question of

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property and income she evidently had her "Rights," for "she made fine linen and sold it," "she considered a field and bought it;" and it is added, "give her of the fruits of her hands." After summing up this list of occupations and acquirements, we are quite ready to agree with the inspired writer, that "she hath not eaten her bread idle." What was the result? Her reward was in the loving blessing bestowed upon her by those for whom she labored in the family circle, though, incidentally, the repute of her domestic virtues—woman's greatest adornment—went abroad and brought her praise from others. Yet, strange to say, she appears to have had no political aspirations; it was the husband of the valiant woman, not she herself, who is honorable in the gates (it was probably he who spoke her praises there), when he sitteth among *the senators of the land.*

Joan of Arc on our altars will be an honor not only for France, not only for the Catholic world at large, but in a special manner for all women. In their craving for higher culture, for greater freedom, increased independence, in all their lawful aspirations, it will be well to retain whatever is tender and gracious in the old order of things and combine it with all that is strong and clever in the modern system. Then will the New Womanhood fulfill its promise, and be on the "sure way to the more perfect future of its hopes."

O fair Maid of Orleans! so sweet, so gentle, and yet so strong, we congratulate thee, and we rejoice in the honor bestowed upon thee by the Church, to which thou wast loyal in life and in death. God called thee to a unique mission; thou didst ever retain therein all the most beautiful and ennobling characteristics of thy sex. A woman, thou wast none the less heroic; a heroine, thou wast none the less all-womanly. Thy chivalrous deeds claim our admiration, but thy virtues command our homage and our love. O, thou who didst preserve to France her fairest provinces and her national existence, save us from forfeiting our softer graces and our true womanly individuality! In every phase of thy life thou wast true to thyself, devoted to thy religion, faithful to thy God! Thy example and thy exaltation should be as a light to our minds, a stimulus to our hearts, an added strength to our souls. O Venerable Servant of God, great Joan of Arc! we exult in the full measure of thy reward, and we hail thee the patron saint of the New Womanhood!

ISABEL M. O'REILLY.

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PETRARCH AND THE CARTHUSIANS.

GERARD PETRARCH, afterwards a Carthusian monk, the dearly loved younger brother of Francesco Petrarca (or Petrarch), accounted second in that great trio of Italian poets of the fourteenth century, Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio,—was born somewhere about 1308, at Ancise, a small estate, fourteen miles from Florence, the birthplace, also, a few years earlier, of his more illustrious, but less saintly brother.

Their mother had retired to this country house, when her husband, together with Dante, was banished from Florence by a faction in those troublous times. Their father would seem to have journeyed meanwhile, from place to place, seeking a maintenance, occasionally visiting his family in secret. At last, when he had lost all hope of being able to return to his native city, the elder Petrarch determined upon quitting Italy, and taking his wife and sons to Avignon, to which town in southern France, Pope Clement V., a Frenchman by birth, had removed the Holy See, to the great disadvantage of Rome, which suffered deplorably from the absence of its rightful ruler. The citizens of Avignon, on their part, complained loudly that the presence of the Papal Court had destroyed all simplicity of life and manners, introducing luxury and extravagance instead.

Disorders and difficulties of every kind were indeed inevitable in a provincial town invaded by a sudden influx of strangers. Crowds of Italians and other foreigners, discontented with their present fortunes and desirous of improving them, repaired to Avignon, causing a scarcity of accommodations and of provisions, and introducing many evils, and much expense into this hitherto peaceful place.

Italy, was at this period, rich, powerful, and enlightened, beyond all the other countries of Europe, and much in advance of them in scholarship, in literature, and in art. But, it was rent and distracted by civil discords, through the factions of the Guelphs and the Ghibelines. These arose, in part, from the contentions between the Popes and the Emperors of Germany, and partly, from the disputes between different cities and small states struggling for liberty.

The Petrarch family, after a tempestuous passage, at the end of which, they suffered shipwreck in sight of the port of Marseilles, arrived at Avignon in safety. This was in the year 1313. Eventually, however, they settled near the celebrated fountain at Vau-

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cluse, a place subsequently inseparably connected with the memory of Petrarch.

Both Francis and Gerard, were sent to pursue their studies at the renowned University of Bologna, where the former made several valuable life-long friendships with some of the most distinguished of its professors and students. Amongst the latter may be mentioned James Colonna, afterwards Bishop of Lombes on the Garonne, who gave Petrarch a canonry in his cathedral. Through him, Petrarch obtained the protection of the powerful Colonna family, and in particular of the celebrated Cardinal of that name, in whose house the poet resided for a time, at Avignon. Both he and his brother, the bishop, were eminent for their virtues, learning, and patronage of men distinguished in letters, art or science. The name of Colonna is almost as much associated with the life story of Petrarch, as is that of his liege lady, Laura de Sade, whom he celebrated in song, and for whom his affection was fervent and intense. He emphatically denies that it was ever other than a perfectly pure friendship, and asserts moreover, that Laura, who was a woman of piety, morality, and extreme refinement, would never have permitted the expression of any wrong thought or feeling. "I take Heaven to witness," Petrarch writes: "that it is the soul of Laura, and not her person that I love. The older she grows, the more does my affection for her increase."

The life of Francis Petrarch cannot be said to have been morally stainless, but, though he yielded in his youth, under circumstances of great temptation, and in peculiarly dangerous surroundings, to sins, especially lamentable in one of his sacred calling, he subsequently expressed extreme contrition for these falls, and, later on, the general tenor, and certainly the ending of his life, were in harmony with these declarations.

Cardinal Colonna died in 1348, the same year as Laura. The Bishop of Lombes had expired a few years previously. Petrarch's brother Gerard was in a Carthusian monastery, so that though several close and intimate friends were left to him, amongst whom may be reckoned Boccaccio, whose acquaintance he made at Florence, in 1340, he survived or was separated from most of those who had been the chosen and best beloved companions of his earlier days.

We must return, however, to the morning of his career, and that of Gerard, from which we have somewhat digressed in glancing thus onwards to his later life.

The brothers were blessed with a most excellent mother, deservedly dear to them, and whom they lost, to their deep distress, in 1324, their father being already dead.

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Petrarch speaks of her as follows: "She was a woman of rare merit, and although very handsome, and living where much corruption of manners took place, not only her virtue had never swerved, but even calumny had never touched her. She possessed a solid piety which she manifested in attending to the duties of her state and the care of her house."

There can be little doubt that her two remarkable sons, Francis, the scholar and poet, and Gerard, the holy and heroic monk, owed much to her instructions and her prayers. After her death, they found their affairs in much disorder, arising from the treachery of those to whom their father had confided them, and who had appropriated most of the property.

Both brothers, later on, took sacred orders, not so much, unfortunately, from a true sense of vocation as from hope of advancement.

The state of society at Avignon at that time was deeply dangerous for all young men, ecclesiastics as well as laymen. Francis and Gerard lived together on the most brotherly and affectionate terms, having similar tastes and common interests and projects. They frequented public places, and the state of their finances placed them under the disagreeable necessity of paying court to persons in favor. Often, a considerable part of the day was employed in arranging their toilet, and in the details and observances of the etiquette and requirements of society. Long afterwards, Petrarch wrote to his brother: "Do you recollect the time when we wore white habits, on which the least spot, or a plait ill-placed, would have been a subject of sorrow? when our shoes were so tight that we suffered martyrdom in them? and, when we walked in the streets, what care we took to avoid the puffs of wind that would have disordered our hair, and the splashes of water that would have tarnished the gloss of our clothes?"

Gerard Petrarch, however, was destined before long, and for many coming years, to wear a white habit of another fashion; to walk in warm, strong, shapeless shoes, with tonsured head and hood. Little did he dream of the life that lay before him, as, side by side, with his more famous brother, he paraded the streets of Avignon, so carefully and daintily attired.

In 1336, the two Petrarchs made an expedition to Mont Ventoux ("the Mount of the Winds"), from whence a more extensive view can be obtained than from any of the peaks of the Pyrenees or of the Alps. They had much difficulty in ascending the mountain. "While my brother," says Francis, "followed a very steep path, which appeared to lead to the top, I took another, which was more upon its declivity. 'Where are you going?' cried my brother with all his might. 'That is not the way; follow me!'

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'Let me alone,' said I, 'I prefer the longest and the easiest.' This was an excuse for my weakness. I wandered for some time at the bottom. At last, shame took hold of me, and I rejoined my brother, who had sat down to wait for me. We marched, one before the other, for some time, but I became weary again, and sought an easier path; and at last, overwhelmed with shame and fatigue, I stopped again to take breath. Then, abandoning myself to reflection, I compared the state of my soul, which desires to gain heaven but walks not in the way to it, to that of my body, which had so much difficulty in attaining the top of Mont Ventoux, notwithstanding the curiosity which caused me to attempt it." Strangely symbolical seems the description of this ascent of the spiritual progress of each of the brothers.

Two or three years later, they made a pilgrimage together to St. Beaume, with other companions, also, not entirely congenial. "We passed," writes Petrarch, "three days and three nights in that sacred and horrible cavern." Gerard took this opportunity of visiting the Monastery of the Grande Chartreuse, which is only two leagues from St. Beaume. Already, as it would appear, he had begun to cherish a vague attraction towards the Carthusian life, which was greatly strengthened by this visit, although he did not beg for instant admission.

In 1342, a lady died at Avignon, for whom Gerard Petrarch entertained a great affection. "The object of your tender friendship," his brother Francis says to him in a letter, "has left us to enjoy celestial glory. I hope it, at least, and I believe it. The gentleness of her behavior, and the virtues of her life, will not fail to assure her felicity. Take back therefore, for it is high time, the two keys of thy heart. Thus relieved from anxiety, and thy path clear before thee, follow this beloved being, in the surest road. Nothing, now, ought to retard thy progress. Thou resemblest a pilgrim, who wants only a staff to take a long journey. You see, my dear brother, that we hasten fast towards death; when, in the awful passage our souls are released from mortal ties, they will take their flight with more freedom and ease." Gerard followed the advice of his brother, and determined to employ himself wholly for the future, in the great work of his salvation. He quitted the world, and went to the Grande Chartreuse, which he had visited in 1339. The heavenly life led by these monks in that awful solitude, had made an impression on him, which had never been effaced.

Petrarch thus relates the story of the foundation of the Carthusian Monastery of Montrieux, situated between Aix and Toulon, to which Gerard was afterwards sent and which became, later on, the scene of his wonderful charity and heroism, and also where

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his last tranquil years were passed. "Two brothers from Genoa set out on a trading voyage; the one sailed towards the east, the other towards the west. After a number of years, one of them, arriving at Genoa, and being informed that his brother was at Marseilles, wrote to him to desire his return to Genoa, but receiving no answer he went to Marseilles, and finding his brother there, he asked him why he did not come to Genoa. This brother replied: 'I am weary of navigation and trade; I will no longer trust my life to the mercy of the winds; do you, as you please; my resolution is fixed. I have found a port on the borders of Paradise, where I will rest, and await in tranquillity, the moment of my death.'" The other, who did not comprehend this language, asked him to explain himself. He returned no answer, but took him to Montrieux, into a deep valley, in the middle of a wood, and pointed to a house he had just built there. Struck with the awfulness of the surrounding scenery, the other Genoese felt a sudden compunction, and determined to erect a second building, like that of his brother, on a neighhoring hill. They bade adieu to the world, and founded a Carthusian monastery with their wealth. This order is famous for its piety, and the austerity of its manners.

In the solitude the brothers had chosen, they consecrated the remainder of their days to God. It was in this Monastery of Montrieux, that Gerard, heroically tended his religious brethren during the fearful plague called "the black death," which ravaged all Europe, and particularly the south of France, at this epoch.

Although Petrarch loved his brother with tenderness, he was willing and anxious that he should become a Carthusian. Gerard, was naturally fond of pleasure, and of a wavering and unsteady will. He knew not how to moderate his inclinations, and this, gave Petrarch a great deal of trouble and uneasiness, especially in a city like Avignon. "I acknowledge," says Petrarch; "the hand of God in this conversion; none but Himself could work so great a change."

Petrarch had conceived a very high idea of the Carthusians. "This order, does not," he observes; "resemble others; none enter into it by force or seduction." Gerard was no sooner settled at the Grande Chartreuse than he wrote to his brother, to induce him to take the same resolution. Petrarch, his heart full of fervor and sorrow for past sins, hesitated for awhile, but could not make up his mind to comply with his brother's entreaty.

In 1347, Petrarch, who had not seen his brother since he had taken the habit, journeyed to the Grande Chartreuse where Dom Jean Birelle was Prior, and consequently, Father-General of the Order; a most remarkable man, who, on the death of Pope Clement VI. in 1352, was near being chosen for his successor, and

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on hearing of whose death, Innocent VI. exclaimed in deep distress: "We have, then, lost the most eminent priest and monk in the whole world!"

Petrarch contracted a true friendship with this learned and holy man, with whom he continued to correspond. It was a great joy to Petrarch to see the brother, so dear to him, and who had been to him an object of so much anxiety, contented with the state he had embraced, and not regretting the world he had forsaken.

The Carthusians, who had heard Petrarch spoken of as the finest genius and the most eloquent man of his age, had ventured to hope that he would give them some discourses suited to their state. He staid only one day and night with them, but, at his departure, he promised them a treatise on the happiness of the monastic life and on the advantages of solitude, and he kept his word. The intention of this work was to compare the peace and harmony of their existence with the turbulent lives led by the people of the world. In a letter to Dom Birelle, he writes thus: "My desires are fulfilled; I have been in Paradise, and have seen the angels of heaven in the form of men. Happy family of Jesus Christ! How was I ravished in the contemplation of that sacred hermitage, that holy temple, which resounded with celestial psalmody! In the midst of these transports, in the pleasure of embracing the one so dear to me, whom I committed to your care, and in discoursing with him and with you, time ran so rapidly that I scarce perceived its passage. I never spent a shorter day or night. I came to seek one brother, and I found a hundred. You did not treat me as an ordinary guest. The activity and ardor with which you rendered me all sorts of services, the agreeable conversation I had with you in general, and in particular, made me fear lest I should interrupt the course of your pious exercises. I felt it was my duty to leave you, but it was with extreme pain that I deprived myself of listening to the holy lessons you deliver. I had proposed to make you a short discourse, but I was so absorbed that I could not find a moment to ponder it. In my solitude, I ruminate over that precious value which I gathered, like the bee, from the flowers of your holy retreat. I shall write to you the things I would fain have said. In thought, I am still with you."

Petrarch composed the promised treatise in 1347.

Gerard Petrarch made rapid progress in holiness from the time he became a Carthusian. Petrarch spent the winter of 1351 at Padua, passing much of his time with Ildebrandino Conti, the bishop of that city, a man of high rank and great merit. One day, as he was dining at his palace, two Carthusian monks arrived there, and were well received by the bishop, who loved the Order. He asked them what had brought them to Padua. "We are going,"

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they replied, "to Treviso, by order of our General, to establish a monastery, the bishop and some of the pious inhabitants being desirous of having one of our Order." Conti, after several more questions, turned the conversation insensibly upon Father Gerard, Petrarch's brother, and asked them if he seemed contented with his lot. The two monks, who did not know Petrarch, related wonders of his brother, who had been now for a long time at Montrieux. "The plague," they said, "having invaded that monastery, the prior, a man of unexampled piety, but seized with terror, told the monks that flight was the only possibility. Gerard answered, with courage, 'Go where you please, as for me, I will remain in the place in which God has set me.' The prior redoubled his insistance, and to alarm him, said, 'When you are dead, there will be no one to bury you.' 'That is the least of my cares,' answered Gerard, 'and is rather the affair of my survivors than my own.' The prior fled to his own country, where death followed and struck him. Gerard remained in his monastery, where the plague spared him alone, after having slain in a few days thirty-four of his brethren who had continued with him. Gerard rendered them every service, received their last sighs, washed their bodies, and buried them himself, when death had removed those who should have fulfilled this office. With only a dog left him as a companion, he watched at night to guard the house, and took his repose in the day. The robbers, with whom this country was infested, came several times with intent to pillage the monastery, but he found some means of getting rid of them. When the summer was passed, he sent to a neighboring monastery to beg they would give him a monk to take care of the house, and he went himself to the Grande Chartreuse, where he was received with extreme satisfaction by eighty-three priors, gathered there for the general chapter, and obtained of them a great favor. They permitted him to choose a prior, and monks to renew his monastery, from the different 'Chartreuses' (or 'Charterhouses,' to use the old English appellation), having merited this confidence by his care, fidelity, and prudence. Upon this, he returned joyfully to Montrieux."

While the Carthusians were telling of the high, holy and heroic deeds of Gerard, the bishop cast his eyes, filled with tears, on Petrarch, from time to time. "I know not," says the latter, "whether my eyes appeared so, but my heart was deeply moved." The two Carthusians finally discovered him to be the brother of Gerard, and embraced him with much emotion; "Oh! how happy are you to have such a brother," they exclaimed. Petrarch could only answer with his tears; he was touched by this scene, beyond all expression, as he avows in a letter to his brother, from whence this extract is taken.

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In 1353, Petrarch paid a visit to Gerard, at Montrieux. His presence rejoiced this holy house. Gerard was justly regarded as its second founder, and was become a most perfect religious, detached from everything upon earth, and longing only for the joys of Heaven. "I blushed," said Petrarch, "to behold a younger brother who was formerly my inferior, now risen so far above me. At the same time, what a subject of joy and glory it is, to have such a pious brother?"

After conversing about their old friends, and what had happened to them since their last interview, Gerard made known to his brother the troubles with which the Community of Montrieux was just then encompassed. These poor inoffensive monks were persecuted by some neighboring noblemen, who had made frequent attempts to pillage and destroy the monastery. "These petty tyrants," writes Petrarch, "are worse than great tyrants; the latter are commonly generous, and give with one hand what they take away with the other, but the former are famished harpies, who, the more they have, the more eager are they to devour." When the holy religious, before break of day, were singing the praises of God, a shepherd would come to them, in tears, to tell them that some of the flocks had been stolen, or that a drove of cattle belonging to the tyrants had ravaged vineyards, meadows and gardens; and when they had just begun to enjoy the short sleep their rule allowed, they would be awakened by the cries of a servant, or of the sacristan, attacked and beaten by the bandits. With difficulty they had saved their books and church ornaments from these robbers. Petrarch was much distressed at this sad state of things and wrote to make interest with the King and Queen of Naples for the protection of the monastery, the King of Naples being also Count of Provence. When he had to leave them, the Carthusians accompanied him on his way, and wept much at parting with him.

Gerard appears to have outlived his brother, who, in his will, desires his heir to write to him immediately after his decease, to give him the option of a hundred florins of gold, payable at once, or of ten florins every year.

In the summer of 1357 Petrarch retired to a village near the river Adda, three miles from Milan. "The situation," he says, "is charming, and the air very pure. It is on a little elevation, in the middle of a plain, surrounded on all sides by streams, not noisy like those of Vaucluse, but flowing quietly and evenly." John Visconti had chosen this delightful situation to build a Carthusian monastery. Petrarch intended at first to lodge in it as a guest, and the Carthusians consented, but, as he could not do without horses and attendants he feared that the noise, and above all, the drunkenness of the servants, would give trouble and distress in

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this holy retreat. He therefore hired a house in the neighborhood, near enough to go there any hour of the day. He gave this house the name of "Linterno," and in joke sometimes called it "L'Inferno." "There is in my neighborhood," he writes to an old friend, "a monastery of Carthusians, newly founded, where I can enjoy at all hours of the day the pure and delightful pleasures of religion. The gates are always open to me, a privilege few people possess, but we should not wish to give trouble to others in seeking our own convenience, and this prevented my lodging there. I have nothing left to wish for but my old friends, and as you persist in refusing to visit me, I must draw all the consolation I can from my pious monks. Their conversation is neither very learned nor very witty, but it is innocent and holy. Their repasts are not inviting, but there is a perfect freedom in their company, and their prayers will be my great consolation, both in life and in death."

The summer of the next year also found Petrarch at Linterno, and continually in Carthusian company. The Prior of Milan having to go to the Grande Chartreuse to a General Chapter, took charge of a letter from Petrarch to his friend, John Birelle, the Father-General. This letter is dated "From the Monastery of the Carthusians at Milan, where I dwell," and runs as follows:

"Full of astonishment and admiration, I write to you as I would speak to Jesus Christ himself, who undoubtedly dwells in your heart, for the heart of the just, is it not the temple of God? They say you are an angel and that you lead the life an angel would lead if he were on earth. For my part, I behold you as a star rising from the monastery of the Carthusians to enlighten a sinful world. How happy are you! How miserable am I! While I am struggling with the tempestuous waves of time, in continual view of the death I dread, you are arrived safe in port, and, so to speak, entered into the porch of paradise with the hope, or rather the assurance of a blessed and endless existence." After entreating his prayers, he continues: "Sinner as I am, I see you in Jesus Christ, who sees us all and whom we behold in all things. I would however that my eyes could rejoice in the sight of you, and though I hear daily of your pious words, that my ears could enjoy them from your own mouth. . . . . I have confided a precious possession to your care, that only brother, enrolled in the army of Jesus Christ, under your protecting banners. Of all the gifts I have received from nature or fortune, none is so dear to me as he. I know that you love him as your son. You have taken him from me. I am consoled. I rejoice, nay, I glory, in a brother worthy to serve Jesus Christ in your holy family. The Prior of the Carthusians at Milan, who will present you with my letter, will confide my affectionate sentiments for you and your order."

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John Birelle, in his answer to Petrarch, reprimands him severely for the praises he had given him, saying it was not right to praise any one to his face. He exhorts Petrarch to employ the great talents God had given him in works on morals and devotion, and in particular desired that he would write a treatise on the dignity of human nature, which Pope Innocent III. had promised to the world when he wrote his treatise on the misery of man. Petrarch, after justifying himself for the praises he had bestowed, by the examples of the greatest saints, Augustine, Jerome, etc., says: "I could make you the same reproaches with much better foundation. I neither claim nor merit the praises you have bestowed on my genius. You desire me to make good the promises of others, who have not time to fulfil my own. Perhaps, also, it was a subject too difficult for the great Pope, and what will it be for me? Innocent III. was one of the wisest men of his age, and did honor to the Holy See. He knew that human misery was a large, and human felicity a short and difficult subject. I am engaged in a treatise on the remedies of good and bad fortune, in which I try to suppress or extirpate, if possible, the passions of the soul. I was in the chapter on grief and misery when I received your letter. I apprehend that the malady of the soul called grief, can only be cured by the subject of joy with which we are furnished from the dignity of human nature. One would have imagined you knew what I was about when you wrote and that you meant your letter as a spur. It is certain that I am animated by it. The honor of your notice and the pleasure of obeying your commands will inspire me with courage; and if I cannot treat the subject in particular as you desire, you will accept it as considered more generally in the treatise I have mentioned."

This illustrious Father-General died very soon after receiving this letter, leaving the highest reputation for piety and good works.

Petrarch was a man of varied talents and wide interests, and a most voluminous writer in verse and in prose and on all sorts of subjects. He was a warm and faithful friend. It would be impossible in this little sketch of his intercourse with the Carthusians to make more than the briefest allusions, as has been already done, to one or two of the friendships which most influenced his life. Two strange and vivid dreams or visions, which came to him at the very hour of the death, at a distance, of two different persons, both very dear to him, may be read with interest.

James Colonna, the Bishop of Lombes, had made Petrarch a canon there. At the time of his death the latter was at Parma, and was purposing to go ere long to Lombes, in accordance with the wish of the bishop, to officiate in the cathedral. He had even some thoughts of settling near this valued friend, when he heard to his great grief that he was dangerously ill at Lombes. "One

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night in my sleep," he relates, "I thought I saw the bishop walking alone and crossing the stream that watered my garden. I ran to him, and asked him a thousand questions at once. 'From whence come you?' 'Where are you going so fast?' 'Why are you alone?' The bishop replied with a smile, 'Do you recollect the summer you passed with me on the other side the Garonne? The climate and the manners of Gascony displeased you, and you found the storms of the Pyrenees insupportable. I think now, as you did. I am weary of it myself. I have bid adieu to this barbarous country, and am returning to Rome.' He had continued to walk on while he spoke these words, and had reached the end of the garden. I attempted to join him, and begged that I might at least be permitted the honor of accompanying him. The bishop gently put me back with his hand, and changing his countenance and the tone of his voice, 'No,' said he, 'you must not come with me at present.' After having said this, he looked steadfastly at me. And then it was that I saw on his face all the signs of death. The sudden shock of this sight caused me to cry aloud, and awaked me from my sleep. I marked the day, and related the circumstances to the friends I had in Parma, and wrote an account of it to my other friends in many different places. Five and twenty days after this I received the mournful news that the Bishop of Lombes was dead, and found that he died on the very day that I had seen him, in vision, in my garden." Three years afterwards the remains of this prelate were removed to Rome, to be interred there, a fact which increases the singularity of the occurrence.

The second of these extraordinary communications during sleep revealed to him the departure from this life of the beautiful Laura, who had for twenty years been the inspiration of his genius and the embodiment of his waking dreams.

"On the sixth of April," says a chronicler (1348), "Petrarch being at Verona, on his way to Rome, beheld Laura" (who was at Avignon where the plague was raging) "that morning in a dream, and they held a long conversation; the account of which, in his own words, is as follows: 'Dawn had dispersed that thick darkness which renders the visions of the night confused, and a blush of the softest crimson began to enlighten the east, when I saw a beautiful female advancing towards me. Her appearance was like that of the spring, and her head was crowned with oriental pearls. She had quitted a group of females crowned like herself, and as she drew near to me she sighed, and gave me her hand. 'Do you recollect her who influenced your youth?' she asked, 'and led you out of the common road of life?' While she spoke these words she sat down under a laurel and a beech tree on the side of

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the brook, and desired me to place myself by her, which I did. 'Not know you, my good angel,' I exclaimed; 'but tell me quickly, I beseech you, are you in life, or in death?' 'In life,' she replied. 'It is you who are in death, and in death you must remain till the time shall come when you quit this world.' On my expressing my grief at hearing that she was no more, she said: 'Petrarch! you will never be happy so long as you continue to be governed by the prejudices of the world. My death, which causes you affliction, would be a source of happiness to you, could you but know the smallest part of my bliss.' . . . . 'I was overwhelmed with sorrow,' continues Petrarch, 'and ready almost to sink under my distress, when I heard a low and mournful voice utter these words, 'This poor mortal is attached to the present life. Yet, he lives not, neither is he at peace within himself. He is devoted to the world. The world is the sole object of his thoughts, his words, and his writings.' I then recognized a well-known friend. She used to be sprightly and gay; now, she was grave and serious." Laura then resumed her conversation with Petrarch, assuring him of her undying regard, and explaining the necessity she had always realized, for his sake, and for her own, of a strict reserve and caution, during their earthly existence. Petrarch finally inquired if he should soon follow her, and as she was vanishing, she whispered, "If I am not mistaken you will yet remain a long time upon earth." Petrarch did, in fact, live twenty-six years after this incident.

The greatest anxiety, now, naturally seized upon Petrarch, and he waited with impatience for tidings from Avignon. Unfortunately for him, the plague had stopped all communication, and the couriers could not pass without the greatest difficulty. At length, however, on the 9th of May of the same year, Petrarch, then at Parma, received a letter telling him that Laura had died of the plague after three days' illness, on the 6th of April, at six o'clock in the morning, being the very day and hour on which she had appeared to him. Laura had made her will, with great calmness, directly she was taken ill, and received the last Sacraments, after which she remained lying on her bed serene and tranquil, entirely absorbed by the thought of God and of death, although surrounded by weeping friends, and thus gently passed away without a struggle. "Her road to heaven," exclaims Petrarch, "had not to be sought when death came; she had long known and walked in the paths that lead to it."

Petrarch all his life lamented the sojourn of the Popes at Avignon. "If I might but behold a Pope who would re-establish the Holy See and overthrow tyrants, I should be content to die the day after," was one of his utterances towards the end of his career. He saw the election and reign of several popes, but did not live

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to witness the return to Rome of Gregory XI., which was mainly effected by the influence and representations of that marvellous woman and eminent saint, Catherine of Siena.

Petrarch rejoiced at the choice of Gregory as Supreme Pontiff, recognizing in him many virtues and having for him much respect.

Soon after Gregory became Pope, he wrote to Petrarch, whom he had long known and admired, expressing a desire to see him and to do him some service. In his reply to Cardinal Brunè, Petrarch says: "I will receive no benefice with the charge of souls, however great the revenue; the care of my own is sufficient for me. As to the rest, let the Holy Father do as he pleases, I shall be always his servant—useless, indeed, but faithful and submissive. If he bestow any benefice upon me, it will be a very short trust; for I feel myself as a shadow vanishing away. If it will enable me to expiate my sins, then the sooner the better. I pray God my purgatory may be completed in this life." These wise and worthy words were amongst the last written by Petrarch. He was found dead in his library on the 18th of July, 1374, with one arm leaning on a book. He was buried at Padua—in which cathedral, as well as in that of Parma, he held a canonry—in a chapel of the Blessed Virgin, built by himself. A. E. W.

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THE SCRIPTURES IN EARLY CHRISTIAN ART.

THE leading maxims of Horace can never become obsolete or out of place, because they all chime in with nature. Hence, in treating of a department of Christian archæology—figured and pictorial art—we are reminded of the wisdom displayed by the Church in illustrating Biblical personages and events in a manner calculated to instruct those who could not read, and to edify even the learned; for all, while still under the dominion of the senses, must recognize the fidelity of these lines from "The Art of Poetry:"

> "Most true, whate'r's transmitted through the ear
> To mind and heart will never come so near
> As what is set before the eyes, and each
> Spectator sees brought full within his reach."[1]

Roscoe, in his "Life of Leo X.," well remarks that under the fostering care of the Catholic Church "the artist, whose labors were associated with the religion of his country, enjoyed a kind of sacred character," and lamenting the evil effect of the Reformation on the progress of the fine arts, he observes that the "exclusion of picturesque representations from the reformed churches is greatly to be regretted, not only as being an irreparable injury to the arts, but as depriving the people of a mode of instruction, not less calculated to interest their feelings and excite their piety than that which is conveyed by means of speech."[2]

In writing of Christian art we must bear in mind that its character was essentially hieratic in the earlier ages of Christianity. The celebrated Mozzoni (died March 21, 1861) in the first volume of his magnificent "Tavole Chronologiche Critiche della Istoria della Chiesa," published at Venice in 1856, says that "he would be greatly mistaken who should imagine that in those primitive times it was allowed to decorate the catacombs with subjects arbitrarily chosen. Every single representation was suggested by and executed under the supervision of the teaching church; hence, whatever was proper to be painted or insculpted was drawn from the precious fountain-head of the Old and New Testament."[3] The

[1] Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,
Quam quae sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus, et quae
Ipse sibi tradit spectator.—*De Art. Poet.*, V., 180.
Translation by Sir Theodore Martin.

[2] Vol. ii., p. 241.

[3] *Eccellenza dell Archeologia Cristiana, e singolare sua autorità in materia Teologiche.*—Note 101, p. 29, seccolo 1.

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Church dictated what should be painted and how, choosing the subject and regulating its mode of treatment; hence, the second Council of Nice (A.D. 786–787), held against the Iconoclasts, says: "The making of pictures is not the invention of the artist, but the approved legislation and tradition of the Church. This tradition does not belong to the artist, only the execution belongs to him; the arrangement and disposition is of the holy Fathers." The Anglican writer, Rev. Mr. St. John Tyrwhitt, calls this appropriately *Art Teaching of the Primitive Church.* How important it was to instruct the ignorant and excite the devotion of the faithful by proper religious images may be inferred from the words of Saint Gregory of Nyssa (A.D. 383) in his famous sermon pronounced at Constantinople, and entitled *Oratio de Deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti et de fide Abrahami*, in which, describing the sacrifice of Isaac, he says: "I have often seen the image of his suffering in a picture, and never passed the sight without tears, so vividly did the art of the painter bring the story before my eyes." And Pope Gregory the Great says: "Painting is used in churches, that they who are ignorant of letters may at least read on the walls by seeing there what they cannot read in books."[1] In the latter part of the fourth century Saint Ambrose decorated his basilica at Milan with twenty-one paintings representing Noah and the dove, Abraham entertaining angels, the sacrifice of Isaac, Joseph sold by his brethren, Jonah swallowed by the sea-monster, Daniel in the lions' cave, the Annunciation, Zacchaeus in the sycamore tree, and other Scripture subjects. Saint Paulinus, about the year 402, described several scenes from the Old Testament which he had caused to be painted in his cathedral at Nola.[2] The series embraced subjects from the Pentateuch, Joshua and Ruth, the creation of man, Abraham going out from Ur of the Chaldees, Angels received by Lot, the wife of Lot looking back, the sacrifice of Isaac, Jacob's dream, Joseph escaping from Potiphar's wife, the Passage of the Red Sea, the Crossing of the Jordan, Noemi and her daughters-in-law. The titles of the pictures were written over them. In the old basilica of Saint Felix, martyr, Paulinus decorated the walls with pictures from the New Testament. In another part of the same basilica there were depicted examples from Scriptures of male and female virtue in the histories of Job and Tobias, of Judith and Esther. In a descriptive poem the learned and holy bishop says: "Let us contemplate the sacred images and monuments of the ancients—And in three compartments we shall read the two Testaments—If we consider these things with right intelligence—we shall understand that the New

[1] *Ad Serenum episcopum Massiliensem*, lib. xi., epist. 13, ed. Migne.

[2] Poem xxvii., De. S. Fel. Nat. carm. 9.

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Law is figured by the Old—As in the New we see the Old accomplished:

Miremur . . . . Sacras veterum monumenta figuras:
Et tribus in spatiis duo Testamenta legamus;
Hanc quoque cernentes rationem lumine recto
Quod nova in antiquis tectis, antiqua novis lex
Pingitur.

Venerable Bede, the historian of the Anglo-Saxon Church, tells us that in the year 674, the abbot Benedict Bishop brought from Rome for his monastery at Wearmouth, "Paintings of sacred images, to wit, of the Blessed Mary and of the Twelve Apostles, besides representations of Gospel history and of the Revelations of St. John in the Apocalypse, and placed them in his church of St. Peter, so that all who entered the church, even those ignorant of letters, whithersoever they turned their eyes, might contemplate the ever-lovely countenance of Christ and of His Saints, though in an image; or might more heedfully call to mind the grace of the Lord's Incarnation."

A few years later this pious monk—who wished all things in his church and monastery to be in the Roman style—*juxta morem Romanae institutionis*—went to Rome for the fifth time and brought back with him for St. Paul's at Jarrow, pictures carefully designed to show the relation of the Old to the New Testament: for example Isaac carrying the wood for his own immolation, and our Lord bearing the Cross on which He would die. Also the Serpent lifted up by Moses in the desert and the Son of Man exalted on the Cross; one picture being disposed above the other on the same wall.[1]

During the controversy with the Iconoclasts, St. John Damascene wrote his three Orations against those who rejected Holy Images, in one of which he says emphatically that pictures are the books of the unlearned. Verily wisdom is justified by her children, as said our Lord. We can do no more here than mention examples of early Christian art as illustrating the Scriptures and incidentally confirming the Canon of Holy Writ as it was held in Rome from Apostolical tradition and finally affirmed by the Council of Trent as necessary to be received by all the faithful. Some of the books of the Bible, it is well known, are called by theologians "deutero-canonical" because at some period doubts were entertained, outside Rome, concerning their genuineness and canonicity, others "proto-canonical," because no doubt about them was ever entertained anywhere in the Church. All now have the same and equal authority. How to prove the Canon of Scripture

[1] Bede: *Vita quinque sanctorum Abbatum*, lib. 1 et. Migne.

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against those who reject some parts of it as apocryphal, belongs to a department of dogmatic theology: but an interesting amount of cumulative and confirmatory evidence—proving unalterable tradition against the innovators—can be found in early Christian art. Thus before adducing individual examples, we can bring forward the magnificent series of mosaic pictures with which Pope Sixtus III. in the year 432, decorated the tribune-arch and the side walls of the nave of St. Mary Major's at Rome. He selected different subjects of the Old and New Testament illustrating chiefly the lives of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, of Moses and Josue and such mysteries as the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Presentation of the Divine Infant in the Temple and the Adoration of the Magi. A singular historical importance attaches to these paintings because they were appealed to at the second Council of Nice (A.D. 787) as confirming the tradition concerning sacred images; and Pope Hadrian I. mentions them in detail in a letter addressed to Charlemagne. In the fifth century, also, Pope St. Leo the Great, ornamented the long lateral walls of St. Paul's basilica, at Rome, with a series of mosaics, beginning with Genesis and ending with the Apocalypse—going through all the books of both Testaments just as over a thousand years afterwards, they were explicitly announced by the Council of Trent as composing the Biblical Canon. We may remark here that on the old bronze doors of this same basilica which were saved, although in a damaged condition, from the great fire of 1823, and which were cast at Constantinople in the year 1070 and adorned with fifty-four scriptural compositions wrought in silver thread, are read the names of the prophets in Greek and short scriptural texts, now in Greek now in Latin, *BAPOYX*, Baruch, one of the deutero-canonicals, coming immediately after Jeremiah, although to this one is assigned a text —" Hic Deus noster et mon imputabitur alius," which is evidently an epitome of a passage from the younger prophet: *Hic est Deus noster et non aestimabitur alius adversus eum:* "This is our God: and there shall no other be accounted of in comparison of Him."[1] In some early catalogues of the canonical books, although agreeing with those the Church has declared such, there is sometimes a slight difference *in form*, in that Baruch is not explicitly mentioned, because his work was often included in that of Jeremiah, to whom he was secretary; and here we have a record of old Christian metal work to confirm the canon. The celebrated Monsignor Bianchini, in his notes to the Vatican edition of the "Vitae Romanorum Pontificum," by Anastasius the Librarian (1718–1723, four vols., fol.), has illustrated the relations of Christian archæol-

[1] iii., 36.

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ogy to the canon of Scripture and other dogmas of our faith with an overflowing erudition which deserves special mention because he was the first scholar of his age to divine the full value of the study of monumental Christianity, of which Rome—subterranean and overground Rome—possesses such a precious, massive and splendid treasure; for as Prudentius sang:

Vix fama nota est, abditis
Quam plena sanctis Roma sit,
Quam dives urbanum solum
Sacris sepulchris floreat.
PERISTEPHANON, "On the Crown of Martyrs," xi.

In treating of the Scriptures in early Christian art, it is well to remember that although the number of Biblical subjects that might have been chosen is immense, yet in fact only a limited number was selected, and the same subjects were constantly repeated. We account for this by saying that the principal or sole object of the ornamentation of the Catacombs, of lamps, of gilded glass and of early Basilicas was not merely to illustrate the fulfillment of Old Testament type and prophecy by the historical events of the New, but to convey doctrine.[1] These subjects are treated by the artist symbolically, and could only be understood by reference to "some hidden moral or devotional truth which they were known to signify." The principal Biblical paintings still remaining—some of them going back to a very early age, or of which we have minute descriptions from those who saw them—are the following: From the Old Testament: Adam and Eve after the Fall; Noah in the Ark; The Sacrifice of Isaac; Moses Removing his Sandals; Receiving the Law; Striking the Rock; Samson Carrying off the Gates of Gaza; David and Goliah; The Three Children Refusing to Adore the Royal Statue; The Same in the Fiery Furnace; Susanna and the Elders; The Taking up of Elias; Job on a Dung Hill; Tobias and the Fish; Jonas and the Great Fish; Daniel in the Lions' Den; from the New Testament, The Life and Ministrations of Our Lord, as given by Mozzoni in his third volume: Christ Infant—*Christus Infans;* Christ Teaching—*Christus Docens;* Christ Feeding—*Christus Pascens;* Christ Healing—*Christus Sanans;* Christ the Good Shepherd—*Cyclus Boni Pastoris.* Scenes from the Old and New Testament represented together or in studied juxtaposition were frequently shown in early ages. The sarcophagi, or stone coffins, used by wealthier Christians almost invariably represent some subject of the Old Testament in connection with one of the New of which it is a figure; thus, at one end we see the sacrifice of Isaac, at the other Christ

[1] Northcote and Brownlow, *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. ii., p. 43.

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before Pilate; or at one corner Moses striking the rock, at the other Christ raising Lazarus to life.[1] The evident object of the teachers and pastors of the Church, in thus representing together corresponding scenes from the Old and New Testaments, was to insist that both Testaments had one and the same God for their Author, against certain early heretics, who taught two opposite principles—one of evil, the other of good, attributing the Old Testament to the former and the New to the latter. A beautiful bas-relief on the face or front of a grand sarcophagus from the cemetery of Saint Agnes, at Rome, combines the following scenes from the two Testaments: At one side—the noblest, the right, although it is the *left* of a person looking at it, our Blessed Lady, seated on a throne, holds her Divine Son on her knees to receive the gifts of the three Wise Men; on the other side Daniel stands, with hands uplifted in prayer, between two couchant lions looking up at him. Behind and on one side of Daniel is a figure, evidently the prophet Habacuc,[2] carrying a bowl of food. Other two figures in this double scene show that it was not an historical representation merely that was intended, but that a symbolical meaning must be attached to it. These two figures standing on either side of Daniel, Habacuc and the Lions, are noble looking men dressed in tunic and *pallium* and holding each a rolled up volume in the left hand, with this difference that he who stands at Daniel's left, has his right hand pressed against his breast and regards the persecuted prophet, whereas his companion figure has the right extended in the act of benediction, and regards intently the mysterious adoration of the Magi. These figures personify the two Testaments and bring the two scenes together that harmonize symbolically: Daniel, in deadly danger, miraculously fed: Jesus, in imminent danger from Herod, relieved in His wants by the kings of the East. On an old Christian lamp described by Bartoli, we see Jonas resting between two plants, two trees; one an ivy, a gourd or a *palma Christi* which bends down as if broken and falling to the ground, the other a straight, tall cypress tree. The gourd which of its nature is neither strong nor durable, and was less so than ever in this case by reason of the worm at its root,[3] represents the Old Testament, for as Saint Augustine says: "The promises of the Old Testament are like the protection of the gourd." *Umbraculum ergo cucurbitae super caput ejus promissiones erant Veteris Testamenti;*[4] whereas the cypress tree is strong and its wood does not decay and beside the reclining figure of the prophet, it is an emblem of

[1] Martigny: *Dictionnaire des Ant. Chrét.*, p. 723. [2] Dan. xiv., 33.
[3] Jon. iv., 7. [4] Ep. 102 *ad presb. Deo gratias, quaest*, 6 *de Jona. Proph.*

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the New Testament which is an everlasting covenant. Sometimes also two olive trees are represented, one on either side of the Good Shepherd, or of the Blessed Virgin. Then they allude to the Hebrew and the Gentile Church or as Martigny prefers, to the two Testaments and quotes from Saint Proclus, patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 434, who says in his second sermon on the Incarnation:[1] "The two olive trees are the two Testaments: and why does the prophet call them olive trees? Because as olive trees never lose their verdure, the two Testaments are the witnesses ever accordant of the Incarnate Word."[2]

It is also worthy of notice that in the old basilicas, it was almost invariably the custom to so dispose the paintings—fresco or mosaics—that Old Testament scenes, the law and the Prophet, should be depicted on the two side walls, whereas those from the New should occupy the connecting arch of the apse, as if to show that law and prophecy were bound together by the keystone of love in Him. *Qui fecit utraque unum.*[3] "Who hath made both one." This is especially noticeable in Saint Mary Major's, at Rome. We quite agree, therefore, with the Rev. Edmund Venables, although a Protestant, when he writes in Smith's "Dict. of Christ Ant.," vol. ii., p. 1457, "The manner in which the Old Testament was generally employed in early Christian art indicates a conviction of the identity of the revelation contained in it with the fuller one made in the New Testament. The cycle of subjects selected from it for pictorial representation, and the mode in which they were intermingled with subjects from the Gospels, may be regarded as a visible exemplification of Augustine's words[4] 'Novum Testamentum in vetere latet. Vetus Testamentum in novo patet.' . . . . The leading principle of early Christian art is the unity of the two covenants, and the interpretation of the Old Testament by the New, and the exhibition of the New as the fulfilment of the Old. This principle had its most complete development in the system of parallelism, by which type and antitype were placed in such immediate juxtaposition that the eye could embrace both at once and observe their correspondence."

Another interesting part of this study is how the Sacred Scriptures themselves and not any scenes taken from them are represented. The written scroll or volume of the ancients was in their figured monuments an ensign of distinction given to senators, orators and rhetoricians. The use of it passed from profane to sacred art, as an attribution of different classes of teachers in the

[1] *Fessler, Patrol.*, tom. ii., p. 581. [2] Zachariah, iv., 3. [3] Eph. ii., 14.

[4] The precise words of the Saint are: *Multum et solide significatur, ad Vetus Testamentum timorem potius pertinere, sicut ad Novum dilectionem: quanquam et in Vetere Novum lateat, et in Novo Vetus pateat.* (*Quaest. in Heptateuchum, lib.*, 2).

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Church—Apostles, bishops, deacons and lectors, and as a symbol for the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament. It is not, however, always held in the hand. Moses appears with it when striking the rock. which may be taken as an artistic interpretation of the words of Deuteronomy xxi., 9, " Moses wrote this law," and as an expression of the orthodox belief about the authorship of the Pentateuch which the Pagan Celsus—against whom Origen wrote eight books—doubted in the second century. Our Lord is constantly represented with a volume in His left hand or a number of them rolled up and deposited in a basket at His feet, in paintings and sculpture showing Him as Teacher, because to Him it was given to open to His apostles and disciples the true sense of the law and the acccomplishment of the prophecies, as in Luke xxiv., 27, " And beginning from Moses, and all the prophets, He expounded to them, in all the Scriptures, the things that were concerning Him"; and because He often appealed to the books of the Old Testament in His disputes with the Scribes and Pharisees. In the subject of the Child Jesus in the midst of the doctors in the temple, from the cemetery of *San Callisto*, our Lord has a *scrinium*—an open case used by the ancients to contain documents to be easily referred to—filled with volumes beside His chair, which are clearly the Books of the Old Testament.[1] Two volumes tied together and lying at the feet of an *Orante* or young woman in the attitude of prayer, given by Bottari,[2] is a sign of orthodoxy, in that she admitted against the Manichees, both Testaments as equally from God; although Martigny thinks from the presence in the background of a Eucharistic vase, that it is intended to signify the assiduity of this holy virgin in reading the Sacred Scriptures as well as in nourishing herself with the Bread of Life. In a representation of the Adoration of the Magi, the Book of the Gospels is placed near them, in token of their being the first to disseminate among the Gentiles the glad tidings of the birth of the Redeemer and the accomplishment of Balaam's prophecy.[3] In another New Testament scene—the multiplication of the loaves, rolls of the four Gospels are introduced with reference, it is conjectured, to the answer given by our Lord, " Man liveth not by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."[4] Buonarruoti[5] gives a representation of Saint Felicitas and her seven sons between two volumes of Scripture, as if to signify that for this revealed truth martyrs shed their blood. When a volume is placed

[1] Martigny, Art. *Scrinia.*

[2] *Sculture e Pitture sagre estratte dai cimiteri di Roma*, xix.

[3] Numbers xxiv., 17.

[4] Math. iv., 4.

[5] *Osservazioni sopra alcuni framenti . . . . trovati ne' cimiteri di Roma*, tav. xx.

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in the hand of Saint Peter or Saint Paul, it signifies his own inspired writings: but when only one volume is put between the two chief apostles (who are almost always represented together in early Christian Art) it suggests their fraternal union and the sameness of the Gospel which they preached. Bishops as depositaries of the Word are represented in ancient monuments with a roll—*rotulæ*—or volume in the hand or beside them; but Saint Timothy is always represented with *two*—an allusion to the two epistles addressed to him by Saint Paul. Ancient mosaics often exhibit the apostles Peter and Paul with the volume unrolled and showing some extract from Scripture bearing upon their lives; thus in the apse of the ancient Vatican basilica (since destroyed to make way for the modern Saint Peter's) the Prince of the Apostles held a scroll in his hand on which was written *Tu es Christus, Filius Dei Vivi:* "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God"[1] and on Saint Paul's volume was read *Mihi vivere Christus est*—"For to me, to live is Christ,"[2] from his epistle to the Philippians.[3] It will thus appear how varied and how subtle is the significance of the volume as a symbol of the Scriptures.

In another article we may describe the manner—so absolutely different from that of the painters and sculptors of the Renaissance period—in which special Biblical scenes were represented in early Christian Art. These subjects, we repeat, were then treated by their authors primarily with a symbolical teaching in view and not as master-pieces of technical skill and artistic invention. A learned bishop of the Church in America has recently in a letter to us expressed the opinion that "Catholics write too little on the Holy Scriptures." In former ages Catholics not only wrote immensely, but they painted, chiselled and engraved laboriously on the Holy Scriptures. Let us hope, in the words of him with whom we began, that *Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere:* and that texts of Holy Writ may become again to our people, "familiar in their mouths as household words."

ROBERT SETON.

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[1] Math. xvi., 16. [2] I. 21.

[3] Ciampini, *De Sacris ædificiis a Constantino Magno constructis*, tav. xiii.

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GIVE US A TERMINOLOGY.

AMONG the noticeable works on the philosophy of mind, published in the past few years, is the "Psychology" of the "Stonyhurst" series. The author, Michael Maher, S. J., may not have forecast the stimulating influence his book is apt to have upon the study of the matter which he treats. He has done very intelligent work in the line of unfolding the meaning of systems which have had some following since the rise of German Transcendentalism. We mention his book, here, solely for the purpose of making the statement that, in respect of the "system," it is peculiarly suggestive. One cannot read it and weigh its remarks upon the meaning of many writers, without being convinced of the importance—the lack and the need of a common English terminology for philosophical science,—a thing that would go far towards the harmonizing, correction and re-adjustment of theories.

If you put a Frenchman, an Englishman and a German (men of one language each), to dine together, and oblige them to ask one another for what they want, without pointing to the article—it is probable that, when the Frenchman asks for *pain*, the Englishman will say, there is no *pan* on the table. If he holds his glass to the German for just a *goutte*, the German will fill it to the brim, with hospitality, thinking that his companion regards the wine as *gut*. Let the German call for *kohl*, and the Englishman will stare at him. And if the Frenchman says *eau, eau*, the German and the Englishman will both be thoroughly disconcerted.

There is a way in which they might get along better at the next meal. Let them but agree upon names by which to designate the objects of their thoughts and appetites.

The scene at the dinner table is an exact counterpart of what is going on all the time at the table of philosophical science. Each "school" puts its own meaning upon words. The same word will be found to mean different things in different works on the same science.

Mr. Maher has not created a terminology. But he has given us summaries of systems in the terminology of those systems; and he has explained the terminology in such a way as to enable the reader to pass some judgment for himself. One effect of this very reasonable method is that it seems to be constantly inviting us to ask; "Why have we not a common terminology? Why

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can we not all say the same thing in the same words? Why must we turn our English into five or six languages?"

A student who has studied what we call one "system," cannot understand a chapter of another "system," without going back to the beginning and following up the terminology so as to be posted upon the new meanings in which familiar words will have to be received. Men who have followed different systems can hardly converse with one another upon what may, indeed, be the favorite study of each, because they are constantly forced to ask each other for an explanation of terms. In the matter of psychology, above all, this divergence is found even in the meaning attached to the name of the science itself. Points absolutely omitted in the treatment by one "system," are deemed of primary importance in another system. The intimate relation between morphology, physiology, pathology, on the one hand as producing data, and on the other, psychology in the strict sense, has made the latter science an open ground for the students of the purely experimental group to thrust in their terminology beyond what should be a very severe dividing line.

The confusion is appalling. Rational philosophical science should not be allowed to be a science of impossible acquirement to an otherwise educated man, who might choose to read for himself. Of course, as systems stand, there must be a true and a false somewhere. When they differ in conclusions in such degree that what one affirms the other denies outright, there must be truth on one side and the absence of it on the other. But, in the present state of things, how is an educated man going to enter on a course of private study in philosophical science? He sees two books side by side on the shelf of the book store. They have exactly the same title, profess to treat of the same subject and, apparently, start side by side. But, at the end, they are in total opposition. Now all this may very readily come from the arbitrary modification of a definition. The definition gives the direction. The books advance according to the meanings they give to words, and their conclusions come out accordingly. The books advance as two large curves, which placed near to one another, seem for a distance, to run as parallel lines; but they are, nevertheless, diverging; and eventually, of the directions that seemed to be parallel, it is found that one is at right angles with the other.

Now, suppose that two men who wanted to study geometry, should step into a bookstore and purchase, the one a geometry written by Professor A., and the other a geometry written by Professor B. Now, suppose again, that they should meet, later on, when each one supposed himself master of the science of geometry. One begins to speak of the triangle, and mentions inci-

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dentally that in a right triangle the square of the hypothenuse is equal to the sum of the squares of the other two sides. The second, at once, denies the assumption. The first stares at him; then undertakes to prove his assertion. In the course of the proof he remarks that the right angle is equal to ninety degrees. Number Two denies this. Number One insists. Number Two goes off for his book, and points in triumph to the page where the right angle is put down at ninety-one degrees. They start for the bookstore. One of the books must certainly be wrong. They take a book by Professor C. Professor C. lays it down that the right angle is *eighty-nine* degrees! If Number One and Number Two be strong-minded men, we may conjecture the expression of their sentiments relative to geometry.

This is what happens, every day, in the matter of philosophical science. Thus it is, that many, who, it would seem, should be able to find out something about it, become disgusted, and then the "crowd" holds up philosophy as a term of reproach. as the antithesis of common sense; whereas, it is just precisely, and ought always to be, common sense applied to the highest and most interesting questions.

The following passage from the third chapter of Mr. Maher's "Psychology," will show what he has had to struggle with: "The subject-matter which empirical psychology investigates is consciousness; but, as we have already remarked, the chief instrument by which our investigations are to be carried on is also consciousness. The question then at once arises: What meaning or meanings are we to attach to the term? The word has been employed in a variety of significations, but, for our purpose, it will be necessary to distinguish and recognize only three. In its widest sense, consciousness as opposed to unconsciousness denotes all modes of mental life. It comprises all cognitive, emotional and appetitive states which are capable of being apprehended. It is, in fact, synonymous with the sum total of our psychical existence. In its second sense, it signifies the mind's direct, intuitive, or immediate knowledge either of its own operations, or of something other than itself acting upon it. This usage, which is supported by Sir W. Hamilton, and some of those writers who maintain that we have, in certain acts, an immediate perception of a reality other than ourselves, makes consciousness equivalent to immediate or direct knowledge. Understood in this way, consciousness signifies the energy of the cognitive act, and not the emotional or volitional acts as cognized. On the other hand, it is opposed to mediate and to reflex knowledge. In its third meaning, the term is limited to that deliberately reflex operation by which the mind attends to its states, and recognizes them *as its own.* Conscious-

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ness in this sense, is no longer that common constituent of all subjective phenomena, whether intellectual, emotional, or appetitive, which makes them mental realities; nor yet is it the simultaneous notice which the mind concomitantly possesses of such acts. It is a supplementary, introspective activity by which all our mental states are studied, and through its means what is implicitly apprehended in our direct consciousness is especially brought under review. In this signification the word is equivalent to *self-consciousness*, and whenever there is danger of ambiguity, or whenever it is important to bring out the distinction, we will employ the latter term with its adjective *self-conscious*. Consciousness in the first meaning, constitutes the object; in the third meaning, the chief instrument of empirical psychology."

Here is a case in point. Here, just as we have crossed the threshold, we are in a labyrinth made up of meanings attached to the most important term in the science of psychology. What rational objection could be urged against having the word, consciousness, fixed to a single, definite meaning? The recklessness of writers is disheartening. We plead for a court of appeal. Why this license in philosophy—a license which is permitted in no other department of letters, critical, scientific, or whatever it may be. It is said that the reading of the public is made up mainly of romance and the sensational journal. The fact is deplored. Much has been said on the subject. But no plan for amelioration has been suggested. We would humbly suggest a method by which the sensational novels now in print could be driven into the obscure society of the Egytian papyri. Reprint the novels and make them unintelligible. Grant to the novelist the right that has been conceded to the philosopher, the right of using words in any sense that may please him.

Were we to define psychology in terms intelligible to any educated person not professing to be a psychologist, we might call it *that science of the thinking subject which can be derived from the data furnished by self-consciousness.* Now, from the different mental states of which the thinking subject, man, is self-conscious, from the state of remembering, reasoning, etc., we must conclude that the thinking subject, man, who performs these acts of remembering, reasoning, etc., must be possessed of—for the sake of a word—of different "abilities." We should be inclined to say "powers" or "faculties." But, at this second step in psychology we are confronted by another difficulty. Says Mr. Maher, in a note on page 27:

"The exact meanings of the terms, faculty, power, capacity, function, and the like are not very accurately fixed in psychology. Power (*potentia*) may be conceived as either active or passive,

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that is, as a special causality of the mind or as its susceptibility for a particular species of affections or changes. Hamilton, following Leibnitz, would confine the term faculty (*facultas, facilitas*) to the former meaning, capacity to the latter. The terms, act, operation, energy, on the contrary, denote the present exertion of a power. The last of the three, however, is also used in a kindred sense to the previons terms, as the perfection or special ground in the agent from whence the activity proceeds. The word function may signify either the *actual exercise* or the *specific character* of a power. *Faculty, power, and capacity* all properly signify *natural* abilities. Accordingly, G. H. Lewes inverts the original and universally accepted meaning when he would make the term *faculty* connote an acquired or artificially created aptitude."

Is a sincere reader worthy of any notice whatever when he asks, is there reason for all this? When it comes to pass that books are printed which *invert the original and universally accepted meaning of words*, what shall readers do? Is it beyond the possibilities of philosophical science to have one name for one thing? We must remember that synonyms are not identical in meaning. We can admit what we call synonyms into poetry, but we want them kept out of science. Science written in metaphors is, to say the least, distasteful. The rashness with which the terms *power, energy, function* have been employed has lined the shelves of the libraries with philosophical ruins. Observations of a parallel nature might be made upon the diversified use of the word *perception.*

If, then, writers will not agree upon what is meant by psychology, if they will not agree upon what they are to understand by *consciousness*, the primary instrument in their study; if there is no fixed meaning for those words that occur on every page, *faculty, power, function, action, perception*, what are readers to do? Perhaps, to deem themselves very obtuse. Or shall we wonder when we find even a sincere, energetic, and intelligent man sneering at the name philosophy?

All this considered, would it not be of great service to philosophical study if we had an "Academy" which would fix the meanings of words? True, not a little of the present disorder comes from the minor writers who must write books on subjects which they have not half studied; books that are seized upon by publishers as speculations, and which, thus, take their place in the vast array upon the shelves, adding yearly to the confusion and to the repellant reputation which philosophy has already acquired. But in the event of an "Academy," whose work would be to fix the meanings of words, these minor notes in the grand discord would soon be eliminated.

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Much of the indefiniteness which afflicts philosophical terminology is due to the trenching of specialists on the domains of other specialists. A specialist in any department of biology, for instance, may not rightfully, as a biologist, invade the region of the psychologist. There exist lines of demarcation which should always be kept carefully in view. The biologist may refer to psychological conclusions that have been drawn, partly, from the data which he himself has furnished; but it is not his place to draw psychological conclusions inside of his own department, because these involve other data and principles foreign to his specialty. Still less should he try to formulate psychological conclusions in the terminology of his own particular study. To do this would be about the same thing as to speak of wines in terms that belong to dry goods, or to try to preach a sermon in the lingo of base ball.

The formal work of an "Academy" would be to fix the meanings of words—of terms. Beside this intent, discussion would be out of place. All discussion would be only as a means to the one end. An effort could be made to reduce the language of philosophy to the standard of the English language as the latter is found in the speech of the educated. Discussion to this purpose would do more towards bringing out the truth and error of theories (for they cannot be all true where there is so much contradiction), and more towards a readjustment than all the books that are being written. The multiplied and endless discussions of to-day produce very little fruit. The purpose of a discussion should be to arrive at the truth. The present methods of discussion only tend to mix matters up a little more in the minds of readers. At the very best, disputants meet at long intervals in the pages of a review; and they disagrec, at the end, where they disagreed in the beginning. In long years of reading, I have not met with one case of agreement after discussion. Usually, in fact, the disputants do not come to an understanding of the statement of the question, because they are unwilling to agree upon the meaning of words.

The endeavor to fix the terminology would result ultimately in a determination, also, of the data for philosophical inquiry; and this would be one of the greatest boons that could be conferred upon the speculative science of to-day. An agreement would be come to regarding the *ascertained* facts out of which it would be *lawful* to draw conclusions that might be held as *certain*. We want a clear, distinct line drawn between hypothesis and fact. We want clear conclusions drawn with the rigor of logic from facts undeniable. And we want actually ascertained conclusions to be stated apart by themselves. It were a very debasing confession for philosophy to say that this can not be done. It is done in

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every trade, enterprise and business where there is a dollar to be made. Tinners' unions, cabinetmakers' unions, railway corporations, publishing companies, mining companies, shoe companies—all build upon facts; and they go to the trouble of finding out the facts and of agreeing upon the facts. Why, then, in philosophy, where men make a business of using their reason, should it be necessary to be pre-eminently unreasonable? Why, in philosophy, which professes to be nothing but a search for truth, should there be an aversion to working upon incontrovertible data stamped with the seal of lawful experiment? If we want absolute conclusions, and we do want them, we can get them from such recognized data only. It is upon such data only, that it is lawful to build a positive science. And there is in philosophical science a positive side, just as positive as physics or geometry. If there were not such a positive side, then were the whole race of philosophers fit objects for the world's pity. We want that positive side divided off. The only way to divide it off, so that the reading public may pick up a philosophical book and read without dread lest their time is being spent over a vacuity, is that there be an agreement upon the surely ascertained facts as lawful foundations for scientific conclusions; and that there be an agreement upon the exact meanings of words. With these two things fixed, philosophy would soon become generally, what it is not now to most students—an education.

Hypothesis there must be. Hypothesis goes before demonstration. It is the making up of the mind to a *something*—as yet undetermined. But hypothesis is only the hound on the scent: demonstration is the bird in the bag. Because the hound has scented seven times, the huntsman may not go home with the conviction and the boast that he has seven partridges in his pouch. He has not a bird at all; and what the hound scented, may have been a bird of another feather.

There is a great work open here to those who may have the genius to accomplish it. The sole aim should be harmony in truth. Nothing should be pronounced upon, unless fully agreed to by those who would be regarded as competent to say the final word; and who would be originally, sufficiently divergent in their views to render general the acceptance of their unanimous decision. An over-tried class of intelligent readers would follow the movement with anxious, hopeful expectation. Of course, many points in many systems would, eventually, fare badly. But, in the midst of so much contradiction, it is worth while to know the truth. One who should be unwilling to drop a manifest error, could be regarded only as conceited or obstinate, or as both. And, by general agreement, such a one would soon be moulded into normal

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shape or neglected. If one or another system of terminology should have to undergo a large revision, there would be merely one more barrier to knowledge removed: and mankind would be the better off. And if the new, universal terminology should show certain parts of certain systems to be unsound, illogical or only hypothetical, when reduced to the recognized terminology and data, then, too, many books would be reduced to their proper limits. Unsound parts, and hypotheses treated as demonstrations, could, in new editions, be bracketed: and the reader might breathe freely when taking up a work on philosophy.

Can the movement be begun?

WILLIAM POLAND, S. J.

(ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY.)

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Scientific Chronicle.

MONEY, AND HOW TO MAKE IT.

"So geht's in der Welt:
Der Eine hat den Beutel,
Der Andere, das Gelt."
—GERMAN PROVERB.

So it goes in the world,
(And isn't it funny?)
The one has the wallet,
The other the money.
—TRANSLATION BY AN ARTIST.

Introductory.—A certain percentage of the inhabitants of this tight little earth seem to be somewhat interested in the pursuit of making money—perhaps even a pretty large percentage. The world usually talks in metaphors, at least when it isn't prevaricating. We do not intend to do either, just now; and so, when we use the term, "making money," we mean it, not in the metaphorical sense of "acquiring riches," but in a downright mechanical sense, without frills or figures of speech.

In a former article (this REVIEW, January, 1894), we stated that we were convinced of the unsoundness of the whole basis on which our present money-system rests. Hoping that the philosophical clouds will one day be cleared away, but seeing that the financial ones are still growing deeper and darker, we believe more strongly than ever in what we stated at that time. Yet, whichever side we take, whether we make the exchange-value of our medium depend on its intrinsic value, as we should not, or make it entirely independent of it, as we still blindly will not, the methods and processes followed in the actual making, or rather manufacturing, of money, must be a matter of considerable interest to many of our readers. Hence our excuse for the following outline-sketch of "Money, and How to Make it."

The Materials Used.—From a very early date, gold and silver, and, for the lesser values, copper and bronze, and even iron, were doubtless used as money. Still, long before these had been thought of, and also at times when they were not readily at hand, other substances, mineral, vegetable, or animal, easily took their place; and this remains true, to a limited extent at least, even to the present day.

For a permanent coinage, however, only metals will reasonably answer, and the first four named above are the only ones known to have been coined to any extent, until quite recently, when nickel has been added to the list. The bulk of the world's coinage has, however, always been in silver and gold.

Weighing, Weights, and Values.—Since, for any fair exchange, defi-

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nite quantities had to be used, and since it was soon perceived that quantity was proportional to weight, it was natural to resort to weighing in order to determine quantities. In the twenty-third chapter of Genesis we learn that Abraham's wife, Sarah, died in the land of the stranger. For a burial-place, Abraham wished to buy a certain field on which he had cast his eye. The owner of the field, Ephron, kindly offered it as a gift, but the far-seeing patriarch preferred to hold it by a safer title. A price was therefore agreed upon, and "he (Abraham) weighed out the money that Ephron had asked in the hearing of the children of Heth, four hundred sicles of common current money" (probatæ monetæ publicæ.)[1] "And the field that before was Ephron's, wherein was the double cave, looking towards Mambre, both it and the cave, and all the trees thereof in all its limits round about, was made sure to Abraham, for a possession, in the sight of the children of Heth, and of all that went in at the gate of the city. And so Abraham buried Sarah, his wife, in a double cave of the field that looked towards Mambre, this is Hebron in the land of Chanaan. And the field was made sure to Abraham, and the cave that was in it, for a possession to bury in, by the children of Heth."

This business-transaction which took place about 4000 years ago, was conducted with admirable exactness. We have the description, clear and distinct, of the property, then the description repeated, then the agreement on a price, the actual transfer, the cash payment, and the presence of a large number of interested and disinterested witnesses, by all of which, the property was made *sure* to Abraham. The best real-estate agent of our own times could not do any better. He certainly could not make a "deed" more *sure*. Henry Georgites, please make a note of it. However, we are getting away from our money.

The silver used in the time of Abraham is supposed to have been beaten out thin enough to be readily cut into pieces of the required weight. Indeed, the *sicle* (*shakal*, *shekel*) did not mean a value, but a weight. It differed considerably from country to country, and from one age to another, varying all the way, according to different authorities, from 275 down to 208 grains of our Troy weight. So too, the *talent* was originally not a sum of money but a weight. It likewise was variable at first, but after many vicissitudes, it finally settled down to mean 3000 shekels. Some who pretend to know, estimate the shekel, for Abraham's time and country, at 232.6 grains. It is a wonderful comfort, relieving as it does the mind of all undue strain, to find some one who can talk down to *tenths of a grain*, in the case of the weights in vogue forty centuries agone. It tempts one to smile, and a moderate smile occasionally is good.

Anyhow, figuring on this basis, the price of Ephron's field was 193.83⅓ Troy ounces of silver, worth among us, at the highest price of silver during the fiscal year 1892–93, just $170.75; if calculated at the

[1] This expression would be rendered literally: "of approved public money," and probably referred to the *fineness* of the metal. The Protestant version makes it: "of money current with the merchant."

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lowest price reached during the same time, it would be only $118.70½. This may seem to be a remarkably low price for "a field with a double cave, and all the trees thereof in all its limits round about." But land was plentiful in those days, and caves may not have been in much demand; besides, we know that the buying power of the precious metals was many times greater in those days than it is now.

Gold, as money, is mentioned quite frequently in the Bible, but for a long time, in all buying and selling, the gold, just as the silver, was actually weighed at each transfer. The shekel of gold should be worth to-day about $9.05, and the talent of gold $27,136. The word "shekel," in the course of time, therefore naturally came to mean a certain piece of money, but among the Jews, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Phœnicians, and others round about, the idea of its weight was never lost sight of.

Of the close connection between weight and money we have curious reminiscences in our own system of weights. Thus the old Saxon pound (weight), identical with the old apothecaries' weight of Germany, was equal to 5400 of our present grains, and this weight of silver became the English unit of value, the pound sterling (money). The abbreviation for this value is £, from the Latin word Libra, a pound, the stroke across the L merely indicating that it has been set apart as a sign for that sum of money, while the ordinary, vulgar pound (weight), was indicated by ℔, two small letters, with a curl. Henry III., of England, in 1266, fixed the standards of weights as follows:

32 wheat grains (taken from the middle of the ear), .	= 1 penny.
20 pence (we call them pennyweights now) . . .	= 1 ounce.
12 ounces, ...	= 1 pound.

This would make the pound equal to 7680 of these grains, though the grain itself is said not to have been in use as a unit of weight. The conundrum which faces us here is: "Why wasn't it?" With the grain *in*, this system of weights would have been just as good as any yet adopted, but during the wars of Edward III. with France, his son, the Black Prince, brought over from the town of Troyes, about the year 1360, another system of weights, in which the grain did enter as a matter of every-day use, and of which it took 5760 to make the pound. This new system found much favor with the druggists and jewellers because of its convenience for small weighings, and because it could be split up in so many ways, being divisible by 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 18, 20, 24, 30, 32, 36, 40, 45, 48, 60, 64, 72, 80, 90, 96, 120, 128, 144, 160, 180, 192, 240, 288, 320, 360, 384, 480, 576, 640, 720, 960, 1152, 1440, 1920, 2880, *i.e.*, forty-six different factors. It was therefore adopted to the exclusion of Henry's system. It has come down to us under the name of Troy Weights, and is exclusively used in the Mint, and by jewellers, and by druggists in compounding medicines. It runs thus:

24 grains make	1 penny, or pennyweight.
20 pence, or pennyweights make . . .	1 ounce.
12 ounces make	1 pound.

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In passing from a system of weights to a system of money-values, it happened somehow, very curiously, that "pennyweights" and "ounces" got transposed, the result being that

12 (not 20) pence make . . . . . 1 shilling, and
20 (not 12) shillings make . . . . . 1 pound sterling.

The grain, as a unit of money, would of course be useless, and therefore never took root.

Marking and Stamping.—When the commerce of the world began to get somewhat extensive, this eternal weighing and re-weighing of the metal used for exchange, began to get very troublesome, and, necessity being the maternal parent of invention, it occurred to some bright, early specimen of the Yankee mind, to mark the weight, once for all, on each piece. At first, this may have been done by a mere scratch, but in a short time stamping was introduced. This was the first step towards the art of real coining. Later on, it was found convenient, and, in order to guard against fraud, perhaps even necessary, to make the pieces to a uniform size, or set of sizes. This was accomplished by hammering the metal to a given thickness, and then cutting it to a pattern (one which experience proved would give the correct weight), and then putting the proper stamp thereon. A rapid and easy method of exchange by *counting* thus took the place of the tedious method of *weighing*. The latter, however, was still often resorted to, especially in the case of very large sums, and also when it was deemed necessary to verify the correctness of the stamp itself as found on the coined piece. Our mints and banks of the present day keep up the same practice under similar circumstances.

Coining.—In what has been said above we find all the essential requisites for the coinage of money, viz., a metal recognized as suitable for a medium of exchange; a unit of value, depending on the previously accepted unit of weight; the stamp to give testimony to the weight, and thus obviate the need of repeated weighings. Yet, all this would still have left the whole system shaky and unreliable in practice, if the work of coining had been left in the hands of private individuals. Had this practice obtained, a double door would have been opened to various forms of fraud, and the temptation would have been very great. A little lower degree of fineness in the metal would not readily be detected, and a slight lack in the weight of each coin would easily pass unnoticed, while the aggregate fraud might be very great. For these, and perhaps at times for some other reasons, not quite so valid, the civil authorities of all countries soon took the power of coining money exclusively into their own hands, and have retained it ever since. On the whole, it is perhaps well that they have done so. Of course, governments can, and possibly do sometimes cheat, but we, the people, are not allowed to cheat the government, nor even one another. Again, it is well that it should be so.

It will be readily understood that improvements would, in the course

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of time, be made in the art of coining. Among the first of these was the production, in greater or less relief, of designs on the faces of the coin. For this purpose, a die was engraved in *intaglio*, and fixed on a firm support. A lump of the precious metal of the proper weight, and roughly spherical in form, was laid on the die. A hand-punch was held against the metal which, by repeated blows of a heavy hammer, was forced into all the depressions of the die; hence we still say that coins are *struck*, although the hammer has long since been laid aside in coining. The coin produced by the hammer and smooth-faced punch, was "one-sided," specimens of which are still to be seen in numismatical collections and museums.

The next advance was to engrave the face of the punch itself, by the use of which coins having designs on both of their sides were produced. But even at that, it was very difficult, or rather impossible, to hold the punch true, and the result was more or less irregularity in the outline of the piece. We see the evidence of this in all the ancient coins, and even in most of those of a relatively late date.

The screw-press, worked now by man-power, now by horse-power, was not introduced till about the sixteenth century. It held the fort, even in civilized countries, for about three hundred years. It proved much more efficient than the hammer because of the steadiness of its action and because of the greater pressure which could be thus applied, and the perfection of a coin depends, in a great measure, on the pressure to which it has been subjected. It is clear that unless the pressure be sufficient, the metal will not enter into all the depressions of the die, and an imperfect impression will be the result. Otherwise, a setting-hen would answer the purpose. The screw-press was in use at the Philadelphia Mint until 1836, when it was replaced by the modern power-press; but of this more anon.

Date of First Coinage—Some More Units.—The Chinese claim to have had coined money 1200 years B. C., but we well know that Chinese statements in regard to dates in their history, and even in regard to facts themselves, must be received with much caution. When they claim the mariner's compass, and gunpowder, and printing, we may humor them; but when it comes to the steam-locomotive, the telegraph, and the telephone, we enter into the first phases of a *quasi*-doubt; but when it becomes a question of the origin of coinage, we respectfully withhold assent until some tangible proof be forthcoming.

As far as is positively known, the oldest coins in existence are those from Lydia, a small country of Asia Minor. These coins were struck in the seventh or eighth century before the Christian era, and follow the Jewish standard of silver. The principal river of Lydia, the Pactolus, washed down large quantities of a fine sand consisting mainly of an alloy of gold and silver in the proportion of 3 of the former to 1 of the latter. It was a source of immense riches, and from it, during 200 years, fabulous sums were coined. The earlier specimens are "one-sided," and of very rude workmanship and poor in design; but as time went on they were much improved. The last king of Lydia was

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renowned for his wealth, so that "rich as Crœsus" has passed into a proverb.

The next claimant to "first" coinage is Ægina, but she is probably a little later than Lydia. Phidon, King of Argos, is said to have established a mint on the island (Ægina, now Egina), and this produced what was probably the first coined money of Greece. It was of silver, and was struck on a standard different from that of the Jews and Babylonians.

The prime unit was the *obole*, six of which made a *drachm*, and a drachm was equivalent to something between the one-half and the one-fourth of a shekel. Later on, when coining spread over the whole of Greece and Attica had taken the lead, the Attic drachm was made exactly equal to one-fourth of a shekel. The Greeks then stole the shekel and called it "*siglos*" or "*siklos*," whence the Romans, in turn, got "*siclus*," the French and English "*sicle*."

The Attic drachm has outlived the ages, and is now found in our Apothecaries' Weight, in which we have: "Eight drachms make one ounce." And it is the same drachm, for, as we have seen, at least implicitly:

1 shekel . . . . . = ½ ounce;
therefore, ¼ shekel (or 1 drachm) = (½ × ¼) = ⅛ ounce.

We have also inherited that other Æginetic unit, the obole. It is equal to 10 grains, but, praised be Allah, it did not get into our Table ot Weights. But . . . . alas . . . . our gratulations are premature, for the pestiferous Romans did get in their "scruple," three of which make a drachm. So our table, revised, amended, improved, corrected, and enlarged, should read:

10 grains make	1 obole.
2 oboles make	1 scruple.
3 scruples make	1 drachm.
8 drachms make	1 ounce.
12 ounces make	1 pound.

The lexicons give us three forms: *obolus*, *obole*, and *obol*. The first is properly Latin, but is used in English; the second is real English; and the third is a phonetic fad. The original Greek is *obelos* (later, *obolos*), meaning a spike or spit.[1] It is believed that the original Greeks used iron and copper for money, and that long before silver was introduced or coining attempted, the iron or copper was hammered into the form of spikes, and that six of these spikes made a convenient "handful" for which their word was "*drachme*," our modern drachm. When silver and gold were made into coined money, the old words which had previously been applied to weights still held on.

Nothing in this world has a vitality like unto that of a "word." All else crumbles and dies, but a "word" lives on and on. The proverbial

[1] The diminutive of *obelos* is *obeliskos*, whence we get *obelisk*, as if an obelisk were a *little* spike.

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nine-fold life of the cat, compared to the life of a word, is as the expiring sigh of a musquito to the metempsychosis of the Brahmans.

> "For men may come, and men may go;
> But *words* go on forever."—(*pace* TENNYSON.)

During the next few hundred years, after the Æginians had started the business, the art of coining was developed in Greece to a point of perfection that has never since been surpassed. The beauty of her coins kept pace with the beauty of her painting, her sculpture, and her architecture, and when we have said this we have said all. Coining had been invented merely as a commercial convenience, but the Greek was a born artist, and left the imprint of his art on everything he happened to handle; and so Greece threw into her coins all her mythology and all the history of her early struggles, her defeats, her victories, and her downfall, and, after her first crude endeavors were over, she did it artistically and gloriously.

Coining by Casting.—This heading has no reason for its existence, except perhaps, a negative one, for it does not seem that any serious attempts were ever made to coin money by melting the metal and casting it into moulds. The reasons for this may be, first, that, in the early days, hammering and stamping would be found to be much the simpler method; secondly, when exactness as to weight became paramount, as must soon have been the case, casting would be very unreliable; thirdly, in casting, the metal would be less hard and dense, and its texture would be less even, than when fashioned by being subjected to strong pressure; fourthly, gold and silver shrink in cooling from the molten condition, and consequently will not take a good impression from the mould; lastly, the lustre would be far inferior, since this is due principally to pressure. Yet, not so very long ago, nearly everybody imagined, and even now many people still imagine, that coins are made by melting and casting.

Apropos, of making money by casting; a good story is told of the great Daniel O'Connell. It was well known to the people of a generation or two ago, but lest it should be lost and forgotten, we embalm it in the enduring pages of the QUARTERLY. If you know it already, why skip to the next paragraph, and save that much time.

Well, once upon a time, for one reason or another, an idea got abroad that the Bank of Dublin was going under, and a "run" on the bank was begun. Now, a run is always more or less dangerous, in the case of even the best regulated banks, and other things. The officers met the difficulty bravely, however, and began to pay out their gold rapidly, in hopes of regaining the confidence of the depositors. But it did not avail, and things began to look blue. The case is somewhat like this: A 150-pound man might carry a load of 25 pounds to the top of the Washington monument (500 feet high); he would be more than likely to fail were he to attempt to carry 100 pounds up to the first landing-place (50 feet high). And yet the work to be done in the former case is just

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seven times as great as in the latter. The reason for his failing in the second case is because he is called upon to do *too much at once.* If he could spread it out enough, he could carry the world. Just so it happens with banks. Matters, we said, were looking blue; but just at the right moment one of the officers had an inspiration. He thought that if O'Connell would only come and speak to the crowd they might be persuaded to retire. O'Connell came, but with an inspiration of his own. He entered the directors' room by a private door, and without any explanation, called for a fire-shovel and a handful of gold pieces. He heated the gold till it was altogether too hot for comfortable handling, and sent it out just so to be paid over the counter. Then a new batch was treated in the same way; and for some minutes there was plenty of fun in the front ranks of the fun-loving crowd, for an Irishman loves fun even in the most unfavorable circumstances. But the leaven was working, so that soon, some one who had just *got his own money safe*, and was tossing it from one hand to the other to keep it warm, cried out, "Arrah, boys, what's the use? Sure, don't we *see them* coining the goold, as fast as they can, *before our eyes?*" "True for you," says another; and, "Bedad, you're right," puts in a third; and with that the true Irish humor came to the top, and a shout went up, "Long live the Bank of Dublin," and the run was over. It was not the fire-shovel, nor the hot gold pieces, that did the work; it was the grand head of brains behind them.

Coining, having once got a good start, rapidly passed to all the nations of the world. It has endured till now, and will doubtless still endure through all the ages of man's time on earth.

Our Own Coinage.—Truth to tell, dear reader, we are getting a little homesick, and feel that it is time to return and take a look at the coinage of our own country.

Prehistoric.—By "prehistoric" we do not mean that we intend to sail back to the times before history began, but only to the days when the United States, *as such*, did not yet exist, and consequently before it could have a history.

The early explorers who followed in the wake of Columbus, though quite ready to pick up any stray lump of gold or silver, not known to belong to anybody else, did not waste their energies in attempts at coining. Provided they could put their hands on the *substance*, they cared little for the *form*, for they knew that they could exchange their nuggets of precious metal for coined money whenever they wished. Besides, their roving life would effectually hinder them from establishing a plant, however desirable it might have been to do so. But when those who came had settled down into what were intended to be permanent habitations, and had begun to embark in real commercial pursuits, they must have felt the need of regularly coined money. The parent country supplied them to some extent, but the supply was precarious.

The first real settlement was made at St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565, but we hear of no coining having been done at that place. Probably, the settlers were not sufficiently numerous to justify such an attempt, or

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perhaps they found that the coins of Old Spain, when they could get them, were good enough for all their simple wants.

Virginia was colonized in 1607, and five years later, the Virginia Company started the coining business of America. They located their plant on Somers Islands (now called the Bermudas). This place may have been chosen for the sake of putting a respectable distance between their works and the Indians, who took quite an interest in the practical side of numismatics. They could not have cared much about the lucre, as such, for the coins were nothing but brass.

The "legend" of the coin was, "Somers Island," with a "hogge on one side, in memory of the abundance of hogges which were found on their first landing." On the reverse was a ship under full sail, with a flag flying, and firing a gun. But this coin must have soon fallen into disuse, for, in 1645, the Assembly of Virginia met and declared that it had "maturely weighed and considered how advantageous a quoine current would be to this collony, and the great wants and miseries which do daily happen unto it by the sole dependency upon tobacco and pelts." They therefore provided by law for the coinage of copper pieces of the value of 2, 3, 6 and 9 pence; but the law, like many other laws, remained a dead-letter, and none of these coins were ever struck.

The authorities of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were the next to try their hand at coining. On May 12, 1652, the General Court of Massachusetts passed an order establishing "a mint howse" at Boston. The coinage was to be of "12 pence, 6 pence, and 3 pence pieces, which shall be of forme flatte, and stamped on the one side with N. E., and on the other side with XII*d.*, VI*d.*, and III*d.*, according to the value of each peece." These coins were to be of the fineness of "new sterling English money" (silver), and every shilling was "to weigh threepenny troy weight, and lesser peeces proportionably."

This law went into effect, and in an incredibly short space of time, the coins were a lining to the pockets and a joy to the hearts of the New Englanders. It will have been noticed, from the description just given, that the "peeces" were severely plain, more so perhaps than their Puritan bonnets; and this plainness exposed them to "washing and clipping," by which processes the coins were dishonestly relieved of a part of their weight, and this without attracting much notice. Alas—and we had always been taught to believe that the Puritan was a being without guile. But the General Court proved itself equal to the occasion, for on October 19th of the very same year, it ordered a new die to be made, and required that "henceforth both shillings and smaller peeces shall have a double ring on either side, with this inscription, 'Massachusetts,' and a tree in the centre on the one side, and 'New England' and the date of the year on the other side." In 1662 a twopenny piece was added to the series. This is called the "pine tree" money. It was coined by John Hall, silversmith, of Boston, who made a good speculation of the job, so that, on the marriage of his daughter, he was able to present her with a dowry equal to her own weight in "pine-tree shillings."

Coinage was, of course, a royal prerogative, and the profligate

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monarch, Charles II., who could spend money much faster than he could raise it, was exceedingly wroth at the Massachusetts Bay Company, and revoked their charter. But a good friend of the colonies, Sir Thomas Temple, fooled the king by presenting him with one of the obnoxious coins and *explaining* that the "tree" on the coin was the "royal oak" which had saved his majesty's life. The king's vanity was thus sufficiently flattered for the moment, and laughingly calling the Americans "honest dogs," he allowed the coinage to go on. This mint was in existence about thirty-four years, but it is probable that the dies were never renewed, for all the coins known to exist now, bear the date of 1652 or 1662.

In this latter year Maryland made an attempt "for the getting up of a Mint within the province," but the project failed, and the colony was supplied with shillings, sixpences, and fourpences, struck in England. They were of silver, but of totally different designs from the ordinary English coins, bearing, instead of the royal head and "fixings," the bust and coat-of-arms of Lord Baltimore.

Exactly one hundred years later New Hampshire legislated for a copper coinage, but this too ended in abortion.

George I., whose reign was short (1714–27), undertook to introduce into general circulation in all the colonies, coins made of Bath metal, or pinchbeck, having on the reverse a large double-rose, with the legend "Rosa Americana," and on the scroll "Utile Dulci," which being interpreted mean "The American Rose," and "The Useful with the Agreeable." The scroll was well enough, but the legend was a sop. The introduction of these coins was stoutly resisted. They were made by one William Wood, under a royal patent "for coining small money for the English plantation in pursuance of which he had the conscience to make 13 shillings out of a pound of brass." The attempt to foist this same "Wood's Money" on Ireland was the cause of a great deal of excitement, and brought down upon it the lampoons of Dean Swift.

During the War of Independence, and for some time after its close, the power of coinage was exercised not only by the Confederation in Congress, but also by the individual States. Vermont, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey, had each one or more mints, and the variety of coins which they put forth is a wonder to behold. It is interesting too to note the bubbling up and boiling over of patriotism and glorification on the coins struck shortly after the terrible struggle was ended. Liberty caps, liberty poles, goddesses of liberty, stars, sunbursts, eagles, shields, olive wreaths, Indians, arrows, figures of Justice with the scales, the magic number THIRTEEN, etc., are found lying around profusely and in all sorts of combinations.

The superscriptions are, of course, in keeping with the rest of the designs. Here are a few specimens:

NOVA CONSTELLATIO (A New Constellation); LIBERTAS JUSTITIA (Freedom is Justice); IMMUNIS COLUMBIA (Columbia Free); FUGIO (whatever that was meant for); E PLURIBUS UNUM (One from Many); INIMICA TYRANNIS AMERICA (America the

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Foe of Tyrants); LIBER NATUS LIBERTATEM DEFENDO (Born Free I Defend Freedom); and, in plain English, "We are One"; "Independence and Liberty"; "AN ASYLUM FOR ALL NATIONS," etc.

All these things lift the veil, and reveal to us, in no uncertain light, the temper of those times; they tell us how felt the men who had passed through the fiery ordeal in safety, who had broken their bonds, and who now at last were free. We may surely pardon them a little spread-eagleism; and not think them too bold when they sang:

> "God bless the fairest, noblest land
> That lies beneath the sun;
> Our country, our whole country, and
> Our country ever one."

Historic Times in the United States.—In January, 1782, while the colonies were still engaged in their desperate struggle, Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, submitted to the Continental Congress a plan for the establishment of a regular mint. In the course of a month the plan was duly approved, but on account of the difficulties of the times, the matter rested there, and nothing further was done until some time after peace was declared. In 1785, the Congress of the new-born nation took up the question of a *national* coinage. Under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson the matter was pushed during the following year to a conclusion, as far, at least, as the kinds and character of the proposed coins were concerned.

"Previous to the passage of the law by the Federal government for regulating the coins of the United States, much perplexity arose from the use of no less than four different currencies or rates, at which one species of coin was recoined in the different parts of the Union. Thus, in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Maine, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, Virginia and Kentucky, the dollar was recoined at six shillings; in New York and North Carolina at eight shillings; in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland at seven shillings and sixpence; in Georgia and South Carolina at four shillings and eightpence." (Evans).

The law of 1786 swept away all this, as well as the whole English system of pounds, shillings and pence, and in its place substituted the vastly simpler arrangement, based on the decimal system of numbers, which we still retain. The law provided for the coinage of eagles, dollars, dimes, cents and mills, and also of pieces having the half value of each of these. The size, weight, value, figures and lettering were all decided upon. This was all very well on paper, but there is something in man which no human legislation can completely control; a sort of an instinctive tendency to reach his ends by the easiest routes. Hence it happens that we never count in eagles, and in dimes, hardly ever, while the mill, as a coin, has remained a fiction; but a short time afterwards it was found necessary to add the double-eagle, the quarter-eagle, and the quarter-dollar to the coins already provided for. The coinage of three-dollar gold pieces was begun in 1853 but discontinued in 1889,

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and of twenty-cent silver pieces, in 1875. The latter venture lasted four years, and that was just four years too long. In 1787 the supreme power of the United States government was concentrated on the business, and a few tons of copper were coined into cents at the old colonial mint in New Haven, but the government had as yet no mint of its own. Legislation, however, still went on, until at last, on April 2, 1792, a law was passed which was destined to really go into effect.

The Old Mint.—In pursuance of the provisions of this law, a lot of ground was purchased on Seventh Street, near Arch, Philadelphia, and on this spot the corner-stone of the first United States Mint was laid, July 31, 1792. This was the first building for public use erected under the authority of the United States Government. An old still-house which had occupied the lot was removed, and from the sale of some of the old materials, on this memorable July 31st, a sum of seven shillings and sixpence was realized, "which," Mr. Rittenhouse directed, "*should be laid out for punch in laying the foundation-stone.*"

It was a plain three story brick building, not unlike, in outward appearance, the ordinary Philadelphia dwelling-house. After having served its purpose for about forty years, it was found too small for the increased demands made on it, and a new site had to be selected, as we shall see below.

The first issue of coins from the mint was in October, 1792. To erect a building suitable for a coining establishment; to get together the necessary plant and set it up, and produce coined money in less than three months, all without the aid of steam-power or the convenience of railroads, was pretty quick work. The first coins sent out consisted of half-dimes made from old colonial money melted down. The first purchase of metal for coinage was not a heavy transaction. It consisted of six pounds of old copper, at one shilling and sixpence per pound, which was immediately turned into cents and half-cents, bearing the date 1793; but the issue did not probably flood the market. In July, 1794, just one hundred years ago, the Bank of Maryland made the first deposit of silver. It consisted of "coins of France" amounting to $80,715.73½ and this appeared as dollars, half-dollars and half-dimes, in the following October.

The first deposit of gold was made by Moses Brown, of Boston, in February, 1795, and was valued at $2276.72. The mint never makes payments in anything but its own coins, and of the same kind as the metal of the deposit; but as it had not yet coined any gold, this payment was necessarily made in silver. This first deposit of gold came forth from the mint as half-eagles, in July of the same year.

The amount of money coined at what we would now call the "old mint" is stated in round numbers as follows:

From 1792 to 1800,	$2,534,000
1800 to 1810,	6,971,000
1810 to 1820,	9,328,000
1820 to 1830,	18,000,000
Total,	$36,833,000

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This is not bad, considering that the coinage of most nations for the first forty years of their life was o, or some combination of o's.

The New Mint.—The old mint continued to flourish and grow apace, so that during the first thirty-seven years of its existence the business increased beyond the capacity of the buildings and accommodations, and "not only were our vaults full, but our entries and corridors were at times crowded with rows of kegs." It became necessary, therefore, to seek a new location, and on March 2, 1829, Congress appropriated the sum of $120,000 for the erection of a new mint.[1] A lot measuring 150 feet on Chestnut Street, and running back on Juniper Street 204 feet to Penn Square, was secured. This was then, and in some respects remains, one of the finest locations in the town. The corner-stone of the new building was laid on July 4, 1829, but this time the foundations were laid without any punch, at least officially. The building practically covers the whole of the lot. It is of the Grecian style of architecture, with a portico on the Chestnut Street front, and a similar one on Penn Square, of 60 feet, and containing each six Ionic columns. The whole is of white marble, and the roof is appropriately covered with copper. The building was completed and everything set in apple-pie order, so that coining was begun in 1833. Since then certain alterations have been made in the interior arrangements, and the building was made fire-proof in 1856, but the outward aspect has not been changed.

In case any of our friends should contemplate embarking in the mint business, they would perhaps be pleased to learn that the cost of the whole concern, including ground, buildings, fences, furniture, pavement, plant for all the operations comprised under the general term "coining," as weighing, assaying, melting, refining, rolling, cutting, coining proper, counting, and for the introduction of steam-power, and improved apparatus and machinery in all the departments, since 1829, has been about $250,000, which we think will be looked upon as a very moderate sum.

During the sixty years from 1833 to 1893, the total output of the Philadelphia mint is reckoned at $1,044,214,664.12, of which about 64 per cent. was in gold, 34 per cent. in silver, and the remaining 2 per cent. in copper, nickel and bronze. This makes an average of nearly 17½ millions a year, but the annual figures fluctuated wildly. The minimum was reached in the year 1841, when the output went down to less than 1⅓ millions; on account of the discovery of gold in California (1848) the coinage of 1851 and 1852 rose to a very high figure; for the former of these years it was $52,689,878.43, and for the latter, $52,403,679.44. By the end of the next eight years it had declined to less than 3 millions, and then, in 1861, it made a bound to nearly 71 millions; while during the next four years, *i.e.*, during the Civil War, it did not average 6 millions a year. Then for eighteen years we lived like goats, mostly on paper, of which a large proportion, especially of the smaller pieces, was not merely very dirty externally, but at the same time intrin-

[1] The old building, we believe, still remains at Nos. 37 and 39 N. Seventh Street; at least it was there when we last saw it.

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sically very bad. We were young, however, then, and had good digestive powers, and so we managed to worry through until the resumption of specie payments, in 1879, which event sent the coinage up to its maximum, in 1881, in which year the mint at Philadelphia turned out $76,977,125.50. Since then it has gone down a great deal, and at times up a little, the last year of which we have a full account (1892), giving us a little over 18 millions.

Other Mints of the United States.—Any one who knows the American character will easily understand that we would never be content with a single mint; and so it has turned out that the Philadelphia mint has been the happy mother of five children, all girls. In 1838, at the youthful age of 46, she gave birth to the triplets, "Dahlonega, Ga.," "Charlotte, N. C.," and "New Orleans." The first and second sickened from an outbreak of "civil war," and died, aged 23 years, their united efforts np to that date having supplied the country with coins to the value of $11,165,757. The third sickened with the same contagion, but after a prostration of 18 years, rallied, and is now as well as ever again. She has a record for the 37 active years of her life of $189,335,167.60. The next child was born in 1854, and was christened "San Francisco." She proved to be an exceedingly healthy and robust child, and bids fair to rival, if not surpass, her mother. In fact, in the last twenty years, she has been behind her mother only eight times, and ahead of her twelve times. Her total contributions to American numismatics, in forty years, has been $975,875,893.55, an average of nearly 24½ millions per year, or 1⅔ times the average output of Philadelphia during 60 years. The last poor little thing was named "Carson." She was born in 1870, and died, probably of consumption, at the early age of 23, having done work while yet amongst us to the value of $49,274,434.40. The total coinage of all our mints during the year from January 1, 1892, to January 1, 1893, was $48,389,780.92.

An one who will take the pains to pick out and add up the proper amounts, from the figures given above, will find (errors, if any, excepted), that there has been coined in the United States between April 2, 1792, and July 1, 1893 (101 years), the neat little sum of $2,307,865,896.57. Over two billions! Well, what of it? Why, just think of what a nice time you would have in counting it (on the supposition that you owned it all). Following our old plan, of counting one dollar per second, for ten hours per day, and neglecting the 57 cents, it would take a little over 175½ years to get through the mere count, and there would be very little time left to enjoy the *thing*. So?

The coins which made up this sum ranged in value all the way from one half-cent up to the double eagle of twenty dollars; but, very unexpectedly we find that the number of pieces exceeded the number of dollars by nearly 25 per cent.—the number of pieces being 2,881,579,622.

Making Money in Modern Times.—But this prolonged contemplation of $'s and ¢'s, which do not belong to us, however soporific it may be, is not calculated to calm the nerves, and we shall abandon it for something less exciting.

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We have seen, in a scrappy way, how money was coined in days of yore. Let us now take a look at the operations of a full-blown mint plant, and our mother-mint at Philadelphia will serve as an excellent example.

Departments, Apparatus, and Operations.

Deposit-Room, or Weighing-Room.—A "deposit" of any metal intended for coining, is first received into the weighing-room, and the first operation is the weighing. The unit of weight at the mint is the troy ounce, for any quantities however great; for subdivisions, the decimals (tenths, hundredths, . . .) are used. In this department, the largest weight is of 500 ounces, the smallest is the one-thousandth of an ounce—equal to 41⅔ pounds and forty-eight hundredths of a grain, respectively. The scales are of the most perfect workmanship, and wonderfully sensitive; they are adjusted carefully every morning. It is estimated that more than 1½ billions of dollars worth of gold alone has been received and weighed in this room. This is largely in excess of the gold coined, the difference consisting of the portion that has been refined and sold, uncoined, to jewellers and other manufacturers, or shipped to foreign countries.

Melting-Room.—After the metal has been carefully weighed in the presence of the proper officials, it is locked in iron boxes and transferred to the melting-room. Here the metal is mixed with the proper fluxes, melted in iron crucibles and run into iron moulds. Having been allowed to cool, it is again taken to the weighing-room and reweighed. Then the assayer cuts a small piece from each melt, and from the subsequent assay calculates the amount to be paid to the depositor.

Assay-Room—Parting-Room.—Assaying is the process of chemical analysis by which the component parts of an alloy, natural or artificial, and their proportions, are determined. Parting is the actual separating and recovering of the several metals. The former operation is performed on only a very small portion of the deposit (say, a small fraction of an ounce), and must be done with the utmost possible exactness. Any error, on either side, would be multiplied as many times as that fraction of an ounce is contained in the weight of the total deposit. Suppose, for example, that a man deposit what is intrinsically worth $50,000, and that the assay were astray to the one-thousandth part; this would mean that he would receive $50 more (or less) than the just price. Of course, men do not desire to receive more than is their due, neither is the government anxious to pay them more, and *vice versâ;* and therefore the assayer must endeavor to hold the balance as true as his art will permit.

Some of the weights used on the delicate assay-balance are almost microscopic, the smallest one being equal to the $\frac{1}{1800}$ of a grain, or the $\frac{1}{824000}$ of an ounce, and is almost invisible to the naked eye, except on a dark background and in a very good light.

The parting, or separating, is performed on the whole quantities of metal used, and an error in this part of the work would simply stand

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alone, and not be multiplied, as in the case of an assay. We shall not attempt to describe in detail either of these processes. It would occupy too much valuable space, and would hardly be of an absorbing interest to the non-technical reader. However, should our readers insist *very* strongly on it, we make a solemn promise now to describe the whole operations, chemical and otherwise, in a future number of the QUARTERLY. The assaying and refining of gold and silver for coinage and for industrial purposes has become a business of such magnitude that it would be impossible to handle it all in the regular coining mints. For this reason "assay offices" have from time to time been established for this sole purpose. There is at present an assay office in each of the following places:

New York City, 30 and 32 Wall Street;
St. Louis, Mo., cor. Third and Oliver Streets;
Denver, Colo.;
Helena, Mont.;
Boise City, Idaho;
Charlotte, N. C.

We believe, also, that the defunct mint of Carson City, Nev., will be retained as an assay office. The amount of metal handled by these offices during the fiscal year 1892–93 was valued at $31,115,802.61, showing that they have not existed in vain.

Alloying.—When the gold and silver of an ore have been separated from all baser metals, as copper, lead, etc., and cast into bars, the bars are said to have been *refined;* they are also called "unparted bullion." When the gold and silver have been *parted* from each other, they are called "*fine.*" Perfectly fine means perfectly pure, but for practical purposes bars containing 99 per cent. of pure metal are considered as fine. Pure metal, whether gold or silver, is not suitable for coining; it is too soft and wears away too rapidly, but when alloyed with a certain percentage of copper it is rendered harder and much more durable, while its color is not appreciably injured. The *fineness* of a piece of gold or silver means the proportion of pure metal which it contains, and is expressed in thousandths. United States coin is $\frac{900}{1000}$, or .900, fine. Jewellers, however, usually indicate the fineness of their wares in "carats," pure metal being 24 carats. Thus, 22 carats means $\frac{22}{24}$ fine, and this is the standard of the British Mint. It is a little higher than our standard, being in decimals, .916⅔.

When, now, it is time to make a melt, the fine metal is mixed with the proper proportion of copper, melted and poured into moulds. These castings, called ingots, are almost 12 inches long, ½-inch thick, and vary from 1 to 2½ inches in width, according to the coin intended to be made from them. The narrower gold ingot is worth about $690, the wider one nearly $1500, the silver ones "according to the price current with the merchant."

Rolling, Drawing and Punching.—The ingot is now passed through a powerful rolling machine, over and over again, till it has been stretched to a strip about six feet in length. But even rolling will not make it

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perfectly true, and hence it is drawn, in another powerful machine, called the drawing-bench, between strong steel pegs firmly fixed at the proper distance apart, according to the thickness of the intended coin. The strip is thus made of perfectly even gauge throughout. A punching-machine now takes a hand in the work, and cuts from the precious strip disks, or "planchets," as they are called, of the proper size, which, however, is a little larger than the coin will eventually be. They are perfectly flat and are smooth on the edges. If all has gone well, the planchets will be of the correct weight; if not, and if they be a trifle heavy, they will be adjusted by filing; if too light, the strip must be melted down again. About four-fifths of the weight of the strip goes into the planchets; the rest is scrap, and must be melted down in the next batch. Cleaning by acid and heat complete the operations up to the next stage, which is the milling.

Milling.—For this operation the planchets are fed into a machine by which they are forced edgewise against the face of a revolving wheel, by which means their edges are turned up, and made thicker than the rest of the piece, and the diameter of all is made perfectly exact. This milling, as it is called, serves to protect the piece from abrasion when in use.

The Dies.—In photography we give the name "negative" to a picture in which all the "lights" are dark, and all the "darks" light; so in coining we may call a die the "negative" of the coin, for in it all the depressions correspond to hills in the coin, and all the hills to depressions. A die is made by engraving, or as it is called, by *sinking*, the required figures and letters in a piece of soft steel. After being hardened, or tempered, this negative would serve for coining; but as, in case of breakage or other accident, it could not be reproduced, it has been found wiser to use it solely for the production of other negatives. So by its use under an enormous pressure, a "positive" is made in soft steel. This is then hardened, and from it in like manner, is obtained a second negative (or any desired number of them), and this is used as the coining die. A die will stand about two weeks' steady work.

Coining.—If we are not mistaken, all is now ready for the final operation, for which all the rest is only a preparation; this is the *coining*. We have already said that in ancient times coining was done by the power of human muscles, or horse-flesh. The ancient times lasted very long, for the first steam coining press was invented by Mr. Thonnelier of France in 1833, and was first used in this country in 1836. That press is still in working order, and was used in coining the Lord's Prayer "medallets," at the Columbian Exposition last year. The presses now in use are the outcome of many improvements on former inventions, and are the very perfection of modern mechanism. Immense power, astonishing rapidity of action, wonderful delicacy of touch, exactness to a hair's breadth in operation, complete responsiveness almost to the very thought of the attendant, and comeliness withal, combine to render them a marvel among human inventions.

The planchets are fed into an upright tube, from which a pair of

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steel fingers seize one, which they deposit on the lower die of the press. The die is surrounded by a collar which is marked with vertical nicks on the inside all the way round. The upper die then descends steadily and noiselessly, under a pressure of from twenty to eighty tons, according to the size of the planchet, and all is over for that coin. The collar keeps the planchet true between the dies, and at the same time produces the serrated edges which render successful "clipping" almost an impossibility. In minor coins (nickel, bronze, etc.), the edges are left smooth. But now the jaws of the press open again, and the fingers, while removing the coined piece, grasp a second planchet and place it in position between the dies, to receive the same strong impression; and so on, at the rate of from 70 to 120 coins per minute. If employed in making double eagles, a single press, at its prettiest, would turn out $144,000 per hour. About one-half per cent. of the coins will probably be found in one way or another defective, and will not be allowed to pass into circulation; but we would be willing to have a few, just a few, of them, however.

Since it is not given to man to attain to absolute perfection, some allowance for error in the weight of the coins must be made. According to law, the deviation from standard weight, when the coins are delivered to the Treasurer, must not exceed 3 pennyweights, or 72 grains, in 1000 double-eagles; which is equivalent to one part in twelve thousand, by weight. This looks like close work; but all who are engaged in the mint take an honest pride in keeping the coins well within the limit allowed.

Counting.—"Don't count your chickens before they are hatched," says the adage, but here the chickens are being hatched faster than we can count. Well, then, we shall have to do the counting by machinery, and the machine employed is capable of counting into bags, putting the right number into each bag, at the rate of five hundred pieces a minute; and you can have several machines going at once. This machine, however, is mostly used for the smaller pieces; the larger ones are weighed, and the count calculated from the weight. After the counting, the money is ready to be paid, or given, or thrown away, as circumstances may require.

There are many other interesting points connected with our mint on which we have not had time to touch, among others, the *personnel*, including directors, superintendents, engravers, melters, refiners, coiners, assayers, and all who have worked in the mint, from the first day of its existence. It is well worth recording that of all that army, engaged in a naturally dangerous occupation, with temptations all around them, not a single one has ever made a false step, or even incurred a shadow of suspicion. And last, but not to be forgotten, was "Peter," the bird of the mint. "He was an inhabitant of the mint for six years. He would fly about the city, but no one interfered with the coming or the going of the 'Mint Bird,' and he never failed to return from his daily exercise before the time for closing the building. In an evil hour, he unfortunately perched upon a large fly-wheel, and getting caught in the

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machinery, received a fatal injury to his wing, and this ended rather an unusual career for an eagle."—(Evans.) His exact portrait is upon the first nickel cent pieces coined in 1856.

The Cabinet.—We cannot leave this subject without saying at least a word about the "Cabinet." In it will be found a certain number of curiosities, among which is "Peter," as large as life. Then we have coins from all lands, and of all the ages since coining began. An interesting specimen is a small coin labelled "The Widow's Mite." It is not pretended that this is one of the two pieces given by the widow, but it is sufficiently well proved that it is a genuine coin of the same kind and time. There is one relic, however, which is *not* to be found in the mint, although an old lady from New England searched for it diligently, and that is "The Ax of the Apostles."

We desire here to acknowledge our indebtedness for much of the matter contained in this article to the "History of the United States Mint," by George G. Evans; and also to the official "Report of the United States Mint," by the Hon. Director of the Mint, R. E. Preston.

T. J. A. FREEMAN, S. J.

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Book Notices.

I. Cursus Philos. in Usum Scholarum Auctoribus Pluribus Philos. Professoribus in Collegiis Exactensi et Stonyhurstensi S J. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis. 1894

1. Logica, in Usum Scholarum, auctore *Carolo Frick, S.J.* Pp. viii., 296. Price $1.20.
2. Ontologia, in Usum Scholarum, eodem auctore. Pp. viii , 204. Price $1.00.
3. Philosophia Naturalis, in Usum Scholarum, auctore *Henr. Haan, S J.* Pp. viii., 219. Price $1.00.

II. Bibliotheca Theologiae et Philosophiae Scholacticae Selecta atque Composita. A *Francisco Ehrle, S.J.* Summa Philosophiae ex variis Libris D. Thomae Aquinatis in Ordinem Cursus Philosophici Accomodata, a *Cosmo Alamanno, S.J* Editio Juxta Alteram Parisiensem Vulgatam a Can. Reg. Ord. S Aug. Congr. Gallicanae Adornata ab *Augustino Bringmann, S.J.* Tom. III. Sectio V., Ethica, pp. x., 216; et Sectio VI., Metaphysica, pp. xviii., 625. Price $4.50. Lethielleux, Parisiis, Fred. Pustet, New York.

I.

With the exception of the experimental parts of psychology this list of works on philosophy forms a complete course on that science—a graded course, leading from the elements of logic, through the solidities of ontology, in its modern scope, across the realm of natural philosophy, along the lines of human conduct down into the profundities of pure metaphysics, the Prima Philosophia of Aristotle and the schoolmen, the fundamental science, where the roots of all being, becoming and knowing are buried. The first three volumes on our list form as many sequent sections of a special course in philosophy now being produced by the skilled hands of the German Jesuits—a course running somewhat parallel to the more profound and erudite *Curcus Lacensis*, a notice of the last volume of which, Father Hontheim's *Theodicy*, appeared in the April number of this Review. The present series is designed for the use of schools as text-books for class use, whilst the Marien Laach Course constitutes a mine which professors or quite advanced students can best work. The volume on Ethics by Father Cathrein, so widely famed for his German works on the same subject, was published last year. The volumes on Pyschology and Natural Theology are promised for the near future.

1. The Logic is built on the familiar lines of form and matter. It enters into the thinking process with its acts and norms, into its conformity to objects which results in mental truth, and into the tenacity of such truth in the mind. The whole is a happy illustration of the *logica docens* as *simul utens*. It teaches the *modi sciendi* by its own scientific use of them. Its adequate and clean-cut *divisions*, its brief yet clearly drawn definitions, its pithy, yet comprehensive *theses* with their well wrought *arguments*, strongly presented counter-objections with their neat incisive solutions and suggestive scholia—these essentials of logical discipline are admirable object-lessons of the theory which the book unfolds.

Logic with our author is more than a science of merely mental forms. It is a science illumining the intellect as to objective realities. An all

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around study of the cognitive act shows that when viewed inwards it shows itself as a mere psychic state; when viewed outwards it presents to its subject things as they are. Created objects whereat the act terminates exist as limited, changeable, and are revealed in the cognitive act as contingent, dependent. From these contingent, dependent realities the mind concludes to the existence of God, the Infinite, the Necessary, the Independent, the first Efficient, Exemplary, and Final Cause of all that is outside of Himself. As created things have from God, the First Truth, in the ontological order, their reality, truth and cognoscibility, so too in the logical order they lead the mind to a certain knowledge of their Source and Archetype and End. The complete vindication therefore of the truth and certitude of the cognitive act as established by our author involves the demonstration of the one safe way whereby the mind in the natural order arrives at a certain knowledge of God. And so logic, as to its objective sides, at least, is a preamble to natural theology.

2. The second volume covers the familiar ground of general metaphysics—Being as Transcendental (Bk. I.); as falling into the Aristotelian Categories (Bk. II.); as possessed of certain far-reaching perfections, simplicity, infinitude and necessity. There is little room here for striking out original paths. Much is gained when an author is able to guide his followers safely and without over-strain through such a mountain land of mist and fog. This Fr. Frick certainly does. He has not made ontology easy, but he has given steady light and pointed out safe paths. And this he does because he has himself been guided by experienced leaders. St. Thomas, of course, and Suarez, have influenced most his presentation of scholastic metaphysics, though later thinkers, especially Kleutgen, Pesch, DeSar, Schiffini, have left no inconsiderable impression on his work. But his work is no compilation. The thoughts of giant minds have passed through the alembic of his own thinking, and are here set forth in the form that comes of his own individuality.

3. To natural philosophy is assigned the realm of nature viewed in the light of higher metaphysical principles. Its scope is to give a rational explanation of the essence of matter. Questions regarding the origin and purpose of the universe are relegated to natural theology, whilst some topics frequently treated of in empirical psychology find a place here.

Fr. Haan goes into his subject *inductively*. Taking up first what he calls the *inactive* properties of all bodies, extension, place, space and sensible qualities (the latter are, of course, *partly active properties*) (Bk. I.), he passes then to the active properties, efficient and final causality, motion, natural laws (Bk. II.), coming next to the region of life—life in general, its divisions and principles (Bk. III.), and in particular in plants (Bk. IV.) and in animals (Bk. V.). The analysis of all this material furnishes the data for a well-grounded theory as to the essence or nature of bodies. Such a theory, he maintains, is not presented by Pure Atomism (p. 177) nor by Dynamism (p. 179). As to Chemical Atomism, though offering a good working hypothesis for experimental chemistry, it falls short of an explanation of the essence of bodies (p. 184). The peripatetic teaching as to matter and form affords a rational explanation of the problem. This theory is explained at some length, not in a vague, merely *a priori* fashion, but with a watchful eye for the facts of chemical and biological experimentation, and with what may at times appear to the more rigid adherents to that theory a somewhat *liberal* spirit. We quote an instance: Bodies chemically compound differ as to their qualities from their component elements. It does not,

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however, follow from this that water, *e.g.*, is a substance essentially different from oxygen and hydrogen, for the changes noticed in such a case cannot as yet be satisfactorily explained. If in the case of *isomeric* bodies the same elements combined in the same proportion give rise in different bodies to a difference in physical and chemical qualities, why may not the difference of qualities, say, in water, form the qualities of oxygen and hydrogen, be due to a difference in the combination of the elements, the substance of the latter remaining unchanged? (p. 175.)

We have just one feeling of regret as we look over the thoroughly-digested, well-ordered, and neatly-printed material of these three text-books, and that is that their authors did not take a broader view of the needs of their English-speaking clientele. Judging from the title-page of the second and third volumes, this Latin course might be regarded as somewhat of a companion to the Stonyhurst series of English manuals. As such its value would be much enhanced. The connection, however, is so very general as to commend the present series but little beyond any other Latin text. It might be said that our English philosophy is hardly more than German and French in another dress. Though this in some measure is true, a series of text-books in Latin with close bearing either on the Stonyhurst manuals, or at least on English philosophical literature, is a great desideratum.

As to the rest, the volumes before us are by far the best class books of philosophy that have thus far appeared. Their authors have struck the golden mean between too great brevity and too much discursiveness, whilst it is hard to see how the printers' and binders' arts could have made them more serviceable and attractive.

The last volume on our list completes the new edition of Cosmus Alamannus's "Summa Philosophica," one of the most important contributions to fundamental science that has appeared in modern times. Alamannus was born in Milan in the year 1559. At the age of sixteen he entered the Society of Jesus, and after completing his philosophical studies in his native city, was sent by his superior to Rome to attend the lectures of Suarez and Vasquez, then professing Theology in the Roman College. Four years afterwards, he was recalled to Milan to teach philosophy at the College of the Breva, which position he held for five years (1588–93), and was then elevated to the chair of Theology, which he occupied until 1606. During the following twenty years he was special theologian to the Episcopal See of Pavia, employing the time not officially consumed in compiling his great "Sum of Philosophy." The first volume of this work appeared at Pavia, in 1618, the fifth and last in 1623. The latter volume, embracing metaphysics, had not, however, covered the whole ground of its subject-matter, and he had written nothing on ethics. The rest of his life was spent, partly in priestly functions at the church of St. Fidelis, in Milan, partly in college duties at the Breva. The gaps he had left in his monumental work were afterwards supplied by Jean Fronteau, Canon Regular of St. Augustine and Chancellor of the Paris University, in a new edition, published in Paris in 1640.

The "Library of Scholastic Theology and Philosophy," whereof this new edition forms a part, was begun by the republication of Silvester Maurus's "Aristotle" (4 vols. 4to., 1885–6). The republication of Alamannus was undertaken at the desire of Leo. XIII., expressed in his brief to M. Pastet, April 17, 1883, and the first half of the first volume published in 1885, the other sections appearing at intervals up to the present date. The new edition has been based on the Paris edition, compared with various Mm. Codices, and with the author's own Pavian

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edition. The editorial work, besides the collating just mentioned, has been very great, as it involved a minute verification of the myriad citations from Aristotle and St. Thomas.

The aim of Alamannus and his continuator, Fronteau, was to present a complete system of philosophy, drawn from the writings of St. Thomas. Having framed the system on the model of the "Summa Theologiæ," they compiled from all the works of the angelic doctor whatever they found to bear for and against its individual parts. The peculiar utility, therefore, of the work consists in its bringing into one compact system the multitudinous thoughts of the greatest of philosophers in their original form; for here, St. Thomas not only thinks but speaks. It were as presumptuous as superfluous in us to say anything in praise of such a work. Leo XIII. may more fittingly commend it. In his Brief to Mr. Pustet, referred to above, he says: "We hold this work in great esteem; in it, not only the philosophical teaching of the great master, Aquinas, are propounded in his own words, but in the propositions themselves, taken from him, his arguments are fully and faithfully presented, which, whilst demonstrating philosophically those propositions, are, at the same time, an opportune refutation of those who maintain that the angelic doctor did not rely on intrinsic rational proofs, but solely on the authority of Aristotle. Moreover, we have good reason to think that students of philosophy can draw from this work, so highly recommended by well-known testimonials of learned men, as from the genuine font, the wisdom of the great teacher."

THE RELIGIOUS FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES. Enumerated, Classified and Described on the Basis of the Government Census of 1890, with an Introduction on the Condition and Character of American Christianity. By H. K. Carroll, LL.D., in charge of the Division of Churches, Eleventh Census. New York: The Christian Literature Co. MDCCCXCII. Pages LXIII., 449 octavo.

The character and contents of this work are clearly described in its title. It is the first of a series of twelve volumes on American church history now in course of publication by the Christian Literature Company, 13 Astor Place, New York. The other volumes of this series will be special denominational histories prepared by authors of the different religious communions respectively. The present work, however, being general in its character, is complete in itself, and will be sold separately. It gives a very full and interesting statistical account of all the religious denominations in the country, together with a brief sketch of their history and distinctive features. The author had charge of the religious department (the Division of Churches) of the last census, and he has here given us in a very convenient and intelligible form the cream of all the information he was thus enabled to obtain. He evidently discharged his office with intelligent zeal and impartiality, and he has in consequence deservedly attained a measure of success that could scarcely be hoped for when we consider the method he was compelled to adopt.

"It should be understood," we are told, "that the census enumerators who take the population by domiciliary visitation are not allowed to ask individuals as to their religious connections."

This prohibition or neglect on the part of the census authorities is defended, or rather apologized for, on the grounds that "in the first place, they (the enumerators) have but a brief time in which to complete their work; in the second place, their schedules are already overburdened with inquiries; and, in the third place, the constitutional provision of the First Amendment restraining Congress from making any

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'law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free, exercise thereof,' is interpreted as forbidding it." These reasons do not seem to us to have much weight. It is difficult to understand how, if the census enumerators were authorized to ask in addition to their other inquiries a question or two as to what religion, if any, was professed by the individuals enumerated, Congress could be said to have thereby made a "law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." It would take only a very few seconds to jot down the answers to such questions, and we believe they would be of more general interest and would be much more readily answered by the people generally than inquiries as to their indebtedness, mortgages, hereditary diseases, etc. We can see no good reason why our census reports should be in this respect inferior to those of Ireland, Australia, Canada, and other countries which have no established religion.

Being unable to adopt the simple and effective mode by which something like certain results could be obtained, Dr. Carroll was obliged to proceed by another, which he describes as follows: "The method of gathering the statistics was to make the presbytery, the classis, the association, the synod, the diocese, the conference, etc., the unit in the division of the work, and to ask the clerk or moderator or statistical secretary of each to obtain the desired information from the churches belonging to his presbytery, association or diocese, as the case might be. This officer received full instructions how to proceed and sufficient supplies of circulars, schedules, etc., to communicate with each church. This method proved to be quite practicable and very satisfactory. Several thousand agents thus gave information which they were best qualified to secure, and the results were found, when tests were applied, to be full and accurate. I may mention that, having a large force of clerks with ample supplies, a vast correspondence was conducted."

In this way much valuable information certainly was obtained; nevertheless, it becomes apparent at once that on several important points the census can, after all, only give us estimates, or calculations based on the estimates furnished by the diocesan, synodal and other authorities.

These estimates were, doubtless, made out carefully and honestly enough from the data on hand, but these data were no doubt often very far from being complete or perfect, and we are confident that in many cases the estimates and statistics based on them are not even approximately correct. We refer especially, but not exclusively, to the Catholic statistics.

The number of Roman Catholic communicants that is practically, of all who have made their first communion, which, as is correctly stated, is usually done between the ages of nine and eleven years, is given as 6,231,417, exclusive of the United Greek Catholics and other Orientals, who are few in number and are reckoned separately. These figures represent, of course, the returns made by the pastors or rectors of the various parishes; but in all the large city parishes where the same church, sometimes with the help of the basement and the school-house, usually serves every Sunday morning for from five, six or even more different congregations, it is next to impossible for the rector to be acquainted with all his parishioners or even to have any exact knowledge of their number. He is obliged to estimate, and his estimates for various reasons he is apt to place at the lowest figure consistent with any reasonable degree of probability. We were acquainted with a parish some years ago where, in the judgment of the assistants and others well capable of judging, the Catholic population amounted cer-

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tainly to not less than 14,000 souls, yet, if any one should venture to intimate in the presence that there were more than 9000 or 10,000, he was sure to give considerable offense and to encounter an earnest protest. This may have been an extreme case, but it illustrates the general tendency. The parishes, in fact, are expected to contribute to the support of various diocesan and other institutions in some sort of proportions to their membership; and as in most parishes there may be found a number of families and of persons who contribute little or nothing to the Church's financial support, some pastors, we understand, think it right to omit them in the returns made to the bishop of the population or number of families under their care. Even in parishes where earnest endeavors have been made to ascertain the exact number of Catholics, it is almost invariably discovered when a new parish is started that many had been overlooked. Instead, then, of 6,231,417 Roman Catholic communicants, we think that if a full and correct count could be had the number would be found to fall little, if at all, short of 8,000,000.

Now, what proportion do these form of the total Catholic population? Catholic estimates, as furnished to the census authorities, place it at 8.5 per cent. We believe these estimates to be totally wrong. Taking the country as a whole we think that children under the age at which Catholics generally make their first communion will be found to form as high as 25 per cent. of the total population. Now, the children in Catholic families are not so few relatively as to fall 10 per cent. below the general average. On the contrary, it is pretty well ascertained that they exceed the general average by a considerable figure. We place, then, the number of baptized Catholics who have not made their first communion at 30 per cent. of the whole, and accordingly we are of the opinion that the total Catholic population of the country probably exceeds 11,000,000. This would account for nearly all of the 5,000,000 or more whom the author supposes to belong to the non-religious and anti-religious classes, and, indeed, we think it incredible that these classes should more than ten times outnumber the Jews and Mormons combined.

On the other hand, we are inclined to think that by multiplying the number of Protestant communicants by three and a half the Protestant population is placed somewhat too high. This may be a fair proportion in Canada, but in this country Protestant families are, we think, more divided, two and sometimes more members of a family communicating in as many different churches, or even denominations, and the rest of the family going sometimes with one, sometimes with another, and as likely to be reckoned two or three times over.

With all its drawbacks, however, the last census was, from a religious standpoint clearly a great improvement on its predecessors, and we heartily commend the present work as a most lucid and valuable presentation of its results in a form more generally interesting and serviceable than will be probably the complete census reports on this subject, which are not yet published.

AN EXAMINATION OF WEISMANNISM. By *George John Romanes, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.*, Honorary Fellow of Gouville and Caius College, Cambridge. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1893.

The recent death of Professor Romanes, in comparatively young manhood, gives to everything that came from his pen a certain pathetic interest quite in addition to its scientific value.

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The volume before us is well worth the attention of all men who would keep themselves conversant with the efforts being so patiently made by the professed students of nature to lay bare its many mysteries.

Although the opinion expressed by Darwin in the "Origin of Species" and his other works relating to the same general subject have been, in a great measure, adopted by scientific men, yet, for some years past, there has been a tendency on the part of students of biology, and its cognate branches of material science, to separate themselves upon many of the subjects treated by Darwin. And of these subjects none possesses greater importance than the one to which the name of Weismann has been attached.

As is very well known, there has long been a difference of opinion upon the questions (1) whether acquired characters, *i.e.*, any post-natal mark or quality, can be transmitted to a succeeding generation; and (2) assuming that it can be, how is the transmission effected.

Darwin and Galton were of the opinion that, in certain exceptional cases, acquired characters are inherited; Weismann and his disciples deny the possibility.

In the work before us, Professor Romanes presents: (Chap. I.) "Statement of Weismann's System up to the Year 1886"; (Chap. II.) "Later Additions of Weismann's System up to the Year 1892"; (Chap. III.) "Weismann's Theory of Heredity (1891)"; (Chap. IV.) "Examination of Weismann's Theory of Evolution (1891)"; (Chap. V.) "Weismannism up to Date (1893)." In addition to the above, there is "Appendix I.—On Germ-Plasm"; "Appendix II.—On Telegony."

For the instruction of non-technical readers, there is a Glossary of the very technical terms used in the volume. In the Preface, Professor Romanes says "that under the term 'Weismannism' I do not include any reference to the important question with which the name of Weismann has been mainly associated, *i.e.*, the inheritance or non-inheritance of acquired characters. This is a question of fact which stands to be answered by the inductive methods of observation and experiment, not by the deductive methods of general reasoning. . . . . Therefore, in this 'examination of Weismannism,' I intend to restrict our attention to the elaborate system of theories which Weismann has reared upon his fundamental postulate of the non-inheritance of acquired characters, reserving for my next volume our consideration of this postulate itself."

In pursuance of the above statement of his object, Professor Romanes has, in the manner indicated by the titles of the chapters, given what he claims to be a fair *résumé* of the theories of Professor Weismann, all of which he subjects to rigid criticism for the purpose of showing Weismann's mistakes in fact and in inference. Besides this, Professor Romanes seeks to show that Weismann, in out-Darwining Darwin, has ended by being obliged to modify his most important postulates with respect to heredity and evolution.

Whether or not Romanes has always been quite fair in his statements of Weismann's views, is a question of great importance, and one that cannot be answered by merely reading the work of Romanes; but, however this may be, Professor Romanes writes with great clearness and precision, and, with the aid of the excellent Glossary, the non-professional reader need not feel himself overwhelmed by coming across such terms, for instance, as "phylogeny," "plasmogenetic characters," and a number of other equally unfamiliar combinations of letters.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that notwithstanding the wide differences still existing between students of nature as to the true interpre-

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tation of many material phenomena, the great fact that, during the present half of this century, many questions have been answered which served only to perplex the men of former days, gives good reason to hope that many more of nature's secrets will be revealed in the future as a reward to investigators, and for the further enlightenment of mankind as to the underlying purpose of the material world.

W. R. C.

PURGATORY, ILLUSTRATED BY THE LIVES AND LEGENDS OF THE SAINTS. By *Rev. F. X Shouppe, S.J.* Translated from the French. Cincinnati, New York and Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

The subject of Purgatory, or the state of purification after death, possesses for all men a melancholy interest. There are so many things that we want to know about it. Where is it, what are its sufferings, how long will they last, who are punished there, what alleviation of sufferings have they, can we assist them and how should we assist them and why, how can we avoid Purgatory? The Church commands us to believe that there is a Purgatory, and that we can assist the suffering souls by our prayers and other good works; all else that we are told about this mysterious prison-house is gathered from the dictates of reason, the teaching of the Fathers of the Church, and from private revelations. The author makes this distinction in his preface, and at the same time warns us against too great incredulity in supernatural facts. He adds: "The theologian who expounds dogmas of faith must be severe in the choice of proofs; the historian must proceed with rigorous circumspection in the narration of facts; but the ascetic writer, who cites examples to illustrate truths and edify the faithful, is not held to this strict rigor."

It is well that attention is called in the beginning to this attitude which is permitted to the ascetical writer. The examples that are quoted throughout the work, of the appearance of suffering souls and the revelations made by them, are always interesting, but they are frequently very strange and sometimes startling; it requires a very strong, simple faith to accept them all.

We believe that this book should be used by the laity only under the direction of a priest. It is so easy to mistake the creatures of dreams and imagination for apparitions and visions. We think that the description of the manner in which the suffering souls appear and manifest their presence should be read very cautiously, and explained very carefully to uneducated persons. The author says, quoting some one whose name is not given, that the spirits from Purgatory sometimes make their presence known by invisible blows which the living receive, by the violent shutting of doors, the rattling of chains and the sound of voices. We do not wish to deny that such things may have happened, but when we consider how easily such manifestations can almost invariably be accounted for according to physical laws, and how easily the imagination is excited in ignorant and nervous persons, we are tempted to think that such things had better be left unsaid. We are required by the teachings of theology to seek for natural explanations first and diligently, and the devil can certainly work great harm by taking advantage of unreasonable credulity in this matter. We know of an instance of this kind in which the imagination appeared to be the deceiving agent. A very pious lady imagined that her very pious daughter was receiving communications from departed spirits. These communications informed the lady that her deceased son was happy in heaven. Naturally, prayers for his release from Purgatory were given up. A little common-

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sense investigation showed the imagination to be the invisible agent, and mother and daughter were cured. The author says that when these manifestations coincide with the death of persons dear to us, when they cease after prayers and reparations have been made to God in their behalf, it is reasonable to see therein signs by which the souls make known their distress. We think not. The physical cause of the manifestation may cease at that time; the devil often invites us to do good that he may more easily tempt us to sin; and prayers for the dead collectively and individually should never cease unless we have a revelation of their presence in heaven vouched for by the Catholic Church in the act of canonization.

On the whole, this work fulfils the object of its author, to make Purgatory better known to the faithful, that they may help others out of it and stay out of it themselves.

THE DATA OF MODERN ETHICS EXAMINED. By *Rev. John J. Ming, S. J.* Benziger Bros., New York.

No one who is acquainted with the scientific and popular literature of our age is ignorant of the ascendancy which materialistic and atheistic evolutionism has gained, both in this country and in Europe. Evolutionism, however, is not a merely theoretical speculation, indulged in for a pastime; it has its bearings on the practical life of mankind, so much so, that it tends to revolutionize the whole moral order, and to substitute a totally new moral code for the one which has hitherto been the norm and guide of private and social life.

It was an excellent plan, of the author of the handsome volume before us, to subject the data of modern ethics to a thorough examination. He has accomplished his task with the impartiality of one whose highest law is the love of truth, and with the skill of a perfect master in the province of ethical science. The result at which he has arrived is a complete condemnation of modern ethics, and a brilliant justification of Christian morals.

The author reviews the principal tenets of evolutionary ethics, and contrasts them with those of Christian philosophy. He enables the reader to get a clear insight into the modern theories which are brought before him, in numerous well-chosen and well-arranged quotations from leading writers, such as Stuart Mill, F. Harrison, Herbert Spencer, A. Bain, Huxley, Clifford, and others. The new theories are thoroughly discussed in all their details and bearings—no point of importance is overlooked or treated superficially. From chapter to chapter we see new portions of the showy structure of evolutionism crumble down, whilst, on the other hand, the grand system of Christian ethics is gradually brought out before the mind's eye with all its solidity, wonderful harmony, and beauty. Thus, the work is not only a refutation of errors, but, at the same time, a complete treatise of true morality from the standpoint of enlightened reason.

To give an idea of the rich contents of the volume, it will suffice to mention the principal subjects which are treated: The drift of the new ethical theories; the moral nature of man; man's ultimate end; the nature of good and evil; moral ideals; the moral order as a divine law; the moral order emancipated; independent morality and law; the moral sense; social rights and duties, justice, and beneficence. Whosoever follows the author attentively, will agree with the verdict in the last chapter—that the new morality is a complete failure; by it, "the entire foundation of morality is completely overthrown; no part whatsoever

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is left of it, neither the ultimate end nor the light that shows the way to it, neither good nor evil, neither law nor conscience, neither reward nor punishment, neither justice nor love."

How important it is that all should be thoroughly convinced of the truth of these and similar charges, appears from the fact that "the new theories have been devised as the basis of modern education, and are meant to be carried into practice." Those who have the welfare of mankind at heart will find in "The Data of Modern Ethics Examined" most powerful weapons against the pernicious errors of agnostics and infidels. We warmly recommend the work to all who are interested in the preservation and advancement of true morality, especially to those who, by their calling, are to enlighten and to guide others.

We may add, that the external appearance of the volume is very pleasing, and does great credit to the publishers. The print and arrangement of the text, with a summary of the contents prefixed to each chapter, is admirably adapted to help the reader towards a perfect understanding of the various subjects. We venture to say, that no one who has gone through the book will lay it aside without having found abundant light on the gravest questions, and without taking it up again for deeper consideration.

GESCHICTE DES DEUTSCHEN VOLKES SEIT DEM AUSGANG DES MITTELALTERS VON JOHANNES JANSSEN: CULTURZUSTANDE DES DEUTSCHEN VOLKES SEIT DEM AUSGANG DES MITTELALTERS BIS ZUM BEGINN DES DREISZIGJÄHRIGEN KRIEGS. Siebenter Band, Dritles Buch, von *Johannes Janssen*, ergänst and herausgegeben von Ludwig Pastor. Erste his Zwölfte Auflage. Pp. xlvii., 660. Herder: St. Louis. 1893. Price, $2.10.

With the sixth volume of his great history, Dr. Janssen discontinued his narrative of the political life of post-mediæval Germany, to sketch the state and progress of general culture amongst the Germans from the close of the Middle Ages on to the breaking out of the Thirty Years' War. The two books contained in that volume portray the condition of Art and General Literature during that period. The third book embraced by the present, the seventh volume, unfolds with great fullness the history of the German Schools and Universities, Science and Education. Though much of the crude material for this important work was left by the author, yet the task of shaping, polishing, filling out, fell upon the editor, Dr. Pastor, whilst the chapter on the State of Natural Science, Medicine, Theology and Philosophy amongst the Catholics, translations of the Bible into German by Catholics and Protestants, is entirely from the pen of the latter.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance and the interest of the subjects covered by this volume. It follows to the first trickling springs the torrents of thought, feeling, action, that swept on the German people and after them the other European nations into the depths of the Reformation. It deals not with generalities save when they are evidently induced from the contemporaneous facts marshalled, with the badge of their origin on them, before the reader. It enters into the school life of the German children as it was before and after the breaking out of the new preaching, tracing with minuteness the influence of the latter; describes the schools as they were founded and managed by Protestants and Catholics, the untiring activity of the Jesuits in the cause of education, the contrast between the system adopted by the latter and that pursued by the disciples of the new teaching. From the school we are taken to the university and introduced to student life as it was, both under the influence of the old and of the new religion. The relation of

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Humanism to its environment, the evolution of philology, the study and influence of jurisprudence, the progress of historical writing, of mathematics and astronomy, of medicine, of philosophy and theology, of vernacular translations of the Bible, of exegesis, of the censorship of the press, the printing and circulation of books, the beginning and development of newspapers—the mere mention of these titles stimulates the reader's energy to follow a guide who explores these regions, which by careful study he has made peculiarly his own, and who, whilst he is careful to point out the good elements in a people, its institutions, its public and private life, is impartially unsparing in showing up evil of whatever kind and whereever it may exist. "Magna est veritas et prævalebit,"—these words, the last which he penned, indicate the spirit in which he wrought and the temper of his work. Dr. Janssen's treatment of the old and new educational institutions is so thorough and of such practical bearing on present theories, that it were well if some able hand wrought it out into English.

Dr. Pastor informs his readers that Dr. Janssen left him many literary suggestions, helpful for the completion of this history, down to 1856, and that after the publication of his (Pastor's) now well nigh completed third volume of the "History of the Popes," he intends devoting all his energies to the continuation of Janssen's "History of the Germans," so that notwithstanding the death of its illustrious author, the prospects of having this most thorough of histories brought to a worthy completion are very encouraging.

THE DISEASES OF PERSONALITY. By *Th. Ribot.* Chicago: Open Court Publ. Co. 1894.

A compilation this of some curious facts, such as may be excerpted from easily obtained books on mental physiology or physiological psychology, strung together on a thread of weak metaphysics. M. Ribot, we know, has registered elsewhere, and shows no effort to conceal here his hatred of metaphysics. But all his writings show him at least in metaphysical pantomine. Besides this general variation between his profession and practice, his present brochure contains many a gratuitous assumption and error. After starting with the general meaning of "person" as "the individual as clearly conscious of itself and acting accordingly," a definition which a tyro in metaphysics would tear to shreds, he asks what is consciousness? "Leaving aside details," he says, "we are confronted by two hypotheses: the one a very old hypothesis which regards consciousness as the basic property of 'soul' or of 'mind,' *constituting its essence* (italics ours); the other a very recent theory which regards it as a simple phenomenon, superadded to the activity of the brain, as an event having its own conditions of existence, and which appears or disappears according to circumstances." Is M. Ribot setting up a man of straw, or does he not know that there is a third thesis (not hypothesis), defended by the majority of genuine philosophers of all time, which regards consciousness as a property, a faculty, if you will, though our author hates the word, or a state of the human soul or mind? Who but the Cartesian school holds that consciousness is the "*essence of soul?*"

The precise point the author wishes to make is apparently this: "The co-ordination of the innumerable nervous actions of the organic life is the basis of the physical and psychical personality; all other co-ordinations rest upon and are added to it; it is the inner man, the material form of his subjectivity, the alternate reason of his manner of feeling

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and acting, the source of his instincts, his sentiments and his passions, and, as they used to say in the Middle Ages, his principle of individuation," 148. This position M. Ribot strives to make good by a large number of morbid conditions, organic, emotional, intellectual, wherein consciousness of personal identity is more or less disturbed or destroyed. The facts, however, lend themselves just as readily to the theory he opposes. The organism, with its nervous states, is the coefficient necessary directly or indirectly to all psychic action; its abnormal states superinduce disturbances in consciousness and in the recognition of personality; but it is quite gratuitous and wrong to infer that the organism became necessary to action, and partly constitutive, too, in personality is the root principle of personality, the source of psychic life. Every elementary treatise in rational psychology shows the illicitude of such a sequence and the falseness of such a consequence.

DAS APOSTOLISCHE GLAUBENSBEKENNTNISZ. EINE APOLOGETISCHE GESCHICHTLICHE STUDIE, MIT RÜCKSICHT AUF DEN KAMPF UM DAS APOSTOLICUM Von *Clemens Blume, S. J.* Pp. xvi., 304. Herder: St. Louis. 1893. Pr. $1.15.

When one considers the Vandalic treatment to which the Sacred Scriptures have been subjected in recent times, he is not surprised to see that venerable symbol of Christian belief, the Apostle's creed, sharing a like fate. The wonder is, that this formula of belief should have so long survived amidst the conflicts waged against what Protestantism defends as its sole basis of faith, the Bible. But the point of attack is now against what even the jarring sects have all along regarded as the common bond of Christendom. The attack is championed not simply by rationalism, but by professed Christians. Foremost amongst those who reject the Apostolic origin of the creed, and who are working for its revision to suit the advanced scholarship of the day, is Dr. Adolph Harnack, Professor of (Protestant) Theology in the Berlin University. Readers of this REVIEW have been made familiar with Doctor Harnack's theories regarding primitive Christianity by Fr. Hewit's able critique of his "Outlines of the History of Dogma," in the October number of last year. Harnack's "Historical Account of the Apostles' Creed" was published two years ago, and since that time has become widely popular in Germany. Occasion is taken of this essay, by the author of the book before us, to write, not so much a critique of counter theories, as a positive defence of the apostolicity of the symbol of faith. He analyzes the true meaning of the term "apostolic," as contrasted with its caricature as set forth by Harnack in his "History of Dogma"; compares the historical investigation (in symbolism) and its results, as carried on by Catholic and Protestant scholars; and follows the history of the creed both as a whole and as to each of its individual articles, dwelling especially on the testimony of the first three centuries in its favor. The explanatory literature on the Apostles' Creed is well nigh boundless, but works on its *history* by Catholic pens are easily counted. This scarcity is, of course, due to the obvious reason that the Catholic takes his belief, not from historical testimony, but from the living Church. The history, therefore, of the formula of his profession of faith is to him of secondary importance. There is, however, interest in knowing in what sense the terms, wherein he expresses his faith, have come down from the Apostles themselves, and when, and how, and why, individual articles of faith came to have the precise form wherein they are recited for him at his baptism, and wherein he learns them in early childhood. Such information he can obtain from the work before us—

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information one feels he may thoroughly trust, based as it is on the author's broad and deep knowledge of history and thorough criticism.

THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH AND THE SEE OF PETER. By the *Rev. Luke Rivington, M.A.*, Magdalen College, Oxford. With an Introduction by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. London: Longmans, Green & Co. New York: 15 East Sixteenth Street. 1894.

It is most fortunate that Father Rivington has been, in a measure, compelled by personal attacks to go over systematically the familiar ground of the status of the Papacy in the primitive Church. No one could perform the task better than one with whom the question of Rome's supremacy has been, not an academic thesis, but the subject of a life-long and anxious inquiry. This circumstance adds to the interest with which we follow the author step by step from Clement of Rome to the Council of Chalcedon. It is difficult to understand how any honest reader who peruses the documents of antiquity, marshalled with consummate skill by Father Rivington, can fail to arrive at the conclusion with which he sums up his argument: "The verdict, then, of history, so far as the period dealt with above is concerned, is this: In the earliest records of the Christian Church agreement with Rome in matters of faith is seen to be a principle, clearly announced by St. Irenæus, which does not grow or develop as a substantial truth, but which becomes clearer in its action, and more definitely recognized, as time goes on."

The clear recognition of this *principle* is all that we can reasonably expect from the ancients. It was only in proportion as circumstances developed the details of the Papal prerogative that the attention of men was drawn to consider the full weight of the immortal words: "Tu es Petrus," precisely as the Christological controversies compelled men to draw out the full import of the words: "The Father and I are one." Neither is it to be wondered at if the Roman Pontiffs were the first to appreciate the nature and extent of their powers, or that their intervention, which always was occasioned by disturbances, should be resented by the party against whom they decided. It is in the nature of things that any new exercise of supreme prerogative should be resisted; nor need we go beyond the history of our own Republic to find illustrations. Whilst the course of our history ran smoothly, we scarcely felt the presence of a supreme executive amongst us. But with the rise of civil commotion and insurrection, the powers of the President, expressed in vague terms in the Constitution, were exerted with a vigor and to an extent which called forth cries of "usurpation," "innovation," and the like; cries familiar to readers of church history. It is instructive to remember that not until this one hundred and eighteenth year of our liberties was it ascertained that the President has the constitutional right and duty of clearing the way for mail trains and inter-State commerce, even at the point of Federal bayonets, and without regard to the feelings of local authorities. As it would be ridiculous to demand of Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Cleveland that they should produce exact precedents for their actions in the administration of Washington or Adams, so would it be absurd to demand that a modern Pope should be compelled to quote precedents from the early Pontiffs. It is quite sufficient, to use the forcible similes of the author, that they should resemble each other as the oak resembles the acorn, or a grown man resembles a child. The development of Roman supremacy has followed the same course as all other dogmas of Christianity. If so learned a man as Eusebius held views of

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dubious orthodoxy regarding the divinity of Christ, why need we wonder if he. and others like him, had not fathomed the powers of the Roman Pontiff?

We are much pleased to notice that Father Rivington inclines decidedly to that interpretation of the famous sixth canon of Nice, which was adopted by Bellarmine and Baronius. In our opinion it is the only tenable interpretation, and we deem it very regrettable that any other should have found supporters among Catholic writers.

We heartily recommend this book, therefore, to our readers. There is nothing abstruse about it from beginning to end; the course of the argument is easy to follow, and one rises from the perusal of it with a feeling of deep gratitude to the distinguished convert who has employed the great talents with which God has endowed him in the noblest and divinest of causes—the vindication of Catholic truth. May we often be favored with the products of his brilliant pen.

DANTE'S DIVINA COMMEDIA: ITS SCOPE AND VALUE. From the German of Franz Hettinger, D.D. Edited by H. S. Bowden, of the Oratory. Second edition, revised. London: Burns & Oates. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1894.

The general awakening of interest throughout the country in Dante's immortal poem is one of the most promising signs of the times. Yet the vast majority of those who dip into the great master's pages find him as unintelligible, however much they may admire detached passages, as the eunuch of old found the inspired pages of Isaias. The reason is obvious. The "Divina Commedia" is no mere jingling of rhymes, meant to while away an idle hour. It is the life-work of a philosopher, a theologian and an active and much-buffeted statesman, who has thrown into poetic shape all the knowledge which he and his age possessed. To appreciate Dante, one must, first of all, be a Catholic, thoroughly imbued with a lively and intelligent faith. That vague sentimentality which passes for religion in the present age has nothing in common with the vividness with which the Florentine seer beholds the scenes in the triple kingdom beyond the mystical wood, as plainly as one discerns men and things in the bright atmosphere of Tuscany.

Numerous passages of exquisite beauty are lost upon the general reader through unacquaintance with the philosophy and theology of the schools in which Dante was deeply versed, to such an extent, indeed, that his poem has been considered a metrical rendition of St. Thomas' "Summa."

That an intimate knowledge of the political situation in the Italy of Dante's age is indispensable to an intelligent reading of his masterpiece, is patent on the first glance at the poem. Dante sends more people to Hell for Guelphism than for any violation of the decalogue. In fact, his popularity among Liberals and non-Catholics generally is, in large part, owing to the wholesale way in which he devotes Popes and high ecclesiastics to eternal perdition.

It is evident, then, that Dante is a sealed book to the multitude without a competent guide; and no more competent guide can be found than the illustrious author of the "Apology of Christianity," whose essay on the scope and value of the "Divine Comedy" is now presented in attractive shape, to the English public by Father Bowden. As we are very desirous that the study of Dante should be widely propagated among educated Catholics, we earnestly pray our clergy to possess themselves of copies of Dr. Hettinger's admirable treatise.

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With all his violent prejudices, the prejudices of a strong man smarting under undeserved outrages, Dante is eminently the Catholic poet, without predecessor or successor. As Hettinger eloquently puts it, "Dante was human, and therefore liable to err. His errors have long since passed into oblivion, but his great work belongs to mankind for all time. As long as one heart on earth beats with love for the sacred things of human nature: freedom, wisdom, faith, so long will the name of the author of the 'Divina Commedia' be loved and revered."

NOVUM TESTAMENTUM GRAECE ET LATINE. Textum Graecum recensuit, Latinum ex Vulgata Editione Clementina adjunxit, breves capitulorum inscriptiones et locos parallelos addidit *Fridericus Brandscheid*, gymnasii Hadamarensis olim corrector. Cum approbatione Rev. Archiep., Friburg. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. 1893. Price, $2.10, net.

Let us thank God and be grateful to Professor Brandscheid that at length Catholic students of limited means have at hand and within reach an edition of the New Testament, in Latin and Greek, in which they may place implicit trust, as embodying the very latest results of textual criticism. In establishing the true reading of the Greek text, the author avails himself of the labors of Lachmann, Tregelles, Dischendorf, and Westcott-Hort. Parallel with the Greek runs the Latin version, the Vulgate of Sixtus V. and Clement VIII., as edited by Vercellone, "ne minima quidem, quod sciam, particula de textu mutata, addita vel ab eo detracta." It is obvious that this precious volume will be of immense advantage to professors and students of theology, whether in scriptural or dogmatic classes, and we sincerely trust that a copy will be found opened before every theological student in each one of our seminaries.

As a companion volume to his more important work, the author has issued in the German language a "Manual of Introduction to the New Testament," which is also a model of clearness and precision, giving, in the briefest compass, a full exposition of the history of the text of the New Testament from apostolic times to our own day, with such other information as is usually to be found in well-written *Prolegomena* to the Holy Scriptures. This book is sold for $2, and will be invaluable to those who are masters of the German tongue.

THE WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS. An illustrated and popular story of the World's First Parliament of Religions, held in Chicago in connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893. Edited by the Rev. John Henry Barrows, D D., Chairman of the General Committee of Religious Congresses of the World's Congress Auxiliary. Chicago: The Parliament Publishing Company. 1893.

Two contrary opinions were and still are held respecting the expediency of convoking this famous "parliament of religions." On the one side it was argued that the great exposition would be sadly defective if it were confined to a display of human progress in the field of material achievement. "Should not man's intellectual and moral progress," it was asked, "be adequately set forth amid these material splendors?" On the other hand it was contended, not exactly as stated by our author, "that Religion is such in its nature that it cannot be exhibited," but rather, that the bewildering excitement and dissipation of soul caused by the scenes and surroundings of a World's Fair left the public in no fit frame of mind for the calm and sublime study of religious truths, and consequently, it was feared the spectacle of so many diverse and irreconcilable religions was likely to leave upon the minds of those to whom the "parliament" was but a side-show in a colossal circus the impres-

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sion, analogous to a composite photograph, that all religion was but a strange and antiquated illusion, a relic of departed ages.

The effect produced by the parliament upon Dr. Barrows himself, is expressed by him in his preface in words too enthusiastic and poetical for comprehension by the dull mind of the ordinary reader. "Striking the noble chord of universal human brotherhood," he says, "the promoters of the World's First Parliament of Religions have evoked a starry music which will yet drown the miserable discords of earth." Beautifully said, could one but understand what it means. But in cold reality, we can see but two ways of "drowning the miserable discords of earth," so far as religion is concerned. 1. By lifting humanity up to the supernatural plane of Christ's Holy Catholic Faith, or 2. By letting humanity down into the abyss of universal negation of the spiritual and the immortal.

But the Parliament is now become a matter of history, and it was but right it should have its historian. In the two bulky octavos before us, the history is thoroughly and appreciatively told by one who for three years worked with indefatigable zeal to secure the success of this novel undertaking. There are some admirable papers by the profoundest religious thinkers of the age; and these ought to, at least, counteract the effect of the others on Buddhism, Shintoism, and a hundred other Isms. The many illustrations give a panorama of the religious world which one could scarcely find elsewhere in so convenient a shape.

LE CONCLAVE; Origines, Histoire, Organization, Legislation Ancienne et Moderne; avec un appendice contenant le texte des *Bulles Secrètes* de Pie IX. par *Lucius Lector.* Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1894. Pp., 779.

In this bulky little volume, the author, with the aid of ancient documents, and gathering up the results of recent German erudition and French science (thus he distributes the national talents), has given a much needed *résumé* of the laws regulating the election of the Roman Pontiff. The Roman Pontificate has, from the beginning, been elective; but the method of election has varied considerably with the progress of time. At first, the Bishop of Rome was, like other bishops, chosen by the clergy and people of his city. As this arrangement was a frequent source of factions and schisms, the temporal rulers of Italy, Byzantines, Goths, Franks and Germans, reserved to themselves the privilege of confirmation. This would have rendered the Supreme Pontiff a mere creature of the State, had not the great Hildebrand and other champions of ecclesiastical liberty prepared the way for emancipation by the establishment of an electoral body, closely united and endowed with the sole right of choosing and enthroning the spiritual chief of Christendom. From the date of Alexander III.'s legislation, restricting the right of election to the college of Cardinals, the old-time schisms, with their innumerable antipopes, disappeared; and were it not for the deplorable occurrences of 1378, when the Cardinals attempted unanimously to unthrone the Pope they had, whether willingly or unwillingly, unanimously elected, it could be truly said that Alexander's bull, *Licet de vitanda discordia*, had secured to the Church for six hundred years, a succession of Pontiffs whose title had never caused a ripple of doubt or contradiction. This will be considered truly providential, not to say miraculous, by any one who is acquainted with the fate of elective monarchies.

Our author, after an exhaustive investigation of the history of papal conclaves, explains clearly the rules laid down for the government of the Church during the interregnum, the place and conduct of the conclave,

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the modes of voting, the meaning and influence of exclusive *vetos*, the election and crowning of the new Vicar of Christ.

THE MONASTERY OF THE GRANDE CHARTREUSE. By a Carthusian monk. English edition abridged from the French. Sold for the monastery by Burns & Oates. London.

This little volume aims at giving an accurate description of the renowned solitude of the Grand Chartreuse with an account of the life led by the contemplative Carthusian monks. The translation is the work of the writer of the interesting article on "Petrarch and the Carthusians," which appears in this number of the REVIEW. We are disposed to regret that the translator saw fit to abridge the first two chapters which dealt with the history of the monastery.

THE LIFE OF ST. PHILIP NERI, APOSTLE OF ROME. By *Alfonso, Cardinal Capecelatro* Translated by Thomas Alder Pope, M.A., of the Oratory. Second edition. 2 volumes, small octavo. London: Burns & Oates; New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

Upon its first appearance in an English dress some twelve years ago, we extended a hearty welcome to this excellent work of Cardinal Capecelatro. Nothing remains now but to congratulate the publishers and the translator upon their success, as evidenced by the demand for a second edition, and to again recommend the study of St. Philip Neri to the clergy and faithful.

THEOLOGIA MORALIS PER MODUM CONFERENTIARUM AUCTORE CLARISSIMO. *P. Benjamin Elbel, O. S. F.* Novis curio edidit. B. F. Irenæus Bierbaum, O. S. F. Vol. II., Pars. VII., De statibus particularibus. Pars VIII., De sacramentis in genere atque de Baptismo, Confirmatione, Extrema Unctione, Eucharistia et ordine in specie. Paderbonae, 1892. Ex typographia Bonifaciana. New York: Benziger Bros.

In our January number for 1892 we gave an extended notice of this admirable work and explained the rank held by Father Elbel amongst moral theologians. In our April number for the same year we again called our readers' attention to the publication of Parts IV., V. and VI. Parts VII., VIII., IX. and X. have now been published, completing the work.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

WETZER UND WELTE'S KIRCHENLEXIKON, ODER ENCYCLOPEDIE DER KATHOLISCHEN THEOLOGIE UND IHRER HULFSWISSENSCHAFTEN. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. Last number appeared, No. 93, bringing down to *Oranien*.

LETTERS OF ST. ALPHONSUS MARIA DE LIGUORI. Translated from the Italian. Edited by Rev. Eugene Grimm, C.SS.R. Part I., General Correspondence. Vol. III. Benziger Brothers. New York. 1894.

THE BELOVED DISCIPLE. By the *Rev. Father Rawes, DD.* Third edition, with a sermon on St. John, by St. Charles Borromeo. London: Burns & Oates.

CARMINA MARIANA. By *Orby Shipley, M.A.* Second edition. London and New York: Burns & Oates. Received from Benziger Brothers.

THE LOVER OF SOULS; OR, SHORT CONFERENCES ON THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS. By a Priest. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1894.

LIFE OF THE PRINCESS BORGHESE (*née* Talbot). By *Chevalier Zeloni*. Translated by Lady Martin. London: Burns & Oates.

ST. THOMAS'S PRIORY; OR, THE STORY OF ST. AUSTIN'S, STAFFORD. By *Joseph Gillow*. London: Burns & Oates.

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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC

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THE NEWEST DARWINISM.

AMIDST the many series of incessant changes of which this world is continually the theatre, a deeper consideration of not a few of them will often show us how much less essential novelty they really manifest than at first sight appears to be the case. As with ladies' dresses, as with systems of philosophy, so, even in physical science—in spite of its undeniable and wonderful advance—we are sometimes surprised to recognize in its most modern views the reappearance of old friends with changed names and much modified costumes.

In the old world of powder and patches, before the États Generaux had met in France to communicate to the whole modern world the impetus France had itself received from the nascent "United States," a doctrine of "evolution" was generally received amongst naturalists, different, indeed, from that which prevailed in the middle of the present century, It was then widely supposed that the hatching of a chicken's egg, or the analogous development of any other animal, consisted in nothing more than the growth of what was already perfect, save as to size. It was supposed that every animal pre-existed fully formed in the ovum whence it issued, only that it was so exceedingly minute that no microscope could ever detect it—although Malpighi had mistakenly declared that he had, himself, detected the chicken in a new laid egg. But not only was this believed, but also that the miniature animal already contained within it a still more miniature egg, and this a still more miniature animal, and so on, in a series. This hypothesis was the doctrine known as that of "*emboitement.*" Thus understood, "evolution" was nothing but a process of unfolding

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and growth of what already existed fully formed in miniature from the first. This doctrine, amongst the most important supporters of which were Haller and Bonnet, had, however, numerous adversaries, who increased in number as physical and chemical phenomena became better understood. The objections of such adversaries, Bonnet met by sarcasm, saying, "Wise men, who have come to enlighten the world, have violated the simplest laws of logic; they have determined that the time when the different parts of an animal began to exist was just that when they began to be visible, and that nothing they could not see could by any possibility exist."

The progress of science, a greater perfection in its instruments, and reported careful observations, by degrees entirely refuted the supporters of this old view of evolution. Most prominent amongst its assailants had been the celebrated C. F. Wolff, and when the researches of Schleiden and Schwann (with their observations of cells and their notable cell-theory), and the work of embryologists such as Von Gär, Kathke, and others, became generally known, the *old theory of evolution* was routed, and disappeared to give place to the opposite doctrine of *Epigenesis*.

But epigenesis is really, whatever else it may be, a statement of facts, and has long been recognized as such. The highest powers of the microscope, and the most painstaking investigations, made it clear that the ovum is nothing but a single cell, and that by a multiplication of cells and a succession of changes, the embryo is "built up," and by no means "unfolded." In fact, epigenesis has long been demonstrated, and the views of Caspar Friederich Wolff abundantly justified. Evolution, in the old sense, had grown quite obsolete, and had come to be regarded as a curious delusion of the past, when, *mirabile dictu*, it has been practically brought forward again by some of the most recent biologists—the newest Darwinists—though presented to us in a modified and modern costume, as follows:

It is plain, that the succeeding individuals of one species resemble each other, and that the succeeding members of a single family (of a single pair of parents) resemble each other still more. How is this resemblance, this *heredity*, to be explained? The explanation offered is, that minute material particles enter into the composition of the germ, each particle of which helps, more or less, to build up a whole like that from whence it sprung. The adult is thus represented, not as existing fully formed in the egg, but as existing in the shape of minute parts, which, by their junction and arrangement, produce the new individual by processes of infolding and unfolding. Such supposed parts are the "gemmules" of Darwin, and the "plastidules," "unicellæ,"

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"inotagmata," "plasms," "biophors," etc., of other more recent authors.

The most conspicuous, and, at the present moment, most influential writer of this school, is Professor Weismann, of Freiburg, in Breisgau, a naturalist most notable both for the number of hypotheses he puts forward and for the small amount of observed fact he makes serve as a basis for the most startling of them. The system of explaining the phenomena of life by the aid of imaginary material particles, we will further consider later on, and, in the meantime, say a few words as to the bearing of Professor Weismann's view on the school of Darwin, and so explain in what "the newest Darwinism" consists.

Darwinism, as it was promulgated by Darwin, has, in fact, almost become extinct, and his disciples have become divided into two conflicting schools, one of which is represented by Weismann and the other by Professor Eimer of Tübingen.

We need hardly remind our readers that long before Darwin, a theory to explain the origin of new species was promulgated by Lamarck. He taught that the transformation of species was due to the effects upon animals of changes in their environments, and new habits induced by novel, external circumstances; such effects being transmitted from parent to offspring, and intensified from generation to generation, wherever such effects and induced habits persisted, and so continued to produce similar effects. It was thus, according to Lamarck, that water-birds became web-footed, that the giraffe gained its long neck, and that mankind came to lose their ancestral tails. The essence of this system is the doctrine that characters induced in individuals by external circumstances tend to reappear in their offspring.

Darwin himself adopted this Lamarckian system to a certain extent. He gave various instances of modifications produced in individuals by changes in their external circumstances, which modifications he believed had been transmitted to their offspring. But his main contention—as the reader, no doubt, well knows—was that in each species there is a tendency to vary minutely in all directions indifferently, and that the destructive agencies (always at work in nature), by cutting off all those individuals whose variations were less favorable, preserved, by only a process of "natural selection," those individuals whose variations were helpful to them, while rigidly destroying the others. Thus, in the close competition for the means of life which takes place between individual animals and plants of the same species, new forms (species) would necessarily arise. For example: amongst the individuals of a species inhabiting a forest or a desert, those which happened to resemble in color, green leaves (in the first case) or sand (in the

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second instance), would more frequently escape the observation of their enemies, and so be preserved. Thus, every organ of an animal's body, and the perfection of every adaptation and adjustment of parts, was, according to Darwin, due to nothing but fortuitous, indefinite variations in all directions. We have just seen how color may preserve life, but Darwin also taught that it is often effective in joining a mate (*sexual selection*), and that the colors and perfumes of flowers have been developed by serving to attract insects, which, by flying from flower to flower, convey the fertilizing pollen of one to the receptive part (the stigma) of another—such bright or odoriferous flowers being thus enabled the better to perpetuate their race in the great struggle for life.

Thus Darwin's theory was supported, as it were, by two pillars: (1) natural selection; the other (2), the transmission to offspring of favorable characters gained by parent forms under the influence of surrounding conditions.

Such is orthodox, original Darwinism. Let us next consider the recent theory which has replaced it by what we have called "the newest Darwinism"—a theory which is due to Professor Weismann, and which has found almost universal acceptance amongst Mr. Darwin's disciples.

The essence of Professor Weismann's theory is the immortality of organisms—apart from destructive accidents. He teaches that such as consist of but a single cell, and multiply by dividing themselves into two equal halves, can never die, because each half has as good a claim as the other to be considered a continuation of the parent cell.

As to multicellular animals—that is, all which are not unimolecular—he attributes to them also a sort of immortality. Every such animal he regards as composed of two parts: (1) the bulk of its body, which he distinguishes as the "soma," and (2) a minute quantity of reproductive substance, which he calls "germplasm."

It is the latter substance, transmitted from generation to generation by the sexual process, which he regards as alone immortal and as alone having anything to do with the transmission of hereditary character. Therefore, according to him, no modification of the soma during life can possibly be transmitted to offspring. No acquired characters, he dogmatically affirms, can possibly become hereditary.

Thus the system of Weismann takes entirely away from beneath the Darwinian edifice one of the two pillars which we before represented as supporting it. He removes and utterly repudiates its Lamarckian pillar. He is none the less an enthusiastic Darwinian, but he believes that the other pillar (natural selection) is a

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sufficient foundation—one, indeed, strong enough to serve in spite of a great deal of whittling down. He must so deem it, since he represents the transformation of species as being solely and exclusively due to minute, fortuitous variations in the germ-plasm, from which future individuals take their origin.

His conception of the relation existing between the soma and the germ-plasm of the successive individuals which exist in the life of a race or family, may be represented, roughly, by the structure of many plants. Thus, in the bracken fern (*Pteris aquilina*) there is a continuous underground stem, from which fronds are successively budded off, grow up, flourish for a time above ground, and then die and decay. The fronds will seem to represent the individual animals, or men, of succeeding generations. The hidden stem will seem to symbolize the germ-plasm, which continues its hidden course, regardless of the short-lived organisms to which it has successively given rise.

This germ-plasm Weismann believes to exist within a special part of a body known as the *nucleus*, which exists within the reproductive cell or ovum. This special part of the nucleus consists of certain minute, complexly-arranged threads, called *chromatin fibres*, which may exhibit a peculiar beaded structure. To these chromatin fibres he now gives the name of "idants," and to the beads which compose them that of "ids." Each such bead, or "id," is again represented as being composed of more minute particles still—the *molecules*. Analogous parts are also supposed to exist in the male element. Now, according to Professor Weismann, each new individual born *must* vary from both its parents, on account of the conflicting influence of the respective "ids" and of the "ids" of its parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, great-great-grandparents, and so on to an indefinite extent. Every new character, every new function, feeling and instinct, every adaptation of part to part or activity to activity, is, he tells us, exclusively due to the preservation, by "natural selection," of such minute fortuitous changes in the composition of the germ-plasm as may happen to be brought about by this conflict of ancestral molecules.

It is this, he teaches, which has given their glorious colors to the butterfly and the humming-bird, to fruits their savor, and to all sweet flowers their fragrance.

But though "natural selection" is thus credited with so wonderful a transforming power, yet another series of changes are attributed by him (and others) to the *absence* of "natural selection." When surrounding circumstances happen to have undergone some change which diminishes or does away with the utility of any special character, then variations in which that character is

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diminished, or is even absent, are no longer destroyed, and so this special character tends to disappear. Thus, if we suppose beads of black and yellow to have been developed on certain flies because such accidentally-occurring bands had caused them to be mistaken for wasps, so spared by fly-eating creatures, then if all the wasps of that region were to become extinct, the fear of such insects would die out, and, as a consequence, the black-and-yellow flies would no longer be spared. Therefore, other colors would no longer be eliminated by "natural selection," and different ancestral tendencies would have an equal chance of establishing themselves. Thus, we should have, according to this teaching, a reversion to an average development of characters by an unselected mingling of ancestral tendencies, and this process is known as "panmixia."

It may now interest our readers to consider certain curious natural phenomena—some recently discovered—in order to see whether either a natural selection of ancestral "ids" or the process of "panmixia" can possibly account for them.

Fishes of the group to which the sole and turbot belong (the *Pleuronectidæ*) undergo a very singular change in passing from the young to the adult condition. At first their two eyes are, as in other fishes, one on either side of the head. By degrees, however, one eye changes its place so that both come to be situated on that side of the head which is uppermost when the fish lies on the ground.

Now, it is difficult, indeed, to conceive how such an arrangement could have arisen from minute accidental changes in all directions, as we pointed out four and twenty years ago in our "Genesis of Species." But a special difficulty opposes itself to Professor Weismann's teaching as regards the phenomenon. If, as he teaches, every young animal is the direct and actual continuation of its parents (save in so far as other ancestral influences intervene), how could this curious condition of the ages have ever been first brought about merely from the conflicting influences of the "idants" and "ids" of ancestors, no one of which could have possibly possessed it?

Quite recently certain efts of North America (of the genera *Plethodon* and *Desmognathus*) have been found, in their adult condition, to be entirely destitute of both gills and lungs. All other efts possess lungs when adult, while almost all possess gills at birth, which gills atrophy and disappear as the lungs become developed. How could the direct continuation of the germ-plasm of ancestors such as these ever have resulted in the development of a progeny possessing neither the one nor the other of their two kinds of breathing organ? Certainly, if we suppose that the

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action of "natural selection" in maintaining gills and lungs had become lessened through more active respiration through the skin, the "panmixia" which (we are taught) would thence result, could never have called into existence forms so strangely different from that of all the ancestors whose mingled elements had produced offspring so anomalous!

Very reasonable, on the other hand, is the supposition that exceptional conditions—a humidity, etc.—(favoring the action of the skin and rendering that of gills and lungs less necessary) produced the change which subsequently became transmitted.

How great a power may exist in organisms to form or change structures in response to novel circumstances of environment, is strikingly shown by an experiment lately made with the young of the land salamander (*Salamandra atra*). In this species, the young are born alive and have no gills at birth, but lungs instead, wherewith they breathe air as soon as they come into the world.

Before birth, however, the embryo salamander is provided with extremely long gills. The experiment just referred to consisted in removing young salamanders from the body of their mother while these fœtal, temporary gills were at their largest size.

It was then found that the little salamanders (which had been placed in water) were much inconvenienced by the great relative length of such gills. Subsequently, these gills were lost and were replaced by small ones which were convenient and functionally useful. Yet these secondary gills were novel, special functions, and altogether new to the species in which they made their appearance. How is it possible that such secondary gills could have been due to the "idants," "ids" and "molecules" of ancestral salamanders, none of which ever possessed structures of such kind?

It appears to us certain that it was the novel and changed conditions which directly elicited the growth of these gills and that no rational mind can doubt the existence of a causal relation between such premature birth and residence in water as a cause and the secondary gill growths as an effect.

But there is another proof that the process of development in the frog is not due to the structure and mechanical action of the "idants" and "ids" of its ancesters. For, if such were the case, that process must be repeated in a similar manner in each case, and no new circumstances, or any changed conditions, could be able to modify it. Nevertheless, the metamorphosis of the tadpole into the frog may be delayed, and the tadpole-stage of the animal's existence prolonged merely by a lowering of the temperature about it. Such a modification is manifestly due to the environment, and, therefore, the creature cannot have come into the

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world with ancestral "ids," the material conditions of which governed its development!

Again, in all animals above the opossum and its allies[1] (marsupials) the young, before birth, breathe by means of a placenta developed in a certain mode. A "placenta" is a structure formed by vascular prominences from the lining of the uterus, which intertwines with vascular prominences proceeding from some portion of the embryo contained within it. In the higher mammals the fœtal vascular prominences proceed from an appendage of the embryo called the allantois, and such a structure is, therefore, called an "allantoic placenta." In the opossum and its allies the vascular prominences proceed, not from the allantois, but from the yolk sac or "umbilical vesicle" of the embryo. Thus, these latter creatures are said to be furnished with an "umbilical placenta."

Such a structure, strange to say, also exists in certain sharks, but in no other fishes known to us. Now, it is impossible to believe there is any special genetic relationship between these sharks and marsupial mammals; therefore, this structure must have arisen independently in these two very different groups of animals. That it should have done so in each case merely by means of accidental, minute, indefinite changes in particles of germ-plasm can hardly find credence in any mind not strongly prejudiced. It is, above all, incredible that it should so have accidentally arisen by a chance mixture of the "ids" of ancestral animals, none of which ever possessed anything of the kind.

But the improbability, or rather the practical impossibility, of such a biological "undesigned coincidence," has been made yet more striking of late through the discovery of an allantoic placenta in a lizard belonging to the group to which the blind worm (*Anguis fragilis*) appertains. This is, so far as we know, the first discovery of an allantoic placenta in any reptile, and it is impossible to suppose the higher mammalia to be genetically connected with this reptile, and yet that the marsupials are not so. Thus we should be compelled to assume a fourfold origin for accidental mixtures of ancestral "ids."

But the modifications which appear quite incapable of explanation by "natural selection" are so numerous that we have quite an *embarras de richesse*. But space will only allow us to notice one or two more.

There is a kind of skate (*Kaija*), the young of which are hatched within the mother. They are not nourished by a vascular placenta of any kind, but are fed in the mouth, before birth, in a manner absolutely peculiar.

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[1] See our work on *American Types of Animal Life.*

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Fishes have permanently (what higher animals have transitorily in their embryonic condition) apertures on either side of the throat, which apertures open internally into the back part of the mouth or front part of the throat. In fishes, these are the "bronchial apertures," so called because they open between the solid structures which support the gills or *bronchiæ*, and these apertures allow the water, which has been taken into the mouth, to bathe the gills in the adult condition.

But in the embryo of the kind of skate referred to, an easily traversed aperture of the kind serves another temporary purpose; for processes from the inner surface of the aviduct of the mother find their way through it, and so pass into the fish's mouth, or at least into the anterior portion of its alimentary canal. Then these processes seem to secrete and exude a nutritious fluid, which passes down into the stomach of the young skate and so nourishes it. This is much the same thing as it would be if processes from the inner surface of the uterus of a mammal were to find their way into the embryo's mouth and feed it with a nutritious fluid comparable with milk. How can we conceive of such a structure and process ever having arisen merely through minute, accidental changes in the arrangement or abundance of material particles of parental germ-plasm?

There is, again, a kind of tree-frog (*Nototrema*), the eggs of which, when laid by the female, are taken by the male and pushed up into a large pouch of skin contained within the skin of the back of the female, which pouch has but a small external opening. It is within this dermal pouch that the young undergo their development.

There is another creature of the frog and toad kind (*Rhinoderma Darwini*) which is still more extraordinary in its mode of carrying its young. When a female of this species lays her eggs, the male takes them into his mouth, one after another, and then passes them through an aperture at the side of its mouth into a large pouch, which extends backwards inside the skin of its belly. There the young develop themselves and attain a very considerable size. Is it even possible that any accidental variation in the arrangement or structure of ancestral "ids" of germ-plasm could ever, by the mere aid of "natural selection," have given rise at one and the same time to structures and habits so novel and so extraordinary?

But, according to Weismann's theory, since all structures and functions are determined before birth by the condition of ancestral "ids," no structural change can possibly be produced in the adult structure (*soma*) containing them by anything which happens to germ-plasm, the effect of which on the individual has been ex-

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hausted in building it up. Nevertheless we find that castration does, in fact, very curiously affect and alter the form and fate of the soma, though, if Weismann's theory were true, it should certainly not do so. We have an example of such structural changes produced by post-natal influences in the case of castration, which has so notable an effect on the growth of the horns of the stag.

That the direct influence of external conditions acting upon the organism and not merely minute accidental variations preserved by "natural selection" is the main cause of some peculiarities of structure, appears evident from certain conditions found amongst flying and swimming mammals.

Thus, for example, the American vampire bat (*Desmodus*) is a most greedy blood-sucker, and seems to live exclusively on that highly nutritious fluid. In that bat the portion of the stomach which is mainly digestive (the pyloric portion) is reduced to a minimum, while that part which is mainly receptive (the cardiac portion) is so enormously enlarged that it looks like part of a "large intestine." Is it credible that the lives of a multitude of bats have again and again been preserved by minute cardiac enlargements and pyloric diminutions?

In whales, porpoises and dolphins, the skeleton of the hind limbs is either altogether wanting or is only represented by quite rudimentary bones and cartilages. Now, let us suppose that "natural selection" had reduced the hind limbs so much that they had ceased to be externally visible, and their internal structure had become quite insignificant. When such a stage had been reached, it is difficult to see how "natural selection" could have gone further than to produce such a reduction, even if it could have produced so much. For, according to Weismann, there must always have been present a multitude of "idants" and "ids" of ancestors which had more largely developed limbs, and the action of *panmixia* (before explained) must have tended to preserve the hind limbs, so soon as ever their size ceased to be disadvantageous to their possessors.

Let us now consider a few instances of plant structure,—instances which seem to conflict with the theory of "natural selection" now insisted on by Weismann as being the one solitary cause of all the characters which the organic world offers to our observation.

Color is certainly developed in plants quite independently of any utility in attracting insects for fertilization. Thus the hazel and the larch are trees which are fertilized only through the action of the wind, which carries the pollen of the male flowers to fertilize the female ones.

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Yet the receptive part of the female flower in the hazel is bright red, as are also the scales of the opening cones of the larch.

More inexplicable still is the fact that parts of lowly, flowerless plants, such as *sphagnum*, *chara*, and species of fungi, *peziza* and *botelus*, all develop bright colors. These are but a few examples of a multitude of other cases wherein beauty of color, as well as of form, are inexplicable by any action of either "natural" or "sexual" selection. The very same thing must be affirmed as to odors. Thus Millardet, who has studied so carefully the fertilization of the vine, remarks that though it is rind fertilized (and so has no need of insect visitors), its flowers have a strong perfume.

There are also many plants the conspicuous flowers of which very rarely perform the normal function of flowers, since they are neither fertilized nor bear seed. But they also bear inconspicuous flowers, which never open (sometimes do not even rise above the surface of the ground) but fertilize themselves, and bear a due quantity of seed. Examples of this are found in the violet, *viola sylvatica*, and in the genera *oxalis*, *turpaticus*, *polyonum*, *hydropipee*, *scleranthus*, etc.

It is indeed difficult to see how a conflict between the "ids" of ancestral germ-plasms of plants which never had closed (or *cleistogamic*) flowers, could ever have resulted in the formation of such.

But the great modern generator of biological hypotheses, has already prepared us, by his own act, for regarding with a prudent skepticism his sometimes almost gratuitous fancies which occasionally amaze us by the confidence with which they are enunciated, after bearing an inverse ratio to the amount of observation on which they are based. Some of these he has had actually himself to withdraw, while he has modified others, and the fact that some of his subsidiary hypotheses are no longer maintained by him, cannot but impair the confidence we might otherwise feel in any theory of this naturalist, who is declared to be the one surviving representative of Mr. Darwin and the man upon whom that prophet's cloak has descended. Indeed, it is on account of the unreasonable repute in which he is held, that we deem it necessary to write the present article. He has lately been chosen to deliver the third Romanes lecture at Oxford, has been listened to by a crowded audience and has received the honorary doctorate of that university.[1] We may well, therefore, take a little trouble to consider the views of a man who is thus temporarily influential.

[1] It is a very singular fact that Professor Weismann refused to accept the professed hospitality of Dr. Herman (the founder of the lectureship), on account of the latter having written to criticize his views. Such susceptibility we might expect to find in the enthusiastic founder of a new religious sect, but hardly in a student of physical science. In this susceptibility, too, however, he resembles his predecessor, Darwin.

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One of his subsidiary hypotheses had reference to what are known as polar vesicles. These are two minute bodies of the ovum. In the first stages of the development of the ovum, its nucleus eliminates from its substance, two minute bodies which are these polar vesicles. That is the simple fact. As to their nature and function, absolutely nothing is known. Weismann, however, did not hesitate to declare what their functions were and to decide that the function of one was quite different from that of the other. He ventured on this assertion because he believed that in insects formed by *parthencgenesis* (that is without any male influence) only one polar vesicle was found and expelled—as he believes was the case with the ovum of the drone bee, which is thus parthenogenetically begotten. It has, however, since been discovered, that in the ovum of the drone a second vesicle is also expelled; and so this house of cards tumbles to the ground.

As to the asserted immortality of unicellular organisms, his facts are denied by a very high authority on the strength of that authority's personal observations.

The Rev. Dr. Dallinger, F.R.S., an almost unrivalled observer of minute organisms, has found that in the monads examined by him, the process of fission, after a certain time, comes to an end and is replaced by a fusion between two individuals (a seemingly sexual process) which results in the formation of a multitude of germs.

We venture to think, enough has now been here said, to show the probable value of Professor Weismann's views generally, and the improbability of "natural selection" alone being able to account for the variety and beauty to be found in organic nature; and we may therefore revert to a consideration of the matter with which we began this article—the practical rehabilitation of the hypothesis of "evolution," in the sense of "unfolding parts already existing performed beforehand."

To it was opposed the doctrine of "Epigenesis," which, as a simple statement of fact, is an unquestionable truth. But latent in that doctrine, as held by more modern biologists, was the conception of the formation of organs by means of the physical qualities of the elements of the ovum. Thus it was that this doctrine was able to be so readily modified by Weismann and his immediate predecessors, into a doctrine which relegates epigenesis into the background, if it does not amount to its practical denial.

But there is "evolution" and "evolution,'" and in the sense in which we believe it should be held, there need be no conflict started between it and epigenesis. We uphold both simultaneously—regarding the idea of evolution, not as *antagonistic*, but as *complementary* to that of epigenesis. We use the term "evolu-

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tion" with a predominantly *dynamic* implication, while we use "epigenesis" to denote simply the material results—the succession and order of parts which the process of evolution induces.

Epigenesis may be conceived of as mainly taking place in two ways: Either through (1) external, or (2) internal agencies. Now for the development of the ovum; a due environment is of course necessary—just as due atmospheric and other physical conditions are necessary for the development of a grain of corn. Nevertheless, it is the *internal* nature of the living grain which is *par excellence* the cause of its growth, and such is also the case with the living ovum. The term "evolution" then, as we employ it, denotes that the successive formation of new parts which were not previously existent, is due, *not* to their imposition from without, *but* to their generation from within; yet not to the existence of minute material particles already possessing all the essential characters of those bodies, the structure and action of which they are supposed to explain.

Indeed, hypothetical "gemmules," "plastidules," unicellæ, inotagmata, idiosumes, plasms, etc. (whatever may be their occasional practical use as working hypotheses), will each and all of them be found, when looked closely into, to need explanation themselves, as much as the phenomena they have been called in to explain. By their use the difficulty so often experienced of understanding vital phenomena, is not really diminished in the least, but only put further back.

But in fact neither Professor Weismann, the late Mr. Darwin, Professor Niget nor any other of the authors of those mental images, are to be blamed for the unsatisfactory nature of their proposed explanations. That is but the inevitable result of attempting the impossible. However we may divide and minimize the supposed material elements, the same difficulty will ever recur.

Just as when we seek to explain the physiology of an entire organism by the functions of its several cells, each cell, so considered, becomes but the organism itself "writ small"; so also every gemmule, idiosm, biophor, etc., is but the cell itself "writ small." This must be the case also with "molecules"—for how can the mere juxtaposition in any order, of functionless, similar particles, account for the vital phenomena of growth and reproduction, to say nothing of sensation and thought? However we may play with such images by the aid of a subtle and fertile imagination, the same inevitable and insoluble difficulty will ever recur. All such explanations must, therefore, be unsatisfactory.

Such is the case because in the various activities commonly called "vital," we can perceive various parts of the body under

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successively different conditions. But the activities themselves, whatever may be their nature, are not material bodies and are utterly imperceptible to the senses.

Now, we can never imagine anything of which we have had no sort of sensuous experience. Gemmules, biophors, unicellæ, inotagmata, molecules, etc., are terms for mental images of material particles which differ only from material bodies, because they are supposed to be of exceedingly minute size.

They are, therefore, necessarily incapable of representing what is immaterial, and the use of them, for such a purpose, amounts to an attempt to make immaginary figures of things perceptible to the senses serve as representations of things necessarily imperceptible to the senses, and therefore essentially incapable of any such representation.

The irrationality of this attempt is commonly unnoticed, because the effort to imagine an immense multiplication and complication of minute parts and their motions so fatigues the fancy, as to make some persons think that by having had their sensuous imagination thus overwhelmed by a complication exceeding its group, they have really arrived at something more—something of an essentially different nature and capable of explaining phenomena the senses can take no cognizance of. What then is to be done? We may decline to seek for any explanation, and then we may rest contented with the formula of epigenesis which sums up the facts accessible to observation.

But if we seek, as our nature impels us to seek, for a cause which may explain the facts of epigenesis in an intelligible manner, we shall be compelled to have recourse to one of a radically different nature.

Is there any more satisfactory explanation, or must we sit down contented, or discontented, with the operation of epigenesis as a fact?

Reason certainly tells us that behind what the senses can observe, there must be something more, and something in the nature of a *cause*.

To relinquish the search for "causes" is to give up science. Let us then endeavor to ascertain whether anything more intelligible than Darwin or Weismann offers us, is anyhow attainable.

Now in every inquiry, our first object should, of course, be to endeavor to ascertain what facts are more certain and evident, and what consequences evidently flow therefrom. Our speculations and hypotheses must thereby be limited and controlled. Therefore, in studying the activities (functions) of organisms, we should first examine that concerning which we can obtain the most evident or certain knowledge. But of all organisms and of all activi-

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ties, none are nearly so well known to us as *our own.* Nothing then can well be more irrational than for us to ignore our self-knowledge, while seeking to understand the nature of living organisms.

Prominent amongst all possible facts known to us, is the fact that we not only think, but can know that we think; can perceive the past as well as the present; can pass our thoughts in review to and fro in various orders of succession, before our present consciousness which, as from a fixed point, can survey such mental possessions. If we are certain that we have a material body (and we think only a diseased mind can doubt about it), it is at least as evident that we also consist of an individual, immaterial energy. Of much which this energy can accomplish we are directly conscious. That it, at the least, exercises a great influence over our body is certain, while our conscious psychical activity shades off into activities of which we are unconscious. Therefore this individual, immaterial energy may well be that which governs and presides over every one of those forms of our unconscious activity, which have been termed "vital processes," since it certainly governs and presides over all our conscious ones.

Here then is an absolutely certain and evident fact which every biologist is bound to take into account, as being the most certain and evident of *all* biological facts. The biologist is a living animal himself, and what is the most certain fact of his own life, must be a fundamental truth of biological science.

But all animals resemble us men more or less—in different degrees—and some resemble us so much, not only in form but also in function, that it would be most unreasonable to doubt that each of them also consists of an individual, immaterial energy; however different it may be from our own, as regards its powers and possibilities.

It is now becoming more and more distinctly recognized that each animal, in the course of its development from the germ and in its subsequent life-history, is somehow dominated and governed by some individual agency. Words uttered by Professor Burdan Sanderson, F.R.S. of Oxford, before the British Association, distinctly favored this view, and Mr. C. O. Whitman, in a very able paper,[1] says: "That organization precedes cell formation and regulates it, rather than the reverse, is a conclusion which forces itself upon us from many sides."

It is this immaterial energy which supplies us with a rational conception of the cause of vital activities, including the development of the ovum, growth and heredity; the knowledge of the

[1] *Journal of Morphology*, vol. viii., August, 1893.

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more certain facts of our own being supplies us with a solid foundation for such a belief and provides us with a conception which harmonizes and accounts for the phenomena of nature, although that conception can never be pictured to the imagination. In it we have a *vera causa*, the existence of which is supremely evident in and to ourselves and with which we may, by the more rational analogy, credit other organisms. While satisfying the mind as an intelligible, though unimaginable, cause, it does not in the least tend to stifle or limit scientific inquiry. A practically inexhaustible field for research will ever remain open for the discovery of more and more of those successive hierarchies of physical agents which intervene between the primary cause of each organism's vital activity and its ultimate manifestations.

Nothing here advanced is intended, or, indeed, tends to depreciate the cell theory, as more recently put forward. Let the essence of each living creature be recognized as being an immaterial principle of individualism, and it remains not a whit less true that the various cells of the tissues are conditions, *sine qua non*, of nutrition and growth, and that each whole complex organism subsists only by means of the reciprocal action of its various parts.

And the most minute parts which can be detected and distinguished in each organism will need as much patient investigation by students who follow the scholastic philosophy as by any others, and will be as full of interest and significance to the former as to the latter.

The structure of the cell, its cytoplasm, its nucleus and the complex anatomy of the latter, as well as their interaction and those of the many other parts which, doubtless, still remain to be discovered, are in no way less interesting to the Aristotelian biologist than to him who is unable, or unwilling, to free himself from vain misgivings of an indefinite series of material particles exclusively. But what are the objections raised against this rational biology? There are, in fact, none, and, more than that, the principle which affirms the existence of an animating principle—the Psyche of Aristotle—in each organism is practically admitted by the most prominent modern biologists who ignorantly oppose rational biology because they have never understood it. Thus, Weismann represents his "biophors" as themselves possessing all the primary vital forces, such as exist in living cells. But if we may believe that energy acts in every "biophor," why not also in entire animals and plants, since the "biophor" has only been invented to explain the energies of such animals and plants? Haeckel, of Jena, again, makes no difficulty whatever in crediting each living cell with a "soul," or psyche, though he would be horrified at the Aristotelian notion of such a thing as each whole

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animal and plant having one. It seems too absurd for belief, and yet the conclusion is irresistible, that those writers deem such "principles of individuation" of their own proposing to be acceptable, because the bodies to which they assign them are (like Peter Simple's wet nurse's baby) "so very small!"

The persistent attempt to explain living activities by mere physical conditions is simply the result of the fact that most modern men of physical science are bond slaves to their imagination. This, necessarily confines and cripples their reason; for, as we have before said, the imagination is bound down to the representation of things the senses can take cognizance of.

This has been naïvely enough declared by some prominent men of physical science themselves. Thus, the late Professor Tyndall thought, and said, that an ability to "*mentally visualize*" any conception was a necessary condition of its truth; whereas, with regard to what is non-material, an ability to "mentally visualize" a conception suffices by itself to demonstrate that it is and must be false.

Nothing is more frequently an object of sense-perception than the movement of solid bodies, and therefore the representation of any action, deemed more than mechanical, in terms of matter and motion, gives rise in many persons to a feeling of relief and satisfaction; as if such non-mechanical action was thereby really explained. Hence images of very small vibratory bodies—"molecular motion"—is too often readily accepted as an adequate explanation of nervous activity, and therefore as the essential constituent of sensation and thought.

Similarly, the force of "heredity," which, of course, cannot itself be imagined (though it is plainly conceivable), Weismann and others attempt to image forth as a mere transmission from generation to generation of solid particles—the "ids" and "idants" of his germ-plasm. A demonstration of the insufficiency of Professor Weismann's hypothesis cannot, therefore, but aid the cause of that philosophy which is most opposed to a merely mechanical conception of nature—it cannot but aid the cause of the scholastic philosophy.

But, Professor Weisman builds entirely upon Mr. Darwin's theory of "natural selection," and it is, therefore, to the English naturalist that we are indebted for Professor Weismann having been supplied with an hypothesis which he has carried to an extreme which is perilous, we believe, fatal, to that hypothesis itself, since he has, most unintentionally, refuted it by a process of *reductio ad absurdum.*

Almost a quarter of a century ago, we ventured to predict in our "Genesis of Species," that Mr. Darwin's theory would ulti-

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mately serve to gain acceptance for the principles of the scholastic philosophy. The labors of Professor Weismann go far, indeed, to justify that prediction. A complete study of the mere proof of *growth*, is, indeed, amply sufficient to destroy the belief that nature can be explained by "mechanism." This truth, however, is less obvious than is the inadequacy of mechanism to explain development, and the growth of those wonderful complexities in structure and function which characterize so many kinds of animals and plants, and which so often show the great plasticity which has enabled them to respond so wonderfully to varying influences of their conditions and environments.

But, some persons will object to the whole of our contention, saying that our doctrine is a philosophical, while biology is a physical science, and that the two ought to be kept apart.

We deem it high time to utter a vigorous protest against the vulgar error that the several departments of physical science should be "carefully kept apart" from that higher department of science which (whether it be recognized or not) *alone* gives validity to every other.

Such an assertion is even more absurd than it would be to say, that "mechanics" must be kept carefully apart from "geometry," or "astronomy" from "mathematics." Every tyro knows that these sciences are absolutely dependent one upon another, but their interdependency is as nothing to the absolute dependence of all physical science upon philosophy. Of all facts, the most certain are the dicta of our consciousness, and upon those dicta a rational conception of the fundamental verities and causation agencies of living organisms ultimately and securely repose. This, at no distant day, will be widely recognized, and its recognition will be largely due, not only to Mr. Darwin, but also to his enthusiastic disciples; above all, to Professor Weismann, to whom we are indebted for the last absurdities of the recent Darwinism.

St. George Mivart.

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TESTIMONY OF THE GREEK CHURCH TO ROMAN SUPREMACY.

WE use the term "Greek Church" in accordance with common usage, although it is not strictly correct. There is no ecclesiastical body calling itself by that name. The designation is employed, when it is used in opposition to the term "Roman Church," to qualify a collection of some half a dozen groups of episcopal churches, independent of each other, although in mutual communion, which acknowledge the first seven œcumenical councils, and an honorary primacy in the titular patriarch of Constantinople, who is the successor of Michael Cerularius, and are separated from the communion of the Holy See. This collection of schismatical societies calls itself "The Holy Eastern Church" and "The Orthodox Church." If the term is used in a more general sense, it denotes that part of the Catholic Church which was situated within and beyond the bounds of the eastern division of the Roman empire, and became, later on, a separate realm, under the name of the Greek or Byzantine empire, of which Constantinople was the capital. When, in this sense, the Eastern or Greek Church is spoken of, in distinction from the Western or Latin Church, and not as the designation of a schismatical sect, it denotes that part of the Catholic Church which was not included in the Roman Patriarchate, and which embraced the two great patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch, together with some provinces not subject to either. By degrees the new patriarchate of Constantinople acquired a primacy among those churches which were within or beyond the boundaries of the Eastern Empire; the See of Jerusalem was raised to the patriarchal dignity; heretical sects of Nestorians and Monophysites separated from the Catholic Church; in the course of the seventh century Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem were conquered by the Saracens.

Long before this, Rome had ceased to be an imperial city, the Western Empire had split up into separate kingdoms, and thus the successors of Constantine reigning in the new Rome were the only heirs of his imperial dignity and power in Christendom until Charlemagne was crowned by the Pope in Rome, as emperor.

The new Roman Empire was not the successor of the old, but something quite different. The Byzantine emperor would never acknowledge the emperors crowned by the Pope as his equals. He retained Rome and a considerable part of Italy under his sov-

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ereignty, with a viceroy at Ravenna as long as he could, and even entertained the visionary project of bringing the ancient empire of the west under his dominion, to a late period. Consequently, it was the Greek Empire which was *par excellence* the Christian empire, and its seat was at Constantinople. The emperors and bishops of that city, from the fourth century onward, exerted themselves to the utmost to raise the dignity and power of that See to the highest possible summit. It was first exalted from the position of a suffragan to that of a metropolitan bishopric. Next, a patriarchate was carved out of the ecclesiastical domain of Thrace, and of the exarchates of Pontus and Ephesus. Then the first place of honor after Rome was successfully usurped. Finally, the ancient but sadly-decayed patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch, with the new patriarchate of Jerusalem, created in the fifth century, were made subject to the self-styled "œcumenical patriarch." The conversion of some heathen nations added to his domain, and even some outlying portions of the Roman patriarchate were forcibly wrested from it; and thus, at last, all orthodox and Catholic Christendom fell into two great divisions, the patriarchates of Rome and Constantinople—the Pope, as universal primate, presiding over all. This historical development of both Church and State throughout Christendom accounts for the title of "Greek Church," so generally given to the whole body of Christians in the East, who were subject to the patriarchal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constantinople. It distinguished them, on the one hand, from the heretical sects who had broken off after the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon; on the other hand, this term, as well as that of "Eastern Church," distinguished them from the great body of Catholic Christians in Europe who were immediately governed by the Pope, as Patriarch of the West.

The Pope is, first of all, Bishop of the Diocese of Rome, then Archbishop of the Suburbicarian Province, Primate of Italy, Patriarch of the West, Supreme Bishop of the Catholic Church. He alone has *jure divino*, by his succession from St. Peter, episcopal power over his brethren and colleagues, the bishops of particular churches, who, as bishops, are all essentially equal. The archbishop receives, by his delegation, a limited authority over his suffragans, and the superior metropolitan, whether primate, exarch or patriarch, has a similar precedence and authority over archbishops and their provinces—all these privileges and rights attached to certain eminent sees and prelates being more or less extended or restricted, in different times and countries, by custom, decrees of the Sovereign Pontiffs and the canons of councils approved by them. Among all these metropolitan sees, Alexandria and Antioch held the highest rank after Rome, as being, in a secondary

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sense, all Petrine sees. They had the largest share in the communicated and delegated primacy, which belonged in all its plenitude, and by divine and apostolic institution, to the Bishop of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter.

Ecclesiastical authors are not unanimous in their opinions regarding the origin and rise of metropolitans in the church, although they all acknowledge the undoubted historical fact that they were so early that no certain date can be assigned to them. We have no doubt, however, that the opinion which ascribes them to the apostles, and is supported by high authorities, is the correct one. We are convinced that St. Peter conferred on the churches of Alexandria and Antioch their high dignity and authority. In no other way can we explain the undisputed concession of the second place in the hierarchy to the Bishop of Alexandria; for Antioch had been the See of Peter, and the provinces over which it presided were greater and more numerous than those which were dependent upon Alexandria, whose founder was not St. Peter in his own person, but his deputy, St. Mark. These two great bishops were empowered to exercise many functions of superior jurisdiction which the popes reserved to themselves in the West. And although the titles by which the higher grades in the hierarchy were distinguished were not affixed to them from the beginning, yet the reality was there. All chief pastors of churches were called indiscriminately bishops of their respective sees. These episcopal churches were, however, not all equal and independent, but related to each other in an order of filiation, as mother churches and daughter churches. There were metropolitan churches, each one having its group of daughter churches affiliated to it, and these groups were portions of a larger group whose principal see was a metropolis of a higher order, the Roman Church, as the Mother and Mistress of Churches, being the metropolis of the whole world. The bishop of the metropolitan see was therefore, as bishop, possessed of a dignity and prominence corresponding to that of his church. He was, *ipso facto*, the archbishop of the province. The Bishop of Carthage presided over Africa, the Bishop of Ephesus over Asia Minor, the Bishop of Cæsarea over Palestine, the Bishop of Antioch over Asia, the Bishop of Alexandria over Egypt. The Bishop of Rome, sitting in the chair of St, Peter, governing the church which had all the churches of the world affiliated to it as daughters of the universal mother, was, *ipso facto*, Supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church.

That St. Peter established the Holy See in Rome, and transmitted his supremacy to his successors in that See is certain. There are, indeed, some respectable authors who do not admit that St. Peter bound the supreme pontificate to the Roman episcopate in

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an irrevocable manner, by a divine commandment. We are firmly convinced that he did so, and that no Œcumenical council or Pope has power to deprive the Roman Church of its prerogatives as the Holy Apostolic See of Peter. In point of fact, the Roman Pontiff has always had the primacy by virtue of the succession to St. Peter, the first Bishop of Rome. There can not be a higher or more dignified title than this. The more high-sounding titles which by degrees came into use, archbishop, primate, patriarch, sovereign pontiff, merely express in terms what is implicitly contained in the title of bishop, and add nothing to it. The various titles were not deliberately and officially adopted which after a lapse of time were appropriated to the several grades of metropolitans. They came into use, naturally and gradually, as the civil and political titles of honor did in the Roman Republic. At Constantinople, which was an artificial fabrication, a New Rome, imitating and rivaling the Old Rome, all kinds of ambitious and high-sounding titles were invented, to give a factitious splendor to civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries. Finally, the Bishop arrogated to himself, and vainly entreated the Pope to concede to him the title of Œcumenical Patriarch. But it is one of the most striking evidences that neither the ambition of the Roman pontiffs, nor the civil supremacy of Rome, nor the favor of emperors was the cause of the exaltation of the Roman See, that there was none of this ostentatious display and parade on the part of the successors of the Fisherman, whose official title has remained to this day, "Papa," "the Holy Father," "Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei."

The moral impossibility of exercising a minute jurisdiction over the vast territories of the empire, made it not only convenient but even necessary that the Pope should delegate a great portion of his supreme and universal power and authority to the superior metropolitans and, especially, to the patriarchs of the East, reserving only the greatest and most important causes, especially such as related to the patriarchs themselves, to his own court.

The Pope exercised the superior metropolitan jurisdiction, immediately in his own person in Italy, and in the missionary provinces created by bishops sent forth from Rome, somewhat after the same manner that William II. is King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany, there being also in the empire, kings of Bavaria, Saxony and Wurtemberg and several reigning dukes; so the Pope was a patriarch and also a universal primate, having several other patriarchs under his supreme authority. At last one of these patriarchs, the Bishop of Constantinople, caused all the eastern provinces to coalesce into one great corporation, styled himself Œcumenical Patriarch, and finally threw off all allegiance to the Pope, abjuring all communion with Western Christendom and setting up

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a schismatical, pseudo-orthodox Church as a rival to the true Church in communion with the Apostolic See of St. Peter. It is in this way that the terms " Greek Church," and " Roman Church," came into general use as the designations of the two great communions, separated from each other; the one by renunciation of the Roman supremacy in consequence of the revolt of the Bishop of the chief see of the old Greek empire, the other by steadfast loyalty to the Bishop of Old Rome and stability upon the original foundation on which Christ built the Church, the Rock of Peter.

These designations can be used in a Catholic sense, yet they easily lend themselves to un-Catholic usage. " Ecclesia " denotes any Christian congregation, or temple of Christian worship. The English word " Church," and the German " Kirche," signifies etymologically, " The house or household of the Lord," which is equivalent to the Greek and Latin " Ecclesia." In their highest sense, these terms signify the " One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church " of the creed, that universal society which Christ founded. But they are also used to denote larger and smaller divisions of the universal Church, and the material temple in which the faithful assemble. We can speak of the Roman Church, meaning the Diocese of Rome, of the Church of Alexandria, Antioch or Jerusalem, of the African, Gallican or American Church, of cathedral and parish churches. It is even customary to give the same name to societies and temples which are sectarian.

This kind of language easily lends itself, however, to the service of totally un-Catholic ideas, and is in the highest degree ambiguous, especially when the Greek Church is put in opposition to the Roman Catholic Church, or even called the Greek Catholic Church in opposition to the Roman Catholic Church, the idea is conveyed to the minds of non-Catholics, that the so-called Greek Church is a society, independent and complete in its ecclesiastical organization, and standing upon its own legitimate foundation, just as the Roman empire, the German empire, and the Republic of the United States are each fully constituted and independent nations. A certain section of Episcopalians place what they are pleased to call the Anglican Church on the same level, in accordance with their theory of a Catholic Church divided into three great branches. Evidently all such conceptions are based on an idea which denies or ignores the true doctrine of Catholic unity. It is the idea of union by the aggregation of bishoprics according to ecclesiastical law, into patriarchal, quasi-patriarchial or national corporations, or into alliances among such bodies, all of which are political or purely voluntary constructions built on the foundation of the Episcopal hierarchy. All other Protestants go further; and reduce the " historic episcopate " to the same category of human development,

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while many of them, in like manner, discard the creed and the inspiration of the Scriptures.

The Catholic Church is Roman in the sense that the See of Rome is her centre of unity, and its Bishop her supreme head; but the Church is not Italian, Latin, Greek, Oriental or Western, because it is Œcumenical. It is more correct to speak of the Greek rite, than of the Greek Church, and of the Latin rite than of the Latin Church.

Besides those provinces of the Catholic Church which use the Latin rite, whose Vulgate version of the Bible and whose liturgy are in the Latin language, there are other provinces whose Vulgate version of the Bible is in the Greek language, and their liturgy also Greek.

There are other Oriental rites also, and other liturgies, Syrian, Arabic and Sclavonian.

There are eighty-six bishops of these Oriental rites in communion with the Holy See. The great majority of the Oriental bishops, however, are in schism, and some of them in heresy as well. All those who are in communion with the schismatical patriarch of Constantinople make up what is commonly called the "Greek Church" of the modern period, *i.e.*, of the past eight centuries. When the Greek Church of the first ten centuries is spoken of, all the provinces using the Greek language are intended, and under the more general denomination of the Eastern Church, all the other provinces of the great Oriental world are included.

Since the great religious revolt of the sixteenth century, all Protestants, and especially the Episcopalians, have been disposed to fall back on the schismatical Greek Church for encouragement. The ancient bishoprics, possessing an unbroken external succession from apostolic and primitive times, a faith of acknowledged orthodoxy, a priesthood of acknowledged validity, the ancient liturgies and rites, with many millions of subjects, and disowning allegiance to the Roman See, appeared to give a powerful backing to the Western revolt. Many efforts were made to secure the sympathy and support of the Eastern bishops, but in vain. In modern times, these efforts have been renewed by the Episcopalians of England and America, with equal ill success. What success has been attained in gaining some recognition and alliance from Eastern bishops by Protestant missionaries, has been among those sects which are not in communion with the so-called Orthodox Church of the East.

At the Parliament of Religions, Dr. Schaff presented a paper on Church Unity, which brought into the foreground the idea of Catholicism existing in two great divisions—the Roman and the Greek. In his plan of reunion, the first and most important step is the reconciliation of these two great hierarchies.

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." First of all, the two great divisions of Catholicism should come to an agreement among themselves on the disputed questions about the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit, and the authority of the Bishop of Rome. On both points, the Greek Church is supported by the testimony of antiquity, and could not yield without stultifying her whole history. Will Rome ever make concessions to history? We hope that she will."[1]

Here is the Protestant contention distinctly stated. The Greek Church is regarded as a great historical monument, testifying to the ancient episcopal hierarchy in the Church, as constituted without any papal supremacy. Whether this hierarchy of co-equal bishops, confederated by purely ecclesiastical law, was or was not of apostolic or divine institution, is a matter of dispute among Protestants. They are all glad, however, to range themselves behind the Greeks in the contention against Papal supremacy, and Dr. Schaff is a spokesman for the whole of them, from the highest churchmen to the lowest latitudinarians, with some exceptions of men who know history too well to fall into the pit which Dr. Schaff has digged for the unwary. "Antiquity," it is claimed, sustains the cause of the modern Greek Church, as in opposition to the Church of Rome. That is to say, that while the Greek Church has remained unaltered in doctrine and polity, keeping on the same ground where East and West formerly stood together in harmonious union, the Roman Church has changed and innovated by inserting a new clause in the Creed, and by usurping a supremacy over the Eastern Patriarchs.

The doctrinal question can be dropped. First, because, if the claim to supremacy and infallibility be justified, the accusation of error in faith against the Roman Church is absurd. And second, because the perfect agreement of the Latin and Greek doctors on the article of the Procession was proved at Florence.

The one question at issue is the supremacy, and we come now to the particular topic of this article, viz.: "The Testimony of the Greek Church to the Roman Supremacy." So far is it from being true that the revolt of Constantinople is justified by the testimony of antiquity and the whole past history of the Greek Church, that the great mass of evidence for the apostolic origin of the Roman See of St. Peter comes from the East. The Eastern Patriarchs, the Eastern Councils, the Greek Fathers and historians, are the principal witnesses, not only to the primacy of honor, but also to the supreme authority and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome from the first to the eleventh century. Ever since the middle of the eleventh century, when Michael Cerularius was excommunicated,

[1] *World Parl. of Relig.*, edited by Dr. Barrows, vol. ii., p. 1191.

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the Greek Church has continued to be a witness to the Papal supremacy. For, it maintains the authority of the first seven councils, of the Greek Fathers, and liturgies, with all their testimonies to Catholic doctrine and polity; it was represented at Lyons and Florence, and its prelates, even in their present state of schism, admit that primacy among the patriarchs has always rightfully belonged to the bishop of Rome.

The historical fact of the universal recognition of the primacy throughout the East, is an irrefragable proof that it was derived from the apostolic principate of St. Peter; that this origin was universally acknowledged from the beginning; that it was understood to imply a true supremacy residing in the successors of St. Peter, *ex jure divino*, and not merely *ex jure ecclesiastico*.

Christianity was of Eastern origin, and was transplanted into the West. Roman Christianity began in the Jewish colony, and in the popular estimation was identified with Judaism, and therefore regarded as a foreign religion. The Gentile element in early Christianity was chiefly Greek. In a certain sense, we may say, that the Greek Church of the first and second centuries was the Catholic Church. The Bible of Christians was the Greek version; the scriptures of the New Testament were written during the last half of the first century in Greek, with the exception of the gospel of St. Matthew which was speedily translated into Greek; the first liturgy of the Roman Church was Greek, and St. Clement of Rome wrote in Greek. Latinity did not begin to supersede the Grecian element in the local church of the Romans, but in Africa, the country of Tertullian, St. Cyprian, and later of St. Augustine. Although St. Irenæus calls the Roman Church "antiquissima," this cannot be meant in the sense of the earliest in time, for, although there may have been a few Christians in Rome soon after A.D. 30, there was no episcopal see there until some years later. Jerusalem was first in time; it was the cradle of Christianity; and it would seem to have had by far the best title to the name and dignity of "Mother and Mistress of Churches." Nevertheless, for the first forty years after its *foundation*, it was merely the ecclesiastical centre of the Jewish Christians of Palestine. When it arose again from its ruins, in the fourth century, it remained a suffragan see of Cæsarea and Antioch, and was not raised to the rank of a patriarchate until two centuries later. When the Nonjurors proposed to the Greek Synod of Bethlehem to give it the primacy, their proposal was scornfully rejected.

Antioch was the first See of St. Peter, the place where the name of Christian originated, the centre from which the missionary expeditions of St. Paul and the other apostolic men radiated, the metropolis of the most extensive and important of the great pa-

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triarchates, the seat of an illustrious school of sacred learning and eloquence. Alexandria was another illustrious seat of learning. From the fourth century onward, Constaninople steadily increased in political and ecclesiastical splendor, rivalling, excelling and finally subjugating the other Eastern patriarchates and exarchates.

The first eight Œcumenical councils were all celebrated in the East, within the patriarchate of Constantinople, and four of them in the city itself, all chiefly composed of Oriental prelates and under the protection of Byzantine emperors. The East was the greatest field of intellectual activity and strife, and the majority of Catholic doctors, as well as of heresiarchs, were Orientals. Roman culture, Latin philosophy and literature were borrowed from Greece. Rome conquered by her arms and genius for law and government. Nevertheless, the Greeks despised the Romans as barbarians, and regarded the western world very much as we regard India and China, as the English regarded America in the eighteenth century.

The transfer of the centre of Christianity from the East to Rome is, therefore, an extraordinary historical phenomenon which demands an explanation. There must have been a sufficient reason and an efficient cause for the primacy universally conceded to the Church and the Bishop of Rome. Those who deny that St. Peter, as the Supreme Head of the Church, established in Rome the metropolis of the universal Church and bequeathed his supremacy to his successors in that See, must account for the Roman primacy as the outgrowth of circumstances, of ecclesiastical development, institutions and laws, as the result of a continuous and successful effort of the bishops of Rome to extend and increase their power and to sustain their claim to a primacy by divine right, derived from St. Peter. These anti-papal controversialists, while they agree in their fundamental premises that the primacy was of apostolic and purely human origin, differ widely among themselves in their theories about the rise and progress of the papal supremacy. They differ in respect to the nature of apostolic Christianity and the primitive faith and polity of the Christian Church. Dr. Harnack, Dr. Fisher, Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Pusey and others have different points of departure for their processes of historical construction. They represent, in a general way, several distinct sections of the polemic host arrayed against Rome. Some who attempt to trace the origin of Catholicism and the papacy from the mediæval period backward to their beginnings make the Creed itself the result of a transformation of the Gospel. Others accept the Creed in their own sense as apostolic, with variations of this sense all the way from a point the most distant from the Catholic sense to one nearest to it or identical with it.

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For some, the first transformation of polity was a change from the purely congregational to the presbyterian form, out of which arose the episcopal order, which was further modified by the development of metropolitan, patriarchal and papal systems. Others, again, ascribe the institution of the episcopate to the apostles, and the very highest churchmen, with the Greeks, regard the confederation of bishops under metropolitans, primates, patriarchs, and even an honorary precedence and primacy of the Bishop of Rome, as a legitimate ecclesiastical development of the hierarchial order. Not only so, but many Protestants, in the strict sense, consider the papacy as a most useful and even necessary human institution for the whole period of the eight centuries following the epoch of the first council of Nicea. All are agreed that the episcopal hierarchy was universally organized before the end of the third century. The question is, therefore, reduced to this for all who maintain the purely human rise and progress of Roman supremacy: what were the causes of this concentration of power and authority in the Roman Church? what were the circumstances which enabled the Roman pontiffs to assert and exercise successfully their claim to universal supremacy? They may all be reduced to this: that Rome was the capital city and centre of the Roman empire. This fact gave to the Bishop of Rome the opportunity of exercising a wide influence. Again, the great wealth of the Christian community in Rome gave to the chiefs and rulers the means of an abundant and wide-spreading charity which endeared them to Christians everywhere, who were the recipients of their bounty. The unwavering orthodoxy of the Roman Church made it a principal bulwark of the Catholic faith against heresies, and the incessant stream of evangelists who went forth to convert the heathen peoples of the imperial colonies brought these missionary churches into close and filial relations with their Mother Church. Once admitting that the entire hierarchical order in the Catholic Church arose and was formed gradually by a process of development from more simple elements, it may appear probable that Rome might have become, through the operation of causes above enumerated, a patriarchal see, with an honorary precedence over Alexandria and Antioch. Such an honorary precedence does not, however, imply a subjection of these sees to the Roman See. The order of rank and precedence among metropolitans and those superior metropolitans who presided over several provinces, the chief of whom were the great patriarchs, did not involve an order of dependence in ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Each metropolitan was confined to his own province, and each patriarch to his own patriarchate. The patriarch of Antioch had no rights over Asia Minor where Ephesus presided, over Pontus, or the provinces be-

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yond the bounds of the Roman empire. Alexandria had no rights over Antioch and its subordinate provinces. Whenever one patriarch invaded the domain of another, his acts were met with a protest and resistance, and were eventually annulled, except in the case of Constantinople, whose usurpations by degrees obtained a legalization *de facto* by imperial authority and the submission of Eastern prelates. As a patriarch merely, and the first in dignity of the patriarchs, the Bishop of Rome could never have acquired and exercised those rights over Alexandria, Antioch and, afterwards, Constantinople, as well as over all the other Eastern provinces, which metropolitans possessed over their suffragan sees. All these rights were prerogatives of a universal primacy, which was a supremacy of authority and jurisdiction, from which all privileges of metropolitans of every grade were derived and was itself of apostolic origin.

The fact that the pre-eminence of episcopal sees generally corresponded to the political pre-eminence of the cities in which they were placed does not prove that the importance of the city was the cause of the dignity of the church. It proves only the wisdom of the Apostles and their successors in selecting those local points and centres which were the most fit and suitable for the radiation of Christian influences into their surrounding spheres. Rome was the centre of the world, and, therefore, it was the best seat for the central power of Christianity. Alexandria was the second and Antioch the third city in the empire, and, therefore, they were the most suitable seats for the two churches which shared with Rome, in a subordinate sense, the dignity of being Petrine sees, which raised them far above all other metropolitan centres. In like manner the other quasi-patriarchal, primatial and metropolitan sees were generally located in cities which had a relative political pre-eminence, and the same policy has been adhered to down to the present day. Still, these pre-eminent rights of certain episcopal sees were founded on ecclesiastical law; they remained intact when the respective cities lost their pre-eminence, and there have been notable exceptions to the general rule. London, Paris, Madrid, Brussels and Vienna have never been the seats of primacies. In the United States, Baltimore takes the precedence of New York and Philadelphia. In ancient times whenever a bishop claimed promotion in the hierarchy because his episcopal city had obtained a higher political dignity the claim was resisted, and the fact that a see was apostolic gave it a greater lustre than any which could be ascribed to any other cause.

No bishop ever claimed to possess authority over other bishops, *jure divino*, except the Bishop of Rome. In the episcopate, all bishops were *jure divino* equal, and the primacy of the successor

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of St. Peter was a superiority of a higher order not given by episcopal consecration, nor by lawful appointment to his bishopric, considered as a merely human and ecclesiastical conveyance of episcopal mission and jurisdiction; but by an immediate delegation from Jesus Christ, which He had promised to confer always on the subject lawfully selected and presented to Him as the successor to St. Peter in his Roman episcopate. By apostolic ordinance, the lawful election to the episcopal chair of St. Peter in the Roman Church carried with it the inheritance of the special promises made to St Peter as the Prince of the Apostles. The Catholic hierarchy being thus established by the divine and unchangeable law of Christ upon the foundation of the primacy and the episcopate, it was left to this hierarchy, *i.e.*, to St. Peter and his colleagues, to the successors of St. Peter in the primacy and the successors of the Apostles in the episcopate to complete the organization of the Church by ecclesiastical law, to give a constitution to the confederation of bishops and churches, by which they should be united in provinces, should assemble in councils, and be subordinated to presiding bishops, holding in their respective circles a place of primacy, in an inferior degree similar to that of the Pope in the universal Church. Manifestly, it was impossible, especially during times of persecution, that St. Peter and his successors should exercise throughout the whole Church personally and immediately all the power vested in the primacy. It was necessary for the fulfilment of the apostolic mission that St. Peter should have colleagues in the great work of founding the Church, empowered to act with plenary authority, so that all their legislation was virtually the exercise of his own supreme power, having at least his tacit sanction, and in accordance with the policy adopted from the beginning by the common counsel of the whole apostolic college, in concurrence with their chief, and which was the carrying out of the commands which they had received from the Lord in person and by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit whom He sent according to His promise to be their guide in fulfilling the sublime mission which He had entrusted to them.

After the death of St. Peter and of the other Apostles, it was equally impossible for the chief pastor, who sat in St. Peter's chair, to exercise personally and immediately the whole care of supervision over the bishops of the world. A large part of it was delegated to metropolitans and primates. The metropolitan order was universally established, and was recognized by the Council of Nicea as existing by immemorial usage. It must have been, therefore, established by the Apostles and the first apostolic missionaries who founded the churches to the remotest bounds of the empire and beyond. The superior dignity and authority of Alex-

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andria and Antioch were undoubtedly conferred on them by St. Peter. The authority of metropolitans was in general very limited, jurisdiction was principally in the hands of the bishops, and legislative control over bishops was mostly exercised by provincial and plenary councils. It was universally recognized that the bishops of the greater sees did not possess any authority over their suffragans *ex jure divino*, but only *ex jure ecclesiastico*. Those who admit no higher right in the Bishop of Rome, and who maintain that his universal primacy only grew up gradually, after a long lapse of time, must therefore ascribe its cause to the imperial supremacy of Rome and to the ambition of the Roman Pontiffs, who availed themselves of their advantageous position to increase and extend their pre-eminence in the hierarchy. But this theory is historically and rationally untenable. The primacy of the Popes in the entire Catholic Church was altogether superior to any local primacy, even of patriarchs. It overruled the authority of all the greater prelates, and of councils. It was a true supremacy. The Greek Church would never have submitted to such a supremacy as a merely ecclesiastical institution, and as a sequel of the political supremacy of Rome. It is difficult to see how the Bishop and Church of Rome could derive any dignity or advantage from the imperial court when they were imprisoned in the catacombs and subject to the most dreadful persecutions, from the time of St. Peter to that of St. Sylvester; from the epoch of Nero to that of Diocletian. When Constantine became emperor, he transferred his imperial seat to Constantinople. After him, and during the time which elapsed until the downfall of the western empire, Rome was mostly deserted by the emperors and fell into political decadence. During the succeeding centuries, and until the firm establishment of the papal principality, Rome and Italy were subject to a series of disasters, in which the whole ecclesiastical, civil and social order seemed at times in danger of being overwhelmed, and Rome was for a time a mere heap of ruins. Yet it was during the period between the fourth and the twelfth centuries that the enemies of the papacy maintain that the Roman supremacy developed toward its culmination in Gregory VII. and Innocent III.

The ambition of the Popes furnishes no sufficient reason for the fact that their supremacy was acknowledged and submitted to throughout the East, to say nothing of the West. There is as much reason for ascribing ambition to the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and other great prelates, as to the Popes. Rival ambitions would counteract each other. From the fourth century onward, there were certainly some ambitious prelates at Constantinople, supported by still more ambitious emperors, who aspired at spiritual as well as civil dominion, and were jealous of Roman

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supremacy. Nevertheless, Constantinople, although rebelling at intervals, submitted to the Roman supremacy, until the middle of the eleventh century, and twice afterwards renewed its allegiance, viz., at Lyons and at Florence. A pre-eminence founded merely on ecclesiastical law could not have been preserved and extended by the ambition and usurpation of Roman Pontiffs, into a supremacy, without any imperial power to support it. Alexandria and Antioch were unable to keep the rights which were sanctioned by the Council of Nicea, although supported by all the authority which the Popes were able to exercise, and the Second and Fourth Councils assumed the power, without hesitation, to change the ecclesiastical law which regulated the respective rank and jurisdiction of the principal Eastern sees.

A purely ecclesiastical primacy of the Roman Church would have had no secure ground to stand on, against the combined ambition of Byzantine prelates and emperors. Much less could an ambitious usurpation of authority have had any chance of success.

But it was not a rival ambition of exalting the new Rome alone, which placed an obstacle in the way of exalting and extending the supremacy of the Old Rome. Higher motives impelled the great prelates of the East and also of the West to resist all exercise of authority by the Roman Pontiff which they regarded as an abuse or a usurpation, and to defend everything which seemed to them to be an invaded right. In the first half of the second century St. Polycarp steadily though amicably withstood the effort to bring the churches of Asia Minor into conformity with the Paschal Rite of the Roman Church, and a half century later, Polycrates of Ephesus obstinately and not so amicably renewed the contest with Pope Victor. In the middle of the third century occurred the famous conflict between St. Cyprian, St. Firmilian and the African bishops on the one side, and Pope St. Stephen on the other, concerning heretical baptism. Every century has a record in its history of contentions between the Papacy and some portion of the Episcopate. The Holy See has always been victorious, and although schisms and heresies have separated multitudes of the faithful, and many priests and bishops from her communion, the unity of the Catholic Church in loyal allegiance to its Head has been ever more and more consolidated, and has never before been so perfect as it is at the present moment.

This is a wonderful and a unique phenomenon. It cannot be explained by merely natural causes, or by the method in which the rise and progress of great political empires are explained according to the principles of the history of philosophy. The Roman supremacy has been very little indebted to the power and influence which the Popes have held by a precarious tenure as temporal sov-

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ereigns, or to the support of the civil power in Christendom, with which they have been almost always engaged in contention, and which has generally sided with every ecclesiastical party and faction in the episcopate which has been in any way hostile to the Papacy. Even during the period of the greatest temporal glory of the Papacy, the dominion of the Pope in the political order was only accidentally and indirectly temporal, but essentially and principally spiritual. During those early ages which elapsed before the formation of western Christendom, the Roman supremacy was purely spiritual, a power in the intellectual and moral order, over the minds and consciences of Christian rulers in Church and State, and of the Christian people. What was the sufficient reason, the vital principle, the active force of this spiritual power? If its supernatural character and divine origin be denied, some adequate natural cause, and some human origin historically verifiable must be assigned. Rome subdued the East by arms and policy. But the supremacy in arts remained with the conquered Greeks. They retained the intellectual superiority, and were the masters of their conquerors in philosophy, literature and the fine arts. The Roman Church had no coercive power over Eastern churches, and sent forth no ecclesiastical proconsols to govern them There were no Roman academies to vie with or to surpass those of Alexandria and Antioch. The great fathers, doctors, and other literary luminaries of the early ages who were of the Greek Church outnumber their Latin compeers, and have but a few equals among them. The Roman Christians understood better how to die for the faith than to argue for it; they preached the gospel more by martyrdom than by eloquence. The great advocates and defenders of the faith against heresies, were chiefly Greeks, and the East was the principal seat of the intellectual warfare of giants, whose decisive battles were fought in the first six Œcumenical councils.

It was not as the seat and centre of philosophy, theology, sacred science and intellectual superiority that the Roman Church was pre-eminent in that ancient Christendom, and sent forth that attractive power which caused all the other churches to obey the law of gravitation which retained them in their orbits of revolution, like planetary spheres circling round their sun. Rome was not a successful competitor in the schools with Alexandria and Antioch. She was the mother and mistress of churches, a tribunal, judging and not disputing, in controversies of faith. Her standard and rule was the apostolic tradition, and not any philosophical or theological criterion derived from science and reasoning. Her authority was acknowledged, her decisions were submitted to, and those who resisted were eventually condemned by the universal

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Church. Rome triumphed over patriarchs, emperors, councils and all hostile powers. There were schisms and heresies of very threatening aspects; but they were either extinguished or driven to take the form of sects, condemned and excluded from Catholic communion. There was a chronic reluctance in the eastern prelates to render a full and hearty obedience to the papal authority. But this very fact is an evidence that the authority existed, was exercised and was continually exacting and enforcing obedience, even from the emulous and recalcitrant patriarchs of Constantinople, and from the emperors who usurped ecclesiastical and spiritual authority.

Dr. Schaff's assertion that the whole past history of the Greek Church sustains the claim of the modern group of sects who are classed together under that denomination, to autonomy and independence, and is a testimony against Roman supremacy, is absolutely false. The precise contrary is the truth. The exercise of that supreme authority and power by the Popes which surpasses all pre-eminence of metropolitans and patriarchs, was for centuries chiefly in the East. The great mass of testimony to the Roman supremacy during the first eight centuries, is furnished by the Eastern Church. Eastern Councils, Greek doctors and fathers, eastern prelates and emperors, Greek historians, the records of the dealings of Popes with orthodox and heretical or schismatical bishops and civil rulers in the Oriental Empire, make up a colossal monument, the testimony of the Greek Church to Roman supremacy.

All causes and reasons for this extraordinary phenomenon within the sphere of purely human relations and ecclesiastical law being wholly insufficient, it is necessary to assign another and a higher adequate cause and sufficient reason.

There is but one sufficient reason which can be assigned. This is, that from the very beginning the primacy of St. Peter, as the Prince of the Apostles and the universal Pastor of the flock of Christ—bishops and clergy as well as the faithful—was everywhere and by all acknowledged as a first principle of Christianity, and that the bishop of Rome was the recognized and undoubted successor of St. Peter in his primacy. Those who deny the primacy of St. Peter must give a reasonable explanation of the origin of the universal belief in it. Those who deny that the Bishop of Rome succeeded to the primacy of St. Peter, whether they admit his personal primacy in the apostolic college or not, and whether they admit or deny that he was the first bishop of Rome, must explain the origin of the claim of the Roman Pontiffs to be the successors of St. Peter both in his episcopate and primacy. They must reasonably prove that this claim was founded either entirely, or, at least, in respect to the primacy of the Roman Church, on

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illusion or imposture. And besides this, they must reasonably prove how this claim, whether an illusion or an imposture, was so successfully maintained and enforced by the Roman Pontiffs that it was universally submitted to by the whole Church, and especially by the Oriental bishops, patriarchs and emperors.

The claim to a primacy inherited from St. Peter—constantly made by the Popes and admitted by the universal episcopate—was entirely distinct from and superior to any kind of metropolitan, even patriarchal pre-eminence of honor and dignity and presidency over the bishops of suffragan sees in the external administration. It was a special trust of the deposit of faith, of the Apostolic tradition, by the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, constituting the Pope the chief ruler and the chief doctor of the Church, in the commission to preserve and the authority to teach this revealed doctrine to the whole world during all ages. This trust emanated from the Sovereign High Priest and Bishop of the Church, Jesus Christ, and was accompanied by the special gifts of the Holy Spirit which were necessary for its due fulfillment. It made the See of St. Peter the citadel of the faith, the centre of the whole circumference of the Catholic episcopate—the teaching Church, with which every church must be in agreement as the sole, indispensable condition of Catholic communion. By another figure it made the Roman Church the rock and foundation of the whole ecclesiastical edifice. This kind of primacy implies and requires indefectibility. Since the Church subsists principally in its Bishop, the indefectibility of the Roman Church, clearly understood, logically and adequately formulated and defined, is identical with the infallibility of the series of Bishops of the Roman Church, the Primates of Christendom. The entire doctrine explicitly defined by the Florentine and Vatican Councils was, therefore, implicitly and virtually contained in the original and universal confession that the successors of St. Peter in his Roman chair had inherited all the prerogatives of his primacy. The East did not receive the Apostolic tradition, the creed, the New Testament, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, from the Roman and Western Church, much less could it have received and adopted as a principle and a dogma the primacy of St. Peter as attached to his Roman chair and bequeathed to his successors from a source extraneous to itself and at second hand. The streams of Catholic tradition in the channels of the Apostolic Churches of the East flowed immediately from the original Apostolic source. Antioch received its tradition from St. Peter, Alexandria from St. Mark, Ephesus, Corinth and Thessalonica from St. Paul. The testimony of the Greek Church to the Roman supremacy is, therefore, the testimony of a number of original and independent witnesses, who were in some cases re-

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luctant witnesses, testifying against their own human and worldly interests.

A complete presentation of this testimony would require a volume, and even a concise epitome would demand a long article at the very least.

This work has been done, however, frequently and thoroughly in the treatises which have been published on the topic of the papal supremacy.

For the present purpose it will suffice to cite a few testimonies to the recognition of Roman supremacy by the Greek Church. Enough has been said to prove that this recognition sprang from an original and indigenous tradition in the Greek Church, and not from any Western source or any subjugation of Eastern patriarchs by the usurpation of the Popes.

The gist of the contention is that the East is an independent witness, whose testimony proves the Apostolic institution of the primacy as derived from the primacy of St. Peter. No matter from what period this testimony is derived—from the fifth, the eighth or the fifteenth century—the consent of the Greek Church to the Roman claim is a conclusive proof that it sprang from the tradition of the primitive ages. And although the Church of Constantinople has no distinct history and tradition during the first three centuries, yet the record of its ecclesiastical relations with the See of Rome from the fourth to the eleventh century affords the most irresistible evidence of the pervasive and dominant conviction of the *jure divino* supremacy of the See of Peter throughout the Eastern world. There were good emperors and prelates, and even some who were saintly, in the series of Byzantine civil and ecclesiastical rulers. Yet during the second and third quarters of the fourth century these rulers were heretics, as were, likewise, several of their successors, from Nestorius to Photius, besides those who assumed an attitude bordering on schism or actually schismatical. The spirit of ambition possessed the Church of Constantinople, and it continued in a career of usurpation and rivalry with Rome until at last Photius and Michael Cerularius consummated the fatal separation of all the Eastern patriarchates from the Roman Church, from which the modern Greek schism dates its origin.

From the fourth to the eleventh century there was a series of acts of submission on the part of the emperors and bishops to the Roman supremacy.

If these are regarded as spontaneous, they argue a hold of the papal claims on the mind and conscience of these rulers which was in the long run irresistible. If, and so far as they were more or less involuntary, they argue this hold upon the general mind

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and conscience of the Eastern Church to such a degree that it compelled the acquiescence of the imperial and patriarchal court. Any one who will read the able and interesting articles of Mr. Harrison in two recent numbers of the "Fortnightly Review," will apprehend how impossible it would have been for the Roman Church to have preserved its primacy after the beginning of the fifth century, and to have triumphed, as it did, in the councils from the third to the eighth, in the face of that superb New Rome on the Bosphorus, unless the primacy had derived from an acknowledged *jus divinum* given to St. Peter's chair.

I will now cite two or three instances of the clear and authoritative assertion of the Papal Supremacy in the face of Constantinople and the whole Eastern Church, with the unanimous assent of the orthodox prelates and ruling powers in the state.

At the Council of Ephesus, the legate Philip said:

"It is doubtful to none, yea, rather it has been known to all ages, that the holy and most blessed Peter, the Prince and Head of the Apostles, the Pillar of the Faith and Foundation of the Catholic Church, received from our Lord Jesus Christ the keys of the kingdom, and to him was given power to bind and to loose sins; who, even until now and always, both lives and exercises judgment in his successors. Wherefore, our holy and most blessed Pope Celestine, the Bishop, his successor in order and holder of his place, has sent us to the holy Synod as representatives of his person."

This language was used in a Council over which the Patriarch of Alexandria presided by a Papal commission. The Patriarch of Constantinople was the criminal on whom judgment was pronounced. The Patriarch of Antioch was his friend and advocate and was keeping aloof from the synod. The emperor, aided by his courtiers, was the protector of Nestorius. The declaration of Philip is not only a testimony to the claim of the Pope to be the supreme judge of the faith and of the accusation of heresy against a patriarch, but also of the universal belief of the Church in his full and supreme prerogatives as the successor of St. Peter. There was not a whisper of dissent from any quarter. And the issue of the Council was the confirmation of the sentence against Nestorius, his banishment, and the excommunication of all his obstinate adherents.

Pope Hormisdas, who ascended the chair of St. Peter in A.D. 514, imposed the following formula of faith upon the eastern bishops after those protracted and disastrous troubles and disorders involving all the principal eastern churches, known in ecclesiastical history as the Acacian Schism:

"The first principle of salvation is to keep the rule of right faith and in no wise to deviate from the constitutions of the Fathers. And because the sentence of Our Lord Jesus Christ saying: 'Thou art Peter, and on this Rock I will build My

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Church,' cannot be passed over, those things which have been said have been proved by the issues of events, for in the Apostolic See religion has always been kept stainless. Therefore, not wishing to be separated from this faith and hope, and following in all things the constitutions of the Fathers, we anathematize all heretics, especially the heretic Nestorius, who was formerly the bishop of the city of Constantinople, and condemned in the Council of Ephesus by Celestine, Pope of the city of Rome, and by St. Cyril, the prelate of the city of Alexandria. Anathematizing together with him Eutyches and Dioscorus of Alexandria, condemned in the Holy Synod of Chalcedon, which we follow and embrace. Adding to these the parricide Timothy, surnamed Aelurus, and his disciple and follower, Peter; also Acacius, who remained in the fellowship of their communion, because one who partook in their communion deserved to share in their condemnation. Condemning likewise Peter of Antioch with the followers of the same and those of the others aforementioned. Therefore we receive and approve all the encyclical letters of Leo the Pope, which he wrote concerning the Christian religion.

"We, therefore, as we have said before, following in all things the Apostolic See, and proclaiming all its constitutions, we hope that we may remain with you in the one communion which the Apostolic See proclaims, in which is the entire and true solidity of the Christian religion. Promising also that the names of those who are sequestered from the communion of the Catholic Church, that is, who are not in agreement with the Apostolic See, are not to be recited during the sacred mysteries. This my profession I have subscribed with my own hand, and have presented to thee, Hormisdas, the holy and venerable Pope of the city of Rome."

This formula was subscribed by two thousand five hundred Oriental bishops, including three successive patriarchs of Constantinople, by the emperor, and, three centuries later, by all the prelates of the Eighth General Council, the Fourth of Constantinople.

At the Council of Florence, the representatives of the Greek Church united in the following definition of Papal Supremacy:

"We define that the Holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff holds the primacy over the universal world, and that this Roman Pontiff is the successor of the Blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and the true Vicar of Christ, and the head of the whole Church, and the Father and Teacher of all Christians; and that full power has been delivered to him in Blessed Peter by our Lord Jesus Christ, of feeding, ruling, and governing the universal Church, as is also contained in the acts of the Œcumenical councils and in the sacred canons."

The principal work of this Council, which continued for a year, was the investigation of the tradition of the Eastern Church and

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the doctrine of the Greek Fathers, with a comparison between the doctrines professed by the Greek and the Latin Church, in the view of making a harmonious Confession of Faith, which should restore the east to unity with the Roman See and the whole Western Church. The assent of the eastern prelates to the decrees of the Council was a judgment and a testimony that the Greek tradition was in conformity with the authoritative teaching of the Roman Church. In particular, the assent to the definition of the Roman Supremacy is a testimony to the submission of the early councils and the great churches of the east from the beginning to this supremacy. The most learned and distinguished of the Greek prelates, Bessarion, Archbishop of Nicaea, passed over to the Latin rite and remained in Italy. The metropolitan of Kieff established the union in his province, and laid the foundation of the Russian Catholic Church, which has continued, under grievous persecutions, to the present day.

The permanent reconciliation of the so-called Greek Church to the Apostolic See was not accomplished by the Council of Florence. The schism still exists, having its principal seat in Russia, where the czar is the real and governing head of the church of his empire. There are also remnants of Nestorian and Monophysite sects still existing, whose separation from the Greek Church dates back to the fifth century.

Prescinding from the attitude of these sects towards the Catholic Church, they are certainly a great and enduring historical monument of the Catholicism of the first thousand years of Christianity, and a witness against Protestantism. As to their present condition, and the prospects of their being reunited to the centre of Catholic unity, those who are more intimately conversant with the countries of the east and with European and Asiatic Russia and Turkey, are much better fitted to form a judgment and to give information than those who derive all knowledge of the subject from reading works written by western authors. What the future position and destiny of Constantinople may be, we may conjecture with more or less probability, but we cannot certainly foresee. Every Catholic must desire to see the Cross once more elevated above the dome of St. Sophia, and a Catholic patriarch seated on the episcopal throne of St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chrysostom, St. Germanus, and St. Ignatius.

Whatever signs of a new dawn may appear in the east will be welcomed, and whatever efforts our Holy Father Leo XIII. may make to bring about the reconciliation of Russia and the east to the Roman Church, will be aided by the devout prayers of all his faithful and loving children.

AUGUSTINE F. HEWIT.

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"WHO IS MY MOTHER?"

St. Matthew xii., 46–50; St. Mark iii., 31–36; St. Luke viii., 19–21.

THE text in question was of deep interest for many of the Fathers; in the sixteenth century it was a much used weapon of theological warfare, one day wielded by Protestant hands, and the next by Catholic; and since then every commentator of note has deemed it worthy of his best attention. It appears, though with small differences, in each of the three Synoptic Gospels.

First. We find it in the twelfth chapter of St. Matthew, the 46th to the 50th verse: "As he was yet speaking to the multitudes behold his mother and his brethren stood without, seeking to speak to him. And one said unto him: Behold thy mother and thy brethren stand without, seeking thee. But he answering him that told him said: Who is my mother, and who are my brethren? And stretching forth his hand towards his disciples, he said: Behold my mother and my brethren. For whosoever shall do the will of my Father, that is in heaven, he is my brother, and sister, and mother."

Second. It is given in the third chapter of St. Mark, the 31st to the 36th verse: "And his mother and brethren came: and standing without sent unto him calling him; and they say to him: Behold thy mother and thy brethren without seek for thee. And answering them he said: Who is my mother and my brethren? And looking round about on them who sat about him, he saith: Behold my mother and my brethren. For whosoever shall do the will of God, he is my brother and my sister and my mother."

Third. More briefly, yet with a new detail added, the text occurs in the eighth chapter of St. Luke, the 19th to the 21st verse: "And his mother and brethren came unto him, and they could not come at him for the crowd. And it was told him: Thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to see thee. Who answering said to them: My mother and brethren are they who near the word of God and do it."[1]

The interest attached to the text is due to two questions which it gives rise to: What relationship is signified by the word "brethren?" Is not Christ's indifference to the call of His kin-

[1] The passage varies slightly in different manuscripts; the differences are not of moment; here Dr. Challoner's translation of the Vulgate is followed.

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dred a rebuke to their conduct, in a sense, an aspersion upon their character?

To examine each question would require space far exceeding the limits of a single article; for this reason, and because it is hardly probable that a new word can be said upon the prior one for some time, this paper is confined to the consideration of the *ratio* of the Saviour's action, particularly towards His Blessed Mother.

In this investigation our study must begin by a review of the work previously done upon the text. This may be presented under two heads: 1. The comments of the Fathers; 2. Criticism upon the passage in after times—from the sixteenth century to our own days.

I.—The Comments of the Fathers.

A difficulty presents itself at the outset; for if we consider their remarks upon this passage, without taking account of the writings, which, in connection with other parts of Scripture and points of doctrine, treat of the Mother of God, we are apt to conclude that among them there was widespread disagreement as to the character and worth of the Virgin—disagreement in presence of which, a judgment in her favor is not to be thought of. Nothing could be more misleading than this conclusion—an assertion borne out by the frank words of a scholar who knew the Fathers as few men in this century, or in any century, have known them. . . . . "For myself," wrote Dr. Newman to Dr. Pusey, "hopeless as you consider it, I am not ashamed to take my stand upon the Fathers, and do not mean to budge. The history of their times is not yet an old almanac to me. Of course I maintain the value and authority of the 'schola,' as one of *loci theologici;* nevertheless I sympathize with Petavius in preferring to the 'contentions and subtle theology' of the Middle Age, that 'more elegant and fruitful teaching which is moulded after the image of erudite antiquity.' The Fathers made me a Catholic, and I am not going to kick down the ladder by which I ascended into the Church. It is a ladder quite as serviceable for that purpose now as it was twenty years ago. Though I hold as you know a process of development in Apostolic truth as time goes on, such development does not supersede the Fathers, but explains and completes them. And, in particular, as regards our teaching concerning the Blessed Virgin, with the Father I am content; and to the subject of that teaching I mean to address myself at once. I do so, because you say, as I myself said in former years, that 'that vast system as to the Blessed Virgin . . . . to all of us has been the special crux of the Roman system.' Here let me say, as on other points, the Fathers

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are enough for me. I do not wish to say more than they suggest to me, and I will not say less."[1]

Again he writes: "What are we to say of those who, through ignorance, run counter to the voice of Scripture, to the testimony of the Fathers, to the traditions of East and West, and speak and act contemptuously towards her whom her Lord delighteth to honor?"

It is well that these quotations of unquestionable authority be deeply impressed upon our minds, lest otherwise there exist a danger for us; namely, that we should, as already hinted at, shortsightedly balance one against another the passages about to be quoted from the ancients and conclude in uncertainty. Dr. Newman knew these by rote, and yet could in candor write categorically as he has been quoted.

We begin our study of the early writers with those who in treating of our text speak of the Blessed Virgin in terms which Catholics of to-day would never dream of using.

First among these, in point of time, was Tertullian. He writes: "There is some ground for teaching that Christ's answer denies His mother and brethren *for the present*, as even Apelles might learn. 'The Lord's brethren had not yet believed in Him,' as is contained in the gospel published before Marcion.[2] His mother equally is not described (non-demonstratur) as having adhered to Him, whereas other Maries and Marthas are frequent in intercourse with Him. . . . . When denying one's parents in indignation, one does not deny their existence, but censures their faults."[3] Plain as these words are, if in interpreting them we overlook two circumstances, they can mislead us as to Tertullian's real meaning. These circumstances are (*a*) His object, which was to refute Apelles and Marcion, who denied the reality of the human nature of Jesus. For this denial of theirs they claimed warrant in His saying: "Who is my mother?" It was Tertullian's intent to make clear that there was no such warrant; (*b*) He did not advance this interpretation as absolute; he would as willingly allow another which he thus proposes: "Christ, too, is wont to do to the utmost what He enjoins on others. How strange then would it certainly have been, if while He was teaching others not to esteem mother, or father, or brothers as highly as the word of God, He were Himself to leave the word of God as soon as His mother and His

[1] A letter addressed to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., on occasion of his "Eirenicon," published in the second volume of *Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching Considered*, p. 24. Improvement in our theological text-books has been earnestly urged of late by prominent churchmen. In line with such a movement would be the making of this "Letter" a leading section in the tract *De Beata Maria*.

[2] John vii., 5.

[3] *De Carne Christi*, vii.

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brethren were announced to Him! *He denied His parents then in the sense in which He has taught us to deny ours—for God's sake.*"[1] Hence this great writer may not be classed as unequivocally expounding the text to the detriment of the Virgin. Indeed, Dr. Newman could not use his words in the present instance as illustrating the distinction between doctrinal tradition and personal opinion in the Fathers, because it was not clear to him that Tertullian "included the Blessed Virgin in the unbelief he imputes to our Lord's brethren; on the contrary, he expressly separates her off from them."[2]

If Tertullian was first in point of time among the Fathers who admitted a possible reproach to the mother in the phrase of the Son, Chrysostom was foremost in the emphasis of his arraignment of Mary for sinning weakly and womanly. "I should not be candid," writes Dr. Newman, "unless I simply admitted that it (the saint's opinion), is as much at variance with what we hold, as it is *solitary and singular* in the writings of antiquity. The saint distinctly and (*pace illius*) needlessly, imputes to the Virgin Mary, on the occasion in question, the sin or infirmity of vainglory."[3]

The remarkable passage, as far as it serves the present purpose, runs in this wise: "To-day we learn something else even further, viz., that not even to bear Christ in the womb, and to have that wonderful childbirth, is any gain without virtue. And this is especially true from this passage, 'As he was yet speaking to the multitude, behold His mother and His brethren stood without, seeking to speak to Him.' . . . . This He said not as ashamed of His mother, nor as denying her who bore Him, for had He been ashamed He had not passed through that womb, but as showing that there was no profit to her thence, unless she did all that was necessary. For what she attempted came of overmuch love of honor; for she wished to show to the people that she had power and authority over her Son, in nothing even, as yet, having given herself airs (φανταζομενη) about Him. Therefore she came thus unseasonably. Observe then her and their rashness (ἀπονοιαν). . . . . Had He wished to deny His mother, then He would have denied when the Jews taunted Him with Her.[4] But no; He shows such care of her as to commit her as a legacy on the cross itself to the disciple whom He loved best of all, and to take anxious oversight of her. If He does not the same now, it is for her good and that of His brethren. They thought of Him as mere man, and man gloried in Him accordingly. He attacked this weakness not to expose,

[1] *De Carne Christi*, vii.

[2] *Anglican Difficulties*, vol. ii., p. 150 (Longmans, 1888). Tertullian's alternate exposition contains *in semine* the view Dr. Newman espouses as his own, *vide infra*.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 134.

[4] John vi., 42; Matthew xiii., 55.

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but to rid them of it. And consider not only the words which convey the considerate rebuke, but also the boldness and forwardness of His brethren, and He who utters it . . . . and what He aims at in uttering it; not, that is, as wishing to cast her into perplexity, but to release her from a most tyrannical affection (παθους), and to bring her gradually to the fitting thought concerning Him, and to persuade her that He is not only her son, but also her master."[1]

In these last words one would imagine that the saint, forgetting in presence of Mary his normal bent to deal severely with women, was softening somewhat; harshly as he speaks, he yet insists that on the part of Jesus the rebuke was "of the mildest."

Here it is allowable to note that neither Chrysostom nor Tertullian has eased the text of its difficulty; shifted it they certainly have. This aspect of the case will be dilated upon when the Protestant exegesis is reviewed.

We may now turn, with pleasure, to more favorable patristic comment. Few Fathers are quoted, for not so many of the earlier ones dealt with this text, and among these some but repeated what one or more of the others said.

St. Ambrose's homily is: *Mater et fratres mei, hi sunt qui verbum Dei audiunt et faciunt.* "He who practices virtue, and is himself an example of it, fills a two-fold office: he is at once law-giver and observer of the law. The Son of God, about to publish the precept that he who leaves not father and mother is unworthy of His discipleship, is Himself the first to consummate the sacrifice; not that He would refuse due reverence to His mother (for Himself it was who gave command: He that honors not father and mother let him die the death (Exod., xx.), but that He acknowledges a debt to His Father's ministry even greater than to His mother's love. Nevertheless, not slightingly (injuriose) are parents to be repelled; it is merely to teach us, then, that spiritual bonds are of holier sort (religiosiores) than fleshly."[2]

It is as though St. Ambrose repeated Tertullian's axiomatic word: "He denied His parents, then, in the sense in which he has taught us to deny ours, for God's sake"; but in St. Ambrose there is no room for even a hint that the mother was at fault.

St. Jerome seeing through to the real difficulty of the text, endeavors to dislodge it with his wonted skill: "The Lord being busy in the ministry of speaking, instructing the multitude, fulfiling His duty as a preacher, mother and brethren come, and stand outside, longing to speak with Him. Then a certain one announces to the Saviour that His mother and brethren are outside looking

[1] St Chrysostom, Hom. 44, in Matth.; 21 in Joan.
[2] *Expositio Evang. Sec. Luc.*, lib. vi., No. 36.

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for Him. To me it would seem that the fellow (iste) who spake *did not make the announcement ingenuously nor without forethought;* he would entrap the Saviour into preferring flesh and blood to His higher ministry. Wherefore the Lord, not to deny mother and brethren, *but to show the snare*, extends His hands over His disciples, saying: 'Ecce mater mea et fratres mei. Quicumque enim fecerit voluntatem Patris mei, qui in coelis est, ipse meus frater et soror, et mater est.'"

Later Fathers, after the fashion of Scripture-elucidation common in their day, take, if one may be permitted to use a paradox, a figurative sense of the text as its literal meaning. St. Gregory the Great, for example, renders it thus: "Jesus our Creator and Redeemer dissimulates His mother, and assigns those as His relations who are not of His flesh but of His spirit, saying: 'Who is my mother and who are my brothers?' Quicumque enim fecerit, etc. . . . . In which words He tells us what else but this, that He will acknowledge as of kinship with Him the faithful many converted from Gentilism; but Judea, whence He took His flesh, He will not own? Therefore, as His mother, when He would not, as it were, own her, was forced to stand without; in likewise the synagogue, not looking to His authority, thinking to keep the law, destroys its spirit, and stands without on guard over the dead letter."[1]

In instituting this comparison, St. Gregory did not mean the least reflection upon the Blessed Virgin. Hence, elsewhere, he speaks of Mt. Ephraim first as a figure of heaven, and then of "the most Blessed Mary ever Virgin Mother of God; a mountain indeed was she by the dignity of her election, looming far above every other mere creature."[2]

In other Fathers who have not treated of the verses we are engaged upon, there are, nevertheless, expressions which indicate clearly, as far as the mother of Jesus is concerned, what their exposition, had they given one, would have been. There is the word of St. Augustine, who, having noted that all men have sinned, subjoins: "Except the Virgin Mary, concerning whom for the honor of the Lord, I wish no question to be raised at all when we are treating of sins." "The unsullied shell," St. Proclus designates her, "which contains the pearl of great price." It is needless to repeat the more numerous testimonies which could be presented. The interested reader is confidently referred to the second section of chapter the fourth in Dr. Newman's "Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine" (from which the last extracts are taken), where he will find a masterly summary of them. An

[1] *XL. Hom. in Evang*, lib. i., hom. iii.

[2] Qu. i., *Reg. Exposit.* nes, lib. i., cap. i., No. 5.

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outcome, surely, of our own incomplete study is to realize how this Father of later days could fearlessly write: "In particular, as regards our teaching concerning the Blessed Virgin, with the Fathers I am content. . . . . Here, let me say, as on all other points, the Fathers are enough for me."

II.—Criticism Upon the Passage in After Times, From the Sixteenth Century to Our Own Days.

Christ's words, "Who is my mother," etc., once the leaven of religious trouble in the sixteenth century had begun to work powerfully, could not but become a source of contention between Protestants and Catholics. There is no need to rehearse the words of those who left the Mother Church then, if we would obtain an adequate notion of their comments. Their posterity, alas, reproduce as well their bitterness as their exegesis; and to-day, in their commentation, even scholarly men are as abusive as fanatics or demagogues. It were pleasanter could Protestant exposition of the text, free of distortion of and animadversion upon Catholic teaching be presented, but this seems hardly possible.

Would that the extracts about to be offered did not render this remark necessary!

Dr. Edersheim, an Oxford scholar of rare Talmudic erudition, writes: "Without going so far as, with some of the Fathers, to see pride or ostentation in this that the Virgin Mother summoned Jesus to her outside the house, since the opposite might as well have been her motive, we cannot but regard the words of Christ as the sternest prophetic rebuke of all Mariolatry, prayer for the Virgin's intercession, and, still more, of the strange doctrines about her freedom from actual and original sin up to their prurient sequence in the dogma of the 'Immaculate Conception.'"[1]

In like strain are the words of Dean Alford: "All these characteristics of the mother of our Lord are deeply interesting, both in themselves and as building up, when put together, the most decisive testimony against the fearful superstition which has assigned to her the place of a goddess in the Roman mythology."[2]

Misunderstanding, not to say misrepresentation, infects or completes Protestant comment, even when this goes not much farther than to coincide with Catholic opinion. The Rev. Dr. Plumptre writes: "The motive which led the mother and the brethren to speak to the Lord on this occasion lies on the surface of the narrative. Never before in His Galilean ministry had He stood out in such open antagonism to the scribes and Pharisees of Capernaum

[1] *The Life and Times of Jesus, the Messiah*, vol. i., p. 577.
[2] Greek Testament in Matt. xii.

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and Jerusalem. It became known that they had taken counsel with the followers of the tetrarch (Herod Antipas) against His life. Was He not going too far in thus daring them to their uttermost? Was it not necessary to break in upon the discourse which was so keen and stinging in its reproofs? The tone of protest and, as it were, disclaimer, in which He now speaks of this attempt to control and check his work, shows what their purpose was. . . . . *Behold my mother and my brethren.* The word asserts in its strongest form the truth which we all acknowledge, that though relationships involve duties which may not be neglected, spiritual relationships, the sense of brotherhood in a great cause, of devotion to the same great Master, are above them, and that when the two clash (as in the case supposed in chap. x., 37[1]) the latter must of right prevail. . . . . The words have naturally occupied a prominent position in the controversial writings of Protestants against what has been judged by them to be the idolatrous worship of the Virgin Mother by the Church of Rome, and it is clear that they have a very direct bearing on it. They do exclude the thought that her intercession is mightier to prevail than that of any other pure or saintly soul. Though spoken with no apparent reference to the abuses of later ages, the words are a protest, all the stronger because of the absence of such reference, against the excess of reverence which has passed into a *cultus*, and the practical adoration of dressed-up dolls into which that cultus has developed."[2]

These extracts fairly set forth Protestant views upon the text. Should an important detail be omitted, the contents of the last part of this paper are apt to supply it.

If we turn to the work of Catholic scripturists, we find that they have used to good purpose the learning inherited from antiquity, and even added to it. First among these up to his time was Joannes Maldonatus of the Society of Jesus. He offers an ingenious if somewhat far-drawn interpretation. He marks that the second evangelist does not say that Christ was beside Himself, but that *His brethren said so.*[3] Thence he infers: "It is not to be thought that they said so and really meant so; it was simply a pretext of theirs to deliver Christ out of the hands of the Phari-

[1] "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me."

[2] *The Handy Commentary*, St. Matthew, xii., 46.

[3] St. Mark, having named the Twelve whom Jesus chose to be with Him, tells of events following closely upon the Sermon on the Mount: multitudes so crowded about the house whither Jesus had gone that He or His apostles "could not so much as eat bread. And when his friends had heard of this they went out to lay hold on him; for they said: he is become mad."—Mark iii, 21. The chapter ends with the verses of our text.

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sees, for they had heard of their designs upon Him.[1] They came then filled with alarm for His safety, bringing His mother that they might the surer move Him. And so they would interrupt Him, even importune Him, for they dread an instant danger—nay, while He is speaking, the enemy may away with Him." Christ would not have Himself interfered with, uttering the pregnant words: "Who is my mother? . . . . Not that He denies His parents according to the flesh," repeats Maldonat from the Fathers, "but He gives nobler rank to those according to the spirit . . . . not denying the blessedness of that womb, but asserting the greater happiness of the mind which hears the word of God and fulfils it; not putting others above His own mother, but preferring His mother under one aspect to His mother under another, His mother doing God's word to His mother bearing Him in her womb or nourishing Him at her breast. For, therefore, is the mother of Christ most blessed of all, in that, above all, she heard the word of God and believed it.[2] . . . . Although by her body she was His real mother and James, Joses, Judas and Simon by their blood were of kin, nevertheless much more perfectly and with greater merit were they His relatives by this bond, that they did the will of His Father, who is in Heaven."[3]

An able living commentator, the Abbé Fillion, S. S., Professor of Sacred Scripture in the Seminary of Lyons, well represents the general exegesis of the present time, for which reason, though at the risk of some repetition, it is thought worth while to quote him: "*Quærentes loqui ei.* What did they wish to say to Him? The motive of this visit, which urged them to solicit Him pressingly, omitted by St. Matthew and St. Luke, is indicated in the singular expression of the second evangelist: *for they said, He is become mad.* Having learned that Jesus, in His exhaustless charity was giving Himself so wholly to the multitudes, that He sacrificed even the moments for taking bare nourishment, they cry out that He is beside Himself, and they come to lay hold upon Him, and to carry Him away with them. . . . . We hasten to add, that not all near to Jesus had part in this appreciation of His actions. . . . . The Blessed Virgin never let herself be deceived as to the work and character of her Son. Word coming to her that the position of Jesus was not without danger, she sought Him then, as she did later on in another hour of peril. For the rest, it is possible that 'the brethren' were not well disposed towards Him.—(John, vii.,

[1] "And the Pharisees going out made a consultation against him, how they might destroy him."—Matt. xii., 15.

[2] "And blessed art thou that hast believed, because those things shall be accomplished that were spoken to thee by God."—Luke i., 45.

[3] Comm. in iv. Evang. Joannis Maldonati, in Matt. xii., 46.

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5.) It is equally possible, that they had hurried to Him rather to solace and protect. . . . . *At Ipse respondens.* . . . . At first sight, the Lord's answer would appear hard upon His mother and His relations. It loses this semblance if we bear in mind . . . . that it was not addressed to these, but to those of His hearers who had not hesitated to interrupt Him, *dicenti sibi;* . . . . and that the Saviour wished to give a lesson of lofty disengagement from earthly affections, and of attachment to the concerns of Heaven—to God's interests. 'Non spernat matrem, sed anteponit Patrem.' —(Bengel). 'Ostendit se paternis ministeriis amplius quam maternis affectibus debere.'—St. Ambrose."[1]

An important addition to the Catholic literature upon the text, is Dr. Newman's fruitful unfolding of thoughts, which cover several verses in the Gospel, referring to the Virgin: "I observe, then, that when Our Lord commenced His ministry, and during it, as one of His chief self-sacrifices, He separated Himself from all ties of earth, in order to fulfil the typical idea of a teacher and priest, and to give an example to His priests after Him; and especially to manifest by His action the cardinal truth, as expressed by the prophet, 'I am the Lord, and there is no Saviour beside Me.' . . . . To this, His separation even from his mother, He refers by anticipation, at twelve years old, in His words, 'How is this that you sought me? Did you not know that I must be about My Father's business?' . . . . The separation from her, with whom He had lived thirty years and more, was not to last beyond the time of His ministry. She seems to have been surprised when she first heard of it, for St. Luke says, on occasion of His staying in the temple, 'they understood not the words which He spake to them.' Nay, she seems hardly to have understood it at the marriage-feast; but He, in dwelling on it more distinctly then, implied also, that it was not to last long. He said, 'What have I to do with thee? my hour is not yet come,' that is, the hour of his triumph, when His mother was to take her predestined place in His kingdom. In saying the hour was not come, He implied that the hour would come when He would have to do with her, and she might ask and obtain from Him miracles. Accordingly, St. Augustine thinks that that hour had come, when He said upon the cross, 'consummatum est,' and after this ceremonial estrangement of years, He recognized His mother, and committed her to His beloved disciple. Thus, by marking out the beginning and end of the period of exception, during which she could not exert her influence upon Him, He signifies more clearly by the contrast,

[1] *La Sainte Bible*, Paris, P. Lithielleux, Editeur. "Commentaries on the Four Evangelists."

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that her presence with Him, and her power, was to be the rule of His kingdom. In a higher sense than He spake to the apostles, He seems to address her in the words, 'Because I have spoken these things, sorrow hath filled your heart. But I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no man shall take from you.'"[1]

Whatever critical value may ultimately be set upon these words, there is no religious soul who, having read them, will not feel grateful to the saintly man for having penned them.

Our historical view need not be lengthier; the chief work of the past and the present lies now within our field of vision, and were closer inspection welcome, the study yet to be made may allow opportunity for it.

III.—Difficulties in the Various Explanations, and an Attempt to Solve them.

"Does any one of the explanations proposed remove *all* difficulty?"

As noted previously, Tertullian and St. Chrysostom, and this holds true of most Protestant writers as well, shift the problem, but do not ease the text of all encumbrance. For, if there be anything of rebuke or disapprobation in Christ's words to His mother, the rebuke or disapprobation, notwithstanding Chrysostom's word that it was "of the mildest," is very grave at first glance; it is as if He disregarded entirely, not to say disallowed, motherhood's claims; and hence Marcion and Apelles could persuade men that the words bore evidence in favor of their heresies. Then weigh the circumstances in which they were uttered—multitudes, composed of men, women, and children, of well-wishers and ill-wishers, were present, and the occasion was a solemn one. Now such a rebuke, so circumstanced, from Him, "Who was obedient," to her who had "found grace with God," and was to be for aye "blessed among women," cannot be admitted. Had he spoken in this sense, He would have outraged one of the most deeply-rooted and praiseworthy of Jewish sentiments; He would have exposed Himself to *popular* as well as Pharisaic detestation; or if He had avoided this, He would have laid his mother open to the crowd's slighting, sneering comment. Even at the present day, an Israelite feels this instinctively, and because of the force of this sentiment Professor Edersheim, though writing unscholarlike, and abusively, of Catholic opinion, at bottom, almost adopts it, being compelled to say: "On the other hand, we also remember the deep reverence among the Jews for parents, which found even exaggerated expres-

[1] Letter to Dr. Pusey, *Anglican Difficulties*, vol. ii., note 3, § 6, par. 2.

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sion in the Talmud.[1] And we feel that, of all in Israel, He who was their king, could not have spoken nor done what might seem even disrespectful to a mother. There must have been higher meaning in his words. As Bengel aptly puts it, "He contemns not the mother, but He places the Father first.[2]

Every one feels that there cannot have been so violent an antithesis between the son's treatment of His mother during His public ministry, and His treatment of her during the thirty years at Nazareth.[3] And here may be noticed the weakness in Dr. Newman's otherwise admirable exposition; even in his exegesis, Christ's action would have been subject to misapprehension by the many, who could not be expected to distinguish between a "ceremonial estrangement of years" and the face value of his procedure.

Unsatisfactory as these views must be, on the other hand one may not deny that we are satisfied with the general Catholic interpretation, not because we feel assured that it solves the difficulties just dwelt upon, but because it is the best so far urged. Is there a way of relieving it of these difficulties, which, it may be remarked, are of a kind to take on readily the aspect of "objections?"

The following considerations are offered as an attempt in this line.

1. St. Matthew and St. Mark narrate the incident as an interruption occurring in one of Christ's most outspoken arraignments of Pharisaism. St. Luke, though seeming to recall it in another connection, places it, withal, as happening when Jesus is surrounded by crowds, and in that period of His ministry when these crowds were sure of their quota of watching Pharisees and their allies.

2. These were already conspiring to undermine His influence—even over those who appeared most liable to it. They tamper with his own disciples. "Why doth your Master eat and drink with publicans and sinners?"[4] By them the disciples of the Baptist are inoculated with distrust, so that they come, saying, "Why do we and the Pharisees fast often, but Thy disciples do not fast?"[5] Indeed so rapidly did their hatred ripen, that a consultation was held to devise means for ridding themselves of Him for good. "And the Pharisees going out immediately made a consultation with the Herodians against Him, how they might destroy Him."[6]

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[1] He refers to the incident recorded, amongst others, of some one coming "to kiss R. Jonathan's feet, because he had induced filial reverence in his son."—*The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. i., p. 567.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 577. How nearly this writer comes back to the Catholic position is shown by the fact, that the Abbé Fillion quotes the same word from Bengel to summarize *his* interpretation!

[3] St. Luke, ii., 51, 52.

[4] Mark, ii., 16.

[5] Matt., ix., 14.

[6] Mark, iii., 6.

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Hence no occasion of arousing the suspicions of the people in His regard was lost. At one time they question His orthodoxy. "Behold, why do they (Thy disciples) on the Sabbath day that which is not lawful?"[1] At another, they attributed His extraordinary powers to the evil one. "He hath Beelzebub, and by the prince of devils He casteth out devils."[2] They try to make Him appear as contradicting Moses directly. "And they say to Him: Master, this woman was even now taken in adultery. Now Moses in the law commanded us to stone such a one. But what sayest thou?"[3]

Is it to be imagined, then, that they would lose an opportunity of ridiculing and disparaging Him?

3. Whenever Nazareth (the supposed place of His birth), or His kindred are referred to, it is almost always, if not always, for the purpose of throwing discredit or contempt upon Himself. Thus, when Jesus says: "I am the living bread which came down from Heaven," the sneering comment is: "Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? How then saith He, 'I came down from Heaven?'"[4]

When teaching in the synagogues of His own country, hindrances to His work are placed by the questions—"Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not His mother called Mary, and His brethren James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Jude; and His sisters, are they not all with us? Whence therefore hath He all these things? And they were scandalized in His regard."[5]

In Jerusalem the same story is repeated: "We know this man whence He is; but when the Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence He is."[6] The "guileless Nathaniel" could not keep back the query, "Can anything of good come from Nazareth"?[7]

4. It is by the light of these considerations that the text under examination should be read. His malevolent enemies planned to turn to their advantage the presence of the simple kinsfolk of Jesus. As St. Jerome surmised "he"[8] (or "they")[9] "who spake did not make the announcement ingenuously; he would entrap the Saviour;" the news came from the party of the opposition, and it was intended to serve no good purpose. The motive the Virgin and the brethren had in coming, is entirely beside the question, although it should be said, there is no hint in the text that it was blameworthy; the fact that they had come seeking to speak to Jesus was the thing of moment. And they came, as the conspirators thought, opportunely for them. Just previously, Jesus had

[1] Mark, ii., 24. [2] Mark, iii., 22. [3] John, viii., 4, 5.
[4] John, vi., 42. [5] Matt., xiii., 55. [6] John, vii., 27.
[7] John, i., 46. [8] Matt., xii., 47.
[9] Mark, iii., 32; the explanation justifies both the singular and the plural.

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foiled their effort to stigmatize him as a Sabbath breaker, for having cured the withered hand of a paralytic; and had shown the groundlessness of their awful accusation that by the prince of devils He cast out devils. Failing to overeach Him by charge and argument, why not call ridicule to their rescue? To down Him was the thing, it mattered not how; and what better way to do this, in the case of a motley crowd, than to make its whilom hero a laughing stock. The scene comes back vividly. Proud as only those who plume themselves the chosen of God can be,—their lips curl when the little group from Nazareth is pointed out as His folk. Then the luckiness of the incident dawns upon them. Quietly, but effectively, sign and word are passed about, and as the people begin to know of the visit, they are already instilled with contempt for the plainly garbed band—the four or five men of provincial stamp, awkwardly clearing passage for a woman of grave demeanor. It is not worth the crowd's while to give away. "They could not come at Him;"[1] covert laughter lurks in its eyes. Meanwhile, Jesus had been proclaiming that the men of Nineveh should rise in judgment with the generation hearing Him, because they did penance at the preaching of Jonas, "and behold a greater than Jonas here;"[2] and other such truths unpalatable to Jewish tastes. From the sublime to the ridiculous is but a step; and the distraction of the mass between Him and where stands His relatives, betrays its prospect of a comic *dénouement*. The right moment comes. The air vibrates with the dictum: "So shall it be also to this wicked generation," when the voices call from here and there in the crowd and the thumbs point backward. "His mother and brethren are out there waiting to talk with Him. His mother and brethren—common people from the country. He who questions the wisdom of the nation's Great and Wise is of such stock! How does this square with His extravagant claims? An unschooled man from Nazareth has left the work-shop to reconstruct the religion of Israel. An am-ha-ares[3] has stolen the Rabbi's cloak—the slave reigneth—the fool is filled with meat; therefore is the earth disturbed!"[4] Aye, there was venom in the word to Jesus that His *mother and brethren* were without.

One unsophisticated soul, a woman, had not taken in the sarcasm of the announcement, and so gave voice to honest admiration: "Blessed is the womb that bore Thee, and the paps that gave Thee suck!"[5]

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[1] Luke, viii., 19.
[2] Matt., xii., 41–45.
[3] *i.e.*, "A countryman, an unlearned clout."
[4] Prov., xxx., 22.
[5] Luke xi., 27.

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But did the ruse succeed?

As the incident of the woman taken in adultery, and other untoward happenings, were made to serve, so this intended contumely served but as an opening to teach a lesson in the lofty morality and spiritual doctrine which constituted the substance of Christian life and faith. "My mother and my brethren!" The Infinite God stands there measuring His relationship with mankind at large, and His love for all those who have acknowledged or are to acknowledge its bonds shines in His human eyes, as, with outstretched arms, He bends protectingly over His disciples. "Behold my mother and brethren!" And in the solemn hush of cowed irreverence and indefinable expectation, He publishes—so briefly, but all so comprehensively—the magna charta of man's kinship with Divinity: "For whosoever shall do the will of God, he is my mother and my sister and my brother!"

Cunning had outwitted itself; the poisoned shaft was deftly caught and sent back to bury itself in the heart of the bowman.

If there be anything of faithfulness in this presentation of the incident, it is evident, without argument, how entirely out of place deductions as to misguided conduct on the part of the Virgin and brethren and rebuke on the part of Christ, are. Mother and brethren come to Him out of solicitude, out of love;[1] Christ, on His part, not only prevented their presence from being turned to their own confusion or to His, but meeting the Pharisees and their tribe as He always met them, made it an occasion of triumph. So there is nothing in the happening which calls for apology—no disavowing of relationship, no want of tenderest consideration for her who was nearest to Him in the moment of peril—at the foot of the cross;[2] no "prophetic rebuke to Mariolatry" nor of "the strange doctrines about her freedom from actual and original sin"—in a word, no ground for Protestant animadversion upon Catholic veneration for God's holy mother. It was simply an event in Our Lord's life like, in a way—be it said with reverence—similar happenings in the lives of more than one great man whose origin was humble; now and then envious tongues would leave their slime across such an one's influence—in a critical hour taunt or brand him with his birth or blood. But, for all

[1] "In Mark iii., 21, we are told that His relations *went out to lay hold on Him, for they said, He is beside Himself;* and that the reason of this was His continuous labor in teaching, which *had not left time so much as to eat.* There is nothing in this care for his bodily health (from whatever source the act may have arisen on the part of his brethren, see John vii., 5) inconsistent with the known state of his mother's mind (see Luke ii., 19, 51)."—Alford.

[2] John xix. 25.

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that Mary or James or Joses or Simon or Jude were affected by *His* words, they might as well have been in Tyre or in Antioch or in Rome. And had they been in fault, the Divinity which reprobated exposure of a parent's weakness, even among brothers,[1] would not, in Jesus, have proclaimed *that* mother's to a nation.

The reading of the incident narrated in Luke xi., 27, as occurring on the occasion of the coming of Jesus's mother and brethren, demands something in the way of vindication. It is not adopted in order to shirk difficulties involved in the more ordinary view; for such do not exist. According to this view, mother and brethren are not present when the woman calls out from the crowd, and attention is not drawn to family connections. What, then, would the exclamation mean? Primarily, admiration for His own *human* excellencies; for it is not to be thought that this ignorant woman realized what the Apostles themselves did not realize until after the Resurrection—His Divinity! The good soul—herself, perhaps, a mother—was in wonder at His eloquence, His teaching as one having power, His miracles, His siding with the lowly, His attack upon hard masters, His grace of character. In effect, her words meant, How proud your mother should be OF YOU! Could, or would, he have admiration such as this? Of its essence it was infinitely more displeasing to Him than it would be to a Paul, who would not have it that any one's faith might stand on the gifts of a man, on his eloquence or his wisdom, but on the power of God.[2] True, Jewish pride of such a mothership found voice in the cry, How proud she would be were she that mother, and how that Son should be boasted of! But it was a Jewish pride based on a false notion of what made up genuine merit. Therefore, in the pregnant answer of Jesus there was taught a triple lesson: He would not have Himself hero-worshiped. He would have the woman know that blessedness, in His eyes, was a matter of hearing and keeping God's word—not a matter of birth, station or blood connection, and that God gives high position only to those who hear and do His word,[3] and He would have her realize that she herself could have part in this true blessedness. The incident, consequently, is not assumed into a new connection to rid it of difficulties in the other reading, nor because it would seem naturally to link itself with the actual presence of the Virgin. The change is adopted purely from exegetical requirements; for the

[1] Gen. ix., 22.

[2] 1 Cor. ii., 5.

[3] "Partly assenting and partly putting her right, Jesus answered: 'Yea, blessed . . . . ;' it behooved her to know that Mary had attained to her peculiar experience of the visitation of God through her peculiar hearing and keeping of the word of God, and that even now she was still subject to that condition."—Lange, *Life of Christ*, vol. ii., p. 276.

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exclamation of the woman and the reply of Jesus are subjoined by St. Luke to the oration in which he refutes the blasphemy that it is by Beelzebub He casts out devils, just as the incident of the Virgin's visit is joined to the same utterance by St. Matthew and St. Mark.[1] In this arrangement the meaning of Christ's word would be that already unfolded, though one may lean to the fond hope that the brave heart's enthusiasm[2] was raised to the higher plane of faith, and that preventing grace enabled it, for its consolation, to appreciate, as few others there understood, the lessons taught.

Appendix.

Some notes are added, chiefly quotations, upon two other texts which hasty or biassed examination has made to reflect upon the mother of Jesus. Were no word said in their regard, remembrance of the meaning they have been strained to bear, might throw a shade of uncertainty over the conclusions reached in the essay; therefore it seemed well to touch upon them, if only briefly.

The first of these passages occurs in the second chapter of St. Luke, the 48th and following verses: "And seeing him they wondered. And his mother said to him: Son, why hast thou done so to us? Behold thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing. And he said to them: How is it that you sought me? Did you not know that I must be about my Father's business? And they understood not the word that he spoke unto them. And he went down to Nazareth and was subject to them. And his mother kept all these words in her heart."

It must suffice to note, first: There was nothing but solicitous,

[1] How account for the difference existing between the narrative of St. Luke and those of St. Matthew and St. Mark? St. Luke himself tells us how he gathered the materials for his Gospel: "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a narrative of the things that have been accomplished among us: according as they have delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word; it seemed good to me also, having diligently attained to all things from the beginning, to write to thee," etc.—i., 1-3. Hence the difference is due to some confusion or lack of detail on the part of those from whom the third Evangelist got his information. A probable explanation would be such as this: The auditor, who told of the visit of Jesus's relatives, having soon after heard the Parable Sermon, in recalling the two events, confused their order, and forgot, or never heard, the woman's exclamation, being far from her in the crowd (so in the Third Gospel the presence of the mother is subjoined to that sermon). This latter incident the Evangelist learned from another source—from some one who, being close by the woman, was taken up with her action, and probably not cognizant of the mischief brewing among the crowd's more distant groups. What if the woman herself were St. Luke's informant?

[2] Brave—for "her word was a beautiful homage, glorifying the Lord Himself at a moment when the Hierarchs of the land were condemning him as a heretic, who, as they said, was in league with the devil."—Lange's *Life of Christ*, vol. ii., p. 276.

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respectful, motherly care expressed in the Virgin's words; the emphasis in them but betrays the awful responsibility she felt. "The Greek word (ὀδυνώμενοι) which answers to 'dolentes' (sorrowing)," says the Abbé Fillion, "is of extraordinary force; it means sufferings as poignant as those of childbirth.[1] The imperfect ἐζητοῦμεν also emphasizes this, for it indicates long and painfully anxious searching." Secondly, as to the reply of Jesus: "This is no *reproachful* question. It is asked in all the simplicity and boldness of holy childhood . . . . 'did ye not know' . . . . it appeared as if that conviction, the expression of which now first breaks forth from Him, must have been a matter known to them before" (Alford's "Greek Testament"). Thirdly. *And they understood not the word.* "Probably, as Stier remarks, the unfolding of His childhood had been so gradual and natural that even *they* had not been reminded by any strong individual notes of that which He was, and which now showed itself" (*ibid.*) . . . . "Not that it was meaningless to them, but they did not fully comprehend its meaning. Nothing but His life and death and resurrection could fully interpret either the spirit of self-consecration implied in these words, or what was that business to which He must needs devote Himself" ("The Illustrated Commentary," Rev. Lyman Abbott). Fourthly. It is helpful to bear in mind that it was from the Blessed Mary herself St. Luke got these details: "His mother kept all these words in her heart."

The other text is St. John, second chapter, verses 3 to 7: "And the wine failing, the mother of Jesus saith to him: They have no wine. And Jesus saith to her: Woman, what is to me and to thee? My hour is not yet come. His mother saith to the waiters: Whatsoever he shall say to you, do ye. . . . . Jesus saith to them: Fill the water-pots with water," etc.

The words "woman" and "what is to me and to thee" grate upon English ears. Why? For the reason that idioms differ, and although the words are a literal rendering of the Greek phrase, they do not convey in English its sentiment. Non-Catholic scholars vie with each other in emphasizing this fact, as far as the address "woman" is concerned. "No one," says Dr. Edersheim, "who either knows the use of the language, or remembers that when commending her to John on the Cross He used the same mode of expression, will imagine that there was anything derogatory to her, or harsh on His part, in addressing her as 'woman' rather than 'mother'"[2] (Dean Alford, comments: γυναι). "There is no reproach in this term, but rather respect."[3]

[1] Dr. Fillion seems to confound ὀδυνωμενοι with ὠδινόμενοι.

[2] *The Life of the Messiah*, vol. i., p. 361.

[3] Greek Testament, Comm. on St. John.

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Archbishop Trench felt it his duty to write: "....It is quite true that in the address 'woman' there is nothing of indignity or harshness, though there may be the sound of such to an English ear. In His tenderest words to His mother from the Cross, He employs the same address, 'Woman, behold thy son'[1]

Indeed, the compellation cannot fail to have something solemn in it, wherever the dignity of woman is felt. Thus, in Greek tragedy, if one would reproduce the ἦθος of the scene, γυναι would in passages innumerable be rendered 'lady.'"[2] At this point, however, this eminent churchman breaks with Catholic exposition, and falls into a more Protestant rut: "It is otherwise with the words following, 'what have I to do with thee?" All expositors of the early Church have found in them more or less of reproof and repulse; the Roman Catholics themselves admit the *appearance* of such, only they deny the reality. He so replied, they say, to teach *us*, not *her*, that higher respects than those of flesh and blood moved Him to the selecting of that occasion for the first putting forth of His divine power. Most certainly it was to teach this; but to teach it first to her, who, from her wondrous position as the 'blessed among women' was, more than any other, in danger of forgetting it, and in her to teach it to us all."

To justify his assertion, "all expositors of the early Church," he gives "two examples for many:" Irenæus iii., 16, and Chrysostom, Hom. xxi. in Job.

Upon this passage it should be observed, First, that the assertion "All expositors of the early church have found in them more or less of reproof and repulse," is not true. It would be more nearly correct for the archbishop to say of these expositors what he asserts of Roman Catholics—they "admit the *appearance* of such." A few extracts from St. Augustine, whose eighth tract upon St. John's gospel is taken up with this text, prove the point.

The saint, having described the womb of the Virgin as the bridal bed arising from which Christ came forth "ut gigas ad currendam viam,"[3] continues; "In a way certainly mysterious, the Divine bridegroom, seems not to acknowledge His mother, saying: *Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? Nondum venit hora mea.* What does this mean? Is it for the purpose of teaching that mothers are to be contemned He attends the marriage feast? The one whose wedding He graced, was taking a wife that children might be begotten; and surely this man desired that the children whose birth he hoped for, would reverence him Since then marriage feasts are made and wives taken that children, upon whom God lays the law to honor parents, may be brought forth, are we to believe that

[1] John xix., 26.

[2] *Miracles of Our Lord*, 1st Miracle, 14th edit., p. 109.

[3] Psalm xviii., 6.

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He took occasion of nuptials to reflect upon His mother? Without doubt, brethren, there is something hidden here. . . . . Why then said He to His mother? *Quid mihi et tibi*, etc. . . . . Our Lord Jesus Christ was God as well as man; inasmuch as He was God, He had not a mother; through what was human of Him, she came into relation with Him. . . . . Because, therefore, she was not the mother of the Divine nature, and because it was by virtue of His Divinity the miracle asked for was to be wrought, He answered 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?' But think not that I question thy motherhood—nondum venit hora mea: for when this hour comes, will I acknowledge you—when the weak part of me, which thou didst give, hangs on the cross."[1] The words bring us back to Dr. Newman's view already dwelt upon.

Secondly. Archbishop Trench is unfortunate in the selection of quotations to support his statement. Irenæus is not fairly represented by him. That Father, as St. Augustine, is arguing against heretics of the Apelles, Marcion and Valentinian stripe; he is proving that Jesus Christ was one and the same, the only Begotten Son of God, perfect God and perfect man. In the course of his argument he dwells long on the relations of Mary to Jesus, but by not one word asperses her. Later on he writes: "With Him is nothing incomplete or out of due season, just as with the Father there is nothing incongruous. For all these things were foreknown by the Father; but the Son works them out at the proper time in perfect order and sequence. This was the reason why, when Mary was urging [Him] on to [perform] the wonderful miracle of the wine, and was desirous before the time to partake of the cup of emblematic significance, the Lord, checking her untimely haste, said, "Mulier, quid mihi et tibi? 'Mine hour is not yet come'—waiting for that hour which was foreknown by the Father."[2] The words "was desirous before the time to partake" and "untimely haste" need hold naught of rebuke: they may simply mean, and no one has a right to *insist* upon another explanation; that the Blessed Mother did not know the future as Jesus did, because of the limitations of her knowledge might her action have been untimely; no sign hints that Irenæus thought it was because of weakness on her part.

Thirdly. The archbishop makes much of the comments of some Catholic commentators. "the Roman Catholics themselves admit the appearance of such (*i.e.*, more or less reproof and repulse); only they deny the reality. He so replied, they say, to teach *us*, not *her*. . . . . Most certainly it was to teach this; but to teach it first

[1] In *Joan. Evan*, tract, viii., caput ii.

[2] *The Anti-Nicene Fathers*, vol. i., p. 443. The Christian Literature Publishing Co., Buffalo.

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of all to her," etc. The Catholic position is not fairly represented. Catholics do not question that the Blessed Mother was as capable of learning lessons as we are; but does this mean that when God teaches one a lesson, this person has been formally guilty of sin? Is there no chance that there may have been simply a mistake on his part, or that God simply wished to teach him to do better than he knew how to do, unless so aided? Does the doctrine that the Virgin was without sin mean that she was omniscient, so that she could not act without acting as perfectly as it was possible to act? Does that doctrine mean that leaving weakness and fault on one side, she could not lack Divine foresight? Neither Catholics nor Fathers have so held.

It is a pity that Archbishop Trench overlooked these distinctions, and that, though in other concerns critical and fair-minded, he should, when dealing with Catholic writers, descend to the methods of a special pleader.

Nor must it be conceded that Catholic scripturists without exception see the semblance of blame for His mother in the words of Jesus. Older commentators are not wanting whose piety forbid them to make this admission, and an able comment of our own day entirely scouts such a view. In two papers appearing in the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record" for July and November, 1888, the Very Reverend E. O'Brien proposes an interpretation at once fresh and worthy of careful attention. The following extracts fairly represent his work upon the text:

"The words are in the Greek: *Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ*?: What to me and to thee?" *Τί*, what; *ἐμοί*, to me; *καί*, and; *σοί*, to thee. The corresponding phrase in Hebrew is, mah li w'leka;[1] mah, what; li, to me; w'leka, and to thee. That is an interrogative phrase, and is a figurative interrogation; that is to say, a statement of something conveyed in the form of an interrogation. It is also an elliptical expression; that is to say, an expression in which some words must be supplied to make out the sense. However, it is a familiar and conventional elliptical expression, and, therefore, an expression in which the words to be supplied are not taken from the context only, but are implied in the phrase itself. To get the meaning of the phrase we must inquire what are the words to be supplied to make out the complete sense, the words which the *mind* supplies, though the pen does not write them, or the tongue pronounce them, or the ear hear them, and which are substantially the same words no matter where the phrase is found.

"The phrase is, 'What to me and to thee?' The ordinary version supplies after the word 'what' the words 'is there common,'

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[1] מה–לי ולך

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and makes it out in full, 'What is there common to me and to thee?" Which comes to this in an artistic form, 'There is nothing common to me and to thee,' or, 'What have I to do with thee?' That is, 'I have nothing to do with thee.' . . . . Now, I assert, first, that 'What is there common' is a very unusual and unnatural meaning to give the word 'what.' I say that the natural meaning and use of the word 'what' when used as an exclamation or figurative interrogation is to express surprise or disappointment. 'What! have you returned?' 'What! have you been absent again?' 'What! are we late for the train?' Such expressions mean it is pleasant or unpleasant, a suitable or unsuitable thing that you have returned; it is an unsuitable thing that you have again been absent; it is an unsuitable thing that we are late for the train. I say that the translation of the phrase 'What to me and to thee' by the words 'an unsuitable thing to me and to you' is far more natural and makes quite as good sense in the passage in question as the translation, 'There is nothing in common to me and to you.' Compare the two. The Blessed Virgin says to her Son: 'They have no wine.' He answered: 'There is nothing common to me and to you,' a very untrue remark and very uncalled for and very inappropriate, even if true. The Blessed Virgin says to her Son: 'They have no wine.' He answers: 'An unsuitable thing to me and to you'; that is to say, *the deficiency of the wine* is an unsuitable thing to you and to me. If He stayed, it would be awkward both for Himself and His mother, and He did not like to go, for the time He had arranged to go had not yet come.[1]

[1] "'My hour is not yet come.' . . . . The meaning of the words in Scripture is this: 'The hour I myself consider seasonable.' Thus the Evangelist says: 'No man laid hands upon Him, because the hour He considered seasonable had not come' (John vii., 30); that is to say, it entirely depended on Himself. The same expression is found in John vii., 20: 'Jesus was teaching in the treasury and no one laid hands on Him, because the hour He considered seasonable had not come.' . . . And in John vii., 6: 'The time I myself consider seasonable (for going up to the Feast) has not come. I do not go up to this festival to-day because the time I myself consider seasonable is not fulfilled.' As a matter of fact, there was nothing particularly solemn about His going up to the feast, for He went up privately and not on the festival *day*, but on one of the days towards the end of the feast. . . . . The assumption, therefore, which the second version makes, that the words 'my hour' mean 'my hour for working miracles' is arbitrary and unwarranted. It means here what it means elsewhere, the hour I myself consider seasonable, but the hour for what, whether, as my version says, the hour for leaving the feast, or, as the second version says, the hour for working miracles, must be determined from other sources. If it is to be determined from the context, then it cannot be the hour for working miracles. That hour has come, for he does work a miracle. To meet that argument it is absolutely necessary for the second version to assume that our Lord anticipated the time He Himself thought seasonable for working miracles. The necessity for making that arbitrary assumption shows what a rickety version, even at its best, that second version is. The version I have given stands by itself and walks by itself." . . . . —*Irish Eccl. Rec.*, Nov. 1888, p. 1022.

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"If the expression 'What to me and thee' was found in this one passage alone, we could say with absolute certainty that the meaning of it is not, nor cannot be, 'what (is then common) to me and to thee.' We could not of course say for certain that the meaning is 'what (an unsuitable thing) to me and to you;' for though that meaning fits admirably here, other meanings might fit too, and though the meaning 'what (an unsuitable thing) to me and to you' might fit this passage, it might be quite out of place in other passages in which it is used. Thus the meaning 'what (is it) to me and to thee,' though, to some extent, it might suit here, that is, it would not make nonsense here, does not fit into any other passage in which the expression 'what to me and to thee' occurs. In fact it makes absolute nonsense in all the other passages. I may add that the same thing is true of all the other interpretations of the words that are so plentifully suggested from time to time; they suit this passage to some extent, but are ludicrous in all the other passages.

"On the other hand, if we give the expression 'what to me and to thee' the meaning 'what (an unsuitable thing) to me and to thee,' that meaning not only makes sense in every passage in which the expression occurs, but makes *the* sense, the natural, the just sense, that the context and the argument in each case requires; while the meaning 'what (is there common) to me and to thee,' is in most instances an outrage on common sense, is in no instance *the* sense required, though in one or two instances the translation by those words would not be nonsense; just as the translation of 'kingdom against kingdom shall fall' would not be nonsense, if given for 'domus supra domnum cadet,' which after all would not show that the meaning of the word *domus* ever is *kingdom*." Fr. O'Brien then takes up the different texts in which the words appear—Judges xi., 12; II. King xvi., 10; xix., 22; III. King xvii., 18; IV. King iii., 13; II. Chron. xxxv., 21; I. Esdr. iv., 3; Matth. viii., 29; Luke viii., 28; iv., 34; Mark i., 24; v., 7; and shows in each case the fitness of his translation. In his second paper he writes: "The proof that 'an unsuitable thing to me and to you' is the correct interpretation of the words 'What to me and to thee' rests on several grounds. It is an interpretation that fits into and makes proper sense in *every* passage in which the phrase is found. It not only makes *a* sense, or a sort of sense, but makes that sense which thoughtful men, using the sentences in which it occurs, would be expected to employ. . . . . "[1]

These quotations hardly do justice to the original papers; albeit,

[1] The longer extract quoted is from the *Record* for July; the shorter from the number for November, 1888.

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it is hoped that the purpose for which they were made has been served: to evidence Protestant incompleteness and inaccuracy when dealing with the work of Catholics upon this text of Scripture, and, indeed, with their work upon many, many other texts.

In the present essay the aim has been to render to the Mother of God a purely reasonable service. The texts have been approached and examined with fearless indifference as to what the result might be; the effort was to elucidate the Testament's meaning,—not what a school or a party would have it mean. The polemic tone of the paper arises not from the will of the writer, but from the circumstances of the case. May the day in which this tone will appear out of place soon shine upon us; the day on which all who worship the Son will realize that by reason of their belief in Him, it is their blessed duty fittingly to venerate His Mother!

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CRITICISM OF RECENT PANTHEISTIC EVOLUTION.

WE need not wonder at the bold assurance with which pantheistic evolution steps forth in our days. Pretending to be the noblest form of monism, pantheism has always assumed high airs. It constantly presumed to profess the most elevated views in science, morals, and religion. But its boldness has not been so great, as the criticism which it encountered has been severe. Since the rise of Christianity pantheism has been frequently examined, and always condemned, not merely as an unsatisfactory, but as a monstrous doctrine which, by combining contradictory attributes in God, perverted the very conception of the Godhead into an absurdity.

I.

The newly-advanced theories of pantheistic evolution cannot evade this general verdict. In accordance with the principles of pantheism, pantheistic evolution assumes the self-existent being as infinite, spiritual, eternal, unchangeable, and at the same time characterizes it as finite, imperfect, material, and subject to endless changes. For, if the Deity is the immanent ground of all existence, if it develops from itself all beings as its own determinations or modes of its activity, if, in a word, it is all in all, then, indeed, we must predicate of God all the phenomena we experience and all the qualities we perceive in this visible universe. The inertia of matter, the attraction and repulsion of material forces with all the effects that result from them, vegetation and sensation, growth and decay, the life and the death of organic bodies, the folly as well as the wisdom, the vices no less than the virtues of men, the imperfection and the excellence of all things alike are His attributes or His actions. It is He that lives in the plant, feels in the brute and thinks in man; He that displays His perfection and power in them as their force, their life, their very reality. Plainly, the Deity, which we must necessarily conceive as self-existent, is thus presented at once as infinite and finite, as most perfect and imperfect, as most wise and foolish, as most holy and vicious, as essentially active and inert, as purely spiritual and grossly material. Is not such a conception a veritable caricature of the Godhead?

While thus open to all the objections raised against pantheism, the theories in question involve moreover all the incongruities

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which, in a former article, of this REVIEW,[1] we have shown to be intrinsic to the general idea of evolution. For, in accordance with them, the self-existent being is self-evolving. Though admitted to be infinite, it is supposed to grow and develop constantly to ever greater perfection. This is apparent from its relationship to nature. The ever-changing universe is not merely an external manifestation of God or an effect produced outside of Him. No, it is his own being, his own life, his own power and activity. Growing by an ever-continuous differentiation to the fulness of beauty and perfection, the world is nothing less than the Deity unfolding its own being by immanent operation. Evolution is thus carried into God himself by the latest pantheistic theories, and such evolution as consists in transition from the indeterminate to the determinate. For, by virtue of it, God becomes actually what he was before only potentially, or, to speak in more accurate terms, what he was not before. Primarily not organized, he gradually assumes an organism, at first only a germ of divine life. He unfolds and attains to the plenitude of vital activity; devoid of order and beauty, he clothes himself by succeeding changes with these glorious attributes.

But if a process of evolution is going on in God, he must be conceived as determinate and indeterminate at the same time. Were he not indeterminate, why should he gradually acquire determinateness? According to pantheistic views he may not be so utterly indeterminate as matter or abstract being is; still indeterminateness must be in his nature, at least to such an extent as is to be removed from him by evolution from all eternity. But at the same time he is also fully determinate by virtue of his very essence. He is self-existent, he is essentially the infinite spirit. The modern pantheists themselves conceive him as such. But infinity as well as self-existence imply full and absolute determinateness.

To enhance the absurdity, both these contradictory attributes are repugnant to evolution. If God is fully determinate by his own essence, a gradual transition from indeterminateness to determinateness is out of question. If he is indeterminate, he cannot determine himself by his own activity. The reason is plain. The determinations to be effected cannot, as to their perfection, be precontained in his nature; for then he could not be conceived as originally indeterminate. But if not precontained in his nature, they cannot possibly be evolved out of it, or be brought into being by its operation; for effluences from an empty source or effects without a sufficient cause are impossibilities.

We see, then, pantheistic evolutionists have given us promises

[1] *The Idea of Evolution*, 1893, pp. 762–779.

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which are as void as they are high-sounding. They do not meet the objections raised against evolution from a metaphysical point of view, but, reasserting all the absurdities implied in this idea, they entangle themselves in addition in all the numberless self-contradictions which are peculiar to pantheism. As a combination of errors, their theory renders monistic evolution doubly absurd instead of solving its difficulties. But let us enter into details. Do they establish the doctrine of evolution? Do they account for the unity, order and beauty of the world and at the same time for the supreme perfection of the Godhead?

II.

Pantheism is absolutely incompetent to explain the process of evolution, to prove either its starting point or its final result, either its laws or its different stages. It starts with a being which is not known to us immediately or by intuition, but is represented in our mind by notions derived from the finite world we experience; it proceeds from a principle into which we have no direct insight, whose existence we infer from the effects which reason compels us to attribute to it. In a word, it begins with the cause, which, though first in the order of being, is last in the order of cognition. Hence, the explanation which it offers is a process from the unknown to the known.

But, though we form our first idea of the Godhead by ascending from the visible objects around us, what stands in the way of descending from God again to the consideration of the finite world as soon as the conception of the divinity has been sufficiently developed? And might not the course of thought possibly lead to a world that originates from the Supreme Being by a process of evolution? Let us see what idea we have formed of God through the aid of experimental knowledge. We conceive Him as the self-existent, the first cause, the infinite spirit. But if God is essentially the fulness of all being, any necessity whatever of producing the world is repugnant to Him. We cannot possibly conceive Him necessitated to produce it outside of Himself. There is absolutely no reason which requires such transitive activity on His part; no reason extrinsic to him, because there is nothing outside of his nature that is independent of Him and antecedent to His, operation; no reason intrinsic to Him, for, being essentially infinite He cannot become more perfect by the effects He brings into existence. Nor can it be necessary for God to produce vital effects within His own being, in order to reduce His infinity from potentiality into actuality. This is the view taken by pantheistic evolutionists. By evolving the world from Himself, God, as they imagine, evolves Himself and reaches the climax of perfection as a

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germ attains to its specific size and shape by developing organs and members. Is this position less untenable? The answer is as plain as daylight. If the Supreme Being is by virtue of its essence infinite in all perfections, it cannot grow by the exercise of immanent activity. The very supposition of a possible growth is a palpable denial of infinity. And if all evolution is in evident contradiction to the self-existent, infinitely perfect being, how will our pantheistic evolutionists be able to show that it had to evolve itself by the gradual process of development which they assume to have taken place in this visible universe? They have nothing to stand on; the very ground is taken from under their feet.

To consider pantheistic evolution from another point of view, Is the world into which God should evolve finite or infinite? Does it contain all things that are possible, or only some of them? Dr. Martineau is of the opinion that it is finite, and that God passes from the indeterminate to the determinate by defining which out of all the possibilities are to be realized. No view more inconsistent with evolutional principles could be espoused. A finite world cannot render the First Cause infinitely perfect. Nor can it reasonably be maintained that God, in the process of self-evolution, determines on the realization of only some possibilities. For the determination must be conceived either as free or as necessary.

It cannot be free; for in that case the evolutionists would, consistently with their principles, have to regard the world as the work of an arbitrary will. But this is an assumption utterly abhorred by them. Nor can it be a necessary act of God. Such a necessity is altogether inconceivable. For, on the one hand, all possible things, considered in themselves, are equally fit to be brought into being, and, on the other hand, the Infinite Being is competent to give existence to all alike and to every possible combination of them. But if all possible things are equally fit to exist, and if God is not only competent to actualize them all, but is also supposed to produce them with the absolute necessity of His nature, then there is no reason whatever why He should bring into being only some of them. We are rather driven to conclude that He must produce all without exception.

Consistently, therefore, the world must be admitted by pantheists to be infinite; that is, to possess all possible perfections and to include all possible beings. Such is, in fact, the view which Prof. Schurman holds. But the world is not and cannot be infinite. Every element, every mineral, every plant and animal, every living being, every realm and province of it is essentially limited, not merely in one, but in all respects, and, therefore, also the whole made of them is limited; for deficiencies intrinsic to parts are also intrinsic to to the whole. Nor is this denied by the evolutionists.

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Otherwise, how could they maintain that the universe is incessantly developing to ever greater perfection? Possibility of growth involves potentiality, and potentiality implies absence of perfection which is yet to be reached.

However, though they admit the world to be finite at every particular moment of its existence, the pantheists regard it as infinite in the whole course of its successive evolution. If, so they reason, there is within the universe an active principle sufficient to bring forth new forms in endless succession, we are compelled to conceive as unlimited both the power which is unlimited in productiveness and the series of successive forms which proceed from it in perpetual development. Let us see whether infinity can thus be established. Does the all-productive power pre-contain all the forms to be successively brought into being? Should it contain them, it must, indeed, be actually infinite. But in this case it does not admit of evolution. Should it not contain them, it must be insufficient to give them existence; for a cause is equal to certain effects only in so far as it pre-contains their perfection. As to the forms which are produced, it is granted that each of them taken singly is finite. From this concession two conclusions must necessarily be drawn. First, the whole series of the forms successively produced must be finite, because the infinite cannot rise from finite parts—least of all, if these parts do not even co-exist. Secondly, it is impossible to assign a reason for any particular form of the whole series; for if, as was said, all of them are equally possible, the omnipotent power of God is not only competent to produce them alike, but, being supposed to act with absolute necessity, is equally determined in regard to each and all of them. There is, therefore, no conceivable reason why the first form of cosmic existence should be the lowest or the highest on the grade of being, the nearest or the farthest from the Deity; no reason why it should be of this kind rather than of another; why the activity peculiar to it should be directed toward this rather than that end; why the law implanted in it should imply one order rather than the other of the phenomena to be produced. Nor is there, consequently, any reason why the course of evolution should ascend from lower to higher, rather than descend from higher to lower forms of existence; why it should take the direction which it is now believed to have taken rather than any other that may be imagined; why it should proceed in the stages now distinguished by scientists, and not in any other of the indefinite number of those which we must necessarily admit as possible. Hence, pantheistic evolution is, in its every phase and moment, an arbitrary assumption, not based on any ground whatever.

The truth of this conclusion is amply confirmed by the multi-

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plicity and contrariety of pantheistic systems. We see in the course of ages, and especially in our days, one theory arise after the other, and each of them disappear again after an ephemeral existence, wafted away by the breath of scientific opinion like a strangely-formed cloud. In this numberless multitude of views and interpretations there is no agreement, but only strife and opposition, each one conflicting with all the others. For while the one derives matter from spirit and the lower from the higher forms, the other affirms that spirit springs from matter and the perfect from the imperfect; while, according to some, the universe is co-extensive with the Deity, God, according to others, transcends the world at the same time that He is immanent in it. Finite beings are looked upon now as modes of the divine activity, and then as emanations from the divine substance. There are such as maintain that the universe issues from the divine intellect, and there are others who believe it to be the operation of the divine will. Again, there are those who represent God as personal intelligence, and those who conceive Him as working and evolving with blind necessity. Pantheism is nowhere and never the same; it always changes and undergoes ever new transformations. But such is not the nature of truth, which is the same at all times and never contradicts itself. Such is not the theory which interprets phenomena by their proper laws and traces them back to their real causes, proximate and remote. Such is not true philosophy, which, proceeding by careful inquiry and, resting its positions on solid reasons, affords insight and generates unshaken conviction in the mind. It is falsehood that is never consistent with itself, and lawless fancy that produces disconnected fictions unfit to exist and to satisfy the intellect longing for truth.

> Error and mistake are infinite,
> But truth hath but one way to be i' th' right.

III.

Pantheism, therefore, does not interpret evolution; nor is it, furthermore, an explanation of unity. A strange censure. For does not the pantheistic theory reduce all things to absolute oneness, teaching, as it does, that God is all and all is God? This would, indeed, be a most perfect unity if it were real. But it is not the kind of unity which we perceive in this visible universe. Were all things identified in being, as the pantheistic theory assumes, we should be forced to conceive as indistinct the different realms and components of nature; things that live and things that are devoid of life; things of a lower, and things of a higher degree of perfection; things that move and act and such as are moved and acted upon; beings

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distant in time and place, mutually dependent on, or exclusive of, one another. All this is absolutely impossible. A distinction in being is real and undeniable in nature. There is a distinction between birth and death, between coming into existence and going out of it, between perfection of a lower and perfection of a higher grade; a distinction between dependence and independence, between mere mechanism and wonderful organization; a distinction between the absence of life and the perfection of life, between inability of perception and highly-developed intellection. Nay, there is not merely a distinction between the attributes enumerated, but also an opposition, and one so utterly irreconcilable that they can impossibly co-exist in the same subject. Consequently there is a distinction also among the things in which they are found; that is, among the numberless parts which constitute the universe, and, nominally, a distinction between those that have self-consciousness and those that are devoid of it, and a distinction among the different self-conscious subjects, because they exclude one another from the sphere of their own existence. So certain is our conviction concerning the reality of these distinctions, that we base our whole external activity on them. The laws which the scientists have ascertained in the physical world show the same distinctions with no less clearness, and the laws which rulers have enacted for man and for society presuppose them, and would, without this supposition, be palpable absurdities.

Clearly, the pantheistic theory does not explain that unity which, in reality, exists in nature, a unity in a variety of things distinct from one another. Instead of doing so, it has substituted a unity of quite a different kind. And what makes the case still worse, the unity it substituted is the plainest impossibility. The infinite and the finite; the perfect and the imperfect; the simple and the compound; the active and the passive; the cause and the effect—cannot be identical. To deny this, would make it necessary to maintain that to be and not to be are identical. Yet, the pantheistic doctrine amounts to this very assertion. If God is all and all is God, then, indeed, He is infinite, perfection, life and beauty itself; and, at the same time, evolving in all the forms of cosmic existence. He is finite and imperfect; whilst absolutely simple, He is composed and manifold; whilst living and intelligent, in some parts of the world, He is lifeless and without perception in others; whilst improduced and self-existent, He is continually produced; whilst He is the First Cause, He is, simultaneously, a series of effects issuing from Himself. In short, the self-existent cause, reduced to absolute oneness with the finite world, is the aggregate of all possible contradictions and absurdities, which cannot be admitted as real existence without the complete stultification of

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reason. We must, therefore, undoubtedly conclude that pantheism is just as little an interpretation of cosmic unity as it is an explanation of universal evolution. But we must proceed still further.

IV.

Instead of building up the order of the universe, it leads consistently to destruction. Let us examine for a moment the ultimate source from which pantheists derive all being and all perfection. Though self-existent, it is imperfect and undeveloped, not actually perfect but only tending to become so by further evolution. Its progress is extremely slow, however. Having striven for development from all eternity, it has, thus far, attained only a low degree of perfection. Evidently, it has failed in most cases, and but seldom succeeded. And so it will perpetually continue, without ever attaining to consummation. When the universe, which is its evolved form of existence, has developed to a high degree, catastrophes, as many pantheists tell us, will dissolve it again into its primary elements, or turn it back to a second chaos. Thus, evolution will be followed by revolution, and integration by dissolution, for all eternity. The self-evolving deity of pantheists may very well be likened to Sisyphus, who is always heaving the stone up hill only to see it roll back into the valley.

Moreover, if God is all, He is not distinct from matter. It is true, modern philosophers have attempted to elevate matter, and, as they say, to free it from its opprobrium. But they are undertaking an impossible task. They cannot succeed in lifting it above the lowest degree of being, or in ridding it from certain properties intrinsic to it. Brute matter will ever be inert, and act only according to mechanical laws; organic matter will always remain subject to decay, disease, and death. If, therefore, God is matter, or, if matter is a mode of His activity, He is heavy and motionless in the stone; He is tossed to and fro in the waves of the ocean; He is hammered in the iron on the anvil; He rages in the fire that destroys cities, and in the rivers which ruin the country by inundation; He withers in the plants and trees; He constantly pines, is tortured, and dies, in millions of animals; He suffers hunger in the wolf, is bloodthirsty in the tiger, and cruel in the hyena.

God reaches the highest perfection in man, for human nature is the crown of the universe. Therefore, all the properties peculiar to mankind, and all the deeds that history records, must be regarded as His own and attributed to Him; all ignorance and stupidity, all wickedness and immorality, all vices and errors which have ever tarnished the human race. And, mark it well; all this belongs to Him in the ultimate period of evolution, when He approaches the climax of perfection.

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Let it not be said that these are merely some accidental shortcomings, covered by most astonishing excellencies. The very stultification of reason, human and divine, is the necessary outcome of the pantheistic theory. For, how do pantheists uphold the absolute oneness of all being against the undeniable fact that we most distinctly perceive real and essential differences between the objects of our experience? They tell us that our perceptions are, and must remain, illusive, until corrected by their higher philosophy. But this illusion, if clear and distinct perception can be so called, is universal, since we find it in all ages, and among all nations. It is altogether necessary and inevitable; for we cannot possibly look at things in another light, nor can we seriously convince ourselves by any kind of philosophical reflection that the things we know and daily experience, are identical notwithstanding their difference and opposition. Nor do we, the unenlightened and unadvanced, alone think so. Pantheists, themselves, act constantly on the conviction that there is a real distinction between person and person, between one thing and another, and have never as yet been induced by any means to conform their life to a different view. Whence is this illusion? Since it is universal and necessary, it must undoubtedly be traced back to an equally universal and necessary cause. Such a cause can be no other than human nature. It is this, and this alone, that is common to all men, and necessarily produces uniformity of action in them. Thus we arrive at the conclusion that reason is naturally illusive in man; and since it is the same in all beings, in the infinite as well as in the finite, we must further infer that it is illusive also in God. Most consistent, therefore, is the saying of R. W. Emerson: "Every man is a god playing the fool."[1] But, he should have added, that in an immense number of men, god is playing also the rascal, and that the entire universe is a god, leading a low, wretched, and miserable existence.

The consequences of such a conception of the First Cause are by no means immaterial. Pantheists are, generally, optimists, picturing to themselves a golden age, near at hand, resplendent in the brightness of universal enlightenment and elevated morality. But, in truth, the pessimism of E. von Hartmann is much more consistent with pantheistic principles—rather, is its only logical outcome. It is universally admitted that philosophical systems which deny or undermine the trustworthiness of human reason, must land us in the extinction of all knowledge as well as the destruction of society. If this be the case, to what extremities must not that philosophy lead which so undoes our reason as even to

[1] *Essays*, p. 31.

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stultify Supreme Reason, the immanent intellect, thinking in every mind and ruling the entire universe.

Other considerations render the outlook no less gloomy. If the source of all being, the highest and most perfect principiant, which is to develop all existence from itself, is so utterly slow, subject to so many reverses, so inert in matter, so low in animal life, so stupid, self-deceiving, and wicked, when it approaches the height of its perfection in man, then, indeed, we have reason to fear the worst, in spite of better qualities which it otherwise manifests. Instead of producing by self-evolution a paradise of universal happiness, of supreme enlightenment and righteousness, of perfect order and beauty, the deity described by pantheists will, to all appearances, in future ages pass, as it did thus far, from catastrophe to catastrophe, from chaos to chaos, with intervals of very limited prosperity.

V.

Still it might be objected that if such like absurdities may be charged to the ancient systems of pantheism, they do not bear with the same weight on the theories devised by such modern thinkers as H. Lotze, Dr. Martineau, or Prof. Schurman. Their philosophy is, we hear it said, like pure gold, cleared from the dross of crude thought. Let us pass it in review, and see whether it is proof against similar objections.

In most of them God is represented as the world-soul, though not as if He and the visible world were two different components of one whole; the one a bodily substance, the other a divine spirit, each with its own distinct though incomplete reality, yet so united as to complete each other in one perfect nature. Nothing could be more inconsistent with monism than such a view, which, instead of deriving all being from one source, falls back to two primordial principiants, each of which is independent of the other as to its origin. In fact no theory, whether ancient or modern, has advanced a dualism of this kind under the garb of monism. In every case when a divine world-soul was admitted, God and the material universe were identified in being. In antiquity, Heraclitus, and, after him, the Stoics, brought God down to the level of matter; for they regarded the Deity as the ethereal all-penetrating fire, and looked on the world as formed of ether by condensation. In our days pantheists have lifted matter up to God by maintaining that it was but a mode of His activity.

Now, are any of the absurdities involved in pantheistic evolution avoided by this latest conception of the world-soul? Certainly the universal Deity is not thus cleared from incongruous attributes. In no other way could limitedness, liability to failure, inertness,

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decay and death, low desires and immoderate passions, ignorance and error, vice and corruption, be more expressly denoted as traits and qualities proper to God, than by asserting that this entire universe, without any substantial reality in itself, is but a mode of divine activity. Nor is this new theory an interpretation of the universe. Evolution is not explained. For there is no reason advanced, as indeed it is impossible to advance any, why the divine essence, slowly emerging from indeterminateness, should assume just that activity which presents itself as the actual universe. Neither is cosmic unity accounted for. We are merely told that things which we cannot but regard as essentially distinct, are in reality not distinct, or are bidden to identify them not only as one being, but as one and the self-same operation differently modified under different aspects. But we are nowhere taught how such identity may be mentally represented. Nor is the nature of the universe and its component parts explained. Instead of being cleared up, it is wrapped in still greater darkness. The objects which we perceive are, according to these new philosophers, only phenomenal; we call them bodies, plants, animals, but there are no substantial realities underlying them. For while there are no beings individually existing and endowed with their own peculiar qualities and powers, there is only one substance, one reality, lying far behind the perceived appearances, invisible and imperceptible in itself, though sending forth fleeting phenomena in uninterrupted succession. Should we complain of the impossibility in which we find ourselves to espouse these views, again our difficulties are not solved. The only answer given to us is, that, though God thinks in us, we labor under illusions, and shall necessarily labor under them until we learn by transcendental wisdom to combine contradictions into being.

Emanation is no expedient to unriddle the perplexities of pantheistic teaching. It leaves the conception of the Deity full of self-contradictions. True, its advocates speak of God in terms which are apt to ravish us with admiration. They predicate of Him eternity and infinity and pure spirituality and supreme wisdom; in a word, all the attributes peculiar to the self-existent Being. At once, however, another view is presented to us. God must be conceived as simple, but, lo, He suddenly separates into parts; how could He otherwise emit from Himself the universe containing all the different bodies and especially the souls of men? He is infinitely perfect, but His component parts, on issuing from Him, are finite, imperfect, liable to lowness, ignorance, passions, and loathsome vices. He is essentially actual, nay, actuality itself, but He manifests Himself as essentially potential, for He progresses to ever greater determinateness, growing in perfection as a germ in-

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creases by the emission of new cells. And what is still more perplexing, though simplicity is an essential attribute of God, He becomes more perfect by ever-increasing multiplicity. The farther we proceed in analyzing the conception of pantheistic emanation, the more numerous and the more startling grow the self-contradictions that are disclosed to our view.

But perhaps the theory in question may give a better account of unity, for it distinguishes the world from God, and one finite being from the other, so as not to identify what evidently cannot be identified, and yet merges all things in the one divine being from which they all issue and to which they all return. But if this distinction is admitted, dualism is re-established. It matters little how the universe has been brought into existence by God, whether by creation or by emanation, when once outside of Him, it is separated from Him by that immense abyss which exists between the finite and the infinite. There is, with any consistency in the doctrine of emanation, no longer oneness, but diversity of being. The evident consequence is, that evolution is rendered incongruous. For it is presumed to take place either in the finite things of this universe after they have emanated from God, or in God Himself by the very act of emanation. In the former supposition it is no longer one immanent, supreme, and universal principle that develops all from itself by its own activity, but many particular causes or agents that grow and extend by their inherent power. In the latter supposition evolution ceases to be a process from imperfection to perfection, a growth in being; it partakes of the nature of deterioration. Simplicity and unity are perfections of the highest order not only according to theists, but in accordance also with monistic views, to which any appearance of dualism is utterly repugnant; and in accordance with the theory of emanation in particular, which assumes that God is a spirit, the Father of spirits. But by emitting the world, an aggregate of things distinct from Himself and from one another, He evidently passes from unity to multiplicity, from simplicity to manifoldness. He becomes imperfect and decays, instead of developing and taking up higher forms.

Some have tried to prove that emanation is a real development by comparing it to the diffusion of bodies or to the division by which germs increase. Not to mention the evident truth that diffusion of any sort is incompatible with the nature of spirits on account of their simplicity, even bodies lose in unity and intensity of strength by expanding. And as to the growth of germs by division, it is to be borne in mind that this process presupposes new material introduced into the cleaving cell and perfectly assimilated with it. There is, consequently, first an increase from with-

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out, and only then an increase or growth from within. But no increase from without is possible in God, for there is absolutely nothing the being and existence of which is not derived from Him. Emanation, therefore, is a process essentially different from organic growth. If at all conceivable, it can be thought of only as a diffusion of the Deity with the dissolution of its unity, and hence as a transition from a higher to a lower stage of perfection.

VI.

Are other recent attempts more successful in extricating emanative evolution from the many difficulties that beset it? While admitting that the material world is only a mode of divine activity without any existence of its own, Professor Schurman undertakes to advance proofs that the soul of man exists not only in God, but also for itself, and that therefore, being not only a function, but a part of the divinity, it has its own free activity and is a second cause. Plainly an ingenious device to hold the diversity of intelligent beings as established by consciousness, and yet to maintain the absolute oneness of all being; to remove from the Deity all the imperfections found in man, and yet to regard the universe as the evolution of divine nature. Before accepting his solution of the difficulties intrinsic to pantheism as satisfactory, we must ask the learned Professor to throw more light on some points of his theory, which seem to border on open self-contradiction. As he says in one place,[1] modern science has shown that we can draw no lines between cogitative and incogitative beings, and that matter consists of elements which we can scarcely distinguish from souls. But soon after he tells us in plain words that soul and matter do not stand on the same plane of reality or unreality, nay that the difference between self and self-less stuff is the greatest we know and can imagine. He is even able to mark out the difference in exact scientific terms.[2] Furthermore, as a genuine pantheist, he maintains the identity of all being, believes in the existence of one all-embracing reality outside of which there is nothing, of one absolute being, "of which so-called things are merely states or modifications, parts or functions," and conceives as impossible "a multiplicity of originally self-subsisting things."

The reason alleged for this position is that if things were not identical with one single and real being as infinite as the universe, they could not act or exercise an influence on one another.[3] At the same time, however, the human soul exists also apart from and outside of the divine being; it exists in itself and is a second cause, a free agent initiating its own activity and hence undoubtedly, ex-

[1] *Belief in God*, p. 160. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 227. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

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ercising of itself an influence on other finite spirits, so that God is not accountable for its acts.

This is not the only perplexing statement; others more perplexing are to follow. Spiritual beings exist apart from the Divine Being and out of it, but at the same time they are also in it and are identical with it; they are independent of God, at least to a certain extent, but this greater independence is the result of their greater dependence upon God.[1] These several propositions may fitly be reduced to the following: Since nothing can be and exist apart from God and act of itself and independently of Him, and since nevertheless the human soul whilst it is in Him, is also apart from Him, and whilst it exists and acts in Him and dependently on Him, has at the same time an independent existence and activity of its own; it must be philosophically true that one and the self-same thing can at once exist and not exist, act and not act; and it is the special privilege of finite spirits thus simultaneously to be and not to be, to have and not to have existence, to be endowed and not to be endowed with independence and activity.

Professor Schurman is not unconscious of the perplexities involved in his statements. He confesses: "How beings can be self contained persons and at the same time elements of the Divine life, we can never perhaps precisely understand."[2] But the difficulty of understanding these two conflicting propositions is for him less than that of conceiving how things distinct in being can act on one another, and much less than that of comprehending the usual theism, which he finds altogether *unthinkable*.[3] On grounds of this kind he espouses pantheism as a necessary postulate of reason and regards the objections raised against it as merely tending to make it a terminological bugbear.[4]

After all, then, the President of Cornell University confessedly does not advance a real explanation of pantheistic evolution, but only chooses of two positions which transcend his comprehension, the one which he regards as less repugnant to reason or less unaccountable. We must, of course, leave to him the position in which he pleases to find acquiescence. But for the ordinary mind, the mind which follows the plain and self-evident maxims of reason, there is no greater absurdity than the denial of the principle of contradiction which affirms that nothing can exist and not exist at the same time, and no system more unreasonable than that which, asserting man to be what his own consciousness clearly denies, makes him a personified self-contradiction, and which, refusing to trace the finite and the contingent back to the infinite as

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 225–228.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 226.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 172.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 174.

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a supra-mundane cause, perverts the Supreme Being into a jumble of incongruities.

VII.

One point of discussion still remains—the new departure taken by some Protestant theologians for the purpose of disentangling emanative evolution from its difficulties. Denying creation out of nothing, they regard the world as having emanated, not from the nature, but from the will, of God. Emanation, if so conceived, is in their opinion not pantheism, but enlightened theism, which so explains divine nature as to reduce it to harmony with the new dogma of evolution. The theory, in order not to part with a personal Deity, seems to suppose that the divine will gives issue to the world, not with necessity, but with freedom. For were emanation admitted to be necessary, as it is in other systems, there seems to be no reason for repudiating pantheism. If this is in reality their supposition, it is an utterly inconsistent one. The intelligence that produces the world by a free act of the will must be conceived as completely developed. It must not only have self-consciousness, but also full knowledge of the entire universe, as well as of its every part, its every law, its phenomena, its order and harmony. For, undoubtedly, it could not bring such wonderful effects into being, before having formed a perfect mental representation of them. A mind so rich in ideas, so wide and so comprehensive, and inventive of so great schemes is certainly not unevolved; a power competent to carry into being the grandest conceptions is not merely inceptive; and a nature endowed with such an intellect, replete with all reality, all beauty and force is not in a rudimentary condition. The world, therefore, if an effluence of free will, does not constitute, but presupposes the evolution of the Deity. And it is much less such evolution as modern philosophy wants. Evolution, according to its recent conception, is a necessary process. We hear it repeated from all sides that there is no creation by arbitrary will, but creation only by law. It is thought that a steady and regular order, which renders science possible, cannot be established unless necessary laws control the origin and formation of the world, the interdependence of its parts, the sequence of its phenomena and the succession of its stages and periods. But let the world be an emanation from free will, then there is no longer necessity, then things come into existence, grow and combine by an act which evolutionists term arbitrary. Then the force that works everywhere, in brute matter, plants and animals; the force that exercises attraction and repulsion, that builds up organisms from atoms, germs, and protoplasms, forms the heavenly bodies from primordial elements and moulds them in their

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orbits, is will power subject to no law. In this assumption not only creation, but the entire course of nature becomes for the evolutionist arbitrary.

Emanation, therefore, from the free will of God is incompatible with the modern idea of evolution. It is, moreover, inconsistent with the denial of pantheism. To decide whether a given theory is theistic or pantheistic, we have above all to take into consideration what it teaches of creation. If it maintains that God created the world out of nothing according to His wisdom, and that finite and produced things are distinct in being from Him who is self-existent and infinite, it is plainly theistic. If, on the contrary, it does away with creation out of nothing, and if, accordingly, it takes the things that make up the universe for belongings, parts or modes of the divine nature, for the divine reality coming into external appearance, it is unmistakably pantheistic. For according to such a theory there is no other than Divine Being, no other than the divine nature entire in God, but divided in the things that appear to us, no other existence than that of God who is all in all. Now the new evolutionary theology looks on creation out of nothing as an obsolete idea which in the light of modern science must henceforward be discarded, and ignores, for the sake of complete unity, any reality that does not emanate from the eternal all-embracing Deity in such a manner as to share its very nature. This new theology is pantheistic as truly as Neoplatonism or as Brahminical philosophy was.

VIII.

To sum up our discussion, every attempt to uphold the evolutionary theory by a pantheistic interpretation has proved a signal failure. Pantheism itself is a confusion of self-contradictory tenets. It is such in whatever form it is presented, whether the world be regarded as the body animated by God, or as a mode of divine activity, or as an emanation from the divine nature or the divine will; and it remains such whatever method is adopted to set it forth and whatever reasons are advanced to render it acceptable. To extricate it from its self-contradictions is as impossible as to clear falsehood of untruth.

If pantheism is an absurdity, nay, the most startling of all absurdities that have ever been begotten by the erring mind of man, it stands to reason that it cannot redeem the idea of evolution from the charge of intrinsic contradiction, if by evolution is meant the transition of the one absolute, self-existing being from indeterminateness to determinateness by its own immanent activity. On the contrary, we must expect that it should only add new inconsistencies to previous incongruities. So, in fact, it has been shown to

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do. It not only fails to account for cosmic unity or to establish the fact of universal evolution, but has in the attempt to account for the one and to establish the other, been spun out into doctrinal systems which embody the most bewildering absurdities.

Pantheistic evolution, therefore, does not fulfil the hopes that have so fondly been based on it. It does not support the reality of the universe, but reduces finite beings to mere appearances, to mere modes of activity. It does not exalt, but stultifies human reason. It does not evince the greatness of God, but confounds Him with the vilest things, and attributes the lowest qualities to Him. Heaping contradictions on contradictions, it becomes destructive in its tendency. Instead of terminating in harmonious beauty and universal perfection, it terminates in the darkness and confusion of pessimism.

To say that evolution of all from God can be reconciled with theism or improves the theistic doctrine is the plainest untruth. The system which holds that God is all, because He develops into the universe, denies a personal Deity, and thereby diametrically opposes itself to theism; nay more, if it completely merges God in the world so as to eliminate His transcendency, it is, though not in terms, yet in reality, atheistical.

To go still farther and to avouch that pantheistic evolution is not only compatible with Christian views, but enlightens Christianity by reconciling it with reason, is far more than the height of absurdity. Many a reader will find it impossible to understand what meaning may be conveyed by such a term as pantheistic Christianity. And if, indeed, he has but the slightest idea of Christian religion, this impossibilty to understand is pardonable. Prof. Schurman has, however, come to clear up this puzzling con ception by his recent speculation. We are informed by him that the events, and especially the miracles related in the Gospel, are not real facts, but symbols of metaphysical truths, which the enlightened mind must decipher. Modern philosophy, we are further told, has successfully commenced to performt his task, and is now resetting the religion of Christ in the framework of contemporary knowledge.[1] By doing so it is fatal only to those Christian confessions which have been based on antiquated psychology, anthropology, cosmology, and history. It sets aside only decrepit belief, and what it destroys it replaces with truths discovered by cultivated reason. Understood in this purer light and cleared from inherited misrepresentations, Christianity embraces the following dogmas as its basis. Christ is God-man as we all are, only in a higher degree or a pre-eminent sense; for all men are sons of God in whom

[1] *Belief in God*, p. 261.

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they live. He is the Saviour of mankind only inasmuch as He is the standard-bearer of civilization and as he exercises a vitalizing power by His gracious personality.[1] He is the regenerator of man, not by resuscitating him from spiritual death and restoring him to spiritual life, but by bringing him to the consciousness of being one with God, because the new birth of the soul consists in the recognition and appropriation of our union with the Deity.[2] There is no sin from which we need be redeemed as from a guilt, sin being a necessary moment in divine evolution.[3] Nor is there any punishment which we have to fear in the life to come, since God is only love, the Father of spirits, who cannot resort to punishment for the education of His children. Eternal bliss in God has not to be deserved as a reward; for, as all are one with God by their nature, the ground of their communion with Him can never be broken.[4]

This language is clear enough, so clear, indeed, as to make all refutation unnecessary. It expresses the tenets of a philosophy which is the complete extermination of Christian belief, because it leaves intact none of the dogmas embodied in historical Christianity through all the centuries from the time of its foundation down to our days, and is an extermination of it as base and treacherous as the crime of the hidden assassin, because it assumes the name and the appearance of the religion which it attempts to extinguish by misrepresentations.

JOHN J. MING, S.J.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 253.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 251.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 251.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 255–260.

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"I WILL THINK UPON RAHAB."

"MEMOR ERO RAHAB." How few of us think, when we read these words, that they refer to part of a country which is the constant subject of the political and scientific thought of our day, for *Kahab* is the Latin rendering of an ancient poetical name for Lower Egypt, and one which is still retained by the Arabs under the form of *Rib*, or *Reef*. The psalmist brought to mind a land, the recalling of an intelligent visit to which is a lasting pleasure through life; for it should open out to us five long avenues of delightful study and contemplation, each of which is deserving investigation, and is full of rewards to the explorer. It has been said, that to know the records of the cities of Athens, Rome, and Paris, embraces all needful acquaintance with history; we are inclined to think that two links are wanting in the chain, if we omit Aix-la-Chapelle and Alexandria; the former connects Imperial Rome with the German Empire and modern Europe's formation, the latter unites ancient Greece to Rome, and, moreover, was the nursery of Christendom. It may be, in the decay of earnest reading among us generally, that the reason is to be found why—notwithstanding the increasing crowds of visitors who flock to Egypt every year—not a tithe of them stay longer in Alexandria than to refresh themselves after their sea voyage, and await the afternoon train to bear them on to Cairo; the only recreation they take usually is a drive to the Pharos, which is neither the ancient one of classic fame nor upon its site, or to "Pompey's Pillar," which is not Pompey's. The result of this is, that we scarcely ever hear of anything save the dirt and squalor, the lath and plaster, of the city; and instead of this once renowned and mind-moving spot having stored the memory with new interests in a period of secular and ecclesiastical history that is little taught at school or college, the one city on earth is passed by which alone can fill up a page of the world's story. In Egypt, itself, we have a civilization not yet nearly unfolded to the learned, in the depths of its wondrous culture and wisdom, but one whose record must some day become a part of all education. It is but emerging, in noble fragments, needing time to connect; it remains to the vast majority, however, like a background of mist and indefinite shapes, without distinct outline or continuity. We see enough to show us that, Greek and Roman, whose culture has been hitherto the foundation upon which all our western training has been based,

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were not originators, but were as indebted to Egypt as we have been to them; and we find that it is here that human thought united itself to that line of man's effort after mental development which is now displaying itself as stretching far away into ages quite undreamt of by us formerly.

To see Egypt, is to see the most precious picture-book that the world can display; three months carefully spent in this land affords far better information than years spent in reading Egyptian, Greek, or Christian antiquities in the usual manner. Every place you visit is an illustrated lecture upon probably all three subjects—the wonders of the world, of all time, are here demanding your judgment upon them; the names of men who had almost seemed fables can here be traced, their works still seen, their very bodies, perchance, gazed upon beneath a glass case. Sacred and profane literature can be learnt together in so enticing and bewitching a manner that the student knows no toil, and is even unconscious of the fullness of his mental storehouse, only realizing that he has been having the most enjoyable holiday of his life; and all this is gained by making a stay in a winter resort one of regulated purpose and thought.

Directly we leave Alexandria, we find period heaped upon period—Pharaohic, Grecian, Roman, Coptic, Saracen—in so perplexing a manner, that, like as in a section of geological strata, unless we have made some study of each separately, we are unable to appreciate the discrimination. At Alexandria we are at the source of three of these periods, for there Alexander the Greek was its founder and established the house of the Ptolemys; there, Augustus Cæsar, the Roman, succeeded to the last member of that house, and there came St. Mark, the Evangelist, and organized the African Church. It is true that the Grecian history of the city is not laid in the days with which we are usually familiar, not in those of Attic story, but rather those when it bore upon its cheek the hectic flush of decline; or when, like the fabled swan, bursting forth into sweet song, it hushed itself in death with this proof of its power and its beauty. Alas! like that song, there is little remaining here in Alexandria but the echo "through the aisles of the ages," although all along the Nile's flood up to beautiful Philæ, you will be able to find noble evidences of it; but still, to be upon a site, to see the conformations of ground, to recall upon these shores the great men who have trod its sands, and to gather up tradition, are all helps in the reconstruction of a past which lies at the very antipodes to the present condition of the place.

It would be well, therefore, for travellers to halt at Alexandria for a while, and collect their mental resources together, if they desire to make an intellectual visit to this instructive land, for, what

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a "faded flower, a broken ring, a tress of golden hair," is to the lover, that, a broken mound, or half-buried column, is to the student of the past. In all of us, conception is quickened and memory revived by being upon the scene, and put *en rapport* with some relic of the period, or object upon which we desire to reflect—the lie of the country and its setting, the aspects of nature herself, all enable us to bridge over time and to stand at the portals of a land where imagination has legitimate and free play within certain limits of information and probability. Let us, therefore, as we approach Alexandria from across the dancing azure waters of the Mediterranean, beneath the glorious sun, and in the refreshing breeze of early morning, bring back some of the thoughts which crowd for utterance upon a visit to its historic shores.

We strain our eyes in vain for some sign of even the continent, far less of a city, when under a score of miles away from it. The long low stretch of tawny sands as receding as the brow of Africa's children, appears but as the vapor where water and sky meet, and it is not before we enter the harbor, and the white domes and minarets arise before us, that we Mogrebins—dwellers in the sun-set-land—realize that we are really in the "The East"—that title which has so often made our hearts palpitate with eager desire, which is childhood's first-known geography, and that never loses the romantic infatuation and wonder which early years weave around it. The conformation of the coast, as we draw near, is like the initial letter of the land of Misr, or shall we say like the stamp of the hoof of the sacred cow Isis itself? A second harbor upon our left, separated by an isthmus, is the ancient one at whose base lay the Ptolemeian town, and called, by a perversity frequently met with, the New Port. Now it is only possible for shallow native craft, and it is into the magnificent western harbor that the ships of Europe enter with safety upon the broad and brilliant waters. The spit of land which separates the two bays has been formed chiefly in post Grecian times from the ruins of temples and palaces—a *via doloris* like that stretching across Sedgemoor—made of the stones of Glastonbury Abbey. It is now a broad causeway upon which much of the modern town stands, projecting into the sea in shape like the crutch topped staff with which St. Anthony of the Theban Desert is usually represented. It was the ancient Heptastadium—the seven-furlong aqueduct which, springing from rock to rock, connected the city with the Isle of Pharos at its extremity.

Nestling in the hollow of its seaward face is a roadstead protected by outlying rocks and whose name—Pirates' Way—tells of perils now happily unexperienced by those who venture to visit these waters, but scarcely yet beyond man's memory. Its evil

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fame is of a very venerable antiquity, for it was probably one of its frequenters, Dionides by name, who was brought up before the great founder of the city over 2000 years ago, and was asked by what right he infested these seas, robbing and plundering peaceful men. "By what right, most potent Emperor," answered the bravo, "do you ravage the world? Am I a robber because I have but one ship and you a conqueror because you have a fleet?"

Those outlying rocks too have their story, for upon them Proteus, the pastor of Poseidon, was to be seen in Homeric days, reclining with his porpoises and dolphins shepherded around him during the midday heat. He may do so still, but the sun at that hour is too hot to permit of many of us making the exertion to find him, and yet, if we did catch him napping there, he would tell us our "fortunes" and that without any crossing of palm with silver or gold, for do not Herodotus and Diodorus say that he was an ancient king of the Gypsies? His ocean flocks and herds you may see dancing around your ship, and the Hippocampi which are his chariot horses you can buy, dry and shrivelled up with overwork, but we, at least, never have been able to arouse sufficient energy to go in quest of him at noon-tide. Some consider that he was the first Haroun-al-Raschid of history, and Lucian who lived here and was secretary to the Roman prefect studied the question; at all events, ever since his time the assuming of varied disguises to impose upon their subjects has been a very favorite tradition of eastern potentates.

The island portion of the peninsula gave its name to the wonderful Pharos from which all modern representatives are called. Most people think that the light-house upon our left as we enter the present used or western harbor is upon the site of its historical progenitor and your driver and dragoman will take you there and assure you that such is the case: but learn thus early to believe neither, unless you know the truth beforehand. On our right as we continue our way, a strip of fort-adorned land separates the sea from Lake Mareotis which lies behind, and it was along that strip that Napoleon marched his troops upon Alexandria on July 1, 1798, before the British were awake. All this western shore is crested with the quarries from which ancient and modern Alexandrias have been cut, and within the bosom of the same hills the dead of the ages past sleep their long sleep. The pagan Greeks, of course, cremated their dead, but the Christians continued the custom of this country and of the Jews of embalming. Their existing catacombs are extensive, lying to the west of the town, in natural harmony with the thought of its being the bourne of the setting sun of life when its day's course had run.

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It is into the "New Port" that all our thoughts must go when we think of the fleet of an Antony or Cleopatra, brilliant with color, resting upon its waters, or of the storm tossed and crowded boats bearing the Crusaders to besiege a soldan of Cairo. We may remember, too, the many pilgrims who have been borne across its waves perilling their lives not only at sea but also by land, that they might make their pious visits to Mataryeh's Garden of the Repose or to the monasteries of the desert. The Apostle of Egypt himself, St. Mark, thus approached Alexandria, and it was while doing so that he made his first convert, who succeeded him as the city's bishop. Tradition tells how the Evangelist as he entered the harbor broke his shoe, and asked a cobbler on board, one Anian by name, to repair it. The man undertook to do so but hurting his hand with his awl he exclaimed: "Oh, my God!" upon which the holy traveller "improved the occasion" and with such success that the cobbler invited the stranger to his house; and the stay there resulted in the conversion of the whole family to the new faith.

You must entirely depend upon your imaginative powers to form any picture of what the appearance of Alexandria must have been to one approaching it in Ptolemeian times, and raise up around the old harbor a gleaming city of marble, rising terrace upon terrace with noble temples and palaces, set in fair spaces, with their flights of steps and colonnades all lovely in their disciplined relation and proportion. Imposing groups of majestic structures made it rival Rome itself in magnificence, for one pride of its rulers lay in the splendor of their town and in the treasures of learning they there amassed. You may dream dreams of its superb and impressive appearance; and you will be little likely to exceed the sketch that history has kept for us of its beauty, but all traces of which, like its founder's bones, are now only to be sought in the dust upon its shores.

The quay of Alexandria presents a scene which no traveller can ever forget, especially one fresh from the pale-faced Europe. Men of every nation and every kindred under heaven are to be found in the mighty crowd who throng around; and although, at first, you may experience a sense of suspicion as you mingle with these dark-skinned, gleaming-eyed peoples, yet in a week or so that will entirely disappear, while no time dulls the charm that their sinewy frames and graceful motions produce.

Graeco-Syrian, rather than Egyptian, the city has ever been and remains. Ancient Egypt was far more intimate with the ship of the desert than with that of the sea, and beyond a-voyaging over its own Nile or making the Red Sea's passage, it probably did little seafaring. It is true, however, that there is some record in

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the eighteenth dynasty of the defeating of the Tyrians in a naval engagement at Cyprus; but such records are scant. It was the Greek who was forever congregating here, even before Alexander had the dream bidding him found the city near

> "A certain island called
> Pharos, that with the high 'waved sea is walled.'"
> —CHAPMAN'S HOMER.

Strabo seems to suggest that it was to prevent this people settling in any numbers that the small Egyptian garrison town of Rhacôtis arose here at all. The Greek forms still the chief part of the population, for the race is no more dead than their language, although England has tried so hard to divorce the moderns from their ancestors, or at least to give them two tongues. Hither they come from the isles of the Mediterranean and its coasts, bringing with them the purest physical type of the ancient stock that we can see; their stature medium, their figures fine and slender, their features exquisitely modelled, their eyes languishing, lustrous, and as mobile and unrestrained as all their actions. Alas! we cannot look upon them for all this with any delight; they appear to be wrecks—constitutional wrecks; the Horatian verb *Graecari* seems illustrated in them all. Worn out with debauchery, drink, and want of honest sleep and work, is the impression they convey at first sight; and alas! for a second time, and with many a classic Ai, Ai—a longer acquaintance does not remove first impressions. The French make *un Grec* equal to a cheat, and the Roman had many a similar expressive phrase; "Graeca fides," meant "no credit," and to purchase "with Greek credit"—"Graeca fide mercari" (Plaut.)—meant to pay ready money. There may have been much of a rival nation's antipathy in all this, and the race had even then degenerated, we suppose; but they are just what Juvenal, the exile at Assouan, describes them when he says:

> "The race are actors born; smile, and your Greek
> Will laugh until the tears run down his cheek.
> He'll weep as soon, if he observe a friend
> In tears, but feels no grief. For fire you send
> In winter; straight his overcoat he gets;
> And, if you cry, How hot it is; he sweats."—SAT. iii., 100.

No, we must call him a Levantine now and not sully the fair fame of our ancient friends by styling him by the name full of noble association to those of the old-school of teaching. Here he is a "Graeculus esuriens"—an ever-hungry Greekling—counting all trades as his own, compassing heaven and earth, if only he can "*do*" one. The slang term "to levant" must have arisen as an

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expression from commercial experience with Levantines, and since it is said that no Jew can exist amid them, their science of modern day trade principles ought to excite profound admiration.

You will probably drive, directly you land, to the Hôtel Khedivial, leaving your servant and a representative of Pharaoh Cook to bring your luggage through the mazes of boats and custom house officialdom. This hotel stands in the midst of what was once the aristocratic quarter of the ancient city—the Bruchium—and temples and palaces, university and mausoleum, must have all lain in its neighborhood. The Rue de la Porte Rosette runs in front of it, a shrunken and narrowed thoroughfare on the same site as the ancient street along which Bucephalus, perchance, paced, bearing the world's conqueror, and whose stones must have been trod by most of the men bearing the greatest names we know in early science, philosophy and theology—once it was one of the world's noblest thoroughfares, and is one still for memory to people with its noblest children. You may go about the modern city; but you will be driven back upon the recollections of the past to find anything to delight you; the houses are ill-built, the bazaars of the meanest kind, the streets narrow and dirty, of course, but the most un-Eastern of any place you will see, and the Grand Piazza on the clearance of the part destroyed in 1882, though respectably clean and open, is French and absolutely uninteresting; it needs an architect like its first, Dinocrates, and a ruler like its founder, to restore to us its beauty. Let us rather, as we pace its shores, think over a few names which naturally suggest themselves to every one who comes here.

The mighty Alexander by every right stands first, for he was perhaps the most wonderful genius the world has ever had given to it. His life should be read by all who come to his city. Would that we had that written by his successor, Ptolemy Lagi, copies of which may still lie buried in the sand and tombs around. He was only thirty-two when he died from our modern curse of drink, they say, and all his life's work was done in twelve years! If he had had a Homer to sing his knightly deeds and to tell of his human frailties, his life would be of more value for our reading than that of Achilles over whose grave he wept. All his successors here, even down to the last Cleopatra, seem to have been a line of more enlightened sovereigns than the world had ever seen before, or has possessed since, in their public policy and wise and liberal endowment of literature and art. The Arabs have made Alexander a prophet and Cleopatra a witch, and they show a tomb of the former on the way to "Pompey's Pillar," but that is "a way they have!" The great Soma where he lay in his alabaster or crystal sarcophagus—after the unworthy Cocces had appropriated the original

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one, as Strabo says—is thought to have been where the railway for Ramleh now has its station.

The notorious Cleopatra was the seventh of that pretty name, which means a "father's pride," but which sounds such a mockery in her case, for, like the evil woman in Proverbs, "her house inclined to death and her paths to the dead. None that went to her returned again, neither took they hold of the paths of life." She and her family were a criminous circle. As you stand upon the shore of the Port of Eunostos, or the Happy Return—as the old harbor was poetically styled—you will think of that awful scene when her young brother, ruling at the age of thirteen, stood here, too, watching a couple of men row out to a Roman war-galley anchored in the deeper water. He has sent them to bring to shore his father's protector, Pompey the Great, who is craving asylum after his defeat by Julius Cæsar at the battle of Pharsalia. The poor wife, Cordelia, and the son, Sextus, watch the once powerful triumvir stepping into the boat, and follow him with their hearts and eyes as he is rowed across the bay. At a prearranged signal from the boy-king, the two sailors drop their oars and throw themselves upon their passenger and, amidst shrieks rending the air from those he had just left behind, they murder their victim in sight of all men, and having cut off his head, cast it upon the sands at the feet of the inhuman lad. The curse of blood is not long in overtaking the wicked boy, for, while the conquering Julius is chambering with the sister, he is drowned in the Nile, as he sought for himself the escape that he had refused to another. Cleopatra herself poisoned her second brother when she was but seventeen years old; her lover (Julius) was stabbed to death at the foot of the statue of her brother's victim, Pompey the Great; her second lover, Marc Antony, committed suicide upon finding himself betrayed by her into the hands of Octavianus, afterwards Augustus Cæsar; and when the wretched woman found that she could not make a similar dupe of this Cæsar, she ended her wicked life at thirty-nine by the poisonous fangs of the cerastes, or horned viper.

Just as a record full of manly deeds began the line of Alexandrian rulers, so one full of heartless crime and ruthless tragedies ended it; and between come pages jewelled with names which have left the world boundlessly indebted to them in every field of learning and research. Two beautiful women are connected with the first of the Ptolemys—for Soter, who was governor under Alexander and subsequently king, married first the lovely and frail Thais and afterwards Berenice. It was the latter who vowed her glorious hair to Venus should her husband return victorious from an expedition, and, upon his doing so, she cut off her rich locks

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and hung them in the temple of the goddess; but Jupiter carried them off, they said, and astronomer-royal Conon found them in a constellation, which is still known as *Coma Berenices.* Soter had not only an eye for beauty, but also a keen appreciation of learning; he became a great patron of such men as the native-born Euclid among others. His son, too, Philadelphus, is well known as the gatherer of the first great library, starting with such books as he could acquire from the collection that Aristotle had made, he who had been tutor to the city's founder, and obtaining, likewise, a number of Jewish and Egyptian manuscripts. It was he who had the Hebrew scriptures translated into the vernacular, the present Septuagint, the execution of which has been surrounded with so many legends. Galen, the physician; Claudius Ptolemy, the parent of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy; Eratosthenes, the discoverer of longitude; Callimachus, Theocritus, Zenodotus and Philetas, the poets; Hegesias, the moral philosopher, were a few out of the galaxy of magi who adorn his reign. But we might almost take each successive Ptolemy, and find that they welcomed here all students, and the reading of their biographies is, in itself, a visit to the springs of Western literature and knowledge. Even the last of the race, Cleopatra VII., made use of her influence over Marc Antony to obtain for her city the library of the kings of Pergamus, and by her encouragement of such men as the physician Dioscorides, and the computator of the Julian Calendar, Sosigenes, she displayed the only redeeming feature of her evil career. We ought not to go to Alexandria without becoming intimately acquainted with all this intellectual history; for its colleges are the source of almost everything in learning which we possess, and we remain incapable of making rational employment of half that we have received through them. Grecian literature comes to us preserved by Alexandria. We actually continue to use for our very grammars of that language a notebook made by an Alexandrian pedagogue in the first century of our era; and, although we enlarge upon it to a greater or less extent, it remains, notwithstanding our boasted learning, practically the same, and based upon no true analysis of the tongue such as research has provided. Our modern scientific schools of teaching are but a return to those that existed in Alexandria, and they again probably only methodized and published Egyptian knowledge. For natural science, it is to Alexandria we look for the systematizing of astronomy, geology, physics, etc.; and its schools continued to flourish up to the Mohametan invasion of the seventh century. Nor did they die even then; for the very atmosphere seems to have been so impregnated with incentive to mental culture that the Arab, later on, learnt from Coptic and Nestorian teachers his physics and from Jews his medicine.

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Dissection of the human body was not permitted by the Koran, and hence it came that the Arab applied himself to the study of drugs, from whence many a word, like alcohol, has come to us, while Geber is regarded as the father of chemical science. Their extraction of metals from their ores led to alchemy, and their mathematical researches gave us algebra and the very figures we employ.

A recent writer has endeavored to show that, not central Asia but central Africa, was the source whence the human race sprang, and that coming down the Nile's stream it thence overflowed the world. It is very sure that we are daily learning the truth that, if Egypt be not the *Terrarum parens*, yet she certainly is the *Artium Mater*, as Macrobius calls her, and countless hosts have enriched themselves and their countries from the treasures of her wisdom.

We have already said that, with the coming of Augustus Cæsar and the death of Cleopatra, the history of Alexandria links itself on to the Roman empire, and there is a contemplation which very naturally unites itself to these events, for in Augustus' reign our Lord was born and a few years later came down into Egypt. The history of early Christianity is the history of Alexandria, and nowhere is it more interestingly studied in its literary and ecclesiological aspects than here. This land was very early in enrolling itself under the new religion, and so popular did it become that it has been said that, like its divine Founder, although born in Judea, it was nurtured in Egypt; the people took naturally to it, and the deserts of yellow sands along this rich Nile valley became mystical paradises, blossoming with lives of sanctity and self-denial.

The hermit's caves, the convents, the lauras or monastic villages are innumerable and make a study of themselves, while the churches abound in interest and antiquity. We have told above how St. Mark made his first convert as he entered the harbor of Eunostos about thirty years after our Lord had been crucified; four years subsequent to his arrival St. Peter writes to the Asians that the "Church which is at Babylon co-elect with you, and St. Mark, my son, salute you,"[1] and there can be little doubt that this Babylon is the ancient Roman fortress tower near old Cairo which still bears that name. It is worth while reflecting upon the history of its first Apostle, for he is little thought of now by visitors; nor do their guide-books lead them to trace his residence here. There seems something in common between St Peter and Mark, for the latter had many "turnings-back" apparently in his life's struggle for the truth. Some think that he never was a disciple of our Lord while He was on earth, others that he was one

[1] I. Peter v., 13.

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of the seventy-two and of those who "turned back" at the "hard saying."[1] He is said to be the "young man" of his own gospel[2] who, sleeping in his house in the Kedron valley, was disturbed by the noise in the night of the arresting of our Saviour, and, rushing out to discover its cause, was seized by the soldiery of Pilate, but being without garments, save the usual waistband, he slipped from their hold. It was to his mother's house that St. Peter went when released from prison in Jerusalem, and where the Christians were found assembled for their midnight services. Mark seems to have "turned back" from the work of the ministry when travelling with St. Paul and Barnabas in Asia Minor and was, therefore, distrusted by the former as a companion for his second Apostolic journey, whereupon St. Barnabas took him to Cyprus. It seems a very human, natural and pathetic story, and bears no trace of the fable and myth which some critics have tried so hard to find in all sacred writings which Christianity treasures. The Evangelist eventually was sent to Alexandria by St. Peter[3] and preached in various places.[4] He set up his episcopal see at Alexandria, and from his day to the present there has not lacked a successor to the "Evangelical Throne of St. Mark." His occupancy of that throne was short for the great work he did, and eight years after his arrival, the worshipers of Osiris-Apis, regarding him as a magician because of his miraculous powers, they said, seized him, April 24th, and dragging him by ropes, to the temple of the Serapeum, sowed the streets with that seed of the martyr's blood which sprang up eventually into so prolific and vigorous a crop. The beautiful building of the great Serapeum is thought to have stood where "Pompey's Pillar," one of its glorious columns, still rises into the pure air, and to have extended over the adjoining Arab graveyard.[5]

The great church which rose over his house and relics was called by Arabs the mosque of 1001 columns, and is said to have been upon the borders of Lake Mareotis and just beyond the western limit of the present town, where the quarantine now stands. Nothing exists to tell of its rich and spacious courts, with their colonnades and porticoes of granite, porphyry and precious mar-

[1] John vi. [2] xiv, 51.

[3] Epiph. Haer., lib., p. 457, Dindorf; Euseb., H. E., ii., 16.

[4] Niceph, H. E., ii., 43.

[5] It may be that, with the retentiveness of ancient traditions, we have a memory of the Bull, Apis, that was here reverenced, recalled in customs such as that which still prevails at Alter do Chao, in Portugal, and other places, of leading an ox garlanded with flowers to the Church upon St. Mark's Day and there offering to the patrociny of the Saint all the calves of the year; and the morrow of his day has the name, we believe, in parts of England of "Cowslip day," in which there may be some similar alliance of thought between the Evangelist and that pretty meadow flower.

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bles; for, together with the numerous other churches of the city, its costly materials were taken to build the palaces of Abbasside princes and powerful pachas. It was the insecurity to the Christians occasioned by the arrival, in the seventh century, of the Arab conqueror, which led to the transference of the Evangelist's honored remains to Venice, where they are at the present day, and the great patriarchal church of that fair city of the waters was erected to enshrine Egypt's apostle and protomartyr. An ancient mosaic exists above the organ gallery there, apparently of eleventh century workmanship (1000–1071), representing the history of the transaction. In A.D. 828 the Arab spoilers were wrecking the churches of Alexandria, and began to bereave of its precious pillars and marbles the beautiful shrine which piety had erected over St. Mark. Some Venetian merchants, who probably often had paid their devotions at the tomb, together with multitudes of pilgrims from over sea, happened to be in the church one day when a party of Moslem destroyers entered and pursued their ruthless task. The thoughts and anxieties of all were centred in the preservation of their patron's bones from violation, and the traders, realizing the peril, proposed to two of the guardians that they should send the relics, for safe custody, to Venice. The word "furantur" in the inscription would seem to show that the Coptic clergy were not acting in concert with the rest of their brethren in agreeing to the transfer; otherwise, both parties might have been influenced by the most laudable motives. The Coptic priest Theodorus and Staurgius, a monk, consented to the merchants' proposals, and laying the body of St. Claudian in the shrine, they placed that of St. Mark in a basket of palm branches and covered it over with green shrubbery. The rigidity of the coastguard surveillance had still to be overcome; but for this the ready wit of the sailors found an escape, for they overlaid their burthen with a quantity of pork-flesh that defiled by its touch both Jew and Arab, and sallying forth with their lead, they shouted "Khanzeer! Khanzeer!"—like to the cry "Room for the Leper! Room!" All drew aside from pollution, and the mosaic gives one of those simple, natural and striking mediæval touches, telling of all this by making the custom-house officer whose boat is alongside, release his hold of the bulwarks of the Venetian craft and drop backwards when the cry of "Khanzeer!" is raised by the crew. The Venetians retain in grateful memory the names of the merchants in their histories and in this mosaic—Tribunus, or Sonus—Suono, of Malamocco—being the one, and Rusticus—Rustico, of Torcello—the other, and they honor the last day of January as that of the translation of the relics to their island home. Immediately after their arrival, St. Mark was united with the old patron, St. Theodore of

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Heraclea, in the tutelage of the city. The church was pulled down that a finer one might rise upon its site, and just as it was completed, in A.D. 976, it was entirely destroyed by fire. Vigorous in faith and action, the citizens immediately set about erecting the present basilica, and artists were collected from Constantinople, and precious marbles gathered from various lands visited by the merchant fleet of the republic, and a law passed that every vessel trading in the Levant should assist in the enriching, by monument and costly column, the resting-place of the writer of the second Gospel story.[1] The pulpit and screen came from Constantinople's desecrated Cathedral of St. Sophia, and many a pillar and stone there has a history which we need not now detail. You may still see the original mosaic upon fête days, when the gallery is unlocked, placed on one side of the dome (an engraving is in the "Archæological Journal," vii., p. 258); you may see St. Theodoric, the Strathilates, or general, standing upon the Nile's dragon, and also St. Mark's winged lion upon their columns, and some few sheets they can show you, upon very fine Egyptian papyrus, of what were long thought to be the original MS. of the Evangelist's Gospel; but the relics of the saint you will not find, for they are hidden deep in a secret place beneath one of the great pillars of the Doge's stately chapel, where no tribunes or justices may get at them, but where we may utter with confidence the aspiration "Pax tibi, Marce, Evangelista meus."

The Church of St. Mark at Alexandria, though deprived of its great treasure, was restored by the Copts, although never regaining its former richness, and they made it, by the necessity of their existence, so strong a fortress that the Saracens, in 1219, had to destroy it, fearful lest it should fall into the hands of the Crusaders and become the source of attack upon their flanks. It is entirely an unpursued inquiry as to why the soldiers of the Cross did not obtain tangible help from the native Christians of Egypt. They were a numerous part of the community, and might have rendered powerful assistance in the common cause. It may have been the recent schisms of East and West, or it may have been the fear lest their later state should be worse than their present, which led to their apparent apathy; but we cannot but think that if they had united in the effort then made, the success of those wars would have been assured. Even to this present day the Crusades have left a powerful impression upon the Saracen mind that the Cross will prove victorious in the end; and they have a traditional prophecy that most of their cities are to fall under its sway. In Jerusalem they have walled up the "Golden Gate" of the Temple

[1] D'Agincourt, ii., 154.

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by which the conqueror shall one day enter, and every Friday at prayer-time the city gates were closed to stay the expected invader. Mecca itself is to succumb and be succeeded by Alexandria as the holy city; this, too, is to yield, and the Moslem will have to seek a fresh centre somewhere in the regency of Tunis. Kairawan is to follow, giving way in turn to Rosetta or Rashid, which continues impregnable in "saecula saeculorum."

The Copts of Alexandria have their present church behind the Khedivial Hôtel, where they show a picture of St. Michael that, they say, St. Luke painted when he came to this land. They also declare that when St. Mark's body was removed to Venice they retained his head, which is still here, together with the relics of over seventy-two of his successors,[1] who were once styled "judges of the whole world," and each of whom interred his predecessor, previously placing his dead hand upon his own head. (Liberatus.) The orthodox Greeks still use the Liturgy of St. Mark, and although the Copt employs St. Gregory's in Lent and St. Basil's on ordinary occasions, still they retain St. Cyril's for feastful seasons, and this, to all intents and purposes, is that of their first teacher, the Evangelist.

This city was the home and source of almost all the schools of thought which have arisen within the Christian Church, and those existing amongst us to-day are but the recrudescence of what has been threshed out here by giants. It was as Protean in its mind as it has been in its rulers. When turbid with the confusion of the religious systems of ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome, and Judæa, into it came a clear stream flowing from the fountain of the Incarnation, and the influence of its presence is recognized in the efforts which are made to subtilize and elevate all previous teaching. The spiritualizing of the Rabbinical beliefs, the philosophical speculations of Neo-Platonism, the systems of the Agnostics, all make the times a study very suited to our own day. The Adamantine doctor, Origen, is an example of the combining influence of the second century upon a remarkable genius; none can doubt his earnestness. He was the son of a martyr for the faith of Christ, and he himself not only became an eunuch for the Gospel's sake, but even laid down his life for it at Tyre; yet all through his life his vision of the truth seems to have been rendered dim and his faith weak by the allegorizing and etherealizing of all religions to obtain a coalition of every section of belief, vulgar and philosophical. It was here in Alexandria that the great Arian heresy arose which rent all Europe asunder, and which is revived as if fresh by the pygmies of to-day. Arius was a presbyter in the city, and like a dock leaf

[1] Neale's *Patr. of Alexandria* and Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus.*

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reared beside the nettle, here the great Athanasius was born of heathen parents, he who refuted the heresiarch at the Council of Nicæa in A.D. 325. The latter seems to have been one of the most marvellous personalities in the world's history. To him, small of stature and bowed with thought, Catholic, Protestant, secularist, and even an infidel, Gibbon, together do homage. One of the curious imaginings of the late fascinating Dean Stanley was that in our English badge of St. George and the dragon the great doctor of the Church was both the magician and the monster of that George, and an Arian bishop of Alexandria was the hero,[1] so that the last expiring trace of the revenge of the Arians on their great adversary was to be seen in the image which our North country peasantry preserve in their mummers' play in the questionable guise of "that old Serpent, the Devil!"

Three columns of the ancient basilica Church of St. Athanasius stood in Alexandria when the French army entered Egypt, and are shown in the "Description de l'Egypte," then made; the remainder had been taken to adorn a mosque near by, while the relics of the *Malleus Arianorum* lie at rest, after many an exile and return, in the city of Venice.

It was from Alexandria that the Emperor Diocletian issued his edict for the great persecution of the Christians in A.D. 301, an order which vibrated even to St. Alban's in our far western isle; and one of those who suffered here in Egypt from that decree has her name famous throughout Europe. What a source of inspiration to mediæval art was the legend of St. Katherine being transferred by angels to Sinai's top. Some mementoes of her are still preserved in the Greek Church of Alexandria, but the jealous care of their dead made the early Christians bear her to the convent in Horeb, where her bones have remained at peace for sixteen centuries. Her shrine upon the mountain peak led to the custom of dedicating to her memory churches upon lofty situations, an honor which she shares with the Archangel St. Michael, the prince of the celestial hosts. The architects made the instrument of her passion the design for those lovely wheel windows of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; piety allied her name with many a radiant flower; while boys kept her November feast-day by burning their "Katherine-wheel," and maidens made holiday of "Katherntyde."

But where are we to end, if we attempt to relate the saints and martyrs, the scientists and literary men whom Alexandria produced? They need a book, not an essay, to tell of their works and the dowry of blessing they bequeathed to Europe. Few volumes

[1] Eastern Church, lect. vii.

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would be more instructive or helpful. Occasionally a writer takes up the life of a St. Anthony, the hermit of the Nitrian desert, or a Hypatia, and without incorporating himself with the times of his subject or appreciating the struggles of the minds of men in that early renaissant period, draw us such a picture as may make the contrast with our own day appear satisfactory. They forget that we start with humanity enriched by the influences conferred by the struggles of souls after higher life through eighteen centuries, and to us correspondence with the divine light of conscience is no giant's labor, but in those early times it must have been the task for a hero. The local characteristics of human nature in Alexandria were such that they could only be welded and purified through many a conflict. The stubbornness of the Copt, the light ephemeral nature of the Greek, the opportunism of the Jew, were native elements ever present, and they who disregard these influences are little likely to value the victory which Christianity won. The new religion did not ever claim to transmute nature, but to be a heaven-sent germ to plant in earthen soil, changing the spring of action, and hence moulding and tempering its environment.

Before we close we would like to make a plea for the Copts of to-day. They seem now, as in the days of Pococke, to recite their long offices without understanding or devotion, but we can only judge "secundum visionem oculorum," and that is no true judgment; but their jealous preservation of their ancient ritual, probably nearly as old as Christianity itself, and their life and customs, make them most interesting studies to the student. It is little to the credit of the hearts and minds of superficial writers that they see in these degraded Christians but an occasion to mock at a faith which has shown itself powerful enough to maintain this race intact through such a long period of dire oppression as they have endured. Twelve centuries of subjugation and cruel usage cannot pass over a people without deadening all fine feeling and intellectual activity. The fierce and zealous Moslem has visited the native Copt most severely for his constancy to his religion, so that they may truly be termed a nation of martyrs. To defraud them of their property, and to inflict upon them every form of extortion and cruelty, has been the behavior for ages of pachas and people. Turk and Arab have treated them as vile and polluting outcasts, of whom it was not only lawful but praiseworthy to show detestation. Driven to herd together in their wretchedness, away in desert places; shut up in fortress-like dwellings, open at any moment to the swooping down upon them of a dervish-led band of devotees who would kill every mortal they could find; doubtful of their existence under every change of local pacha or Egyptian ruler; and with day to follow day, and year to follow year, aye, even cen-

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tury to succeed century, with no hand stretched out to stay their oppressor, and no hope to relieve the anxiety which these descendants of the Pharaohs and children of St. Mark had to endure,—can we be surprised that cowardliness, slyness and lying are the product of such helplessness, hopelessness, and weakness? And should not our profoundest compassion be moved when we see to what depths affliction can reduce a venerable race? How it is that they are not mentally incapable, is a miracle. They have, however, been the unhonored teachers to their conquerors in architecture, carving in wood and stone, working in mosaic and the making of textile fabrics, as well as being the clerks of their masters and the registrars of the Nile's risings. Such services have been but individual and not recognized to the race. They seem to have had upon them the dreadful curse which Ezekiel foretold to their land, that it should "be the basest of kingdoms; neither shall it exalt itself any more among the nations." Their power has come down; their soil has been given into the hands of the stranger; it has been laid waste with all that dwelt therein. May we not hope that at length the prophetic doom has been worked out, and that the centuries of penance endured by this remnant of the ancient stock may have atoned for the sins of their forefathers? May we not hope that this ancestral people, under England's righteous rule, may now regain their lost nobility of character, and that upon the dead bones of their external observances may break the enlivening spirit of that faith which they have endured so much to vindicate?

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS TO THE POPE'S ENCYCLICAL.

TWO cries for religious unity have recently gone forth to the world. Thinking men have as never before, been drawn to consider the anomaly presented by the great diversity that has existed in religious matters among the nations of the globe. God-fearing men, profound students, earnest souls have bewailed such religious disunion, strife producing and oft to deeds of violence inciting; have seen that such a state of things is disorder, and not according to the dictates of right reason, and have thought that the warring sects of Christendom could be brought together and in peace and harmony follow the doctrines of Jesus Christ. They recognize the need of unity in religion—in divine worship—more imperative here than in other branches of human effort. They see that the multiplicity of religious beliefs, the diversity of Christian creeds and churches, by no means tends to the beauty or to the harmony or to the strength either, of religion or of Christianity. And they wish to obey the Apostle's exhortation to be, "careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. One body and one Spirit; one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all."[1]

The World's Fair Congresses of Religions took place a twelfth-month since in a Western metropolis, and eminent representatives of almost all the principal forms of religious belief labored to find a strong bond of union among them either of doctrine or of practical life. Many dissenting bodies of Christians assembled there too, if perchance they might destroy the bitter animosity of their differences, and sink their peculiarities of dogma and ritual in some radical and fundamental form of Christianity.

From this Parliament there resulted a clearer apprehension of religion as meaning the love and worship of God and the love and service of man. Greater liberty of thought and wider tolerance of opinion have been inculcated. The ideas of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man have been learned more thoroughly and impressively than ever before. And it is to be hoped as a permanent blessing originating in these Congresses that men will no longer persecute their brethren for conscience's sake, thinking that thereby they would be rendering a service to the Good and Almighty God. None appreciate these results more deeply than I; none thank God more sincerely. It is a good thing

[1] Eph., iv.

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for brethren to dwell together in unity. It will be an event of transcending importance for men of all nationalities and creeds, when they will truly recognize their common humanity. "'Twere a consummation devoutly to be wished,"—to cease strife and warfare, to put down angry and revengeful feelings, to honor honest opinions and respect fearless conduct, to see in every man the image of the Begetting Spirit, to have just regard for his rights to liberty and happiness and to remember the "One God and Father of all, who is above all and through all and in us all."

But while this is necessary for peaceful living and even for the cultivation of the arts and sciences and for mutual intercourse, social and commercial, it cannot suffice for unity of faith and religion. It will not make the Pantheist acknowledge a personal God, nor draw the heathen from his idols. It will not turn the Mohammedan pilgrim from Mecca to Jerusalem, nor lessen the Hindu belief in the transmigration of souls. It will not change the Hebrew's Messianic hope in the Christ yet to come, and would not cause the Christian to give up his hope and confidence in Christ already come. Though he may treat others with brotherly consideration, the Calvinist will not cease to hold to his predestination and the Methodist to his particular tenets. The Lutheran will not add to his two sacraments nor the Episcopalian to his three. The Anglican and the Greek will continue to deny Roman supremacy and the Catholic cannot be separated from the See of Rome and Peter and cannot relinquish his principle of submission to ecclesiastical authority in matters of faith and morals. Though all of us, children and creatures of the same heavenly Father may love one another as such; though we be good to our fellow-men and banish jealousy, strife and hostile practices; yet we shall be still, oh so very far from being "one body and one spirit as we are called in the one hope of our calling. One Lord, one faith, one baptism." There must be some bond stronger and less superficial to make us sink our individual differences; something that shall appeal to every one as coming from God, to the Jew and Gentile, to the Greek and barbarian, and by its cogency compel all to put aside their individual conceptions and private opinions and to come together in the sincere and earnest profession and acceptance of a common, universal creed or formula of faith and a uniform code of morality. A principle must be adopted that will require more than common benevolence and ordinary piety and charity, a principle that will lead us to what God has revealed to us all, and only to what He has thus revealed, not to what He may have vouchsafed to reveal to individuals. For religion consists not only in charity but also in hope and in faith; not only in acts of kindness but also in deeds of mortification; not simply in morality and honesty,

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but also in doctrines and dogmas; not merely in something to be done but as well in something to be believed. Faith without works is dead, but works without vivifying faith avail not unto justification. Doctrine must precede practice; principles must precede action. No attempt has ever been made to establish a religion except it were based on certain formulas of dogma and principle, which were laid down as indisputable because of their divine authorship. Pope's:

> "For modes of faith let zealous bigots fight,
> He can't be wrong, whose life is in the right,"

can scarce be a standard or an ideal. The union of various religions and of Christian sects must remain a dream or Utopian fancy till approach be made to a settlement of the precise points of belief that God in His mercy and love has revealed to the human race and of the exact manner in which He desires and wills to be worshiped. What separates us is not that which we do, not our conduct, not our uniforms, not even our ritual, but our tenets, our creeds, our principles; not that we disbelieve in God or in our common humanity, but that we differ widely in what we think God has said to us and about the worship He wants from us. The religious constitution that can unite us, is only that which shall have its origin in heaven, shall have been manifested to the world by God or His Son Jesus Christ, and to which we can always point and refer, saying, "Thus saith the Lord thy God."

In June last another call for religious union was sent forth—a call for the union of Christians in particular. It comes from one who, reverenced and honored by all, has the world's ear; whose utterances have for seventeen years received the closest attention and profoundest consideration; whom men the world over justly esteem for his wisdom, learning, sympathy with the aspirations of the race and sincere efforts for its amelioration. Borrowing his own thought, as our Saviour, on the eve of His death, prayed for His disciples that they might be one as He and the Father are one, so now the venerable Pontiff in his declining years, His vicar, sends to heaven a similar prayer and to Christendom a similar exhortation that we all be one. His letter is but an amplification of St. Paul's words to the Ephesians. May it produce abundant fruit. May it lead heathen and infidel to acknowledge God and whom He sent, Jesus Christ. May it bring all Christian people to the true fount of divine truth. May it show heresy its error and schism its disloyalty. May it enable all to come together in unity of that "doctrine once delivered to the saints." But what is the great Leo's principle of union; what his remedy for existing dissensions?

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What the nature of the invitation addressed to all princes and people? He advises reconciliation and union with the Church of Rome; not such a union that would be brought about "by a certain kind of agreement in the tenets of belief and an intercourse of fraternal love. The true union between Christians is that which Jesus Christ, the author of the Church, instituted and desired, and which consists in a unity of faith and a unity of goverment." In his view, which is the only true view, the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, the supreme jurisdiction of St. Peter and his successors, can alone unite us in the fellowship with our Redeemer. That has been the claim of the Catholic Church from the beginning. She has repeated and insisted on the necessity of submission to the centre of Christian truth and the bond of external union. The fathers and doctors have invariably taught that "where Peter is, there is the Church"; and that on account of its superior power and primacy every particular church must adhere and be united to the Church of Rome where Blessed Peter erected his See for ever. His Holiness could not speak otherwise. He is conscious of what prerogatives Christ conferred on the prince of the Apostles. He knows that the Lord said to Peter: "Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church." He knows that the same Master said, too, "I will give to thee the *keys* of the kingdom of heaven," and, in reward for the Apostle's full and perfect confession of His divinity, He commissioned him to feed the sheep and lambs of His flock (the Church). Nor is he unmindful, especially, of the precept given to Peter to confirm his brethren in the faith. "Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat. But I have prayed for *thee*, that thy faith fail not; and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren."[1] This last commission contains the promise of Christ which could not fail, that Peter's faith and teaching would never be lost or diminished, would never cease to be the truth which Christ through him was to teach the world, and that Peter's duty was to strengthen the brethren—the apostles and their successors—in the faith, and to make their teachings firm and indubitable. Now, the Church did not die with St. Peter. It was to last to the end of time. St. Peter's powers and prerogatives were official, and not entirely personal; they were not to cease at his death, but manifestly if the Church was to continue in the condition Christ established it, and if truth was to be perpetuated, they were to be transmitted to his successors. As the Church needed a head at its beginning, the same necessity would always exist, and the same teaching authority, and the same governing power, would also be always re-

[1] Luke xxii., 31, 32.

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quired. Leo XIII. speaks, then, with all the weight attached to Scriptural ordinances, with all the assurance given by the consciousness of unbroken and universal tradition, and with the confidence of twenty centuries of historical facts. He speaks as did the Saviour to Peter and the Apostles: "He that heareth you, heareth Me, and he that despiseth you despiseth Me and Him that sent Me." The position which the learned Pontiff takes is no usurpation or false assumption. It is not an egotistical and complaisant confidence in his own wisdom, or mere satisfaction with his possessions. His invitation springs from no self-conceit, and originates in no desire or purpose of extended dominion. Its spirit is not of pride or self-seeking, and its motive is only to lead inquiring minds to the light of truth, and anxious and troubled hearts to the possession of internal peace; to "the truth which shall make all free," and to the "peace which surpasseth all understanding." It comes from his earnest desire, oft manifested, to better man's condition, both temporal and spiritual, and is characterized by all the tenderness and love of a man and priest who loves his fellow-men and knows that he has the power and means of helping them. He has seen how men yearn for religious union and for religious peace; how they are tossed about by varying winds of doctrine; how they are becoming the prey of designing teachers and false prophets; and in the love of his fatherly heart, and in compliance with his trust to teach all men the way heavenward, he would now direct their minds and hearts, as the Master Whom he represents directed, to the channel of grace and truth—Christ's body—the Church; and justly repeats His declaration, "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life." "No man cometh to the Father, save through Me." It is a noble effort, an exalted aim, an earnest and reasonable invitation, and deserves to be widely answered.

The Catholic Church has been made to appear in a false light to those not of her communion. Specious arguments and erroneous statements on the part of enemies have too long kept well-disposed persons from seeing her as she is, and the fear of her so-called tyranny has driven many from studying her position. It is not presumptuous to say that the more she is known and studied and the more deeply we penetrate into her mysteries, and understand her teachings, the more radiantly will her charms shine forth, and the more strongly will numbers be drawn towards her and embrace her faith, saying, with St. Augustine, "Too late have I known thee, too late have I loved thee." That the recent letter of our Holy Father, addressed to the princes and nations of the world, will interest men in this study, and compel ready assent to the truth he advocates, and submission to the divinely-instituted authority found only in the Roman Catholic Church, there can be no doubt.

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Some may read the letter and hear the invitation with scorn, some with ridicule; others will put it aside, as they have ever done with similar appeals, and consider it an arrogant assumption and a folly to expect them to enter into communion with Roman corruption; but we are convinced that a ready response will be forthcoming from many quarters, and that acceptance of religious teaching from the Roman Pontiff will eventually conduce to their spiritual happiness. Union with Rome was once the rule; separation from her the exception. Christianity was identified with her, and both nations and particular churches that went from her lapsed into miseries and disorders of various kinds; into uncertainty in faith and corruption or looseness in morality. It could not be otherwise. The Saviour said: "He that is not with Me, is against Me. He that gathereth not with Me, scattereth." One cannot be with Christ unless he be with His true Church. And in His Church He set up in Peter and his successors an authority which should be at once the rule of faith and the bond of union. All in opposition to that divine ordinance, all who separate themselves from it, cannot expect to have part with Christ; they will be against Christ.

Let the call be attentively considered. Let it be well pondered. Fruitful results will necessarily follow. The Church will not be the gainer, but the souls themselves that she saves. The Church is the bearer of glad and good tidings and the creator of peace. May nations accept her and princes love her. May all obey her and the voice of her visible head, which is indeed the voice of Christ, her Founder and her Head Invisible. May the Holy Father's call bring numberless erring sheep to the true fold, and may his desire and effort be more than a hope, may they prove a realization. They who heed the invitation will find that in subjecting themselves to the authority of the Roman Catholic Church and her ecclesiastical head, they are not entering, as some would believe, into a servile and abject condition, unworthy of man endowed with reasoning faculties. The faith which they will receive will rest on grounds which reason itself approves and indeed establishes. There is no blind obedience or unreasonable service required in the Church. Faith given through it is a reasonable faith. Our intellect is ennobled by this faith, which is founded on confidence in Christ and His institutions, on His words and promises contained in very Scripture. Just as man does not make a better use of his liberty than in devoting himself to the worship of God, his Creator and Father, so the Christian cannot employ his faculties in more honorable service than in submitting to the divine Master's visible representative, especially since this representative bears such indubitable credentials for his right to speak in His name.

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Finally, the fear of giving up cherished notions or the teachings of childhood must not deter or delay union with the Catholic Church. For, in joining her, really no one will have to abandon the Christian truths he possesses. These will be clarified, perfected, and completed. He will not have a mere glimmer of light or a mere fragment of Christian revelation; but all this will be his in its fulness and perfection. He will never experience any anxiety or doubt or be worried by contrary claims or contradictory teachings; he will rest in contentment, and the angels of peace will hover around him.

JAMES CARD. GIBBONS.

TO THE RULERS AND NATIONS OF THE WORLD—POPE LEO XIII., HEALTH AND PEACE IN THE LORD.

THE splendid tokens of public rejoicing which have come to Us from all sides in the whole course of last year, to commemorate Our Episcopal Jubilee, and which were lately crowned by the remarkable devotion of the Spanish nation, have afforded Us special joy, in as much as the unity of the Church and the admirable adhesion of her members to the Sovereign Pontiff, have shone forth in this perfect agreement of concurring sentiments. During those days it seemed as if the Catholic world, forgetful of everything else, had centered its gaze and all its thoughts upon the Vatican. The special missions sent by Kings and Princes, the many pilgrimages, the letters we received so full of affectionate feeling, the sacred services, everything clearly brought out the fact that all Catholics are of one mind and of one heart in their veneration for the Apostolic See. And this was all the more pleasing and agreeable to Us, that it is entirely in conformity with Our intent and with Our endeavors. For indeed well acquainted with our times, and mindful of the duties of Our ministry, We have constantly sought, during the whole course of Our Pontificate and striven as far as it was possible by teaching and action to bind every nation and people more closely to Us, and make manifest everywhere the salutary influence of the See of Rome. Therefore do We most earnestly offer thanks in the first place to the Goodness of God, by Whose help and bounty We have been preserved

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to attain Our great age, and then next, to all the Princes and Rulers, to the Bishops and Clergy, and to as many as have co-operated, by such repeated tokens of piety and reverence, to honor Our character and office, while affording Us personally such seasonable consolation.

A great deal however has been wanting to the entire fulness of that consolation. Amidst these very manifestations of public joy and reverence, Our thoughts went out towards the immense multitude of those who were strangers to the gladness that filled all Catholic hearts, some because they lie in absolute ignorance of the Gospel, others because they dissent from the Catholic belief, though they bear the name of Christians.

This thought has been and is a source of deep concern to Us; for it is impossible to think of such a large portion of mankind, deviating as it were from the right path, as they move away from Us, and not experience a sentiment of innermost grief.

But since We hold upon this earth the place of God Almighty, Who will have all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth, and now that Our advanced age and the bitterness of anxious cares urge Us on towards the end common to every mortal, We feel drawn to follow the example of our Redeemer and Master Jesus Christ, Who when about to return to heaven, implored of God His Father in earnest prayer, that His disciples and followers should be of one mind and of one heart: "*I pray . . . . that they all may be one, as thou Father, in me, and I in thee: that they also may be one in us.*"[1] And as this Divine prayer and supplication does not include only the souls who then believed in Jesus Christ, but also every one of those who were henceforth to believe in Him, this prayer holds out to Us no indifferent reason for confidently expressing Our hopes, and for making all possible endeavors, in order that the men of every race and clime should be called and moved to embrace the unity of divine Faith.

Pressed on to Our intent by charity that hastens fastest there where the need is greatest, We direct Our first thoughts to those most unfortunate of all nations, who have never received the light of the Gospel, or who after having possessed it, have lost it through neglect or the vicissitudes of time: hence do they ignore God and live in the depths of error. Now as all salvation comes from Jesus Christ "*for there is no other name under heaven given to men whereby we must be saved,*"[2] Our ardent desire, is that the most Holy name of Jesus should rapidly pervade and fill every land. And here indeed is a duty which the Church, faithful to the divine mission entrusted to her, has never neglected. What has been

[1] John xvii., 20-21.

[2] Acts iv., 12.

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the object of her labors for more than nineteen centuries? Is there any other work she has undertaken with greater, zeal and constancy, than that of bringing the nations of the earth to the truth and principles of Christianity? To-day as ever, by Our authority, the heralds of the Gospel constantly cross the seas to reach the farthest corners of the earth; and We pray God daily that in His goodness, He may deign to increase the number of His ministers who are really worthy of this apostolate, and who are ready to sacrifice their convenience, their health and their very life, if need be, in order to extend the frontiers of the kingdom of Christ.

Ah, but Thou above all, Saviour and Father of mankind, Christ Jesus, hasten and do not delay to bring about what Thou didst once promise to do, that when lifted up from the earth Thou wouldst draw all things to Thyself. Come then at last, and manifest Thyself to the immense multitude of souls, who have not felt as yet the ineffable blessings which Thou hast earned for men with Thy blood: rouse those who are sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death, that enlightened by the rays of Thy wisdom and virtue, in Thee and by Thee "*they may be made perfect in one.*"

As We consider the mystery of this unity, We see before Us all the countries which have long since passed, by the mercy of God, from timeworn error to the wisdom of the Gospel. Nor could We indeed recall anything more pleasing or better calculated to extol the work of Divine Providence, than the memory of the days of yore, when the Faith that had come down from heaven, was looked upon as the common inheritance of one and all; when civilized nations separated by distance, character and habits, in spite of frequent disagreements and warfare on other points, were united by Christian faith in all that concerned religion. The recollection of that time causes Us to regret all the more deeply, that as the ages rolled by, the waves of suspicion and hatred arose, and great and flourishing nations were dragged away, in an evil hour, from the bosom of the Roman Church. In spite of that, however, We trust in the mercy of God's Almighty power, in Him Who alone can fix the hour of His benefits, and Who has power to incline man's will as He pleases, and We turn to those same nations, exhorting and beseeching them with fatherly love, to put an end to their dissensions and return again to unity.

First of all then We cast an affectionate look upon the East, from whence in the beginning came forth the salvation of the world.—Yes, and the yearning desire of Our heart bids Us conceive the hope that the day is not far distant, when the Eastern Churches, so illustrious in their ancient faith and glorious past, will return to the fold they have abandoned. We hope it all the more, that the distance separating them from Us is not so great: nay, with some

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few exceptions, We agree so entirely on other heads, that in defence of the Catholic faith we often have recourse to reasons and testimony borrowed from the teaching, the rites and customs of the East. The principal subject of contention is the primacy of the Roman Pontiff. But let them look back to the early years of their existence, let them consider the sentiments entertained by their forefathers and examine what the oldest traditions testify, and it will indeed become evident to them that Christ's divine utterance, "*Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church*," has undoubtedly been realized in the Roman Pontiffs. Many of these latter in the first ages of the Church, were chosen from the East, and foremost among them, Anacletus, Evaristus, Anicetus, Eleutherius, Zosimus and Agatho; and of these a great number after governing the Church in wisdom and sanctity, consecrated their ministry with the shedding of their blood. The time, the reasons, the promoters of the unfortunate division, are well known. Before the day when man separated what God had joined together, the name of the Apostolic See was held in reverence by all the nations of the Christian world, and the East like the West agreed without hesitation in its obedience to the Pontiff of Rome, as the legitimate successor of St. Peter, and therefore the Vicar of Christ here on earth.

And accordingly, if we refer to the beginning of the dissension, we shall see that Photius himself was careful to send his advocates to Rome, on the matters that concerned him: and Pope Nicolas I. sent his legates to Constantinople from the Eternal City, without the slightest opposition: "*in order to examine the case of Ignatius the Patriarch with all diligence and to bring back to the Apostolic See a full and accurate report:*" so that the history of the whole negotiation is a manifest confirmation of the primacy of the Roman See, with which the dissension then began. Finally in two great Councils, the second of Lyons and that of Florence, Latins and Greeks, as is notorious, easily agreed and all unanimously proclaimed as dogma, the supreme power of the Roman Pontiffs.

We have recalled these things intentionally, for they constitute an invitation to peace and reconciliation, and with all the more reason that, in our own days, it would seem as if there were a more conciliatory spirit towards Catholics on the part of the Eastern Churches, and even some degree of kindly feeling. To mention an instance, those sentiments were lately made manifest when some of our faithful travelled to the East on a holy enterprise, and received so many proofs of courtesy and good-will. Therefore, "*Our mouth is open to you*," to you all of Greek or other Oriental Rites who are separated from the Catholic Church. We

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earnestly desire, that each and every one of you should meditate upon the words, so full of gravity and love, addressed by Bessarion to your forefathers: "*What answer shall we give to God when He comes to ask why we have separated from our brethren: to Him who, to unite us and bring us into one fold, came down from heaven, was incarnate and was crucified? What will our defence be in the eyes of posterity? Oh, my venerable Fathers! we must not suffer this to be; we must not entertain this thought; we must not thus so ill-provide for ourselves and for our brethren.*"

Weigh carefully in your minds and before God the nature of Our request. It is not for any human motive, but impelled by divine charity, and a desire for the salvation of all, that We advise the reconciliation and union with the Church of Rome; and We mean a perfect and complete union, such as could not subsist in any way, if nothing else were brought about but a certain kind of agreement in the tenets of belief and an intercourse of fraternal love. The true union between Christians is that which Jesus Christ, the Author of the Church, instituted and desired, and which consists in a unity of faith and a unity of government. Nor is there any reason for you to fear, on that account, that We or any of Our Successors will ever diminish your rights, the privileges of your patriarchs or the established ritual of any one of your Churches. It has been and always will be the intent and tradition of the Apostolic See to make a large allowance, in all that is right and good, for the primitive traditions and special customs of every nation. On the contrary, if you re-establish union with us, you will see how, by God's bounty, the glory and dignity of your Churches will be remarkably increased. May God, then, in His goodness hear the prayer that you yourselves address to Him: "*Make the schisms of the Churches cease,*"[1] and "*Assemble those who are dispersed, bring back those who err and unite them to Thy Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.*"[2] May you thus return to that one holy faith which has been handed down both to us and to you from time immemorial; which your forefathers preserved untainted, and which was enhanced by the rival splendor of the virtues, the great genius and the sublime learning of Athanasius and St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzum and St. John Chrysostom, the two Saints who bore the name of Cyril, and so many other great men, whose glory belongs as a common inheritance to the East and to the West.

Suffer that We should address you more particularly, nations of the Slavonic race, you whose glorious name and deeds are attested

[1] Παῦσον τὰ σχίσματα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν (in liturgia S. Basilii).

[2] Τοὺς ἐσκορπισμένους ἐπισυνάγαγε, τοὺς πεπλανημένους ἐπανάγαγε, καὶ σύναψον τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ (*Ibid.*).

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by many an ancient record. You know full well how much the Slavs are indebted to the merits of S. Cyril and S. Methodius, to whose memory We Ourselves rendered due honor only a few years ago. Their virtues and their labors were to great numbers of your race the source of civilization and salvation. And hence the admirable interchange, which existed for so long between the Slavonic nations and the Pontiffs of Rome, of favors on the one side and of filial devotion on the other. If in unhappy times many of your forefathers were separated from the faith of Rome, consider now what priceless benefits a return to unity would bring to you. The Church is anxious to welcome you also to her arms, that she may give you manifold aids to salvation, prosperity and grandeur.

With no less affection do We now look upon the nations who, at a more recent date, were separated from the Roman Church by an extraordinary revolution of things and circumstances. Let them forget the various events of times gone by, let them raise their thoughts far above all that is human, and seeking only truth and salvation, reflect within their hearts upon the Church as it was constituted by Christ. If they will but compare that Church with their own communions, and consider what the actual state of religion is in these, they will easily acknowledge that, forgetful of their early history, they have drifted away on many and important points, into the novelty of various errors; nor will they deny that of what may be called the patrimony of truth, which the authors of those innovations carried away with them in their desertion, there now scarcely remains to them any article of belief that is really certain and supported by authority.

Nay more, things have already come to such a pass, that many do not even hesitate to root up the very foundation upon which alone rests all religion, and the hope of men, to wit, the Divine Nature of Jesus Christ, Our Saviour. And again, whereas formerly they used to assert that the Books of the Old and New Testament were written under the inspiration of God, they now deny them that authority: this indeed was an inevitable consequence when they granted to all the right of private interpretation. Hence too, the acceptance of individual conscience as the sole guide and rule of conduct to the exclusion of any other: hence those conflicting opinions and numerous sects, that fall away so often into the doctrines of Naturalism and Rationalism. Therefore is it, that having lost all hope of an agreement in their persuasions, they now proclaim and recommend a union of brotherly love. And rightly too, no doubt, for we should all be united by the bond of mutual charity. Our Lord Jesus Christ enjoined it most emphatically and wished that this love of one another should

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be the mark of His disciples. But how can hearts be united in perfect Charity where minds do not agree in Faith? It is on this account that many of those We allude to, men of sound judgment and seekers after truth, have looked to the Catholic Church for the sure way of salvation; for they clearly understood that they could never be united to Jesus Christ as their Head, if they were not members of His Body which is the Church; nor really acquire the true Christian Faith if they rejected the legitimate teaching confided to Peter and his successors. Such men as these have recognized in the Church of Rome the form and image of the true Church which is clearly made manifest by the marks that God her Author placed upon her: and not a few who were possessed with penetrating judgment and a special talent for historical research, have shown forth in their remarkable writings the uninterrupted succession of the Church of Rome from the Apostles, the integrity of her doctrine, and the consistency of her rule and discipline. With the example of such men before you, Our heart appeals to you even more than Our words, to you, our brethren, who for three centuries and more differ from us on Christian Faith; and to you all likewise who in later times for any reason whatsoever have turned away from Us: "*Let us all meet into the unity of faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God.*"[1] Suffer that We should invite you to the unity which has ever existed in the Catholic Church and can never fail; suffer that We should lovingly hold out Our hand to you. The Church as the common Mother of all, has long been calling you back to her, the Catholics of the world await you with brotherly love, that you may render holy worship to God together with us, united in perfect charity by the profession of one Gospel, one Faith and one Hope.

To complete the harmony of this most desired unity, it remains for us to address all those throughout the world, whose salvation has long been the object of our thoughts and watchful cares; We mean Catholics, whom the profession of the Roman faith, while it renders them obedient to the Apostolic See, preserves in union with Jesus Christ. There is no need to exhort them to true and holy unity, since through the divine goodness they already possess it; nevertheless they must be admonished, lest under pressure of the growing perils on all sides around them, through negligence or ignorance they should lose this great blessing of God. For this purpose, let them take their rule of thought and action, as the occasion may require, from those instructions which at other times we have addressed to Catholic peoples either collectively or individually; and above all, let them lay down for themselves as

[1] Efes. iv., 13.

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a supreme law to yield obedience in all things to the teaching and authority of the Church, in no narrow or mistrustful spirit, but with their whole soul and all promptitude of will. On this account let them consider how injurious to Christian unity is that error, which in various forms of opinion has oftentimes obscured, nay even destroyed the true character and idea of the Church. For by the will and ordinance of God its Founder, it is a society perfect in its kind, whose office and mission is to school mankind in the precepts and teachings of the Gospel, and by safeguarding the integrity of morals and the exercise of Christian virtue, to lead men to that happiness which is held out to every one in Heaven. And since it is, as We have said, a perfect society, therefore it is endowed with a living power and efficacy, which is not derived from any external source, but in virtue of the ordinance of God and its own constitution, inherent in its very nature; for the same reason it has an inborn power of making laws, and justice requires that in its exercise it should be dependent on no one; it must likewise have freedom in other matters appertaining to its rights. But this freedom is not of a kind to occasion rivalry or envy, for the Church does not covet power, nor is she urged on by any selfish desire, but this one thing does she wish, this only does she seek, to preserve amongst men the duties which virtue imposes, and by this means and in this way to provide for their everlasting welfare. Therefore is she wont to be yielding and indulgent as a mother; yea, it not unfrequently happens that in making large concessions to the exigencies of states, she refrains from the exercise of her own rights, as the compacts often concluded with civil governments abundantly testify. Nothing is more foreign to her disposition than to encroach on the rights of the civil power; but the civil power in its turn must respect the rights of the Church, and beware of arrogating them in any degree to itself. Now what is the ruling spirit of the times when actual events and circumstances are taken into account? No other than this; it has been the fashion to regard the Church with suspicion, to despise, and hate, and spitefully calumniate her—and more intolerable still, men strive with might and main to bring her under the sway of civil governments. Hence it is that her property has been plundered and her liberty curtailed, hence again that the training of her priesthood has been beset with difficulties; that laws of exceptional rigor have been passed against her clergy, that religious orders, those excellent safeguards of Christianity, have been suppressed and placed under the ban; in a word, the principles and practice of the Regalists have been revived with increased virulence. Such a policy is a violation of the most sacred rights of the Church, and it breeds enormous evils to states, for the very reason that it is in open con-

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flict with the purposes of God. When God in His most wise providence placed over human society both temporal and spiritual authority, He intended them to remain distinct indeed, but by no means disconnected and at war with each other. On the contrary; both the will of God and the common weal of human society imperatively require, that the civil power should be in accord with the ecclesiastical in its rule and administration. Hence the state has its own peculiar rights and duties, the Church likewise has hers; but it is necessary that each should be united with the other in the bonds of concord. Thus will it come about that the close mutual relations of Church and state will be freed from the present turmoil, which for manifold reasons is ill-advised and most distressing to all well-disposed persons; furthermore it will be brought to pass, that without confusion or separation of the peculiar interests of each, the people will *render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's.*

There is likewise a great danger threatening unity on the part of that association, which goes by the name of the Society of Freemasons, whose fatal influence for a long time past oppresses Catholic nations in particular. Favored by the agitations of the times, and waxing insolent in its power, and resources, and success, it strains every nerve to consolidate its sway and enlarge its sphere. It has already sallied forth from its hiding places where it hatched its plots into the throng of cities, and, as if to defy the Almighty, has set up its throne in this very City of Rome, the capital of the Catholic World. But what is most disastrous, is that wherever it has set its foot, it penetrates into all ranks and departments of the commonwealth, in the hope of obtaining at last supreme control. This is indeed a great calamity; for its depraved principles and iniquitous designs are well known. Under the pretence of vindicating the rights of man and of reconstituting society, it attacks Christianity; it rejects revealed doctrine, denounces practices of piety, the divine Sacraments, and every sacred thing as superstition; it strives to eliminate the Christian character from marriage, and the family, and the education of the youth, and from every form of instruction whether public or private, and to root out from the minds of men all respect for authority whether human or divine. On its own part it preaches the worship of nature, and maintains that by the principles of nature are truth and probity and justice to be measured and regulated. In this way, as is quite evident, man is being driven to adopt customs and habits of life akin to those of the heathen, only more corrupt in proportion as the incentives to sin are more numerous. Although we have spoken on this subject in the strongest terms before, yet we are led by Our Apostolic watchfulness to urge it once more, and We

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repeat Our warning again and again, that in face of such an imminent peril, no precaution, howsoever great, can be looked upon as sufficient. May God in His mercy bring to nought their impious designs; nevertheless let all Christians know and understand that the shameful yoke of freemasonry must be shaken off once and for all; and let them be the first to shake it off who are most galled by its oppression—the men of Italy and of France. With what weapons and by what method this may best be done We ourselves have already pointed out: The victory cannot be doubtful to those who trust in that leader whose divine words still remain in all their force, "*I have overcome the world.*"[1]

Were this twofold danger averted and governments and states restored to the unity of faith, it is wonderful what efficacious remedies for evils and abundant store of benefits would ensue. We will touch upon the principal ones.

The first regards the dignity and office of the Church. She would receive that honor which is her due, and she would go on her way, free from envy and strong in her liberty, as the minister of gospel truth and grace to the notable welfare of states. For as she has been given by God as a teacher and guide to the human race, she can contribute assistance which is peculiarly adapted to direct even the most radical transformations of time, to the common good, to happily solve the most complicated questions, and to promote uprightness and justice, which are the most solid foundations of the Commonwealth.

Moreover there would be a marked increase of union among the nations, a thing most desirable at this time to ward off the horrors of war.

We behold the condition of Europe. For many years past, peace has been rather an appearance than a reality. Possessed with mutual suspicions, almost all the nations are vying with one another in equipping themselves with military armaments. Inexperienced youths are removed from parental direction and control, to be thrown amid the dangers of the soldier's life; robust young men are taken from agriculture or ennobling studies, or trade, or the arts, to be put under arms. Hence the treasuries of states are exhausted by the enormous expenditure, the national resources are frittered away, and private fortunes impaired; and this as it were armed peace, which now prevails, cannot last much longer. Can this be the normal condition of human society? Yet we cannot escape from this situation and obtain true peace except by the aid of Jesus Christ. For to repress ambition and covetousness and envy, the chief instigators of war, nothing is more fitted than

[1] John xvi., 33.

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the Christian virtues, and in particular the virtue of justice; for by its exercise both the law of nations and the faith of treaties may be maintained inviolate, and the bonds of brotherhood continue unbroken, if men are but convinced that "*Justice exalteth a nation.*"[1]

As in its external relations, so in the internal life of the state itself, the Christian virtues will provide a guarantee of the common weal much more sure and stronger far than any which laws or armies can afford. For there is no one who does not see that the dangers to public security and order are daily on the increase, since seditious societies continue to conspire for the overthrow and ruin of states, as the frequency of their atrocious outrages testifies. There are two questions, forsooth, the one called the *Social*, the other the *Political* question, which are discussed with the greatest vehemence. Both of them without doubt are of the last importance; and though praiseworthy efforts have been put forth in studies and measures and experiments for their wise and just solution, yet nothing could contribute more to this purpose, than that the minds of men in general should be imbued with right sentiments of duty from the internal principle of Christian Faith. We treated expressly of the social question in this sense, a short time ago, from the standpoint of principles drawn from the Gospel and natural reason. As regards the political question which aims at reconciling liberty with authority, two things which many confound in theory and separate too widely in practice, most efficient aid may be derived from Christian philosophy. For, when this point has been settled and recognized by common agreement, that whatsoever the form of government the authority is from God, reason at once perceives that in some there is a legitimate right to command, in others, the corresponding duty to obey, and that without prejudice to their dignity, since obedience is rendered to God rather than to man; and God has denounced the most rigorous judgment against those in authority, if they fail to represent Him with uprightness and justice. Then the liberty of the individual can afford ground of suspicion or envy to no one, since without injury to any, his conduct will be guided by truth and rectitude and whatever is allied to public order. Lastly, if it be considered what influence is possessed by the Church, the mother of, and peacemaker between, rulers and peoples, whose mission it is to help them both with her authority and counsel, then it will be most manifest how much it concerns the common weal, that all nations should resolve to unite in the same belief and the same profession of the Christian faith.

[1] Prov. xiv., 34.

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With these thoughts in Our mind and ardent yearnings in Our heart, We see from afar what would be the new order of things that would arise upon the earth, and nothing could be sweeter to Us than the contemplation of the benefits that would flow from it. It can hardly be imagined what immediate and rapid progress would be made all over the earth, in all manner of greatness and prosperity, with the establishment of tranquility and peace: the promotion of studies, the founding and the multiplying on Christian lines, according to Our directions, of associations for the cultivators of the soil, for workmen and tradesmen, through whose agency rapacious usury would be put down, and a large field opened up for useful labors.

And these abundant benefits would not be confined within the limits of civilized nations, but, like an overcharged river, would flow far and wide. It must be remembered, as We observed at the outset, that an immense number of races have been waiting, all through the long ages, to receive the light of truth and civilization. Most certainly the counsels of God, with regard to the eternal salvation of peoples, are far removed above the understanding of man ; yet, if miserable superstition still prevails in so many parts of the world, the blame must be attributed in no small measure to religious dissensions. For as far as it is given to human reason to judge from the nature of events, this seems without doubt to be the mission assigned by God to Europe, to go on by degrees carrying Christian civilization to every portion of the earth. The beginnings and first growth of this great work, which sprang from the labors of former centuries, were rapidly receiving large development, when all of a sudden the discord of the sixteenth century broke out. Christendom was torn with quarrels and dissensions, Europe exhausted with contests and wars, and the sacred missions felt the baneful influence of the times. While the causes of dissension still remain, what wonder is it that so large a portion of mankind is held enthralled with barbarous customs and insane rites? Let us, one and all, then, for the sake of the common welfare, labor with equal assiduity to restore the ancient concord. In order to bring about this concord, and spread abroad the benefits of the Christian revelation, the present is the most seasonable time; for never before have the sentiments of human brotherhood penetrated so deeply into the souls of men, and never in any age has man been seen to seek out his fellow-men more eagerly, in order to know them better and to help them. Immense tracts of land and sea are traversed with incredible rapidity, and thus extraordinary advantages are afforded, not only for commerce and scientific investigations, but also for the propagation of the Word of God from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same.

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We are well aware of the long labors involved in the restoration of that order of things which We desire; and it may be that there are those who consider that We are far too sanguine and look for things that are rather to be wished for than expected. But We unhesitatingly place all Our hope and confidence in the Saviour of mankind, Jesus Christ, well remembering what great things have been achieved, in times past, by the folly of the Cross and its preaching, to the astonishment and confusion of the "*wisdom of this world.*" We beg of Princes and rulers of States, appealing to their statesmanship and earnest solicitude for the people, to weigh Our counsels in the balance of truth and second them with their authority and favor. If only a portion of the looked-for results should come about, it will prove no inconsiderable boon in the general decadence, when the intolerable evils of the present day bring with them the dread of further evils in days to come.

The last years of the past century left Europe worn out with disasters, and panic-stricken with the turmoils of revolution. And why should not our present century, which is now hastening to its close, by a reversion of circumstances, bequeath to mankind the pledges of concord, with the prospect of the great benefits which are bound up in the the unity of the Christian Faith.

May God, Who "*is rich in mercy and in Whose power are the times and moments*," grant Our wishes and desires, and in His great goodness hasten the fulfilment of that divine promise of Jesus Christ, "*there will be one fold and one shepherd.*"[1]

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's on the 20th day of June, 1894, in the seventeenth year of Our Pontificate.

POPE LEO XIII.

[1] John x., 16.

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PSYCHOLOGY, PHYSIOLOGY AND PEDAGOGICS.

THE three words, which we have inscribed as the title of this article, may be taken to express the most important ideas of the day, in that field of thought which is called science. The term, biology, covers perhaps a wider extent of ground than psychology and physiology; it is made to include both. And the science called anthropology is the most comprehensive of all, because it not only embraces all, but comprises also a formal treatment of those materialistic attractions which make biology, physiology, psychology and other partial sciences so very dear to the modern mind. Taking, however, the three departments which we have named, psychology, physiology and pedagogics, we shall find that, by the due interlacing of interests, and the mutual bearings of all parts of modern science, they express in their own way the dominant ideas of materialism. And, as doing so, we propose to consider them, in the light of very urgent and live interests which attach at present to the names.

Let us state first, what has been the traditional meanings of these names, up to our day.

Psychology means the science about the soul, which in Greek is called *psyche*. It is a science eminently philosophical in the high range of metaphysical thought, because it considers the ultimate causes or constituents of one of the beings in nature, and that the noblest being in all nature—man. It treats of man's soul, which is the ultimate constituent principle in him. Now, all such ultimate causes lie beyond the vision, observation and experimentation of natural science, of physics, biology, and all the rest; because ultimate causes are behind and prior to those phenomena which natural science begins with. Phenomena are already constructed as effects produced by their intrinsic causes, before natural science can begin its operations with the microscope, with the electric current, with chemical reagents, or any other of the numberless resources for investigation which are now at hand.

Least of all could the human soul be subjected to such experimental investigation. Its nature exempts it. The nature of every subject proper to physical science excludes it. For its own nature is simple, spiritual, and endowed with all the attributes which appertain to a spiritual substance. It has powers of intellect, memory and will, which know intellectually, are conscious, remember, desire, hope, love, all in the intellectual and spiritual order of existence and activity. Its world and atmosphere are in the

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first instance spiritual and abstract essences, and individual beings like itself, remote from matter and immortal. The nature, besides, of every subject proper to physical science endorses the right which the human soul enjoys, of being exempted from the application of the compass, the measure, the balance, in the laboratory and cabinet. For every such subject pertains to this world of composite matter; it is extended, divisible, measurable, ponderable; as is also the body of man, who, taken as a whole, is constituted what he is by the union of soul with a body of material substance. The question of the soul itself, therefore, is altogether philosophical, or, as Aristotle put it, is "metaphysical," that is, "after physics," behind it, beyond it, belonging to the ultimate causes of things.

Physiology is a science quite within the scope and circle of natural sciences, which proceed by the way of observation and experiment. It observes the living body, actuated as it is by the soul. It takes for its proper subject the functions of the living body; it considers the tissues and organs which are constructed by the soul in matter, for the discharge of all the functions characteristic of a vital compound. It inspects the processes by which the body develops and grows to maturity; the structures by which it sees, feels, tastes, hears, etc. To anatomy it abandons the dead structure, as considered apart from the living functions. To a preliminary part of psychology it leaves the consideration of sensitive knowledge, or the nature of that relation which a sensitive organism maintains with the outer world, by what we call sensitive knowledge, sensation, perception, through sight, hearing, taste, sensitive memory, sensitive consciousness, instincts, imagination and fancy. Physiology merely regards the subject as exercising living functions; and this in the vegetable world as well as in the animal. Rising above mere physical science, it avails itself of the data and conclusions supplied by physics. And so it borrows all the principles which go to explain extended and ponderable matter. If it speaks of heat, light, electricity, it does so only as deriving its data from the inferior science of physics or natural philosophy.

Pedagogics or pedagogy is the name given to a scientific elaboration of those principles on which the education of man reposes. The final object of all education belongs to the sphere of pure psychology; it is the cultivation of the spiritual and immortal soul. Catholics understand this well enough. So well, indeed, do they understand it, made known to them by the light of natural good sense and still more revealed to them by the light of divine faith which is in them, that they sit by uninterested and apathetic, while the world is agitated with a fever of "educational thinking," of

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"pedagogic inquiry," of investigation, groping for what children of the Church possess by a divine birthright. And, just as in fields of religious inquiry, so in this matter too they are considered to be backward, to be behind the times, indolent and unenterprising; because forsooth they do not go about with a candle looking for some bits of truth, when they have the whole of it to look at in the light of noon-day.

The final object of all education is the culture of the soul. It is to develop the spiritual intellect and train the free will of man. However, as in this life the soul is not reached save through the body, nor the intellect except through sense, it is the whole human person, made up of soul and body, that is the direct subject of education; and most worthy it is of culture. One thing is not the subject of pedagogical culture—the human body taken by itself. That can be trained, made fat, strong and agile, as any mute animal can be, as a dog or a horse; it can be brought up as a splendid animal by athletics, games, calisthenics; but, apart from the main object, these things have nothing more to do with human education than the art of a veterinary surgeon or that of a breeder of pigeons; indeed, they can be much more prejudicial than the innocent arts of curing a horse or a fowl.

Chief and most beautiful among all beings in this visible universe is the human person, a marvel of divine wisdom, with powers which sum up in brief all that is effective, exquisite, and harmonious in the world beside. Animated as his bodily structure is by the spiritual soul, man comprises every perfection which is distributed at large about him, all that is material, vegetative, and sensitive. This is so because, in the right of his intellectual and spiritual life, he is destined to carry all, linked together by a substantial union, into the regions of pure spirituality, where the soul itself properly lives, and in which its destiny is fulfilled. When he reaches his final term in beatitude, he takes with him, by the gift of a bodily resurrection, this same material compendium of the great material universe; he introduces it into the company of purely spiritual substances; and farther still does he carry it, into the family life and glorified existence of the Godhead, where the soul enters on its inheritance by the title of divine grace, itself a participation of the divine nature. It is in the light of this sublime Providence that the whole world, otherwise so fair, looks so vile aside of the consummation of all things accomplished in the person of man, though he seems so small: *O quam sordet mihi terra, cum coelum aspicio!* Now education has for its object the final working out of such a destiny. Therefore, it takes for its immediate subject this microcosm of the human person, soul and body, faculties and senses, all efficient for their purposes, and

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clamoring for culture in time, that they may bear their fruit in eternity.

Such is the field covered by the three names at the head of this article. This whole field is now explored by a new school, which gives us with its scientific results quite a number of new conceptions. We can scarcely style their explorations thus conjoined with their novel conceptions by any name which has been consecrated so far to the subjects treated. The school is aware of the fact. Hence its psychology, in particular, it designates as "modern psychology."

Really, to understand the new psychology, there is need of nothing more than physiology and physics. All the psychology that might seem to be about it is certainly no more than that which deals with mere knowledge acquired by sensation and terminating in sensation. But even that ceases to be psychological in its hands. Sensation becomes a question of mere molecular physics, a form of motion, vibration, extension.

I.

There is some excuse for this. The matter which goes to build up our living body has not put off any of its necessary qualities in doing so. It is extended, ponderable, divisible, movable. There are vibrations in the cells and nerves; there is a mechanical response to external action in the reaction of the great mole or mass of matter which constitutes the body. Aristotle repeatedly teaches that there is no production of anything without movement. But, evidently, it is one thing that a living body should not be found without mechanical movement or other physical qualities; it is quite another thing that itself or its sensitive life should consist only of mechanical motion or the manifestation of physical attributes. As Sylvester Maurus observes:[1] "It is one thing that an animal should not walk without having feet; it is altogether another matter that walking should consist in having feet. So sensations are not produced without motions, impulses, and excitations of the sensitive organs; but sensation itself does not consist in having sensitive organs moved or excited." And the same holds good of all other functions in the live subject of physiology.

These functions are of two classes. One is that which regards the nourishment, growth, and reproduction of the body; in the light of these there is a physiology of plants, which, as compared with the vegetative powers in man, rank under comparative physiology. Another class of functions is that which regards the life

[1] *Cf.* Tilman Pesch, *Philosophia Naturalis*, n. 181.

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of relation, whereby a living organism apprehends other objects outside of it, and feels, sees, tastes them. These are the functions of sensitive or animal life, in virtue of which, as St. Thomas remarks, both animals and men avoid what is hurtful and seek what is useful, for the sustenance of the body. To this the power of locomotion is referred, as being a necessary consequence and appanage of the life of sense. In the case of man, who has a sensitive organism pertaining to the animal world, sensation is specially elevated to its highest degree of perfectibility, as being the channel or door through which the facts of the outer sensible world, as well as of the living organism itself, are brought within the cognizance of the spiritual intellect.

It is the same soul, which acting spiritually in its own conscious intellect, will and memory, actuates also the animal body as a principle of life united with matter. "The Lord God formed man of the slime of the earth; and breathed into his face the breath of life; and man became a living soul."[1] The soul elevates the matter of the living body in every order of sensitive knowledge, as far as matter is capable of elevation. The body sees, hears, feels outer things; it has a sensitive consciousness of its own sensations, a sensitive memory, an animal appetite. Highest of all is the wonderfully plastic power of imagination, which deriving its images from without, can frame any combination of images or parts of things imagined, according as the voluntary control of the free spiritual will chooses to arrange. This is that "fancy," the unique and highest effort of sensitive knowledge, which is ordained to serve most adequately the intellectual ideas of the spiritual intellect; and for the proper discharge of which, the remarkable organization of the human brain seems to be designed. Thus St. Thomas remarks, in the same place which we quoted before, "sensitive knowledge is specially ordained in man for the service of intellectual knowledge, either speculative or practical."[2]

In all this department of philosophy we owe to modern physiology a debt or two. We have learnt from it not a little about the subjective conditions of our sensitive organs, and of their functions in every respect. Nor do we fail to acknowledge a debt to merely natural physics, which has added to our stores of information—how, for instance, the activity and the qualities of external things are applied to our organs, in some instances, by means of vibrations, oscillations, communicated first to intervening media, which transfer the same to our organs, and begin to excite the sense. But no amount of experimentation on the things of nature,

[1] Genesis ii., 7.

[2] *Summa Theol.*, 2, 2 æ, q. 167, a. 2: *cf.* Pesch, Institutiones Logic., ii., i., n. 657.

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or on ourselves, need make us mere experimentalists or empiricists, who will accept only that which is tested by physical experiment or is observed by the physiologist's eye. Because there is no sensation of light without vibrations in the ether, nor in a nerve without stimulation, it does not follow that the sensation of light is only vibration in the ether or stimulation in the nerve. We might as well run to the other extreme, where idealists are stranded, and infer that, because there are representations within us which vibrations can certainly never explain, therefore such representations must be gratuitous forms of our own "consciousness," forms fastened on—we had almost said, clapped on—the moment an excitation comes from without; and that what we know is only the manufacture of an internal idealistic factory.

It is this materialistic empiricism on the one side, just like vain idealism on the other, which, adopting the terms consecrated by good sense and philosophy to most definite ideas and data, applies them with utter recklessness to things altogether different, to the world of nature and man, as these errors conceive both to be. Materialism even apologizes in its gentler moods, and says: "Other meanings are attached to mental phenomena, and other relations pointed out, which necessitate a change in the psychological problem." In other words, it coolly uses old terms in altogether new meanings. Terms entirely proper to things strictly spiritual and intellectual are applied most unconscionably to things merely physiological and physical. Phrases like "mind," "consciousness," "memory," "intelligence," "will," dance about in these pages, one might say, in gorgeous confusion; were it not that, after much agony on the part of a reader's logical mind, the grim discovery is made that there is no such thing as spiritual faculties of any kind; that by "mind" is meant sense; by "will" is meant sensitive appetite; nay, that sense and sensitive appetites themselves, and all the other functions of a vital organism are, after all, only physical movements, oscillations in cell substance, excitations in neural fibres, chemical reactions, and the like.

It is in truth a "new" psychology, served up by the school of empirical physiology. It lends itself as a new ally to the whole brood of philosophical systems, which do away with the realities of the objective world. Its own conception is that we produce by physiological functions within us all that we seem to perceive by sense without us. It lands us by the way of gross titillations in the nerves, just where idealists, like Herbart, set us down by the way of transcendental realities or forms.[1] As Père Bonniot remarks,[2] we become dancing marionettes, pulled by the wires of

[1] *Cf.* Pesch, Inst. Log. ii., i., nn. 602-606, De Acosmismo.

[2] *L'Ame et la Physiologie*, liv., ii., § 2; *Determinisme Physiologique*, p. 272.

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the objective world, if there is any. The machinery is worked in this wise, according to Dr. Luys: "The divers processes of activity in the brain sum themselves up, in the last analysis, in a circular movement of absorption and of restoration of forces. It is the external world with all its solicitations that enters into us by the way of the senses, under the form of sense excitation; and it is the same external world, which modified, rebuffed by its interior conflict with the living tissues that it has traversed, issues from the organism, and reflects itself outside in the varied manifestations of voluntary locomotion." As far as this grandiose verbiage means anything about the realities of life, it signifies simply that we see, hear, feel, etc., and we go and come accordingly. Aristotle and St. Thomas said this in much clearer terms; and common sense is always saying it in a creditably plain way.

Who does not know what attention is? It means the application of the mind voluntarily and freely, or that of any sense, to one object in preference to others, and with more energy than is required for a cursory glance or perception. It implies an effort proceeding from a desire of the free will to know. Yet the modern psychology explains attention in this characteristic fashion: "Of the sensations, perceptions, thoughts or feelings, that enter at a given moment into the mental content, but one is at the focus of attention; the rest are stationed in the outlying area of consciousness. By what means," it asks, "is this mental fixation brought about? Under what conditions does it veer around from one image to another? The answers, both qualitative and quantitative, that experiment has given to these questions, are among the best contributions to our knowledge of mind." The Abbé Farges gives in so far to the seductions of this materialistic physiology, that he finds the sensitive perception of light, sound, etc., to be only an image in the brain, which image consists of vibrations; and these vibrations, persisting in the cerebral fibres or cells, constitute *memory*. The memory vibrations are silent vibrations. They are a kind of phosphorescence.[1]

II.

Here, some one interposes. He expounds modern psychology. He first indicates that, in spite of Kant's prediction to the contrary, psychology has become an "exact" science, that is to say, involving mathematical measurements; for physiological research has become exact and mathematical, "quantitative as well as qualitative"; physical research has analyzed light-waves and sound-

[1] *Cf.* Dr. Surbled, *Les Explications Physiques de la Mémoire—Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, avril, 1894, p. 365.

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waves; what is more, physics and physiology involve psychological problems, because the experimenter in each has a psychological principle in him, for the action of which allowance must be made in the mechanical accuracy of his observations; and, again, numerous phenomena of physiology receive their final interpretation from psychology. Therefore psychology has become a mathematically exact science. But this is only a preliminary appetizer for the logical appetite. Let us take up *les pièces de resistance.*

We can enumerate no less than three great proofs which are offered us to establish a conviction in our minds that experimental psychology has grown, has followed methods of its own, and has achieved much. First, there is Weber's law; secondly, Fechner's measures for psychical phenomena; thirdly, Wundt's foundation of a psychological laboratory. Besides these great proofs, there are several subordinate ones, which we add in order: fourthly, the general harmony of the new psychology with evolution; fifthly, the need of emancipation on the part of psychology, or its right to "autonomy"; sixthly, the perfectly obvious fact, that the old Peripatetic or Scholastic philosophy about the soul passed out of existence somewhere in the sixteenth century. This scholastic philosophy of St. Thomas has just one little achievement to its credit, inasmuch as an obscure votary of it, a scholastic of the name of Buridan, in the fourteenth century, got an inkling of present methods, and enunciated principles which are now receiving experimental confirmation. Buridan may be thankful that, if no other merits of his won him renown, a mental aberration now attributed to him wins him some of that posthumous glory which heretics receive in the theology of the Church.

These six heads of argument are so perspicuous, that it will take us scarcely any time to formulate them, and pay them our due respects.

First Proof.—E. H. Weber observed, that we do not apprehend different sensations as separate, but that we fuse them into one, unless a certain space of time intervenes. Thus, two sounds or two lights seem to be one, if not sufficiently apart. Again, he observed that the two sounds, two lights, two weights, may be different in their intensity or measure, but they are not perceived by the sense as different, on the basis of their absolute quantity, but only as they compare with one another. We are told, that "E. H. Weber was the *first* to observe these facts of perception," from which he deduced a remarkable conclusion, "that, in comparing external impressions, we are able to determine their relations but not their absolute value." This acute inference means, that when we compare, we compare; that we feel one impression, say of heat, to be stronger than another; but we do not forthwith know

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that the hotter object is precisely 95° F., and the cooler object just 70° F. This discovery was made in 1834.

The estimate we form of this profound conclusion is: What has it to do with psychology, except to call attention to a circumstance of sense which was perfectly well known?

Second Proof.—A great man, a physicist, philosopher and mathematician, came on the stage some thirteen years later, and "gathered together many loose-lying data, gave them their true significance, and made them the starting-point of a more complete and more systematic investigation. This man was Gustav Theodor Fechner." He spent forty years of a most valuable life in psychological research; and he was finally enabled to formulate Weber's law with accuracy, yea, and mathematically. For those readers who have a turn that way, we record Weber's law, thus reformed: "Equal absolute increments of sensation correspond to equal relative increments of the stimulus; or, as it has been expressed, the stimulus-strength must increase in a geometrical ratio, if the strength of the sensation is to increase in an arithmetical ratio." From the lowest "threshold of discrimination," where sensation is first excited, and then mounts proportionately with the stimulus outside, Fechner constructs a scale upwards, the stimulation advancing geometrically, the strength of sensation arithmetrically. To establish this law, all kinds of measurements were necessary; and thus were introduced the "psycho-physical methods."

To begin to understand what all these methods mean, we have to take our stand in the formalism of Kant, or in the idealistic realism of Herbart, or in some go-between system, compounded of Kant's transcendentalism and Hegel's logico-metaphysics, such as Wundt has devised. We must be prepared to hear of mental "structure," like Herbart's or Beneke's, one of whom makes what he calls the soul construct its mental "representations" into the faculties of sense, appetites, volition, while the other puts no soul at all in man, but makes him acquire it, in the shape of many intellects, reasons, wills; for the soul is produced by education and the artificial suggestion of fitting irritations, particularly in school. If one will take his stand with proper docility in the midst of this world of German *Vorstellungen*, and will exercise, moreover, a portentous amount of patience, he may begin to understand what the new psychology is talking about, when, bringing physiology and physics into the field, with its "psycho-physical methods," it expounds the "analysis of sense-perceptions," "the study of attention," "the succession of mental states," "the time-sense," "the measure of feelings and emotions"; when it tries to measure hunger, thirst and fatigue; or, becoming sublimely mathematical, endorses Herbart's conception, that "states of consciousness have

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two dimensions." Why? Because they are long and they are broad. They are broad, since they vary in intensity; they are long, because "*they follow one another in time!*"

Our estimate of Fechner's great psychological discovery is suggested by the circumstances of its development. It is only the law of Weber, supposed to have fermented into clarity, under a forty years' process of physical and physiological treatment. However, clear or not, 'tis a pity, but it is not true. The ground on which it trenches might as well be quicksands, for the very reason that true psychology has something to say and to do there —psychology, the precise subject which it desires to reduce to measurement. The soul it is that animates sense; and, as Kant divined, it will not tolerate the millimeter or centimeter scale, as if it were an electrical current or a candle light. A number of what are quietly called disturbing elements are found to intrude and to upset the psychometrical calculations. Hence new laws are being invoked to bolster up Weber's; there is the law of the degradation of sensation and the law of tension. And, if these people go on bravely, they will soon have as many laws to invoke as Darwin invented to sew together the descent of species. But we need not dwell on the matter. The exposition which we are considering tells us expressly that Weber's law is found to possess only an approximate value; that there are "deviations from the law to be explained in each sense-organ by psychological conditions"; that there is an unfortunate power of self-adaptation in the senses, and there are after-images, and sensations subjective in their origin. Fechner himself protested frequently that further investigation was needed "to elucidate *fully* the problems in hand"; and, in fact, "it is generally thought that he overrated the importance of Weber's researches, and imputed to Weber's law a value which subsequent tests do not confirm," etc. But, these drawbacks notwithstanding, let it be noted well, that "whatever may be the verdict of posterity unpon the contents of Fechner's 'Psychophysik,' its *suggestiveness* can never be called in question!" We hasten to disclaim all intention of impugning its suggestiveness. We voluntarily proclaim that it is suggestive of materialism; it is rank with it; it reeks with it.

Third Proof.—William Wundt entered the philosophical arena, and in 1874 he gratified the world by publishing his sketch of "Physiological Psychology." He undertook to treat psychology expressly on physiological data, and explain the spiritual soul by the nerves. His system is that of physiological determinism; all mental operations take place mechanically the moment certain organic conditions are placed. Accordingly, he sets about experimenting on the neural substance, the nerves, the organs; and, in

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the ever-memorable year 1879, he founds a laboratory at Leipzig. Eloquence fails his admirers in their endeavor to express all that they owe him for the psychological laboratory. Mr. G. Stanley Hall, who was one of the earliest members of the Leipzig institute for examining soul in a laboratory, came over and established one at the Johns Hopkins University, in the year of grace, 1888. Thence the laboratory idea has spread to fourteen other institutions in this country, all of which are engaged in the work of "psychometry," measuring the soul. Mr. Hall, now president of Clark University, edits the "American Journal of Psychology," which is in its sixth volume. There is also a "Psychological Review," which began in this propitious year 1894. There is an American Psychological Association; and there is an International Association. And so the argument proceeds. "Experiment has succeeded to mere introspection, and psychology is as much at home in the laboratory as it was in the library."

To this argument, overwhelming for its length, if not for its cogency, we have really nothing special to say. We stand in reverential awe of authority. And, if these authorities mean by their psychometry to measure physical motion or vibrations in the nerves, we wish them well. But, if they or any one else shall pretend to measure physiological functions, as though sensation consisted of motions running up to the brain and down again, we beg to submit that the notion is a philosophical absurdity. And, if they really mean to subject psychological activity to laboratory investigations, as though the soul could in any way be measured or weighed, we do not scruple to call the whole enterprise a theological impiety. We candidly believe, however, that here is precisely the reason why psychometry has such vogue.

Fourth Proof.—The new psychology is in harmony with the general theory of evolution—that is to say, it falls into line with biology as handled by the school of Darwin. We are told that "in a wide and philosophical sense biological research for a century past has been guided by principles which could not but modify the study of mind. Underlying every theory of evolution is the idea of a continuous development, resulting in gradual differentiation. To trace this process back to its earliest stages, a comparison of structure and function all along the series of organisms was required. Hence the genetic method (*i.e.*, Haeckel's biogenesis) and, as essential to it, the comparative method." Mr. Herbert Spencer's work on the "Principles of Psychology" is cited as evidence that the scheme of biogenesis, showing the evolution of mind out of a brute's sense, and that the comparison of brutes with men, "can be applied to the investigation of mental phenomena."

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This is all well said. It simply means that a man must be an evolutionist in biology to endorse modern psychology. We are of that opinion. In fact, a remark is expressly thrown out, as if it were a matter of perfect indiference, "whether we hold with one school that there is a difference of kind between the lowest and highest mental functions (*i.e.*, between sense and intellect) or with another school that there is merely a difference of degree in complexity" (intellect being only a more complex sense). A man has to forswear his belief in a truth of Christian faith, and must be willing to admit that his soul is no more spiritual than his eye, if he wishes to have anything to do with the "new psychology." He must commit a formal dogmatic error in his Christian faith. As to the crass materialism and gross philosophy which postulates this, we have discussed both in the pages of this REVIEW, when treating of Dr. G. Romanes' "Mental Evolution of Man."[1]

Fifth Proof.—The new psychology advances steadily towards autonomy, though it by no means discards as a whole the acquisitions of the past. That steady differentiation, which has given to the various empirical branches of science a certain independence, has affected philosophy as well. Logic, psychology and ethics tend more and more towards autonomy or emancipation.

That is true. But the new psychology was never otherwise than emancipated. It has never regarded either the principles of other sciences or those of Christian faith. It is emancipated from logic, from ethics, from biology, from anthropology and from everything else, except a sense of its own power of nebulous grandiloquence. There was no need of advancing this as an argument for its correctness.

Sixth Proof.—The Aristotelian, Scholastic and Thomistic systems of philosophy are long effete; therefore, this may take their place.

We deny the antecedent. Till better reasons are given, we deny the consequence. And, in all cases, we deny the sequence between antecedent and consequence.

We do not know whether we should reckon as a proof the usual advertising qualifications which accompany all these *jeux d'esprit* of the modern scientific mind—these excursions of what Dr. Surbled styles "a vagabond imagination." Like mercantile cards, which pronounce the article advertised to be of quality unrivalled, the best in the market, and so forth, all these systems flutter their own eulogies in the breeze and call themselves "stimulating," "inspiring," "suggestive in the last degree;" they declare

[1] See AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1893, vol. xviii, pp. 19–41, "A Baby's Footprint and Other Vestiges."

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that they furnish "the best contributions to our knowledge," that the "discoveries they have made are as important as they were hitherto unsuspected," etc.

We ought to leave modern psychology some shreds to cover itself with. So we will leave it these.

III.

What becomes of pedagogics, or the science of education, in a philosophical system which knows no ideas, no intellect, no spiritual emotion of a higher will, not even sense, which admits only sound waves or light-waves as coming from without and playing on nerves, which understands nothing but the stimulation of ganglia, chiefly that which is called the brain, and considers the irritations of tissue from some undefined activities without to be the whole contribution of knowledge to what it denominates "consciousness" within? What becomes of the science of education in such a system?

Ah, we are assured, with an air of perfect confidence, that a new and practical aspect appears in this psychology when it is applied in the class-room. "In whatever fashion the teacher performs his task, he is, consciously or unconsciously, applying psychological notions. Is there any reason why these should be wrong rather than right, vague and tentative, when they might be precise and methodical?" To be sure, it is added confidentially that "modern psychology has not, as yet, rendered to pedagogics the full share of usefulness which the relations of the two sciences would lead us to expect."

We are not at all of this opinion. We consider it has already gone a great way and very much too far, in rendering to pedagogics what is pleasantly styled "its share of usefulness." And, therefore, desiring with our whole soul to eschew all possibility of resemblance to this school of psychologists, who never define their meaning, who never deliver themselves of an important utterance except when wrapped up in a cloud of verbiage, who never make themselves understood—perhaps for a very obvious reason—we beg to state clearly, first, what degree of utility attaches to this psychology from the teacher's point of view; secondly, what this psychology looks like when it gets into the teacher's mouth—for it can never get into his brain; and, thirdly, what are some of the practical fruits of it as applied in the United States.

First, as to its utility, we will express our mind in the terms of Mr. W. T. Harris, the present Commissioner of Education. "I do not mean," he says, "to disparage or discourage physiological psychology; for it is certainly the best part of physiology, and

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will bring with it stores of important knowledge useful in hygiene and the pathology of education."[1]

Hygiene and Pathology—the health of children and their diseases! This is the full share of usefulness which the new psychology may lend to education, or, as Mr. Harris politely puts it, "will" lend to pedagogics. We hope it will.

But is it not useful for a teacher to study, that he may learn what kind of being a child is, whether it comes from the sky or from the nether earth, whether it is fish, flesh or fowl, and by what imaginable process it may get an idea into its head? Let Mr. Harris answer for us.[2] He is a devoted student of German philosophy himself, being of the school of Hegel.

He premises that educational psychology is studied in order to find the grounds of prevailing educational theories. Three classes of works on psychology are before the public. The first class contains the works written from the so-called standpoint of common sense. It is best represented by Victor Cousin, who propounded this "common-sense" doctrine as against the materialism of Locke. The second class comprises works written by the physiologists and physiological psychologists whom we are considering at present. The third class embraces works on rational psychology from the school of Aristotle or of Kant.

He delivers his opinion on the second class, that of the physiological psychologists. He says, their treatises include two subclasses: "First, those which make the senses the source of all our knowledge, and, secondly, those that seek in the study of the brain and nervous system the explanation of the phenomena of mind. Both of these sub-classes agree in making mental action something organic—a function of the physical organism—instead of placing it in a soul transcending the physical body and controlling the same. The materialistic theory, in other words, seeks to explain the mind through the functions of matter, instead of explaining the organization of the body and all life-processes as having their origin in the self-activity of sōuls. Locke and his widespread school of psychology, together with the physiological psychologists from Gall and Spurzheim to Broca and the school of Wundt and Ferrier, belong to this second class. Although their writings contain many hints for pedagogics as regards hygiene and pathology, the entire drift of their thought is negative to the aggregate of ethical and religious convictions which the age holds in its 'common sense.'" Then Mr. Harris explains that this "common sense" considers man as made up of "an immortal soul, transcendent of matter and charged with the ethical mandate to subdue the body

[1] *Educational Review*, Jan. 1891, vol. i., p. 13; *Investigation in Psychology.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

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and use it only as an instrument for transcendent purpose, namely, for the knowing and willing of what is divine"; and that "all our laws, manners and customs, our literature and our art, as well as our institutions, are based on this spiritual presupposition." Whereupon he proceeds to argue with respect to pedagogics: "Now, since education is simply the means of initiating youth into the forms and convictions of our civilization, we can see how negative is the attitude of all forms of materialism. Its study by the teacher, unless he is able to escape its implications, will be injurious. The only cure is to hold firmly to the dogmatic basis (of common sense), or to move forward to the psychology founded on philosophical insight. Without this resort to the first or third basis, agnosticism is the only result of studying physiological psychology or materialism."

Mr. Harris is not a Catholic, either in religion or in philosophy; hence the strangeness of some of his phrases. Yet he refers implicitly to the "dogmatic basis" of the catechism, when he speaks of the "forms and convictions of our (Christian) civilization"; and he alludes to the Catholic philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, when he speaks of the "third basis," that of the rational psychology derived from Aristotle. Were Catholics to indulge in such references and allusions, when treating of modern psychology, they would simply be dubbed obscurantists, who neglect research, whose original sin it is never to be foremost in new movements, who take the catechism and the name of St. Thomas Aquinas as a plea for indolence. They would be solemnly warned that they are only imperilling Catholic "theories" of spiritualism in philosophy, by not building a psychological laboratory and working diligently in it; that better men, who are up to the spirit of the age, men like Mgr. Mercier, Gutberlet and Farges, take quite another view, find out a way to bring this gross materialism into harmony with *their* spiritualistic philosophy of the soul.—We wonder what Mgr. Mercier would think if he found his name coupled in the same context with those mighty names of great renown on the "roll of honor," Muller and Munsterberg, James, Kulpe and Ladd? —Catholics would be told that, now or never, they must begin to know the mind, in order to train the child's mind, which they never knew up to this; for in the laboratory not only "the so-called inferior powers are subjected to experimental research," but "feelings too, in the stricter sense of the word, associations, logical combinations, acts of memory, attention and will, all have their share in our mental 'structure,' all must be accounted for (*i.e.*, experimentally) before psychology can venture on its final generalization," before it can say it knows anything about mind in general, or that of a child in particular.

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Secondly, we propose to show what this new psychology looks like, or sounds like, when it gets into a teacher's mouth, and issues from pedagogic lips. And, in order to preserve that due serenity of mind which becomes the inspector of a school, we shall listen to the exposition of a lady. The duty of decorous courtesy will put less of a strain on our moral endurance, when we gather wisdom from the lips of one who surely must love the dear children she writes of, as well as we, and may know them perhaps better:

> And what delight can equal those
> That stir the spirit's inner deeps,
> When one that loves, but knows not, reaps
> A truth from one that loves and knows!

Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi has written in the *Educational Review* on "Applications of Psychology in Education."[1] One of the editors of the same review thinks so highly of the wisdom with which she has handled the subject, that, after mentioning her with honor in an article on "The Literature of Education,"[2] he takes flight incontinently in a kind of rhapsody. He says: "Most of the older works on the subject (of educational psychology and the 'psychological spirit') are ruled out from the literature of education because they are written, not to aid a psychological naturalist (!), but to support some preconceived notion in theology or metaphysics. Moreover, the modern discoveries in physiological psychology are of such tremendous importance, that it is safe to say that the greater part of the psychology written more than thirty-five years ago is now practically worthless from the teacher's point of view." Thus we see that the lady is quite an authority of "tremendous importance"; and withal she imposes an agreeable constraint of courtesy upon the rebellious impulses of our nature.

Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi is a psychological "naturalist" herself, of the materialistic school. Still she is somewhat eclectic, and so she borrows an idea or two from Herbart's idealistic school. For she speaks of "adjusting internal ideas or those existing in the mind to external ideas, or those existing in the social mind, or imposed by the constitution of things." She says: "Each mind selects, creates, the world in which it is to live. And, conversely, all the events which have transpired in the history of the world are but the outward realization of ideas which have been associated with brains like these. Despotisms, wars, revolutions, pyramids, crusades, inquisitions, cathedrals, dynasties, religions, sciences—all are only projected thoughts. Of what fearful importance is it

[1] *Educational Review*, June, 1891, vol. ii., p. 1, *seq.*
[2] W. H. Maxwell, November, 1891, vol. ii., p. 331.

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then to know what thoughts shall spring up in the growing brain, and, if possible, how to modify their nature and their sequence?" —Truly, this is fearful!

She then proposes a number of profound questions, as to how four little pieces of information might on the same day be presented to the child's mind; one point is about a wooden cube in geometry, a second is about the lie of a shore in geography, the third is about a date in history, and the fourth about the subjunctive mood in grammar. There is the knot of the difficulty; and she observes: "The answer to these questions implies some theory of the nature of the mind, and some doctrine of the generation of ideas." Here then we see the open door by which psychology got into the class-room. It never occurred to any one before that children might possibly get into their heads four little pieces of information, on geometry, geography, history and grammar, all on the same day. That was because people had no theory of the nature of the mind, nor any doctrine of the generation of ideas. She proceeds forthwith: "Is the mind a product of the brain, and can we excite ideas in the mind by direct action on the brain? Or is the brain the organ of the mind, and can we influence the processes in the brain by means of ideas?" She slips over a third question: Whether perhaps the mind, to use the phraseology of Mr. Harris, is the faculty of a self-activity called the immortal soul, which merely uses the sensitive faculties distributed through the body and connected with the brain, to obtain its ideas and use them in perfect freedom? This last question is altogether beyond her ken, and that animal, called a child, is simply a kind of piano, which discourses its mental music according as you set the wires a-vibrating by proper impacts on the outer keys.

Now, following Prof. James, Hume, Spencer, and others of the same category, she posits the fundamental question of education: "One way of stating the fundamental problem of education is the following; Education aims at enlarging the periphery of consciousness in proportion to the central nucleus; it aims at making disinterested ideas predominate over central egotisms. The peripheric rim of consciousness is enlarged by multiplying the number of thoughts in it, by increasing their recurrences, by suffusing them with feeling, and by quickening them with volition."

Dr. Mary Putman Jacobi favors us with illustrations of what she means; and she makes everything so clear. We feel as happy as in a kindergarten with so many funny pictures unrolling before our eyes. The first pictorial illustration is that of a series of wavy lines, whereof the lower part, more darkly shaded than the upper, "may be taken," she says, "for the physical activities; the upper, lighter part, for the psychic or mental activities." They are all

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the same lines, however; matter is just a little thicker and fatter than spirit. A second picture represents with graphic precision Hume's wonderful definition of mind, that "it is the sum of its thoughts." Here the lady shows us "a succession of waves endlessly following each other in a stream of thought, whose sum taken together makes up the totality of consciousness"—of course, there is no mind there to be conscious, nor any intellect to do the thinking. Two other pictures go to explain Prof. James, longitudinally and in section. They exhibit a cylinder of "instincts," which run on as isolated lines in cylindrical form, without resting on one another or anything else. Another diagram represents the truly metaphysical idea of our dear friend Herbert Spencer, that "the mind is a circumscribed aggregate of activities; and the cohesion of these activities, one with another, compels the postulate of something of which they are the activities." Now, if we were less on intimate terms with Mr. Herbert Spencer, we might suppose that he was actually postulating here something like an underlying soul. But we know him too well to do him such an injustice. And so does Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi. She presents the illustrative pictorial diagram in the shape of what looks very much like the contents of a dust-pan thrown recklessly into the air. That is the mind.

Then comes a storage battery and a generating battery of galvanic cells. She considers this diagram quite "useful for educational thinking." It is intended to illustrate a definition given by Prof. James, to wit: "The mind is the medium upon which the manifold processes in the brain combine their effects"; that is to say, the brain is the generating battery and the mind the storage battery. And thus, the lady gravely observes, "the second fundamental aim of education, how to secure an abundant generation of force," and how "to unify it in the brain of the child," is brought right home—you have only to set the batteries agoing. These are all "facts"; for she says, "Upon the basis of the *facts* above mentioned, the following proposition may be constructed: When the brain processes involved in visual perceptions—as of a wooden cube—have been frequently repeated; when they have been associated with brain processes involved in tactual perceptions of the same cube; when these perceptions and processes excited by the cube have co-existed with perceptions and processes excited by other objects, and revived by memory in consciousness for comparison, then a state of consciousness is aroused which may be called a perception. This is a single pulse of thought, but it embraces, as objects, the multiple details of previous states. They may be said to be unified in it." Our attentive readers will please not fail to remember that this is the "Application of Psychology in Educa-

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tion." And perhaps they will begin to see why this new psychology is so necessary to modern teaching; nor, may be, will they omit to discern one reason out of many, why modern teaching is just what it is. Other reasons we took pleasure in explaining more at our ease in a former article of this REVIEW.[1]

The lady says pathetically: "I have no diagram to illustrate the definition of Volkmann (Fechner's friend), namely, 'that ideas are successive states of an underlying substance.'" Poor philosophical lady! Her arms are gone, when she cannot draw a picture; and perhaps her auditory will slip away, if she has not pictures to show them. Unless her name really belies her origin and theirs, we will stake something on affirming that they are all true descendants of those modern Anglo-Saxons, who, as Mr. Grant Allen and Dr. Romanes agree in testifying, cannot by any possibility catch an abstract idea or a philosophical thought, unless they have first applied the compass to it, handled it, turned it round about, looked at it with both eyes, sniffed at it, tasted it, and perhaps chewed it; and then somehow they get the essence of it up into the regions of the brain.

But, in all justice be it remarked, we are gratified with a touch of common sense, which, in a moment of inadvertence, this lady draws from her own native fund; forgetting for the nonce the modern psychology wherein men professionally go mad, and falling back on her native intuitions. She has just strained her womanly common sense into some insane chatter, which she must be copying from one of the psychologists, about "propositions or ideas being combined by a flow of electricity from a body of high potential into a body of low potential"; and about "differentiation passing into equilibrium and, during the transition, evolving force"—all of which she illustrates with a picturesque wealth of illustration, showing water running down a hill, high pressure tubes and low pressure tubes, a manometer with compressed air—she has just executed this modern psychological evolution when, as by a natural rebound, she falls back on some sensible remarks of her own.

She rebukes teachers for "a much prevailing custom. Habitually," she says, "a dozen fragments of knowledge are presented to the child in as many text-books, and are liable to remain in his mind as isolated, fragmentary, and lifeless as the scattered bones in the valley of Jehosophat. How often is a child expected to study separately reading, writing, spelling, composition, definitions, elocution, synonyms, rhetoric, etymology, Latin, French, and English grammar, mythology, history, and geography! The essen-

[1] AMER. CATH. QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1894, pp. 297-319, "Scientific Education, Exact and Inexact."

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tials of these subjects—indeed, for many of them, all that the child needs to know—might be obtained from the penetrating study of a page of Livy or of Cornelius Nepos. In such a study these different subjects would fall into place as the naturally related parts of a complex whole, the whole being the narrative given by the Latin author." Here the lady appends a foot-note: "While these pages are passing through the press, I am informed that the suggestion in the text is very similar to a fundamental principle of the Herbartian school of pedagogics. Never having had an opportunity to study this system, the fact that the same idea has occurred to me independently shows how naturally it arises from the unbiassed consideration of things." What an oversight on the part of the editors not to inform the candid, though somewhat pedantic, lady, that the same is a fundamental idea in the *Ratio Studiorum* of the Jesuits; and, long before them, it was a fundamental idea of all education. It is the basis of classical education. If modern psychology were in the hands of sensible women, it might soon rediscover the old psychology.

In the third and last place, we promised to give some positive results of the application of this laboratory psychology in the United States. But let us pause a moment.

IV.

Really, has the child never been known up to this? And teachers themselves, have they never been children in all the cycle of secular revolutions even until now? "In certain recent pedagogical works I observe," says Père Burnichon,[1] "a phraseology to which we have not been accustomed, a vocabulary pretentious in the extreme; there is much talk about the psychology of childhood, where our ancestors wrote only: study of its qualities and defects. Or, again, I read 'solidarity' in place of 'charity.' Quite lately I perused in the 'Revue Bleue' a very profound study, in which, with great parade of scientific language, the writer concluded, after many a long and laborious winding, that education ought to have for its object the development of 'altruistic sentiments.' They tell us that all that modern science has done for rheum in the brain is to call it 'coryza.' I fear it has been no happier in its pedagogical research." Again, the same excellent writer remarks on a work of this kind by a M. Maillet:[2] "M. Maillet writes in all kinds of letters: 'The psychology of childhood is a science altogether new. We can only be astonished at

[1] *Études*, octobre, 1893, t. 60, p. 179, *L'Éducation dans l'Université*, Lettre à M. Henri Marion, Professeur de la Science de l'Éducation à la Sorbonne.

[1] *Ibid.*, 1891, t. 52, p. 329, *Éléments de Psychologie de l'Homme et de l'Enfant*, par M. F. Maillet.

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the fact. . . . . People knew not, they had no idea of the baby,' *On ne connaissait pas, on ne soupçonnait pas le 'baby.'*" The writer in the "Études" confesses that St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, St. Anselm and Gerson, and all the other educational writers down to Bossuet, Fénelon, and Blessed J. B. de la Salle, as well as the great religious bodies devoted to education, and so successful in it, did not make much of scientific parade in the matter, seeing 'that all the sublimity of metaphysics consists sometimes in saying what every one knows, but in words which no one understands.'[1] In fact, "Christian teachers cannot help wondering at the expenditure of so much genius and of so many methods for the discovery of what good sense alone had made known to themselves. For, after all, 'the principles of education pertain to the province of good sense—to that good sense which is old, not to science, which is young.'"[2]

Now let us see some results as exhibited in the United States. We cannot do better than take for this purpose the splendid report which no less a person than G. Stanley Hall himself, now President of Clark University in Massachusetts, has contributed to a late number of the *Forum* under the very precise title: "Child Study, the Basis of Exact Education."[3]

He begins by telling us that this republic shows some signs of making up its arrears by advancing several branches of the great science of man; that such a condition of things "is a fact well befitting a republic, new and without tradition, which most needs to take a fresh, free look at every aspect of human nature, which alone is true (the look is), and to which (look) school, as well as church, state, and family, must conform to be good, true, and stable." This is a great perspective, albeit a little ominous-looking for the Catholic and Christian Church. He notes that work has been going on in various lines; but all investigators, doctors, anthropologists, psychologists, parents, and teachers should now cooperate. First, there have been studies on the human embryo, such as Preyer and others have done. Secondly, there have been studies of infancy up to the age of three or four years. "Here belongs the work of Preyer, Perez, Compayré, Tracy, Shinn, and many earlier observers. For this work the term Psychogenesis (evolution of the soul) is often used on the often-denied assumption that the fundamental elements of the soul are here being developed." Dr. Stanley Hall himself does not deny this assumption. Thirdly, there have been studies on the early years of school life, especially the first year, for which Mr. Chrisman has suggested

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[1] P. Girard, *Rapport sur l'Institut de M. Pestalozzi*, 1810, p. 90.
[2] P. Girard, *ibid.*
[3] *Forum*, December, 1893, pp. 429, *seq.*

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the term Paidology. "Lastly, come the studies of youth and adolescent years, beginning at the age of thirteen or fourteen and lasting perhaps ten years to full maturity or nubility. Here the term Ephebics might do duty till a better one appears."

We will just jot down some of the representative methods and some of the characteristic results.

In the first years of school life, special studies are generally averages of tests on large numbers of children. "The method is simple; if children are to be measured or questioned, they are taken two or three at a time into the dressing-room of the school, where the calipers are applied for the diameter of head and body, the tape for lengths and circumference, scales for weighing, dynamometers for testing strength, and many more especial devices; teeth, eyes, lungs, nose, throat, hearing, accuracy and rapidity of movement, etc., are tested with every precaution for uniformity and for the avoidance of error." "The value of Galton's method of percentile grades, of equations estimating the thickness of shoes and clothing, the interpretation of unexpected results, the value of exceptions, involve technical expertness." The kind reader will please not for a moment forget that we are following the methods of the new *psychology*—they are not the methods of a mere recruiting sergeant or of a veterinary surgeon.

There is no kind of data which is spurned, "without however offending the child's delicacy of consciousness." The excellent president, founder of psychological laboratories in the United States, tells us that "the collection of such data has had excellent effect upon teachers. They tend to focus effort upon individual children rather than upon 'the pedagogic phantom called the Child.' Like all such studies made by teachers or parents, the best result is for them (not for the child); and Mr. Russell adopts the statement that practice of child-study is directly for the sake of the teacher, indirectly for the sake of the child, and incidentally for the sake of science." Poor child of the nineteenth century! What will the child of the twentieth century be born to?

The president passes forthwith to results: "We will begin with measurements"—24,500 Boston pupils weighed and measured; 10,000 Milwaukee children; 30,000 St. Louis children. Studies on motor ability; medical studies on the diseases incident to growing youth. Here the writer breaks off into some pious reflections: "The juvenile world now goes to school and has its brain titillated and tattooed, and we have entirely forgotten that men have been not only good citizens but great, who were in idyllic ignorance of even the belauded invention of Cadmus. Now, if this tremendous school engine, in which everybody believes now with a catholic consensus of belief, perhaps never be-

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fore attained, is in the least degree tending to deteriorate mankind physically, it is bad. Knowledge bought at the expense of health, which is wholeness or holiness itself in the higher aspect (!), is not worth what it costs. Health conditions all the highest joys of life, means full maturity, national prosperity. May we not reverently ask, What shall it profit a child if he gain the whole world of knowledge and lose his health? or, what shall he give in exchange for his health?"—Here we get a peep at the theoretical holiness and practical profanity of psychological infidelity.

Then come studies on the contents of children's minds, on their theological and religious life, and he closes with prospecting "a new field and method, which might be called the higher anthropology."

Need more be said about this modern psychology as applied in the school-room, in connection with which it is said so sententiously that "to train the mind without a knowledge of the mind is absurd?" If so, this pedagogical psychology must be extravagantly absurd. For it "titillates and tattoos" a ganglion called the brain, and, as to mind, that it neither knows of nor cares to use.

For our part, we prefer a psychology that includes mind and soul. And, if, thanks to the beneficence of Him who hath given wisdom to mankind, such psychology is old we do not object to it on that account. Oftentimes the old wine is best.

THOS. HUGHES, S. J.

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THE SUPERNATURAL AND ITS IMITATIONS.

IT is not from a theological, but rather from a philosophical, point of view that "the supernatural" shall be treated in the present article. It is manifest that all subjects which are connected with religion may be treated from a standpoint of natural reason, as well as from a standpoint of revelation; for, though much is required of the Christian conscience in the belief of what is *above* the natural reason, nothing is required of it which reason would condemn as being *contrary* to the revealed attributes of God. That the mysteries of the faith should be above the natural reason is a matter of course to the believer; for, since a divine religion is the communication of the divine mind, it must follow that the merely natural intelligence cannot penetrate the mysteries of the faith. If the natural intelligence could penetrate divine mysteries, it would follow (paradoxically) that such mysteries were not divine, since the creature can no more aspire to the intelligence of the creator than he can emulate His power or His holiness. "The mystery of faith" is a note of its probability, for, as Cardinal Newman has said, it is impossible that the Almighty should reveal to the natural mind that which is above the natural mind, save either as a mystery to be believed or by a direct miracle operating on the intellect.

We may start, then, even rationally, with the postulate: If Christianity be divine, the supernatural must be its first characteristic. Nor does this characteristic attach only to its origin; it attaches to its whole compass, its whole life. Granted a supernatural origin, the continuance of the processes must be supernatural. Granted the Incarnation, then the link of God with man can never be broken or interrupted. And as to what we call the "miraculous" or an evidence of the supernatural which can be authenticated—this also is inseparable, rationally speaking, from the divinity of the religion of Christianity. Philosophy, pure reason, even common sense, can make it evident that what we may call the evidences of the supernatural may be looked for as probable, if not assured.

Indeed, nothing could be more irrational than to suppose that the Incarnation would not be followed by occasional glimpses of the unseen. Nothing could be more irrational than to suppose that our divine Lord, who was incarnate of the immaculate Virgin Mary, and dwelt for thirty-three years on this earth, should

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then withdraw himself so as never again to afford an evidence that He was with us to the consummation of all things. Such a belief would militate equally against the divinity of the Christian faith and our trust in the infinite tenderness of God. As an Irish Protestant judge has expressed it: "I do not see how Jesus Christ can be divine if there is to be no manifestation of Him for two thousand years; *we* want the occasional glimpses of His presence as much as His disciples wanted the full sight; the Catholics, therefore, are right in their conviction that the supernatural must sometimes illumine the earth, as the sun sometimes breaks through the clouds." This is certainly a conclusion of natural reason; the premise being that our religion is supernatural, the inference is that, at least, occasional intimations will justify its primary characteristic.

Let us go back to what we may call the beginning—the beginning in the sense of human reckoning, or before creatureship, as we know of it, was in existence. Now, it is true that there may have been creatureship "before the worlds were," before our universe, as we apprehend it, was even begun; yet it is certain that the creator must have preceded all creatureship, that the cause must have preceded the effect, that life must have preceded natural laws. It is certain that eternal mind must have preceded creature-intelligence, that eternal power must have preceded creature-capacity, that eternal will must have preceded creature-volition and eternal holiness creature-sense of right and wrong. All such certainties put back everything to the alone God, so that without the alone God there is nothing at all. We may lay it down as the first postulate in sound philosophy that God was the alone from ever and ever—the alone, not in the human sense of loneliness, but in the divine sense of being all in all. "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end." Such is the first postulate of sound philosophy. And until we have well grasped this first postulate we cannot even discuss the supernatural. Until, that is, we have certified our natural reason that there is not, never was and never could be any being who was not the creature of the divine will, nor any existence that was not begotten solely of His existence, we cannot proceed to ask ourselves, "Do we believe in the supernatural; do we believe in the possibility of apparitions, in the visitations of a soul after death; of the miraculous cure of sickness in answer to faith; or in the possibility of anything which does not happen by the natural law, but by a law which, equally real, is supernatural?" In other words, until we attribute all nature to the living God, and, therefore, deny that there can be anything that is not His, we are not in a position to rationally inquire: "Can

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the God who alone moves heaven and earth consistently vary those movements by unknown laws?"

We will argue the question, first, from pure nature; then from the dispensation to the Jews; and then from the Christian dispensation.

We insist, first, that nature is a most powerful advocate for the reasonableness of the expectation of the supernatural. What is nature but God's will in operation? so that to say, as some men say, "It is only natural; there is no need to presuppose a divine providence," is an idolatry of second causes, which is, in itself, most irrational, for it makes all effect its own cause. We affirm, that all nature is supernatural, in the sense that its cause is above nature, and the effect, therefore, is supernaturally produced. If nature could have no being save by the will of her creator, then was she supernaturally caused; nor can we look at the tiniest leaf or the tiniest insect without confessing, "God caused you, and, therefore, are you in real sense supernatural." Nature not only presupposes the supernatural; nature is, herself, supernatural; supernaturally sustained by the energy of divine laws, which is the same thing as the energy of the living God. Nature would cease if God ceased; for her whirl of worlds and perpetual impetus are not inherent in herself; they are not, strictly speaking, imparted; they are sustained. A dead stop would occur in one second, if God were to say, "I will leave nature alone." What are called, "natural laws"—motion, force, gravitation—were not begotten by any element or by spontaneity; they could not be; for that which has no mind could not evolve exquisite systems of working order; they were begotten of a cause, whose intelligence and whose power must be absolutely boundless and eternal. But, the "laws"—and remember, that all men admit laws—belong to the lawgiver, not to his creatures; and to suppose that God has retired from His own laws, instead of continuously perpetuating their operation, would be to suppose that life had abdicated its functions in favor of an inanimate materialism; that infinite intellect had left it to creature-instinct to work out perpetual marvels of changes (such as the before and the after of the chrysalis); that divine love had left the nursing and the tending of the countless varieties of creatureship to their own (non-existent) supreme wisdom, or, as in the case of human beings, to their feebleness; that the father had nothing more to do with his offspring, the originator with his own perfect plans. It is such thoughts as these which lead us to affirm rationally that nature is a perpetual supernatural. God is everywhere, "by essence, by presence, and by power," and therefore is there a supernatural in all things. "The Lord hath His way in the whirlwind and the storm, and the clouds are the dust

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of his feet." Nor is there a breath of air which is not laden with divine law, nor a ray of light which is not law in operation, and which, therefore, in real sense, may not be called supernatural, because God not only creates but sustains them.

If nature, then, be in real sense supernatural, equally in sustainment and in origination, what should we, rationally, expect from revealed religion, which is the communication of the divine intimacies and confidences? Wonderful would it be if such intimacies and confidences never found expression in "the supernatural"—or, perhaps more accurately speaking, in the *evidences* of the supernatural, such as what we call miracles and apparitions. Wonderful would it be, if He, of whose works, in the book of Job, we have such magnificently realistic delineation, should never light up the spiritual world by a gleam of His presence, as he lights up the material world by His lightning. And so, we will now pass on to consider the supernatural in dispensation; the supernatural as a consequence of revelation. And first, as to the dispensation to the Jews.

The whole history of Judaism was supernatural. If in these days such marvellous things were to occur as occurred almost continuously in Jewish times, what would our incredulous critics think of them? The Dispensation to the Jews was miracle from end to end; miracle in the giving of the Law; miracle in the sustenance of the wandering Israelites; miracle in the fearful judgments upon the disobedient; miracle in the divine worship, in the Shekinah, and within the Ark; miracle in the communications of the divine will and in the immediate operations of that will. But it has been objected by skeptics that, even admitting this supernaturalism, we should yet have to account for the obvious absence of the supernatural in the whole pagan life of the Gentile world. We may reply that we are not called upon to account for it at all—even if we should admit it, which we do not—for the doctrine of divine election is not only a doctrine, it is a *fact;* it is a fact which is witnessed in every department of creation; in the material as in the human creation; in all things, great and small, high and low; the divine choice being as obvious as is the divine power, and being an incommunicable prerogative of the divine mind. *Why* God should choose races and persons just as He chooses times and seasons, or chooses suns, oceans, and mountains in material things, for more than ordinary manifestations of His power, is an inquiry which we have no right to make, and which, if we did make, must be futile. Why there should be an abundance of the supernatural under a covenant which is exceptional and extraordinary, and an apparent absence of such abundance, say, in the Gentile world, or, say, in the heretical and schismatical material world, is a question which natu-

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ral reason may wish to consider, but which reverence simply puts aside as beyond us. The supernatural, as we commonly understand it, is an operation of the election of the divine wisdom, whether we consider it as in the province of things spiritual, or in the province of things material and natural. Indeed, the supernatural *is* election. This election is, no doubt, in perfect harmony with the unity of all the purposes of God; with the oneness which runs through infinite operations; still, it is an exercise of the prerogative of God, which is both to choose and to do as He chooses. We can comprehend this quite apart from the Christian faith; for even natural religion tells us that the God of Nature both chooses and does what He chooses; while Revelation, from beginning to end, is divine election, yet justified by God's mercies to all. Election cannot imply the least injustice. This would be both fallacy and impiety. Thus the Catholic Church has always anathematized that detestable Calvinism which denied that God willed that all men should be saved; while at the same time she has always taught that special favors, special graces, were necessarily within the prerogative of the King of Kings, who is above all questioning as to the why of His election.

From Judaism, with its two characteristics, which we may perhaps call election and the supernatural, let us pass to the supernatural in Christianity.

Now here we are positively baffled in our first attempts at reasoning by the immensity of the supernatural in Christianity. It is *all* supernatural. It is *all* God. We will not dwell on the Incarnation; it is too high for us; for our human thoughts, as it were, become caught up into divine spheres where we can only kneel, not talk.

Yet our question is: What might we, rationally, expect of this dispensation in the way of occasional glimpses of the unseen, occasional direct evidences of the supernatural?

We must begin by alluding to Catholic doctrine; and here, at first starting, it is necessary to speak frankly, so as to avoid a too probable misapprehension. Catholic doctrine is distinct from all other doctrine. Its basis is infallible authority, its structure is one harmonious whole. Not disjointed, not fragmentary, as is Protestant doctrine, it is, to use a feeble comparison, like a proposition of Euclid, which, inerrant from step to step in demonstration, culminates in indisputable certainty. We may say of the natural reason that, when illumined by faith, it apprehends the pure reason of Catholicity. The supernatural is brought within the range of the natural reason by that highest exercise of the natural reason —Catholic faith. Reason, having paid its homage to divine authority, receives, in return, the divine gift of faith, which is given

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only *in its fulness* in the Catholic Church. And it is on this "fulness" we wish to dwell. It is this "fulness" which explains every difficulty. A broken faith, such as is common to non-Catholics, fails to see the consistency of miracles—of what is ordinarily called the supernatural—with the daily routine of its normal life. And possibly the broken faith is quite right. There would be no apparent, if even possible, consistency. Thus, what could there be in common between the public worship of the Church of England and the expectation of a miraculous cure of some infirmity: between the repudiation of the doctrine of a cleansing purgatory and the reappearance of a suffering soul after death; between a memorial service in pious remembrance of the dead, and the assured hope of immediate results from intercession; above all, from the adorable sacrifice of the Mass; between the rejection of the doctrine of the invocation of saints and the looking for wondrous aids from their great power: between the isolation of Protestant heresies and schisms and the fact of the Catholic communion of saints, which can only be perfectly realized within the Church; between the neglect of the Blessed Virgin—characteristic of all Protestantism—and the tender intimacies and confidences which are exceptional to that one communion which has been well called the earthly family of God? We need not go further in the way of contrasts to illustrate what we mean by Catholic "fulness," or by its too obvious opposite, Protestant emptiness. The expectation of the supernatural, of miracle, of apparition, would be as inconsistent with the opinionativeness of non-Catholics as it is integral with that philosophy which, beginning with the alone God, consistently realizes the "fulness" of Christianity.

But "inconsistency" is not our only accusation against those who reject the supernatural in its constant manifestations in the Catholic Church. We must affirm that the rejection of all miracle—not of this or that, but of all miracle—is transparently fatal to the belief that Jesus Christ is now "sat down on the right hand of the Father." See what a contradiction such a belief would establish between the thirty-three years of Christ's earthly life and the eternity of his life in the heavens. Instead of inferring—surely a most just inference—that the glorified Saviour is now more powerful with His Divine Father than before He had accomplished our redemption, it would insist that He had altogether ceased to work wonders, to do what He was constantly doing upon earth—heal the blind and the deaf and the halt. For at least the three years of His ministry (we have tradition only as to the previous thirty years) He was constantly engaged in working miracles; yet for two thousand years He has not only withdrawn

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His presence, but withdrawn also His power, His beneficence! How can this be? How can we identify the Christ who is in heaven with the Christ of whom we read in the Gospels, if the heavenly life is absolutely silent in regard to man, while the earthly life is daily eloquent with miracle? Natural reason—and this article is not intended to be theological, but only, as it were, rational or philosophical—must surely tell us that the primary note of the true faith must be its belief in, and possession of, the supernatural. The possession is quite as important as is the belief. If there has been *no* evidence of the supernatural for nearly two thousand years, we should be inclined to concede to the rationalist some sense in his favorite taunt, "There is now no indication of the living Christ."

One word, too, as to the Acts of the Apostles. Those Acts are a record of constant miracle. Yet we are asked to believe that, when the last of the Apostles died, nature assumed a sole dominance; no break of heavenly light illumining for long centuries the Christian world which God had made His home. Can anything be more unnatural, less likely? The home of the Incarnate Word, and the sphere of the Acts of His Apostles, had been from beginning to end full of miracle. Henceforth there is to be darkness, nature only; the supernatural having come to an abrupt end. We cannot believe this. To introduce an empire of the supernatural, simply to crush it out of existence by its very establishment, would be as unlikely as to crown paganism with rewards, or unbelief with extraordinary divine favors.

We pass now to the consideration of the *facts* of the supernatural; nor ought there to be any difficulty in believing them. To begin with, there are true miracles, and there are false. There are true apparitions, and there are false. There are true records of miraculous interferences, and there are lying fictions by the score, by the hundred, not only in all countries but in all times. We will presently say a word about "lying wonders." For the moment let us speak only of the popular attitude of the non-Catholic mind, when there is some talk about a Roman Catholic miracle. The man of the world says, "Oh, what credulity, what superstition"; the credulity and the superstition being in the believing that the Son of God has not wholly withdrawn Himself from His own creation. But the man of the world says, "A miracle is at least very rare; for I never heard of a well authenticated case, though I have heard of many inventions and deceits." True, miracles (in some countries) are very rare, and we know the cause, for we have been told it: "He did not many mighty works there because of their unbelief." Let us take that explanation home for our own reproach. What would it avail to "work a miracle" in New York, if the merchants and the stock-brokers only cried out,

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"Oh, what credulity, what superstition!" It has been almost the rule in the Christian centuries, that, where there have been miracles, the neighborhood has been simple and unworldly; some retired spot, not a crowded city, being divinely chosen for the gentle visitations of the divine favor. The "wise and prudent" are not often so visited; it is the "babes" to whom the power is revealed. And the reason is transparent to the Christian mind. To be able to receive the supernatural, a man must be in full possession of the certainty that "the world" is really an intrusion upon the supernatural, not the supernatural upon the world.

Probably one reason why what we may call "the world" has such a hazy idea of the supernatural is that the "*imitations*" of it are so grotesquely unreal that the true supernatural becomes clouded. Yet before we speak of these "imitations" (and almost all "false miracles," as they are called, are imitations, in some sense, of the supernatural) let us consider the popular fallacy, that the multiplicity of imitations throws doubt upon the existence of the real. Most non-Catholics, if they do not deny the real, either ignore it or treat it as speculative. Many books have been written upon this principle—the principle of the speculativeness of the supernatural—and this, not as to particular instances of the supernatural, but as to the probability of there being a supernatural at all. Thus Mr. Andrew Lang, in a recent amusing book, of which the title is "Cock Lane and Common Sense"—a book full of research and temperate comment—gives us a capital specimen of the shrewd treatment of the unreal with an (apparent) ignoring of the existence of the real. Speaking of ghosts, Mr. Lang says, "A wraith, if wraiths there be, is as natural as indigestion." This is true. But the point is that a million sham wraiths do not prove the non-existence of one real one. Mr. Lang, however, is candid and judicious, and has a mind above the weakness of incredulity, for he says, "Uniform and recurrent evidence vouches for a mass of phenomena which science scouts." Here, then, we have the proper respect for evidence as to its value in the attestation of facts; while the facts themselves have to be left unexplained, not only as to their cause but their nature. To reject the value of evidence would be to put an end to all law courts; since upon evidence alone is every defendant first tried, and then either acquitted or punished. No man, therefore, can make light of evidence. But the evidence as to a fact—say, a so-called apparition—is not necessarily an evidence as to the nature of that fact, its properties, its essence, its cause. All that the ordinary witness can say is, "I saw so and so"; and if he be a credible witness his evidence may be accepted—so far only as that he did see what he said he saw. The explanation, the solution, is left unvouched for. So that we see at a glance how very great is the distance between the reality of a fact which

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is attested and the certainty of that fact being attributable to causes (1) supernatural (2) natural, or (3) tricky.

And it is just here that the subject of "imitations" presses upon us closely for consideration. We begin by saying that we must *look for* imitations, we must expect them; they always were, always must be. What is there in religion that has not been imitated? It is positively impossible to mention any sphere of the Christian life where imitation has not warred against the truth. We need not speak of true and sham doctrines, of true and sham piety, of true and sham "callings" or vocations. Nor need we speak of true and sham authority, of true and sham Christian churches. Such examples of the true and the sham stare us in the face almost every day. Let us rather speak then of *systems* of the supernatural; (1) supernatural means of attaining sanctity; (2) supernatural means of learning divine truths; (3) supernatural imitations or forecasts.

Very briefly it can be shown that such "imitations" prove the certainty that there must be "the true" to be imitated; that consciously or unconsciously, men have "argued for" the Catholic faith, though they knew nothing or but very little about it.

Now take the system popularly known as mysticism; or the aspiring to arrive at close union with God, in a sense altogether above nature. No system has been more imitated—and very successfully—even outside the whole province of revealed truth. The wise men of the East, Buddhist or Mohammedan; the eastern and western Platonists or Neo-Platonists, the more modern religious scientists, such as Behmen, the Swedish Swedenborg, the fantastic Muggletonians, the Cabbalists, Perfectionists, and hosts of others, have given us their ideas of "schools" of mysticism, in which, of course, there is some truth and much error. But what of the *true* schools of Mystics? Can any one who is even superficially acquainted with the lives and writings of St. Teresa, St. Catherine, St. Bernard, St. John of the Cross, or numerous other "intellectual" Catholic saints, fail to see what a wide gulf is placed between the Catholic and the non-Catholic mysticism? The true mysticism soars higher and higher; the sham mysticism sinks lower and lower. Anabaptists or fifth Monarchists, Joanna Southcott or Joseph Smith, were only caricatures of that sham mysticism which, wanting perfect faith and perfect humility, tried to leap at a bound from earth to Heaven; and ignoring the truth that long years of probation must precede the admission into higher communion, impatiently leaped at impossible heights, while really they were not out of their depths. St. Francis of Assisi, a marvel of true mysticism, was *less* wonderful in his miracles than in his sanctity; for the miracles were God's working, but the sanctity was first merited by the endurance of an anguish of probation. True mys-

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ticism is the crowning of true sanctity. And here the true and the sham can be discerned. The imitators, no matter of what school, while proving themselves unreal by their fictional piety, prove the truth of Catholic mysticism by aiming at "the supernatural," while confessing to their distaste for its probation.

Now, this imitation of the true mysticism is an imitation of the supernatural *life;* but let us now take an imitation of the supernatural *belief*, of faith in the whole compass of Revelation. There is one such imitation which is now much talked of and also much written about in the newspapers, and it is glorified by the grand title, Theosophy. This Theosophy is an apeing of a knowledge above nature; of a sort of exclusive or exquisitely privileged revelation. The "secret doctrine," as it is called, or the "synthesis of science, religion and philosophy," is supposed to be a revival of esoteric Buddhism, or a fresh getting behind the veils of long lost Aryan cabalistic and occult speculation, in regard to the genesis and evolution of the universe, and particularly of man or human history. Modernism has dressed up these fancies in flowing skirts, and a prophetess has vouched for their genuineness But readers of Max Müller, Edwin Arnold, J. F. Clarke, or Samuel Johnson, have been accustomed to ponder eastern philosophies, and are not to be led away by such bold nonsense as we find published by the most distinguished Theosophists, as, for example, "one task is left incomplete, that of disposing of the most pernicious of all theological dogmas, the curse under which mankind is said to have suffered ever since the supposed disobedience of Adam and Eve in the bower of Eden." Here, then, we have "occultism" set against Revelation, or a war declared against divine dispensation by the mere freaks and fads of nebulous dreamers. Yet, let us see how "imitation" (perhaps unconsciously) is characteristic of this modern affectation. It has been well observed by a keen writer: "Jesus Christ was at once the greatest occultist and the plainest-spoken being that ever lived; but Madame Blavatsky seems to have made small effort to get at the key of His occultism. This is the crying fault of all modern cranks. . . . . Readers with any true perception of the real genius and mission of Judaism and Christianity in this world will as readily perceive and assert that Madame Blavatsky is as ignorant of all this as the famous Balaam once was of the divine guidance until the animal on which he rode, etc." Occultism is, then, in its *modern* interpretation (in its eastern mood it was a pardonable groping) a burlesque on the hidden life of grace and truth, the "grace" having for its modern substitute a morbid vanity and complacency, and the "truth" a feeble jugglery with superstition.

That word "superstition" suggests another system, for superstition has played so large a part in modern life that it may be

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said to be a system of imitation. Superstition, in its popular sense, is a craving after the supernatural; a longing to find something which is above nature in what is really only consistent with or beneath nature. Yet, superstition is a homage paid to truth. Gypsies and sheeted spectres, fictitious witches, and supposed demons, have taken the place, in the enfeebled mind, of the belief in the supernatural, so that many persons who would laugh incredulously at "a Catholic miracle" cannot sleep at night because some omen has disturbed them; because (as in Transylvanian superstitions) a crow has flown straight over the head, or a spider has been killed in the twilight, or a hare has darted suddenly across the path. All such beliefs, or rather dreads, are born of the conviction that there is and must be a supernatural in the natural life, and, therefore, constitute an "imitation" of the true Christian faith in the omnipresence and omnipotence of God.

Yet undoubtedly the worst of all imitations is that which we understand by the preternatural. Here we have an imitation which is purely diabolical, and which has flourished in all ages and all countries. We read of it in the Old Testament and in the New. Under such names as witchcraft or necromancy, magic, dark dealing, or enchantment, we are all familiar with preternatural wickedness; the precise boundary between the evil and the illusory being often beyond natural discovery. It would seem as though the evil one from the very beginning had tried to confuse his own work with the divine work, so as to blind men to the true nature of evil. The imitations were begun in the earliest days. Even in the half innocent fancy-cults, which we read of as being paganly primitive—and which, after all, were little more than a natural confusion of ineffective analogy with effective cause—we can trace the design of the evil one to throw dust in men's eyes, that they might be the more easily deceived by his machinations. In the earliest Egyptian magic we have the invoking of deities, sometimes supposed to be good, sometimes bad; in the Babylonian magic we have the belief in wicked demons, with the belief also, in at least a virtuous deity (for example, take the prayer in cuneiform characters: "From the burning spirit of the entrails which worketh evil may the King of Heaven preserve.") Among the Greeks there was a belief in the magical transformation of men and women into hideous animals, with revolting "messes of witchcraft" (Shakespeare has detailed them) and ludicrous processes of deliverance or disenchantment; among the Romans there was a belief in the divining powers of sham priests, of the auspex, the augur, the haruspex; indeed all down the ages we have that mixture of false and true which may well be called the devil's imitation, with a view to the bewilderment of men's minds. From the days of the Egyptian magi, who, as we read in the Old Testament,

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imitated the miracles which were supernatural; through the days of our Lord's ministry, when evil spirits "entered into" and were "cast out of" men's bodies; down to our own days when the new "Spiritualism" at least *sometimes* works wonders which neither science nor investigation can account for; we have the evidence of a diabolical imitation which is indisputable as to origin and purpose. Thus the preternatural in all ages has marched side by side with what it would strive to imitate, the supernatural. The Catholic Church for nineteen centuries has been on the watch for these imitations, well knowing that the devil, who has been called the ape of God, must be always trying to bring discredit upon the true by every artifice of simulation and obtenebration.

We have thus taken (1) Nature, (2) Judaism, (3) Christianity, as all leading us to *expect* the supernatural in the sense in which it is popularly understood; we have (4) argued that the imitations of the supernatural are positive proof of the existence of the real; we have (5) urged that the disposition in all ages to believe in a supernatural religion has been made manifest by scores of inventions of false religions; and that (6) evil spirits, like wicked men, have tried to ape the supernatural, so as to confuse the divine dealings with their own impiety.

If, in conclusion, one word may be added as to the fact of the supernatural in the Catholic Church, it shall be only to show that the Catholic Church, by her divine mission, is the appointed guardian of the (Christianly) supernatural, and can alone consistently claim to be its home.

We have already spoken of the "fulness of the faith"—impossible in any communion but the Roman Catholic. An infallible authority upon all points of faith; the perpetual presence of the Son of God upon Catholic altars; with all the wondrous realities and intimacies of a covenant to which even imagination could find no parallel; such "fulness" prepares the mind to repeat the supernatural in the whole kingdom of God's relations with Catholics.

Let us go back for one moment to the day of the Crucifixion, to the road to Calvary where our Lord fell three times. St. Veronica, full of charity as of faith, wiped the face of her Divine Lord with her veil; and that charity and that faith were rewarded by the imprinting of the exact image of the Sacred Face upon the veil. At the present day there are numerous copies of that veil; and there is a special devotion called the "devotion to the Sacred Face." Now these copies from the original veil have worked wonders. Let one illustration be here mentioned. The present writer was privileged with an acquaintance with "the holy man of Tours," Monsieur Dupont; who always kept in his oratory a picture of the Sacred Face, before which a lamp was perpetually burning. Scores, literally scores, of afflicted persons would come to Monsieur Du-

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pont to be healed, and he would anoint them with the oil from the lamp; in almost every case the blind receiving their sight, the lame receiving renewal of their activity, and the afflicted ones of all kinds leaving Monsieur Dupont "cured," and praising God for the miraculous favor. And the secret of the miraculous favor, so far as Monsieur Dupont was concerned, was that he spent his whole nights in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, and the greater part of his days in reading the Bible. Hence the miracles.

And a word more as to the intimations of divine supernatural insights granted to the eye. The present writer was told by a French colonel who commanded the French troops in Rome at the time when Pius IX. was Pope and king, that he saw a white dove descend upon the head of that pontiff, and hover over him as he walked up a church-nave (it was in the monastery of the Camulduli near Rome), and then ascend through the roof over the altar, while the pontiff was adoring the Blessed Sacrament. All the officers who were present saw the same thing. And the same French colonel told the present writer that he had witnessed the same phenomenon in South America when Pius IX. was Papal Nuncio, and that numerous witnesses who were with him attested it. It would be easy to multiply such instances. The present writer, who lived for some years in Southern Europe, had numerous facts of this kind brought home to him by eye-witnesses; not by pious sentimentalists but by strong-minded men, to whom the weakness of credulity was as foreign as was the vice or the unreason of incredulity. Now it is no part of the Catholic faith to be obliged to believe in particular miracles (those that have been here named may be rejected) but it is consistent with the Catholic faith to believe that the Living Jesus can and does "lift the veil" from time to time. "The Lord's arm is not shortened"; the Almighty has not ceased to be omnipotent; He who raised Lazarus from the dead still works miracles. But our point at this moment is that the Catholic Church *alone* can be the true home of the perfect supernatural; perfect in the sense of the perfection of the Covenant which exists between God and His Church. The whole of the Catholic religion—from its first step, infallible authority, down to the least aid to devotion in the spiritual life—is grounded on the truth that, from the moment of the Incarnation, man was lifted up to a divine union. Not only did God become man, but man (by divine sacraments) became united to the Godhead, to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. This truth explains the reasonableness of the supernatural. A veil is drawn in the present life over the Beatific Vision so that man, in his present state, cannot see but by the supernatural sacraments—above all by holy Communion—he may be united with the three persons of the Trinity. Once let this fact be apprehended and the supernatural becomes

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a matter of course. Conversely: if you degrade authority to private opinionness—as is done by all the Protestant sects; if you say that confession is *not* the assurance of absolution; that holy communion is *not* the real union of man's soul and body and intelligence with the human soul, the human nature, the divinity of Christ, that there is *not* a state of purgation after death, in which God mercifully pays Himself man's temporal debts, and therefore that there is *not* a communion of saints in the Catholic sense of the communion between heaven, earth and purgatory; then should we be forced to admit that the supernatural in the Catholic Church had no reasonable, no philosophical ground. But all such negations are puré hypotheses; they rest on the private opinionativeness of discordant sects; they come from the loss of the "fulness" of the faith—possible only inside the true Church. They are therefore delusions. The "fulness" of the faith teaches the wholeness of Christianity, from its foundation-stone, infallible authority, to the minutest point and finish of the structure. Our own sins or imperfections may dull our lives; but they cannot affect the divine perfection of the Catholic religion; and that perfection includes the perfect supernatural—perfect in the divine laws of impartial justice, as well as in its tenderness and compassion.

Let those, therefore, who question the supernatural in the Catholic Church content themselves with questioning it *outside* the Church. They are on consistent ground as long as they say that private judgment is the sole pontiff in all matters of faith. From *that* hypothesis you can argue what you like. The supernatural is indeed out of the question. You cannot have a purely natural foundation and build upon it a supernatural structure. And private judgment as to the truths which belong to God—as to the dogmas which are of faith unto the salvation—is of no more value than would be the prattle of a child on some moot point of casuistry or metaphysics. Private judgment is the building of a pyramid upon water; the rearing of a divine temple of truth upon the fiction of the caprice of human fancy. The supernatural must tumble down into the natural. But inside the Church all is safe. The supernatural has supernatural tests. All miracles, apparitions, supernatural intimations, which take place within the Catholic Church, can be submitted to the divine authority in the Church, in regard to their reality or unreality; but to a person who does not believe in the supernatural there can be no such thing as the divine authority of the Church; and to a person who does not believe in that authority there can be no guide who can either affirm the true principles of the supernatural, or distinguish between the real and its imitations.

A. F. MARSHALL.

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A CHRISTIAN SOLDIER.

THOSE who see something of the present state of France—its deep-rooted infidelity and practical persecution of all that its children once held dear—are sometimes tempted to wonder, as did the Israelite of old, whether, indeed, any virtue is left in her, any possibility of high heroism and Christian chivalry, such as in olden days seemed almost the special note of the compatriots of St. Louis and Duguesclin, of Bayard and Joan of Arc. Too bitter were it to decipher that writing on the wall which a hand invisible is slowly but surely penning within the once glorious habitation of the eldest daughter of the Church. Yet, as in the ranks of the Roman legions, a St. George and St. Maurice, St. Martin and St. Theodore were found, so in the army of the French republic of to-day some hearts still beat true to God and to His Church; some lives still bear witness to the faith which will endure forever.

Not many years since—it was the feast of St. Maurice and his companions, the soldier-martyrs of early Christian times—the body of another Christian soldier, General de Sonis, was laid to rest in a newly restored country parish church which seventeen years before had been the scene of one of the most touching and heroic episodes in that drama of horror, the Franco-Prussian war.

Upon the coffin lay his uniform, his sword, his decorations, and last, but not least, the blood-stained banner of the Pontifical Zouaves—that now historic banner of the Sacred Heart which, borne by its defenders, stood alone upon the field of Patay to redeem the honor of France. Not once, but again and again during the past three centuries, has France been called upon to dedicate herself to "that Heart which has so loved men;" again and again she has refused, yet it was the banner of the Sacred Heart which alone stood firm before the enemy when the soldiers of the republic quailed—that same banner which now covered with its blood-stained folds the coffin of one who for the past forty years had held an ever-ready sword for the defense of his country and his God. Beside the catafalque which held the mortal remains of General de Sonis knelt eight of his children, two daughters and six sons, of whom four were in uniform, and near them General de Charette with his zouaves. The rest of the church was crowded with military and civic personages who had come from all parts of France to render a last homage to this Christian hero, and to hear his panegyric from the lips of the great ecclesiastical orator of the

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day, Monseigneur Freppel, Bishop of Angers. It was a magnificent oration, and its closing sentences ring almost startlingly in their pregnant meaning. "I do not know," spoke the bishop, "whether at the prayer of faith God will deign to work miracles in this ever-blessed spot. I do not know if the Church, always desirous of glorifying the chosen souls among her children, may not some day bring into still more vivid light a life in which the noblest Christian virtues were practiced in an heroic degree. But what public admiration permits me now to affirm without fear is that the memory of General de Sonis will remain through generations upon generations surrounded with the respect and veneration of all; for his was a life, indeed, great, both before God and before men."

On the feast of St. Louis of France—that royal saint whose name as long as Christendom shall endure will remain the synonym for all knightly prowess and saintly chivalry—a son was born to Lieutenant de Sonis, a young French officer then stationed in the lovely island of Guadaloupe, in the year 1825, and baptized by the names of Louis Gaston. His mother, a beautiful Creole, had found new happiness (after an infelicitous former marriage) in her second union with the brave and tender-hearted soldier who shared his fortunes with hers; and young Gaston's first memories were of a home of tropical beauty, cradled in the sheltering arms of a lovely, graceful, sad-eyed mother, and companioned by three sisters and a younger brother as they played beneath the cocoanut and banana trees of the West Indies. But those bright days were destined to be early closed. Family arrangements recalled Captain de Sonis to France, and his wife was unable to accompany him. They parted, the father taking their three elder children with him, while the weeping mother remained in Guadaloupe with her two younger ones and her aged father. The paternal grandmother, a kindly and pious woman, took the three half-orphaned little ones to her heart on their arrival and made a home for them in Paris, where Captain de Sonis, stationed at Versailles, could visit them from time to time and pour out his full heart in fond kisses and caresses to his dearly-loved little ones. Children and father alike counted the days when their gentle mother would be again among them; but alas! on the very eve of her departure she was stricken down by a fatal fever, and instead of her presence came the news of her death. It was Gaston's first sorrow and seemed, as it were, to mark the space between childhood and boyhood, for very soon afterwards their Parisian home was broken up, and the boy entered upon a course of military college life, destined to prepare him for his future career. He passed through several preparatory schools, some religiously and well organized, others, "hotbeds of vice," as he afterward termed them, and was

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on the point of entering the well-known Collége de St. Cyr, when, after parting with his father in good health but a few hours before, he, with his sisters, was suddenly summoned to see him die.

From that hour the youth of nineteen stood alone in the world; doubly orphaned, the eldest of five brothers and sisters, who found themselves left by their father's death without home, family or fortune. His sisters returned to the Antilles for a time, two of them finally entering Carmelite convents in France, while the third married a medical man, and their younger brother, Theobald, adopted, like Gaston, their father's profession. All, though so early sent out like half-fledged birds into the world, lived truly Christian lives, Theobald being the only one who at one time yielded to the seductions of worldliness.

On entering the Collège de St. Cyr, young Gaston found the practice of religion surrounded with many difficulties. No chaplain was to be met with, no opportunities for approaching the sacraments, save in secrecy and without its walls. Small wonder, therefore, that only a very limited number of the light-hearted youths who inhabited it ever dreamed of fulfilling their religious duties; but Gaston de Sonis was ever one of that faithful few. His enthusiastic love for everything connected with his profession rendered him a general favorite, and his proficiency in riding, always a very strong point with him, ere long gained him the one boon he would above all have coveted, a commission in a cavalry regiment, and in April, 1848, he joined the 5th Hussars as sub-lieutenant at Castres.

It was in the first flush of boyish exultation over his new position, a soldier at last, and entering on days of real responsibility, that a pretty little episode occurred, which gave the first touch of romance to his young life. Gaston de Sonis was described by one of his companions about this time as "tall, well-grown, rather graceful than strong, with delicate features and limbs, and a singularly high-bred and aristocratic bearing"; and we may well believe, that as the little troop of soldiers rode into Castres, with the young lieutenant at their head, he was noted by many an appreciative eye. Among the rest of the townsfolk who crowded every window and street-corner to see the regiment go by, after the custom of country towns in every land, a young girl of seventeen, the daughter of the principal lawyer of the place, came out upon her balcony to watch the crowd. By some subtle magnetism the two became conscious each of the other's presence; Mademoiselle Anaïs Roger was pointed out to him by a brother-officer as one of the town's most charming daughters, while she, on her side, needed no prompting to note, with beating heart, the handsome young officer who, perchance, cast one fleeting but respectful

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glance at her as he rode past. Later on they met; very soon they told their love, and ere long Louis Gaston de Sonis and Jeanna Antoinette Anaïs Roger pledged mutual troth to one another at the altar.

Never was there a more perfect Christian marriage. From that hour until the day of his death the most ideal oneness in tastes, in fervor, in love, united those two souls "whom God had joined together." For thirty-eight years heart beat responsive to heart, one depth of fervent piety called to the other, and hand in hand they received sorrows and joys as they came. All through these thirty-eight years their home was a changing one: now in this town, now in that alien country, in the necessary variableness of a soldier's life; and often the cross came to them, in temporary separations, in sorrows, in cares, in losses; while to Madame de Sonis it came often, too, in that hardest trial of inaction and ignorance, while her "other self" was braving perils and suffering want and pain far away on clanging battle-fields. For the first five years of their married life they lived very quietly on the more than modest means which their joint fortune amounted to, studying military books together, visiting picture galleries, caring for their growing family, and increasing visibly in the fear of God and love of His poor. Then came his promotion to be captain, with orders for Africa, and their first separation, for Madame de Sonis was expecting her fourth child, and could not accompany him, and thus began his twenty years' life in Algeria, the long campaign by which he made his name as a soldier and won his crown as a Christian hero.

Algeria may perhaps be said to occupy in some respects the same position towards France that India does to England. It is a constant field for warfare, ambition, promotion, an opportunity for seeing active service, and at the same time an interesting life of colonization. What the French occupation of Algeria might be, in the way of evangelizing an infidel country, may be learned from the interesting records which exist in the annals of such pioneers of religion as the Trappist monks, who have at once civilized and reclaimed whole tracts of country, following in the footsteps of their own country's army; but, unfortunately, modern France, as a nation, sets small store by such labor; and it was the saddest part of General de Sonis's military life that, enthusiastic soldier as he was, he found himself obliged to witness the most painful results from the utter neglect of his government to provide any religious provision for its Algerian troops and those in active service. "There is an immense apostolate to be done in the army," he wrote, "for there is genuine, honest faith under their uniforms, which one sees especially in campaigns, and in the midst of priva-

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tions and death." And it was this "apostolate" which he practiced himself so faithfully that, as far as human knowledge can go, it is probable that many, nay, hundreds would not be too large a word to use, of his fellow-officers and soldiers owed their salvation to his care for them. One of the missionaries stationed near him thus described it: "His apostolate consisted in making religion pleasant and attractive to his companions by rendering them every kind of little service. If any of them were ill, he was the first by their bedside; and should any danger supervene, he would not only fetch the priest himself, but suggest holy thoughts to the sick man, and dispose him to receive me. He really was like a Christian of the Middle Ages. His interior life was more like that of a religious than of a soldier. Constant prayer and frequent communion raised him daily nearer and nearer perfection."

When he arrived in Algeria, alone and separated for the first time from his dearly loved wife and family, his instant impulse was to throw himself into works of charity; the Society of St. Vincent de Paul to be taken part in, orphanages to be visited, the sick poor of the city to be helped, and not least, the courageous manifestation before his brother officers of his Christian principles. "I find myself on capital terms with my comrades," he writes: "all the officers receive me most kindly, though I did not hesitate at once to profess myself a Christian. That is the essential thing, and that done our good God takes care of the rest and rewards one highly for the little one does for Him."

It has not always been a painless effort however, this profession of Catholicity in the barrack-room as well as on the field. Perhaps nothing more vividly paints it than an anecdote which he himself related of an incident in his earlier career while still stationed in France. "One day I was doing my duty with other officers in the mess-room and leaning against the chimney-piece with a newspaper in my hand, when I heard a little bell ringing at intervals which I fancied was for the Blessed Sacrament being carried to some sick person. I had a moment's struggle. Should I stand like the rest or kneel? But then I thought, 'If it were the emperor or even the general of division passing would not every one salute him? And this is my God.' Accordingly I went to the window quite determined to kneel on both knees as it passed, when what do I see? a vulgar cart, which an itinerant hawker was driving through the town with this little hypocritical bell! Well, our Lord, I hope, was satisfied with my good will."

Such instances as these one can easily imagine are constantly occurring in the life of every French soldier. At any moment he may be called upon in some seemingly trivial incident, to confess his faith before a jeering mess-room or some actively persecuting

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knot of fellow-soldiers. An army which not only has suppressed the military Mass of the empire, but absolutely enforces absence from Mass and servile work on Sundays as practically part of its discipline; which, in the person of its superior officers lays commands upon its soldiers to break the laws of God by the practice of duelling, so that the colonel of a regiment may and will order two of his men to fight a duel and they dare not disobey; which sends its soldiers into the deserts of Africa to fight the enemies of France and to shed their blood for her, with neither chaplain nor any means of procuring the last rites of religion for the dying—some 5000 men fighting, suffering, falling under the double scourge of disease and of the sword, unnerved by the thought that, should they succumb, no priest will be near to receive their dying confession or help them into eternity (as was the case in the campaign through which General de Sonis served in Algeria), such is the French army of to-day; the army into which the young seminarist, fresh from his pious studies, the peasant lad, innocent from his mountain home, the son of many a noble Christian family, reared in refinement and shielded from every breath of evil—are year by year thrown, to lose alike their purity and their faith, and then perchance to die.

De Sonis, who loved his profession as a true soldier must ever do, was fully alive to these dangers, and spared no pains to combat them and to encourage by influence and example the young men who came in any way under his control. This soon became so well known that mothers would confide their sons to his paternal guidance on their entrance into the army, and priests commend the souls they cherished to his apostle-like support. "Our relations with M. de Sonis," wrote one of his subalterns, "were those of a child with his father, or a scholar with his master. My faith was weak enough when I arrived; he never missed an opportunity of strengthening it, not by preaching or discussing religious matters with me, but by putting a good book in my way, or showing me some touching kindness. The best of all examples was his own life."

The strength of such example may not inaptly be illustrated by a little sketch of him in his daily official life, drawn by a member of his staff, the Marquis de la Tour du Vin: "Monsieur de Sonis," he writes, "has left on me the impression of being one of the most high-bred gentlemen I have ever known. He always received me with a kindness and a charm of manner which went to one's heart. I had to go to him every morning to take his orders and transmit them to the camp, after which I saw to their execution. When things went wrong he was very much annoyed, and his first words showed it although they were always perfectly courteous. But

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then, overcoming this first impulse of vexation or anxiety, he would change his tone and I observed he always fixed his eyes on something behind his bureau where he was standing or sitting. One day I went from curiosity behind this writing-table and there discovered a crucifix! It was a look at this which brought back his sweetness and peace of mind; and this will show you to what an extent he carried his feelings of duty—self-control and the source from which they were derived."

Not long after De Sonis's arrival in Algiers he made a retreat with the Trappist monks at Stahueli under the direction of their celebrated superior, Dom Francois Regis. The foundation of this monastery in 1843 is perhaps one of the most interesting episodes in modern missionary work. It owed its being to a fervent French deputy, M. de Corcelle, who, having first become interested in the colonization of Algeria from a political and patriotic point of view, speedily perceived that as he said himself "the colony will cease to be French if it is not Christian," and knowing the special aptitude of the Trappists for agricultural labor, suggested to the government that they should be invited as missionary colonists, with grants of land and pecuniary aid in order to cultivate and civilize both the land and the natives.

We are apt, perhaps, to picture to ourselves the white-robed Trappist as a solitary, somewhat gloomy figure, absorbed in the contemplation of his self-made grave, and wrapped in the seclusion of perpetual silence. We forget the activity, the intelligence, the productiveness of his spiritual ancestry, when Citeaux and its sons reclaimed wide acres by their toil, and everywhere up and down the land made the desert to blossom like a rose by the unwearied toil of their fertile labor. The Trappist of to-day, far from carrying out the idea suggested by the old story of de Rancé at the coffin of his lady-love, is on the contrary an active, intelligent laborer in humanity's chiefest work; that of reclaiming and rendering fruitful its subject earth.

Among the many world-weary wanderers, old and young, whom these white-robed brethren have welcomed to their ranks from time to time, that "still small voice" of religious vocation which those who hear must needs leave all to follow, like the Apostles of old, whispered to a young and earnest priest just launched into his first cure of souls: and he "left all," like them, home and friends, a devoted father and fond mother, and singularly attached circle of brothers and sisters, to enter the well-known monastery of Aiquibelle. We say well known, for the "chocolat d'Aiquibelle" like the Carthusian liqueur, is everywhere in use.

The young novice, who came of an ancient and noble, as well as pious family, became in religion Dom Francois Regis, and was

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sent by his community as the pioneer and founder of their African monastery. The little band of monks were conducted to the scene of their future labors—a vast plain of some 1000 hectares (about 2500 acres), covered with wild shrubs, dwarf palms, and undergrowth, and there, camped in tents with a detachment of workmen, left to build, cultivate, and reclaim, as best they could, the barren wilds.

It must have been a picturesque scene. Under an aged palm tree, which towered high above the surrounding growths, the tall, graceful figure of the young Superior (he was only twenty-two years old) took solemn possession by planting a rude wooden cross in the ground; and the little party fell on their knees before it to recite a Pater, Ave, and Credo. Fifteen years afterwards, the Monastery of Stahueli had grown into a vast and imposing building, surrounded with gardens and orchards, with fields and sheepfolds, water-mills in good working order, carpentering sheds, brickyards, joineries, every necessity for a young and flourishing colony, in full activity.

The wondering Arabs of the surrounding districts watched, with *naïve* admiration, the white-robed "marabouts" as they called the good Fathers; the French officers stationed near claimed the kinship of a common race, and clustered round the kindly brethren, led by their wise and charming Superior, who "made himself all things to all men" as the Scripture says, to win souls to Christ.

Here, then, came Colonel de Sonis as to a little oasis of piety in the desert, and refreshed his soul with prayerful retreat, under the saintly guidance of its founder. He left Stahueli full of fresh plans and renewed zeal for souls, and pious projects "in reparation" as he wrote, "for the many outrages which our Lord is continually receiving here."

After some time, Madame de Sonis and their children were able to rejoin him, and they resumed their happy domestic life, divided between military duties, pious exercises, and the education of their growing family. Owing to the constant insurrections of neighboring tribes, de Sonis and his fellow-officers were continually occupied in that unsatisfactory state of petty warfare which is necessitated by the near neighborhood of a hostile population; still he naturally preferred the soldier-like life of even an occasional skirmish to the inglorious monotony of garrison life in France, and when his regiment returned to its native country he begged to be transferred to a more active one, and joined the "1me Chasseurs d'Afrique," where, as one of their number testified, he "very soon won all hearts."

Somewhat to the surprise—and we may add, to the dissatisfac-

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tion of de Sonis—he had not long entered this regiment when it was ordered to Italy, to take part in the campaign against Austria. This order involved a fresh separation between de Sonis and his wife, who returned to France, while he, with his regiment, set sail for Genoa. They arrived just in time to take part in the battles of Montebello and Magenta, during the latter of which de Sonis was posted all night in a wheatfield, waiting, bridle in hand, for the order to join the combatants. He was doomed to inaction on this occasion, but found an opportunity of doing what probably few could have accomplished so efficiently, viz., spending the whole of the following day in visiting and ministering to the sick and dying in the ambulances. During the remainder of the campaign he passed his days as follows: the description which he gave himself in later years is too beautiful in its noble and manly Christian simplicity to be omitted here:

"As soon as my regiment had arrived at their camp and I had given all the necessary orders to my troops, I used to go after the nearest church-spire to find the curé in his humble presbytery. Generally the good priest knew as much French as I did Italian, so that I had to brush up my college Latin to make myself understood. 'Will you please hear my confession as soon as possible?' I would say on coming in. 'We will talk afterwards if there be time.' When I could, I went to Communion directly after; if it were too late, then next morning. After that, I came back joyfully to camp, full of peace and of the love of God. Death might come, but I was all right, and remounted my horse ready for any sacrifice."

Or again, in another account: "Often when we were scouring the country very early in the morning, we came upon a church. My friend Robert was with me, and we used to say, 'The Master is there! let us stop for a few minutes.' Alighting from our horses we used to run into the church, and if the priest was there, we used to get Holy Communion. Then we had to start again at once, making our thanksgiving on horseback, for the time was not our own; but oh, the strength and comfort of those few moments!"

At the battle of Solferino, which decided the fate of the campaign, he was in the thick of the fight, and received the Cross of Honor on the battlefield; but he would fain have won it in a nobler cause, for with the instinct of a fervent Christian he feared that in fighting for Italy he was but furthering the aims of the Church's enemies, and he was not altogether sorry when the time came to return with the 1st Chasseurs to Algiers in 1859.

His next campaign was an expedition into Morocco, where success crowned the arms of the French, but they were decimated by

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a fearful visitation of cholera; and it was at this time, when that fell disease was literally mowing down their men, at the rate of a hundred daily, that an army of 15,000 soldiers was left without chaplain or any spiritual aid. "Every morning," wrote an eye-witness, "we had to dig the graves of those who had died during the night before breaking up the camp. On our road, the men fell from their horses, when this fearful epidemic seized them. They were convulsed with agony for a few moments, and then died before any help could be brought to them." One officer, when he felt that his end was near and no priest to be found, begged de Sonis, who had taught him the love of God which was helping him to die, to hear his confession; fortunately, however, he lived to receive absolution from a priest who after great difficulty had been brought to the death-bed of a fellow-officer, Colonel de Montalembert.

De Sonis himself, who stood by so many death-beds, escaped this danger as he had passed through the battlefield, unscathed; and soon after had the happiness of being able to pay a short visit to France, where he settled his elder children in schools, enjoyed a brief period of rest with his wife, joined the Third Order of Mt. Carmel, which, as one gathers from various indications, afforded him no little help in his spiritual progress, and then returned to his work in Algeria.

Immediately on his arrival, Colonel de Sonis was named Commandant of the Circle of Tenez, which gave him absolute command over a whole province, in a good climate, and with a pleasant and commodious government house. He sent for his wife and children, and they settled themselves happily and hopefully in a new home. But the time of peace was a short one; he was transferred to another province, that of Laphonat, where ere long a revolt took place among the native Arabs, which de Sonis quelled with soldierly firmness, and after suffering the annoyance of an undeserved recall to headquarters (by way of reprimand for what was deemed unnecessary severity towards the insurgents), he was honored with another commandership, first at Taida and then again at Laphonat. In both places his influence and example speedily resulted in quite a resurrection of faith among his fellow-soldiers, while the Arabs, noting his prayers, his fasting, his just judgments and upright life, were full of admiration of "the truly just one," "Moula-ed-Dine,' as they called him, meaning a master of faith and piety.

Laphonat seems to have been his favorite station, and he often declared that he would like to have remained there all his life. One of his staff officers wrote a description of his quiet busy days there which give a pleasing picture of the Christian general at home.

"What struck me most in his beautiful life, was the activity, order and regularity which distinguished it. Everything had a fixed hour,

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like the life of a religious rather than of a soldier. The first part of the day was always given to God. Very early in the morning he would retire into some quiet spot to pray, make his meditation and read some pious book. He used to prefer the Gospel or the Invitation for this purpose. At half-past six or seven he went to Mass in silence. I generally accompanied him. Sometimes while crossing the square I would make some joke, which made him smile; but he used to reprove me afterwards, saying that the Mahometans were always grave and serious when they went to say their prayers, and that my laughter would seem irreverent to them. As soon as he came back from church he breakfasted quickly, received some visits from French or Arab officers, and at nine o'clock made his report.

"After the second breakfast which was served at eleven o'clock, he used to take a little walk with Madame de Sonis and the children. Then he went out on horseback till half-past two, when he came home and went back to his work. Besides his professional duties he always studied both religious and new military works, such as 'L'Armée in 1867,' by General Trochu. This went on till supper time, when he gave the rest of his evening to his family. Except his little office book as a Tertiary of Mount Carmel, he never read anything after that; but the day closed with saying the rosary and night prayers all together. A priest having one day expressed his astonishment at all he was able to get through, he answered smiling, 'God always multiplies the time for those that serve Him.'"

It was not, however, always so tranquil a life. In the year 1869 a fresh outbreak among the Arabs and the proclamation of a "holy war," resulted in the battle of "d'Ain Madhi," when, chiefly owing to de Sonis's energy and skill, a complete victory resulted for the French arms, notwithstanding the numerical superiority of the enemy who were about four to one. De Sonis had, in fact, only about 900 men and 46 officers to oppose at least 3000 Arab cavalry and 1000 infantry. He was warmly praised and covered with glory by the accounts sent home in official dispatches of the campaign, and received an augmentation of rank, compliments from the emperor, who presented him with his "Vie de Cesar," and congratulations from his brother officers, who organized a grand military fête in his honor. Not long afterwards he was dispatched as commander to Aumale, the most important military post in Algeria, and it was here that he passed the last year of his oriental life, from 1869 to 1870, when the Franco-German War recalled him with so many others to defend his country on its own soil.

Colonel and Madame de Sonis had now been married for more than twenty years, and the eldest of their very numerous family—

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nine on earth, and two more "little angels," as he wrote of them, in heaven, were of an age to choose their path in life. We can only here briefly mention that no less than three of his sons followed their father's profession, and were serving, like, though never with him, through all the Franco-Prussian campaign. One, Henry, narrowly escaped being among those Pontifical Zouaves at whose head he fought his sorest fight, for the youth wrote from the college in which he was studying in 1867, a passionate appeal to his father to allow him to don a sword in defence of the Holy See. M. de Sonis wrote in reply a touching assent to his son's desire to fight in "the noblest cause on earth" under their chivalrous countryman, de Charette, but the boy's services were declined upon the score of youth.

Their eldest daughter, Marie, from her earliest years the pride and mainstay of the family, soon followed the religious vocation, won perhaps by her father's piety, and became a nun of the Sacred Heart.

In the month of May, 1870, Marshal MacMahon, then governor of Algeria, came on his tour of inspection to Aumale, where Colonel de Sonis was then in command. Rumors were even then afloat as to the possibility of war, and discussion ran high among the officers, in the too confident strain of assurance which, unhappily, marked the whole tone of the French army at that time. One man alone of all the little coterie ventured to feel and to express his doubts as to their readiness for action, and one can well imagine the indignation with which his comrades must have scouted his misgivings. Did the prescience of coming events, which sometimes marks those whose souls are knit in close union with God, come to de Sonis in that hour? Who can tell? Or did his own intimate knowledge of abuses, tyrannies, internal demoralization and lack of discipline and order lead him to judge, *as he did*, that disaster was imminent? War was declared, as we know, on July 15th, and in the following month he wrote: "Mon Dieu! how could this campaign have been undertaken when nothing was ready?" It became the universal cry.

The war went on; all his three sons and his brother were engaged in the campaign, and still de Sonis was retained at his Algerian post, notwithstanding his entreaties to be allowed to return to France and join in the defence of his country. At last the summons came. In answer to his petition to be allowed to go as a common soldier in the ranks against the enemy, he received the order to join the army of the Loire as General of Brigade of the cavalry at Blois. His poor wife wrote of the "cry of joy" with which he opened and read the dispatch which sent him *as he believed*, to his death; for in more than one of his farewell letters to

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his friends he repeated that conviction. "I know that by joining the Army of the Loire I am going to my death." Events proved that this conviction was a mistaken one; but not the less may the sacrifice in intention have been accepted; and, truly, the physical suffering and life-long mutilation which were to be his share in the national expiation were surely more painful to him than death itself.

When de Sonis arrived at Tours, where the provisional government had established itself during the siege of Paris, he at once learned, by practical experience, the almost incredible state of confusion into which the entire French army had fallen. One day he was informed that he was to command the 1st Brigade of the 17th Army Corps; the next day this order was contradicted, and an entire division was confided to him; then no one could tell him where his brigade was to be found; and then again he was desired to collect some scattered regiments, of some of which no tidings could be heard. Then one general ordered him to repair to Fretteval, while another desired him to go at once to Dreux! Finally, telegraphing to the War Minister for orders, "Who is to command the troops around Chateaudun?" the answer given was "Yourself!" This, as it happened, was a territorial command, and de Sonis being a cavalry man, was not altogether suited to his capacities, his general forte being the quick, light, skirmishing action, which had won for him his laurels in Algeria. As general of a division, in which position he was presently officially confirmed, he held a very responsible post, and soon found the men under his orders to be a different and very inferior class to those he had commanded in Algeria. The only portion of them on whom he could thoroughly rely were the small body of Pontifical Zouaves, who, under their gallant Colonel, de Charette, had volunteered their services for the defence of their country, and now formed part of the "Army of the West," to which he was appointed general; and the discovery that he was to be privileged to command them, came to him as the one bright spot in a very dark and troubled moment.

On receiving his command he wrote to Colonel de Charette, whom as yet he had never met, but whose name was dear to his, as to every Catholic heart in France and elsewhere as the synonym for chivalrous and devoted loyalty to the Holy See, the following cordial greeting:

"My Dear Colonel:

"I have known you for a long time, for no Christian heart is ignorant of your name. When I arrived last night at Chateaudun, I hoped to go and see you to-day, and I had asked one of your young zouaves for your address. But I am obliged to stand with my division. Before leaving the neighborhood, however, I wish to

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salute your fine and heroic troops in the person of its admirable head, and to tell you that I venerate all that you revere, and that I love all that you love. In these sad times, it is a consolation to die amidst brave men like you, and to feel that God has not quite abandoned France, since He has given her such noble sons. Adieu, my dear Colonel! I place my hand in yours, and beg of you to let us share together our prayers and our sacrifices.

"Your devoted servant,

"DE SONIS."

A day or two after his appointment, he found himself in a position to begin operations, and made an attack on the Prussian troops near Marboué, where he was stationed, which led to a successful engagement, afterwards called the battle of Brou. He then fortified Chateaudun, and was preparing to attack the enemy a second time, when, to his immense regret, he received orders from Tours to retreat. Some days later General d'Aurelle, his superior, directed him to effect a junction with Chanzy's division, and, accordingly, he set forth with his army corps on a long and painful march over ice and snow, the unfortunate men almost barefoot (for the convoy bringing new shoes had missed them *en route*), and their suffering from cold was very great. During the long night's march, de Sonis, de Charette and Pére Doussot, a Dominican, chaplain to the Pontifical Zouaves, walked arm in arm together, conversing, as they went, of divine things, like the Christian warriors of old. The two officers had dismounted from their horses to warm themselves by walking, and as they talked they forgot the perils and privations of the moment in burning zeal for the cause of God. Presently the conversation turned upon their country, and they spoke sadly of her state, and of its only remedy, the becoming once more a truly Christian land. M. de Sonis pointed out to them the flag he had adopted, a white cross on a blue ground, and de Charette objected that it was not distinctively religious, and offered him a magnificent banner which he had now at his disposal, one that had been embroidered by the nuns of the Visitation at Paray le Monial, the cradle of the devotion to the Sacred Heart, and destined for the city of Paris, which being besieged, and therefore unattainable, they had sent to the "Volunteers of the West," or Pontifical Zouaves.

General de Sonis gladly accepted the proffered flag, and that same night, when halting for a brief rest within an old chateau within their line of march, as he and his staff were gathered round a huge fire in the hall eating some bread and sausage which they had obtained with difficulty, M. de Charette entered, accompanied by one of his young zouaves, Count Henri de Verthamon by name, and presented him to de Sonis. "General," he said, "here is the bearer of your new colors, and here is the banner." So saying, he unrolled a magnificent banner in white moiré silk, embroidered

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with gold, having in its centre the Sacred Heart in crimson velvet, with the words: "Cœur de Jesus, sauves la France!"

"Colonel," replied de Sonis, "I thank you heartily. You have offered me these colors, and now it is I that give them to you for your regiment. May they be borne before you, for you richly deserve it."

One of the officers standing near suggested that on account of the irreligious spirit prevailing in the army, it might be well to wait until the cannon was heard before displaying the new banner, "for then," he added, "no one is inclined to laugh." The general agreed, and confided the flag to its young bearer until the moment of danger, which, as they all felt, conld not be far distant. Such was the origin of the blood-stained banner of the Zouaves, which, seventeen years later, covered his own mortal remains in the Church of Loigny.

It may, perhaps, not be amiss here to remind our readers of the origin and object of that unique band of volunteers, the French portion of which were now serving their country in the "Army of the West," under the command of General de Sonis. Not long before their picturesque, gray, scarlet-bordered jackets and loose zouave trousers, with the jaunty little *képi* which surmounted them, had been seen in every princely palace and dainty boudoir in Papal Rome. English-speaking visitors, new to the place, were amazed to see—here a grizzled old corporal, there a boyish private, mingling gayly with the festive throng, and here whirling round a ball room, there cavaliering a bevy of fair damsels in most bewildering and un-private-like fashion.

In truth it was no commonplace regiment, this corps of Papal soldiers, who were called the "Pontifical Zouaves." Recruited, in part, from two disbanded regiments of volunteers called the "Irish Brigade" and the "Franco-Belge," which had been instituted during the troublous times of Pius IX.'s early pontificate for the defence of the Holy See, this re-formed regiment of "Pontifical Zouaves" soon drew to its ranks the élite of Catholic youth in France and elsewhere. Many, if not most, of the noblest families in France, the crême de la crême of vielle noblesse, sent representatives of their name to serve as common soldiers in the army of the Pope. Men of the oldest blood in England and Ireland left home and occupation and kindred to take up their quarters in the rough barrack-rooms of the Serrestori, the Sora, or the San Calisto, and exchanged the luxuries of an English home for a soldier's scanty ration and their "three baiocchi (or sous) a day" pay, and to be stigmatized meanwhile by their English contemporaries as "Papal mercenaries" and "cut-throats of the Vatican!" Almost all ranks were represented there side by side—from a royal Spanish

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prince, the bluest blood in Europe, to a handful of peasants from the dykes of Holland. In time of peace each sought and found his social level; at the moment of action each stood shoulder to shoulder for one common cause. It was emphatically a corps of honor. No mercenary motive, no forced service, no unwilling presence found its place within their ranks. It was the hour of danger that was longed for, the place of peril that was sought for by each eager young heart that beat high above the scarlet, powder-grimed sash of the zouave when "their heroic conduct," as a recent writer describes it, "in all the combats which they took part in for the defence of the Pontifical States gave rise to immense enthusiasm, especially in view of the apathy of all Europe, which allowed Italy to second the aggressions of Garibaldi."

For some eight or nine years, then, this little band held and defended Rome, from time to time sallying forth to attack the subtile and evasive enemy which harrassed them by a continual guerilla warfare without the gates. Their most glorious moment, the culminating point in their career, was the battle of Mentana, the true story of which has been so widely misrepresented that it may be worth while to briefly sketch it here. The Pontifical army, some three thousand men, led by their commander-in-chief, General Kanzler, and reinforced by about two thousand French soldiers, forming the rear-guard, marched out, on the morning of November 3, 1867, to dislodge Garibaldi and his followers from a position which they had taken up at Monte Rotondo. They arrived towards midday, at a distance of four kilometers from the village of Mentana, and were attacked in a hollow road by the Garibaldians, who lay in ambush on the wooded slopes along their line of march. The combat lasted until night, the Pontifical army chasing the Garibaldians into Mentana, where they retired behind strong barricades which defended the approach to it. On the following day the Garibaldians surrendered, estimating their own losses at something like 1200 men disabled, while the Pontifical troops had 40 killed and 100 wounded, and their French allies 3 killed and 40 wounded. Garibaldi himself quitted the field early in the day, his "only talent," according to a contemporary writer, being "to know how to fly; or, if one prefers the expression, to fall back in good order."

From this time until 1870 the Zouaves and French troops conjointly kept order in Papal Rome, and, as all the world knows, the evacuation of the Leonine city by its French defenders proved the signal for an "Italian" army to force an entrance there. General Kanzler's noble little army, with brave old Colonel Alet and the dashing de Charette, who was the Bayard of the troop, the daring, chivalrous, prominent leader in every skirmish and fray,

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was forced to yield, not only to overwhelming numbers, but to their Pope-King's express command that useless blood—when once a breach had been made in the city walls—should not be shed. The zouaves of all nations, insulted, wounded, imprisoned, returned sadly to their homes. Charette and his countrymen reentered France, to defend her invaded territory, under the title of *Volunteers of the West.*

And now to return to de Sonis and de Charette on the fatal morning of Patay. At two o'clock A.M., de Sonis, who had remained up throughout the night, awakened his friends, de Charette and de Brouelle, and the three repaired to the village church. Here they and many of their comrades heard Mass; the Mass of the Sacred Heart, for it was the first Friday of the month. De Sonis received Holy Communion as usual, so also did several others, and it was afterwards remarked that *every one of these* ere nightfall that day was either dead or wounded on the battlefield. It was their viaticum!

The division then set forth upon their march at four o'clock A.M. De Sonis had under his command the artillery reserve, the Pontifical Zouaves and the Mobiles of the Côtes-du-Nord. At 6.30 they arrived at Patay, where the forces which he had been directed to reinforce were stationed, and de Sonis begged General Chanzy, who was in command, to spare them a few hours rest as they were overdone. His request was granted but the respite was brief, for at half-past eleven a note came from Chanzy, "We are hard pressed at Loigny, come to our aid!" So they went. "Hardly had we started," he wrote, "when we met a multitude of carts and ambulances full of wounded, then a number of mobiles of the Tenth Corps, who, leaving their ranks in groups of five or six, were escaping from the battlefield. I was exasperated at the sight, and tried to encourage those who passed near us, but without success. They were too numerous, and the impression on my own troops was very bad." As soon as they arrived upon the scene, Chanzy at once requested de Sonis to take his place, and, to the latter's dismay, the whole of Chanzy's division at once retreated, leaving the newcomers, a mere handful of troups, to their fate! Aided by the artillery, who behaved admirably, de Sonis sustained the enemy's attack and was about to assume the offensive, when he saw a sudden movement among his troops and some one cried, "The centre is retreating!" With one bound of his horse de Sonis was in the midst of them, urging, arguing, imploring, but all in vain. "My words were powerless," he wrote afterwards in his official report to the Minister of War, "and these unhappy regiments went on retreating, without my being able to understand what had caused their panic. I was thoroughly indignant, and threatened to blow

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out the brains of the soldiers before me. I cried again, 'You are cowards; you dishonor us; you are unworthy the name of Frenchmen. I will report the number of your regiment!' The Spahis of my escort beat the men as they fled with the flat of their swords to try and bring them back to their duty. They bore this last outrage, but without advancing a step. Then I exclaimed, 'Well if you do not know how to die for your country, I will have the colors brought out. Try and follow them!' Upon which I galloped back to my artillery reserve, where I had placed my zouaves, and cried to Charette: 'Colonel, give me one of your battalions?' There were two. Then, addressing these brave zouaves, I said, 'There are some cowards down there who refuse to march, and who will ruin the whole army. Try and bring them back to their duty! Forward! Follow me! Let us show them the worth of men of heart and Christians!' A cry of enthusiasm burst from these noble hearts. These brave fellows surrounded me, and all were ready to face death. I took three hundred of them, leaving the rest to guard the artillery. The battallion started, accompanied by the Franco-tireurs of Tours and Blidah, the mobiles of the Côtes-du-Nord, preceded by a line of skirmishers, in all 800 men.

"It was half-past four and the day was closing in. I said to Charette, 'This is the moment to show our banner of the Sacred Heart.' It was unfurled and seen by the whole army. The effect was electric. We marched on confidently, filled with a strong sense of duty. I always hoped the Third Division would join us and support our position, and I did not doubt that the brave handful of men who accompanied me would stop the troops who were retreating and bring them back to their duty. When we arrived opposite the Fifty-first Regiment I exclaimed, 'Soldiers, here are your colors! Follow them! Forward!' But not a man moved. Shaking my *képi* in my left hand and brandishing my sword in my right, I said, 'Have you no heart? March!' They did not stir, and our zouaves went on. On my right was Colonel de Charette, my left commander de Troussures. This last, seizing my arm, exclaimed, 'My dear general, how good you are to lead us to such a fête! Noble soul!' They were his last words. At that moment there was such an enthusiasm among my little body of men, that it shamed the regiments who had refused to move, and they began to march forward, which gave me some hope. Before the rapid firing of my zouaves, the Germans retreated from the farm of Villours which they had occupied all the morning. But when we were opposite a little wood, at 200 meters from the village, we were met by a furious musketry fire which laid many of our poor fellows low, never to rise again. This was

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enough for the Fifty-first, whom I had with difficulty persuaded to follow us. They fled, and in a few minutes disappeared altogether. I remained at the head of the brave Pontifical Zouaves, who made an heroic resistance. The Third Division, which I had ordered to join us, never appeared, and, except the troops of Admiral Zanguiberry, who still held Villeyrion, I had no news of the Sixteenth corps. What was I to do? I could not do so dishonorable an act as to abandon those three hundred zouaves who had so heroically followed me, and I felt ready to sacrifice my life with theirs. They called themselves soldiers of the Pope, and I thought it would be worth while to die under our new colors. All together we cried 'Vive la France! Vive Pie IX!' This was our last act of faith. I had, it was true, only intended to take these three hundred men in order to produce a moral effect on the demoralized regiments who had deserted us. Of three hundred, one hundred and ninety-eight fell by my side at Loigny, and among them ten out of the fourteen officers who commanded them. I was myself wounded by a ball in the thigh, and could no longer sit on my horse. I cried to my aide-de-camp, Captain de Bruyère, 'Take me in your arms. I am done for, for to-day.' He laid me on the ground helped by M. de Harcourt, lieutenant of the zouaves. I then told M. de Bruyère to leave me, and to tell the oldest commanding officer to take my place and direct the retreat. At that moment I had the consolation of hearing all my artillery behind me; and I am happy in winding up this report to be able to bear witness that the Seventeenth Corps did not lose a single cannon during the time I had the honor of commanding it."

So de Sonis lay where they had laid him, wounded and bleeding, upon the field of battle; while the heroic little band of zouaves and volunteers swept onwards at the charge, mowed down by grape-shot as they advanced, yet nothing daunted, and finally reached the village of Loigny, where they hoped to be able to reinforce the thirty-seventh regiment, which still held one side of the village. Unfortunate yet happy Loigny! The battle raged round it fiercely, and it can now claim the touching honor of having been the only resting-place over which has ever waved in warfare the banner of the Sacred Heart. For one brief moment the zouaves hoped to reach their hard-pressed countrymen; they succeeded in gaining a footing at one end of the village, taking the first house by assault, but the shells of the enemy had lit a barrier of flame between them and the gallant little band they tried to save, and they were driven back by a line of blazing houses, while the thirty-seventh fell, man after man, in the churchyard where they made their stand, until their last drop of blood was shed for France. The Dominican Father, Pere Doussot, who that morning had cele-

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brated the Mass of the Sacred Heart in the presence of de Sonis, de Charette, and all the Pontifical Zouaves, met one of them, as the battle ended, bearing away their precious flag. It had fallen from the dying hands of its bearer, M de Verthamont, into those of M. Bouillé, who when dying passed it to his son. Both father and son were killed, and young le Parmentier, who was himself wounded, seized and bore it away. The priest took it from him, wrapped its blood-stained folds in a handkerchief, and carried it, under his cassock, to a place of safety.

All that night de Sonis lay among the wounded, on the hard, frosty ground. A long and fearful night, filled with the cries and groans of the agonizing, with their pitiful calls for "help" and "ambulance" which fell but on ears more helpless than their own; while dying boys gasped out prayers for "water" until they stiffened beneath the bitter, freezing cold, which, as night came on, added its rigors to the rest. Far in the distance, yet painfully within earshot, rang the laughter and gay carousing of the Prussian troops as they jested and sang round their bivouac fires; and at length the softly falling snow covered and shrouded some, at least, among the ghastly sights of which human mercy recked not. In hourly expectation of death, and racked by the torture of a shattered limb—for his leg, as was afterwards discovered, was actually broken in no less than twenty-five places—de Sonis afterwards declared that he had hardly felt his sufferings, so wondrous were the spiritual consolations he received from our Lady of Lourdes, to whose shrine he had lately made a pilgrimage, and who, as he avowed in after years, made her presence known to him in some mysterious supernatural visitation while he lay all that long night through upon the battlefield.

When the search for the wounded began next morning, the almost dying General was recognized and conveyed with much difficulty to the presbytery of Loigny, where his leg was amputated, and "for forty-five days afterwards I suffered enough to drive a man wild." The wounded, numbering some 2000, were heaped together in church and presbytery, without provisions, without any kind of comforts—de Sonis says himself that for the first three days he had nothing but water and snow with which to quench his thirst—and were in fact almost starved to death. His wife, who had telegraphed to the Minister of War for news of her husband and received the erroneous information that he was "wounded and a prisoner," set off on a long and weary journey to find him, and after nineteen days of incessant travelling, she found her beloved husband in a terrible state of illness and exhaustion, racked by agonizing pain which the doctors were unable to mitigate or relieve. "She passed three months sleeping on the floor by my

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side, in a little room full of blood and of arms and legs which had been amputated," was his own description of the period which followed. Many who were tending their own beloved ones bore witness to the heroic patience with which this truly Christian soldier bore his sufferings. They called him, among themselves, "the holy martyr of Loigny," and would repair to his bedside again and again to learn from his lips the lessons of patience, fervor, and courage, which every word, every movement, breathed in fullest measure. Colonel de Charette, who had also been wounded during the engagement, would hobble daily to his friend's bedside, and talk for hours at a time, remarking afterwards: "It is impossible to spend a quarter of an hour with M. de Sonis without coming away a better soldier and a better Christian."

By slow degrees he recovered health, and was able to rejoin his children, the younger of whom had been left at Limoges, while the three elder, all, like their father, in the army, were taking part in the campaigns with their various regiments. As soon as he was well enough, he made a pilgrimage of thanksgiving to our Lady of Lourdes, and laid at her feet his newly worn Cross of the Legion of Honor, in grateful memory of her presence and consolation during those long hours of lonely suffering on the battlefield of Patay. His Carmelite director, who knew the secrets of his soul, afterwards testified to the "extraordinary favors" shown him on that night by the Blessed Virgin, consolations so great that he lost all sense of pain: "I only began to suffer again when men tried to help me." Nor did his thanksgiving end here. Every year, until ill-health prevented it, he passed the anniversary night of that terrible second of December at the foot of the Tabernacle. "He always arrived that evening," wrote one of the Carmelite Fathers, who directed the Tertiary Association in which de Sonis never failed to take part, "just as we were closing the doors of the church. I used to hear his confession, and then, when all the monks had gone to their cells, he remained alone all night before the Tabernacle. The next morning very early I said a Mass of Thanksgiving for him, at which he went to communion; and when the doors opened to let in the usual congregation, he would slip out to his own house."

A Jesuit Father, then rector of the house at Paris, has left a still more detailed account of one of these visits: "One winter's night, while I was sitting at the table which had belonged to Père Ducondray, one of the martyrs of the Commune, I heard some one coming up the stairs. His step was an unusual one, and I recognized that it must be some one with a wooden leg. It was General de Sonis; but I had never seen him before. 'Father,' he said, 'I come to ask your leave to pass this night in your chapel before

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the Blessed Sacrament.' Seeing that I was both surprised and touched at this request, he added, laughing, 'Oh, you must not fancy me better than I am. I am paying a debt, that is all. I passed, last year, this very night of the 2d December, stretched on the snow between life and death, and much nearer the latter than the former; and it is God alone Who saved me. I owe Him at least the night when He saved my life. I ought to have answered the appeal of Charette to go to-day to Loigny; but I am a member of the Cavalry Commission, and am obliged to be in my place to-morrow. I know that you love the Pontifical Zouaves, and that you sheltered them at Mans, while their banner of the Sacred Heart was kept there several weeks before it became my standard. That is why I have preferred to come to you; and also, because martyrs lived here,' he added, looking at the picture of Père Ducondray over the chimney-piece. At that moment the bell for Vespers rang, and the general asked leave to assist at it. Hearing them sung by those three hundred and fifty young voices, tears came into his eyes. 'Oh, how beautiful that is! It reminds me of my zouaves,' he exclaimed, as he came out, and pressed my hand. At my entreaty, he then told us of the terrible night he had passed on the battlefield of Loigny. 'There,' he said, 'I made the vow to the Sacred Heart which I am come to fulfil this evening.' After that, he begged me to let him haste to the chapel, where he passed the night. The next morning he went to communion at the first Mass, and when I asked him if he were not tired, he replied, 'Tired! after one night's watch!' When nine o'clock struck, he started for his military commission."

Colonel de Charette, who, on peace being proclaimed, was obliged to disband his faithful little following of ex-Pontifical Zouaves, at Rennes, would not do so until he had consecrated them solemnly to the Sacred Heart, in a touching little ceremony which took place on Whitsunday; and the prayer of "consecration" was written for the occasion by de Sonis, who, on account of his health, could not be present in person. As a mark of admiration and respect, his name was about this time proposed as a deputy for the department of Tarn, but his openly avowed monarchical principles (he was a warm personal friend, as well as adherent, of the Comte de Chambord) proved too much for his constituents, though no less than 22,324 votes were recorded in his favor, which, as he said himself, was "a sufficient honor and compensation."

At the official inquiry which took place as soon as public affairs were sufficiently tranquil to permit such a commission to act, he gave a detailed account of his share in the events of the campaign, and was heartily complimented thereon, while his "chieftain," the exiled Comte de Chambord, wrote warmly in the same strain, ex-

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pressing his admiration for de Sonis's "heroic conduct." When his sick-leave expired, and he was once more able to mount his horse, the good general was named Commandant of the Sixteenth Division, at Rennes, and took up his post there in November, 1871. Here he remained for about two years, leading the same simple, devout, edifying life as before the war, with the additional cross of an almost continual state of bodily suffering. For the wound in his amputated leg was continually irritated and reopened by the horse-exercise which his position obliged him to take and by fresh illnesses; at one time a fractured leg which kept him in bed for two months, at another, a broken bone in the hip, at length succeeded in permanently undermining his health. Still, he clung on firmly to his post; not only for love of his profession, but also, because it was the only means of support for his numerous family (twelve children, ten of whom were living) he having no private means whatever to supplement his pay. The cross of poverty had always been a very present one with him, and towards the end of his life it seemed to press even more heavily, for he was called upon by his enlightened conscience to resign his post while still strong enough for work, when the time of persecution came, in which the army having been called upon to execute certain ministerial decrees against the religious orders, de Sonis refused all participation in the shameful task, and resolved "not to tender, but to sheathe, his sword."

For some months the de Sonis family lived very humbly in a wretched little lodging at Chateauroux, while his companions in arms were, in some instances at least, engaged in the ignoble work of hunting and ejecting from their holy retirement the Carmelites, the Capuchins, the Christian Brothers, and many others. But although he was too good a Christian to be popular with "the powers that be," they hardly dared to put him altogether aside; so he was gradually shelved by appointments which left him in obscurity, and made his military position a merely nominal one; in posts "where those are placed whom the government mistrusts."

The death of the Comte de Chambord, whom he looked upon as France's rightful sovereign, affected him deeply; for he lost in him both a political chief and a personal friend. "A dark veil seems to cover the whole world," he wrote, "and since the death of my much-loved king, it seems to me there is nothing left to expect. The years pass by, and I feel that death is at hand." These words were penned in January, 1884, and during all that year the "dark veil" of physical suffering and mental preparation for his last hour, overshadowed every other thought. But it was a very lingering preparation—perhaps, as has been desired by so many holy souls, a foretaste of Purgatory here below, to quicken his

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bliss hereafter. One of his priestly visitors described "this holy man in the fullest possession of his intelligence, ... in a mutilated body, cast aside as a useless instrument"; a body crucified, not only with unceasing physical pain, inflammatory neuralgia, re-opening wounds, attacks of agonizing suffering, which could only be relieved by injections of morphine, but further multiplied by many secret acts and even instruments of penance.

At last, during the first days of August, 1887, the suffering of years culminated in an attack of fever, which speedily undermined his strength. On Sunday, the eve of the Assumption, he rose as usual, confessed, and had Holy Communion brought to him; the day passed, much as other days, calm and peaceful; but on the following morning, the feast of the Assumption, a feeling of suffocation came on, and in a short time he had entered his last agony. It was a long and painful one. His wife sat beside him, holding his hand in hers; a Carmelite father, one of his own beloved Order, anointed him and remained with him to the end; and at two o'clock in the afternoon, Gaston de Sonis breathed his last at the foot of the crucifix.

A monument has since been erected, on the battlefield at Loigny, inscribed with suitable inscriptions in commemoration of the long night of agony passed there by General de Sonis. It is superscribed with the words in which his career may most fittingly be described:

"Miles Christi."

T. L. L. Teeling.

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Scientific Chronicle.

OIL.

THE WORD.—Digging among the roots we find the Aryan "RI," which means *to pour, to distill, to melt, to flow*, etc. . . . The Sanskrit has the same form with the same general meanings. From this we have the Latin, "*rivus*," *a stream, a brook;* and "*rivalis*," appertaining to a brook; and from this again the English substantive "rival," "*one who uses the same brook as another*," or a near neighbor; and as neighbors who live on opposite sides of the same brook are liable to have competing, if not conflicting, interests, the word "rival" in the course of time took on the meaning of "competitor."

But our readers will probably ask with open-eyed wonder: "What has this to do with Oil?" Apparently not much, but really perhaps a good deal; for RI means, *to flow*, and *oil flows;* but if we had no better foundation than this, it would be slippery indeed. Let us look a little further. There are lots of Aryan roots in which a more primitive "R" became later on an "L"; thus we have GAR or GAL, *to fall;* TAR or TAL, *to lift;* DAR or DAL, *to see;* PAR or PAL, *to fill;* MAR or MAL, *to grind;* RUK or LUK, *to shine;* etc. In this last word we get a glimpse of "*lux*," "*light*." These and similar words have left their traces in the Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, and through them in many other languages.

Now, how did this substitution of L for R come about? Was it perhaps because some of the Aryans "developed a difficulty" in pronouncing the R, and so changed it to L? We have a well-known, but ever funny, example of this difficulty among the Chinese, who say "Melican" for "American," and "belly" for "very." Yet this is hardly enough, and we feel constrained to answer reluctantly—by "doubtful."

Anyhow, the original RI did become LI, and when the Greeks got a hold on LI they prefixed a vowel, a practice which they seemed to take special delight in; they next changed the I to *ai* and added a tail-piece to steer by, so that from a simple LI they got ἔλαιον (elaïon), *oil*, because it *flows*, and ἐλαία (elaïa), the tree, and the fruit which gives oil, *i.e.*, the Olive. Others however think that the derivation refers to the fact that olive trees were planted at the goal, or the end of the *run*. Be this as it may, by changes of termination, other words innumerable were formed, but all preserving some shadow of the original meaning.

From the Greek "elaïa" to the Latin "olea" (olive tree and fruit), the road was smooth and easy. From this the Latins again, by a process of their own, manufactured the word "oliva," with exactly the same signification, and from this in turn we have our beautiful word

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"olive." From "elaïon" the Romans very naturally arrived at "oleum," and from this *we* just as naturally obtained "oil." Starting with the same LI, and adding a little here, and twisting a little there, we finally obtain such words as *liquid, liniment, lineament, letter*, etc. . . . From old RI, therefore, after ages of meanderings, we get, at last, both "oil" and "olive," besides other things too numerous to catalogue.

THE THING.—Having thus obtained a solid foundation on which to build, we turn to the thing itself. What is oil? It is not easy to give a definition that will fit in all cases "exactly like the paper on the wall." In ancient times, when things were necessarily defined by their most striking physical characteristics, the name "oil" was applied to almost every liquid that flowed with a certain visible viscosity, or stickiness, and in common language the word "oil" has stuck to several substances which the chemist does not recognize as oils at all, chief among which is "oil of vitrol," or sulphuric acid.

Leaving this and any other possible, wrongly-named things out of account, the "United States Dispensatory" defines oils as, "Liquid or solid substances, unctuous to the touch, and characterized by inflammability, and the property of making a greasy stain upon paper." This definition includes *fats* as well as what are commonly called oils. With this there is no fault to be found, for, a moderate rise in temperature will convert any solid fat into a liquid, in which condition it in no wise differs from an oil. But in some other respects the definition appears defective, for it supposes that we know what "unctuous" and "greasy" mean, and yet it would be very hard to define either of these two words without falling back on "oil" or "oily." Now about this method of defining a thing by itself, the man of logic is liable to raise a good deal of fuss; and "we don't want to have any scenes." What makes this definition worse yet, if possible, is that it is meant to include the *volatile* as well as the *fixed* oils; for the "Dispensatory" in the very next sentence says: "They (the oils) are divided into two classes, the fixed and the volatile, because distinguished, as their names imply, most readily by their different behavior on the application of heat." That is, upon the application of heat, the fixed oils decompose before evaporating, while the volatile oils evaporate without decomposing. Now the volatile oils are not in the least "unctuous to the touch," neither do they make a "greasy stain upon paper." *Ergo*. . . .

We respect the "Dispensatory" and believe that, on second thought, it could do better, but the example shows how very difficult it is to concoct a good, off-hand, definition of even the most ordinary things.

The "Century Dictionary" wisely refrains from attempting to bring fixed and volatile oils under the same definition. The former it defines as "Neutral bodies" (that is, bodies containing neither free acid or free alkali; and so far it is correct); "having an unctuous feel," yes, yes, but again, what is "unctuous?" Worcester says it means "fat," "oily," "greasy," and so we are landed back again at the starting-point; "of a viscous consistence," we do know what that means, and agree with the remark: "lighter than water," correct; "insoluble in water," *about*

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right; "soluble in alcohol," this is somewhat misleading, for with the exception of castor and croton oil they are only slightly soluble in cold, and not very much more so even in boiling alcohol; "soluble in ether" all right, but it would have been well to add, "in chloroform, benzine, bisulphide of carbon, spirits of turpentine, etc." . . . .

The reason why many definitions fail to define is probably because they do not go deep enough, but content themselves with merely scratching the surface and trusting to little more than outside appearances. For this reason we think the chemist ought to be better able to give a definition in these matters than anybody else. Since we do not intend to treat of "volatile oils" in this article, we shall not ask him to include them. Let us see, therefore, how a chemist would define a "fixed oil." He says:

"A fixed oil is a mixture (solid or liquid) of two or more glycerides."

There it is, short, neat and convenient, and as crisp as a Saratoga chip. It is better than most witnesses in court, for it "tells the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth." Here, however, we shall probably be accused of shifting the difficulty without solving it. How? Why by introducing that horrid unknown word "glycerides." But dear reader, do you really not know what glycerides are? Honor bright now! They have existed for ages, and you have been using them daily, if not for ages, at least for all your born days. If, however, in very deed you do not know, just gird up your loins for a few moments and it shall be explained unto you.

A glyceride is a compound consisting of a saponifiable organic acid and glycerine. An organic acid is one which belongs to the vegetable or animal kingdom in contradistinction to one that belongs properly to the mineral kingdom. A saponifiable acid is an acid which will unite with an alkali (potash, soda, ammonia, etc.) to form soap. One of the usual marks of these acids is that they contain a much larger percentage of carbon and hydrogen, and a much smaller percentage of oxygen than do the other acids. For example:

Stearic acid (saponifiable) is composed of:

	Per cent.
Carbon,	76
Hydrogen,	$12\frac{2}{3}$
Oxygen,	$11\frac{1}{3}$

Oxalic acid (not saponifiable) is composed of:

	Per cent.
Carbon,	$26\frac{2}{3}$
Hydrogen,	$2\frac{2}{9}$
Oxygen,	$71\frac{1}{9}$

Any acid which will unite with glycerine is considered a saponifiable acid.

Glycerine next demands attention. It is a tri-atomic alcohol. Most people imagine they know about all that is worth knowing about alcohol, but we still think a word of explanation is needed here. Let us start

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with the perfectly definite compound, each molecule of which consists of two atoms of carbon and six atoms of hydrogen. To save time, paper and ink, and to make it more compact, the chemist writes it thus, C_2H_6, and for occult reasons of his own calls it "Ethane." Now if in this compound we replace one of the atoms of hydrogen by an atom of chlorine, we evidently shall get C_2H_5Cl, and this is called ethyl chloride. Let us now make another substitution by putting the radical (HO) instead of the Cl; the result will be $C_2H_5(HO)$. This is a molecule of ethyl alcohol, the common alcohol which men and women do drink, mixed with water. It is called a mon-atomic alcohol (*monos, alone* or *one*), not because men usually drink alone but because the compound is formed, as we have just said, by replacing *one* atom of Cl by the equivalent HO.

In like manner, from the same C_2H_6 by replacing *two* of the atoms of hydrogen by *two* of chlorine, we obtain $C_2H_4Cl_2$, or ethyledene chloride. And if we replace the *two* chlorine atoms of this compound by *two* (HO), we have $C_2H_4(HO)_2$, a diatomic alcohol called glycol.

Once again, given C_3H_8 (propane), we can change it to $C_3H_5Cl_3$ (propenyl chloride), and this finally to $C_3H_5(HO)_3$, a triatomic alcohol. This is our glycerine about which we have been so anxious. There is a long list of monatomic and diatomic alcohols, but glycerine is the only triatomic alcohol discovered up to date.

This gets us down to the elementary or atomic definition of oil, and with that we ought to be satisfied. We know what glycerine is, we know what a saponifiable acid is, and consequently we know what a glyceride is; and therefore we know the real meaning of "fixed oil." Ultimately, fixed oils are all compounds, in different proportions, of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen, and of nothing else. The number of well-defined glycerides is very large, but, not only through fear, but also for conscience sake, we shall refrain from inflicting a catalogue of them on our readers. A few will be mentioned in spots where they naturally belong. However, we might as well say right here, once for all, that they are named from their acids. Thus, palmitin is the glyceride of palmitic acid; olein, the glyceride of oleic acid, etc. This half-lesson in chemistry, like oysters on the half-shell, will probably be enough to begin with; so we shall leave it and turn to another phase of our subject.

Physical Properties of Oils.—The fluid oils vary much in viscosity If we take water as the standard of comparison, and call its viscosity unity, then the viscosity of weld oil will be 8, that of olive oil 31, and that of castor oil 203. On account of their viscosity, fixed oils have the valuable property, under certain conditions, of hindering waves from breaking, and hence the expression, "*to pour oil on the troubled waters*," is not a vain metaphorical one.

The solid oils vary in hardness from the semi fluid butter of the summer boarding-house, to the dignified consistence of palm oil, which is almost as hard as wax.

Taking again water as the unit, the density of oils (solid fats included) runs from .9000 (cacao butter), to .9667 (castor oil). Their odor, taste, and color will be noticed as we go on.

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On account of their unctuous properties they are frequently used in medicine to allay inflammations, and it is a well-established fact that in ancient times a mixture of "oil and wine" was employed in dressing wounds; so that after all, even if the Good Samaritan was not a regular practitioner, he at least knew what he was about.

SOURCES OF OILS (AND FATS)—A. *Vegetable Sources.*—The fixed oils occur ready formed, as droplets, each enveloped in a separate sac or cell, in many species of plants all over the world. Sometimes they are found in the seeds, sometimes in the wood, or in the bark, or root. Often in the kernel, or in the rind, and occasionally in the fleshy part of the fruit, and not unfrequently in several parts of the plant at the same time. There are more than a hundred species of plants from which oil is extracted for industrial purposes. We shall mention some of the more important further on. The percentage of oil, especially in seeds, is in inverse ratio to that of the sugar and starch which they contain. In Brazil nuts, from 60 to 67 per cent. of the total weight is oil; in barley, it is only from 1 to 1½ per cent.; between these extremes every possible variation is to be found.

B. *Animal Sources.*—In all animals, from the whale to the mosquito, and in almost all the tissues and organs of every animal, oil (or fat) is present; and, just as in the case of vegetable oils, each little droplet is enclosed in its own envelope. The amount depends of course on the nature as well as on the size of the animal, but yet it is said that there have been men mean enough to butcher and skin a flea for the sake of its fat.

An average percentage for the different parts of an animal, is given as follows:

	Per cent.
Bone-marrow,	96.00
Fat tissue,	82.70
Spinal marrow,	23 60
Brain,	20.00
Eggs (hen's) (yolk),	11.50
Milk,	4.50
Bones,	1.50
Blood,	0.40
Saliva,	0 02
Sweat,	0 001

Hair, the color of which depends on the color of the oil which it contains, should also have been included in the list; but the value of that oil is æsthetic rather than commercial.

CLASSIFICATION OF OILS AND FATS.—A natural classification of oils and fats would, at least, at first sight, appear to be, to arrange them under the heads of vegetable and animal oils; but since the properties of the two are in many cases very nearly alike, this division has been found of little value. Various other attempts have been made, but none of them have reached any very astonishing success. Classifications for different purposes must necessarily be made from different stand-points. Perhaps, as an attempt at an all-round classification, the one given in the

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United States Dispensatory is as good as any. In it the oils are divided into nine groups, the division depending partly on the physical, partly on the chemical properties, and partly on the sources of the oils. We have adopted this classification, taking however the liberty of transposing the Groups VII. and VIII.

GROUP I.—OLIVE OIL GROUP. (Vegetable Non-drying Oils.)

The oils of this group always retain their property of producing a greasy stain on paper, however long they may have been exposed to the air, but they become solid on treatment with nitrous acid. This method of testing oils is called the "elaïdin" test. The density of these oils varies from .912 to about .920. Their "fluidity," which is the opposite of "viscosity," is less than that of the "drying" oils. The principal members of this group are the following:

A. *Olive Oil*—(Sweet oil or Salad oil.) The olive tree, from the fruit of which this oil is obtained, is a native of Syria and of other countries of Asia. In its wild state it is a thorny shrub, or at most a small tree (the Oleaster); but under cultivation it loses its thorns and attains the dignity of a tree, from 20 to 40 feet in height. It has been extensively cultivated for unknown ages in all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, as far south as Cairo in Egypt, and as far north as the middle of France. It has been introduced into the United States, and is now doing a thriving business in California. It is propagated from "cuttings," and begins to bear fruit after the second year. It is in full bearing at the age of six years, and under proper treatment will continue to produce fruit profitably for more than a century.

The wood of the olive is very hard, and takes a beautiful polish, showing black cloudy spots and veins on a rich greenish-yellow ground. It is used mostly for ornamental purposes, at least in these parts.

The fruit is a *drupe*, that is, it consists of a thin outside skin, a fleshy part, a stone, and a kernel. The kernel contains the germ or seed proper. The whole fruit is about the size of a pigeon's egg, generally oval, but sometimes globular or even slightly flattened. It is produced in great abundance. The unripe fruit is of a greenish or whitish-green color, turning to deep purple, or almost black, when fully ripe. Ripe olives are said to be a great delicacy, but we have our private opinion of the man who says he *likes* the green pickled trash that we sometimes meet with. Each of the four parts of the fruit (the skin, the flesh, the stone, the kernel), contains an oil peculiar to itself. They are all compounds of olein, palmitin, and arachin, with a very little stearin. That which comes from the flesh contains less palmitin and more olein than the others, and consequently remains fluid at a much lower temperature. The flesh moreover contains a greater quantity of oil than all the rest of the fruit together, the amount in the whole fruit averaging about 40 per cent. of the entire weight, while in the flesh alone it often rises to as much as 70 per cent.

Preparation of Olive Oil (*a*).—To prepare the very finest oil, known as "Virgin Oil," only the flesh of the choicest fruit, carefully picked by

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hand, is used. The fruit must be picked as soon as it turns purple, before it is fully ripe, as the oil will then be lighter in color and more fragrant. The olives are next spread in a single layer upon a linen cloth, and allowed to remain there for four or five days, in order to let a certain portion of the water which they contain, evaporate. They are then carefully peeled, piece by piece, so that not the smallest bit of skin remains. The flesh is now separated from the stone, reduced to pulp in suitable mortars, packed in strong linen, and the oil expressed by twisting the linen together. The virgin oil is allowed to settle in a cool place, and after about a month is filtered.

If the fruit was perfect and picked exactly in the nick of time and dried just right and was carefully handled and if, besides, all the operations were perfectly successful, with no mishaps or accidents, the result will be "Virgin oil, grade AA." This oil does not contain over 0.4 per cent. of free acid. If, however, anything has gone wrong, the grade will be reduced to one of the five following, A, 1, 2, 3 or 4, each one being a little lower than the preceding one. A considerable quantity still remains in the pulp, and a second and stronger pressure will bring forth a certain quantity that will be classed with No. 3 or No. 4, according to circumstances. In any case, these five last grades will all be called "superfine table oils," but how much of them ever reaches the table unadulterated is quite another matter.

Up to this point the expressed oils are called "cold-pressed" or "cold-drawn," but the pulp has not been exhausted yet. A further operation consists in treating the same pulp with warm water and subjecting it to a pretty strong pressure between warm plates, and this is again supplemented by boiling the pulp in water and giving it a still stronger squeezing between plates kept quite hot. The oils so obtained are unfit for table use, but are relegated to class (*c*) below.

(*b*) *Ordinary Table Oils.*—They are prepared by crushing the olives entire, without special care as to the perfection of the fruit or its degree of ripeness. Only the first and second quality cold-drawn are used for the table; the warm- and the hot-pressed are sent down to class (*c*).

These table oils are named from the place of their production, as "Provence oil," which is the most highly esteemed; next come "Florence oil," "Lucca oil," and "Genoa oil," then "Sicily oil" and "Spanish oil," both of inferior quality, but the latter the worst of the whole lot. The difference of quality in these oils depends probably on the variety of the tree cultivated, as well as on the climate and on the mode of cultivation.

(*c*) *Huiles d' Olive à Fabrique.*—Brannt translates this by "fabricated oils," but they certainly are not *fabricated* in the sense of being artificial. We think the expression means rather "oils of an inferior quality," just as "marchandises à fabrique" means "goods of an inferior quality."

When the olives, through any accident, have become damaged or worm-eaten, or have begun to decay through disease or over-ripening, they are no longer fit for the production of table oil. They are then

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ground up and hot-pressed, but without the addition of any water, and the oil so obtained having been clarified by standing several months is used as illuminating oil. The residue is next ground over and put through the warm-pressure process with water, and the product, which rejoices in the name of "Gorgon oil," is allowed to stand and settle. It separates into two layers, the upper one of which is clear and is used as a machine oil and for dressing wool. The lower layer is turbid and rather thick. It is of a green color and a disagreeable odor, and is employed in the manufacture of soap.

The refuse from this last operation is dumped into a deep cistern, partly filled with water, and stirred from time to time. Some oil, of a very inferior quality, collects on the surface, whence it is skimmed off, and then passed along to the soapmakers. The odor from the cistern is so awful that the oil, in the vigorous language of the French workmen, has been dubbed "huile d'enfer," literally, "hell oil," but we do not believe the expression has passed into the Anglo-Saxon.

(*d*) *Gallipoli Oil.*—Lastly, an oil, named after the place of its manufacture (in Italy), was formerly much used in Turkey-red dyeing. It was prepared from olives that had been purposely strongly fermented before pressure. It is a turbid oil, of a dark green color, and contains up to 12 per cent. of acid. It is but little used at the present day.

Commerce.—We have very few figures of recent date concerning the amount of olive oil put upon the market. Twenty years ago, the United States imported annually about 350,000 gallons of the oil, valued at about $500,000. Two years ago, England imported about 6,000,000 gallons, but again exported a large part of it. Olive oil is worth something in the region of $1.25 a gallon.

B. *Almond Oil.*—There are two varieties of the almond tree, the *sweet* and the *bitter*, so named from the taste of their nuts. These, again, are subdivided into several other varieties, differing from each other chiefly in the size and shape of the fruit and the thickness of the shell of the nut. The tree usually attains the height of from 15 to 20 feet, with numerous and widespreading branches. The leaves are of a bright green color, about 3 inches long by ¾ inch wide, and pointed at both ends. The almond tree is a native of Persia, Syria and Barbary, but has long been cultivated throughout southern Europe. It has been introduced into the United States, but in the northern and middle sections the fruit does not come to perfection. It is thought that the sweet varieties have been derived from the bitter by cultivation. "The fruit is a drupe of the peach kind, with the outer covering thin, tough, dry and marked with a longitudinal furrow where it bursts open when fully ripe. Within this covering is a rough shell containing the kernel." The "outer covering" spoken of by the "Dispensatory" is a dry, fibrous husk, corresponding to the fleshy part of the peach, while the "true outer covering" is a very thin skin, strongly adherent to the husk. The sweet almond comes to us deprived of its husk, and is used as a table nut and also in the manufacture of confectionery.

Bitter almonds are smaller than the sweet variety, but this is of minor

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importance. The essential difference is, that bitter almonds contain a peculiar substance denominated "amygdalin," which is totally wanting in the sweet ones. It is not considered hurtful in itself, but in the presence of water and a ferment (yeast) it is decomposed into "prussic acid" and "volatile oil of bitter almonds," both of which are dangerous poisons. Now, a ferment called "emulsin" exists ready prepared in almonds, and when they are chewed the water is supplied by the saliva, and hence the poisons are developed. The kernels of the peach nut, and even the bark and leaves of the tree, yield the same principles. Of course, the amount of poison to be thus obtained and taken into the system from a single peach or almond nut is small, but yet fatal cases have been recorded from the eating of a few peach kernels, especially among children.

Almond oil (the true or fixed oil, not the volatile) is obtained indifferently from either the bitter or the sweet variety; but when the former is employed great care must be taken that no water gets in, for in that case the poisonous volatile oil and prussic acid would be produced. Bitter almonds contain from 40 to 50 per cent. and sweet almonds from 45 to 55 per cent. of oil; but as in either case it is always extracted cold, not more than 38 per cent. of the former and 45 per cent. of the latter can be realized. Almond oil is clear and odorless, of a pale yellow color and a very agreeable mild taste. It consists chiefly of olein and is rather more thinly fluid than olive oil. It is extensively used as a basis for perfumes, in the manufacture of soap and in medicine, especially in the form of emulsions for internal inflammations.

C. *Peanut Oil.*—The peanut is the fruit of a leguminous annual plant, a native of South America and probably also of Africa, but now cultivated in large quantities in our southern States, in China and elsewhere. It is a peaceable kind of a nut, and yet it has more *aliases* than the worst criminal ever taken alive or dead. It is called groundnut, earthnut, groundpea, manila nut, jurnut, goober, pindal, pindar, etc. . . . . but if you want to be scientifically correct, and no mistake, call it the arachis hypogæa nut, and you are safe. A remarkable property of the plant is that its fruit ripens under the surface of the ground, into which the pods penetrate during their growth. The nut consists sometimes of a single yellowish-white seed, but far more frequently of two, enveloped in a dry, brittle, elongated husk or pod. When uncooked they have a sort of raw-potato taste, but by roasting, a delicate aroma is developed, which renders them a very agreeable, as well as wholesome, article of food, especially for the young. They are also said to promote friendship and good feeling. In some places they are much used as a substitute for coffee.

The oil is all contained in the kernel or seed, of which it constitutes from 38 to 45 per cent. It is extracted from the raw seeds by pressure. The first cold-drawn oil is nearly colorless and of an agreeable taste, and is said to be at least equal to olive oil for table use. Our French and Italian friends will, however, probably dispute this statement.

The second cold-drawing, aided by a little water, yields an oil used

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in lamps, for which purpose it surpasses even the best sperm oil. Our friends, the whales, will probably *not* dispute this. It is also extensively used by druggists in the preparation of pomades, cold-cream, etc.

A third pressure (warm) yields an oil, yellowish in color and of a slightly disagreeable taste and odor. It, however, makes an excellent, firm, whitish soap, free from odor. It is also a good machine oil. The oil-cake is valuable as fodder or as manure.

Chemically speaking, peanut oil consists of the glycerides of oleic, palmitic, hypogæic and arachic acids, the formulas for which, just here, would probably prove more ornamental than useful.

The "peanut business" of the world is looking up. The French colony of Senegal, West Africa, is credited with a production of 30,000 tons annually, worth, at a wild guess, about $3,000,000. From the beginning of the world to the year 1860 the aggregate for the United States is estimated at about 150,000 bushels. At the present time the annual production is over 5,000,000 bushels, and peanuts are worth at wholesale, at the place of production, about $1 a bushel.

D. *Colza Oil—Rape Oil.*—Colewort (*i.e.*, cole plant, or field cabbage) is said to have been originally the name of a wild plant from which a large number of cultivated varieties have been derived. These include the modern cultivated colewort, cabbage (of many kinds), cauliflower, kale, broccoli, Brussels sprouts, black and white mustard, rape, navew, and the various sorts of turnips. In spite of their wide differences these have all been, by some botanists, brought under the one generic name, *Brassica.* In all the species the seeds are very small, rape seed, the common bird food, being an example.

Colza and rape oil are so nearly identical that, for all practical purposes, they may be considered as one. They are obtained from the cultivated cole seed and rape seed by pressure. Freshly pressed, they have a more or less dark, brownish-yellow color, and are almost odorless, but, by storing for some time, they acquire a peculiarly disagreeable odor and taste. In the crude state they can be used only as lubricants.

In a first refining by sulphuric acid, they lose most of this odor, and acquire a pale-yellow color. They are then suitable for use in the manufacture of rubber and as illuminating oils, and for these purposes they are largely employed. They may be refined by another way, which consists in mixing them with about one-third of their weight of potato starch, heating the mixture for a few hours, and then allowing it to stand and settle. The oil from this operation is of a paler color, and is said to be suitable even for table use; but we believe it has not been put on the market for that purpose. If not content even with this, you may try yet another method. Take equal parts of 96 per cent. alcohol and sulphuric acid. To every 100 parts of oil add 2 parts of the mixture, and let the whole stand for two or three days. A black deposit will settle down, while the supernatant oil will be as clear and colorless as water.

Colza or rape oil, suitably refined, is an excellent illuminant, burning

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with a bright, white flame, without depositing soot and without odor. Enormous quantities are manufactured for this purpose, especially in Germany.

The chemist has his say in stating that these oils are mixtures mainly of the glycerides of brucic (erucic) acid, a near relative of oleic acid, and stearin. There are many other oils belonging to Group I., but we think we have mentioned the most important.

GROUP II.—COTTON SEED OIL GROUP. (Vegetable Semi-Drying Oils.)

The oils of this group are, as it were, "on the fence" as regards drying properties, being in this respect better than those of Group I., but much worse than those of Group III. They are somewhat denser than the non-drying, and lighter than the true drying oils. They are only partially solidified by nitrous acid in the elaïdin test.

A. *Cotton Seed Oil.*—The botanical genus *Gossypium* (cotton plant) is divided into four distinct species, and these are again subdivided into twenty or more varieties. In all the species the cotton is contained, together with the seed, in a thin dry capsule, which bursts when ripe, allowing the cotton to expand by its elasticity into a large tuft or "cotton ball." The history and description of the cotton plant and of the cotton itself would be too long for insertion here, and must be laid aside for some other occasion.

The seeds are small and vary in color from pale gray through yellow and brown to almost black. In some species they are perfectly smooth, in others they are thickly covered with hair or down. The quantity of oil in the best seed rises to about 30 per cent. of the total weight.

In the manufacture of the oil, the first operation is the shelling, which consists in separating the kernel from the hull in which it is enclosed. This is done by suitable machinery, and the hulls are blown away by a strong blast of air in the winnowing machine. The oil might, it is true, be had directly from the unshelled seeds, but in that case the oil cake, which is otherwise a very valuable fodder, would be fit for nothing but fuel.

The clean kernels are then passed through a crushing machine, consisting of several pairs of steel rollers, each pair being set a little closer than the pair immediately above, so that on emerging from the lowest pair the meal is in the state of a very fine powder, the oil cells being all broken open and the oil just ready to run out. In Europe, a certain quantity of prime salad oil is obtained by a gentle cold pressure, and then a second quality by warm pressure. In this country, we prefer to extract at the outset, by a single warm pressure, all the oil that the seed will profitably yield, and then refine it to different degrees, according to its intended use. By this means we get four different qualities of oil, the fourth being the best. Thus:

(1) Crude oil, which is thickly fluid, of a dirty-yellow color, inclining to red, and from which, on standing, a slimy sediment is deposited.

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(2) Second quality oil, which is thinner than the preceding, and has a pale-orange color, is obtained by refining the crude oil.

(3) Third quality oil, of a yet paler color, is obtained by a further refining of the second.

(4) Fourth quality oil is the result of bleaching the third to a very pale straw-yellow color.

This method of making oil is preferred to the older methods because it entails less labor and less waste. The chemical process by which this method of refining was rendered possible was discovered in this country, and was long kept secret, but it is now generally known to oil manufacturers.

It consists essentially in treating the oil with carbonate of soda or with caustic soda. An iron tank, capable of holding easily ten tons of crude oil, and about a ton and a half of a rather weak soda lye, is provided with a mechanical stirrer. The soda lye is fed slowly by perforated pipes over the whole surface of the oil, and the stirring kept up for about half an hour. By this means a certain amount of soap is formed, which, in settling to the bottom of the tank, carries with it all the dirt and most of the coloring matter.

The fourth quality oil, mentioned above, is a good salad oil, with a very pleasant taste. It is exported in enormous quantities to Europe, where it is said to be used to adulterate olive oil; and as we import olive oil from Europe, it follows, as the night does the day, or as the tail-end of a syllogism, that a part of our cotton seed oil returns, under the guise of "Virgin Olive Oil," to the land of its birth and its own true love. It is a perfectly good, pure, and wholesome oil: still, it has no right to masquerade under false appearances.

Even third quality oil is much better for culinary purposes than lard or "cooking butter," and we hope to live to see the day when our "doughnuts" and "what-nots" will be fried in the pure oil of the gossypium seed. Well stored in glass or tin, in a reasonably cool place, cotton seed oil will keep sweet and good for years.

The cotton seed oil industry of this country is not, as many suppose, in its infancy, or if so, the infant is remarkably fat and lusty. We give an estimate, which is probably much under rather than anything over the mark, based on the reports of recent years. It represents the business of our forty-five mills for one year:

500,000 tons of seed, yielding 35 gallons of oil to the ton, making 17,500,000 gallons of crude oil, worth 30 cents per gallon, . . .	$5,250,000
Every ton of seed yields, in the hulling machine, 22 pounds of cotton lint, worth 8 cents per pound, ...	880,000
Every ton of seed yields 750 pounds of oil cake, making a total of 167,410 tons of oil cake, worth $20 per ton, ...	3,348,200
Total, ...	$9,478,200

When refined, the oil is, of course, worth much more, but even this gives us a pretty good idea of the size of the "baby." And, after all, cotton seed oil is only a mixture of olein and palmitin.

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B. *Sunflower Seed Oil.*—Every one whose education has not been radically neglected knows the common sunflower, with its thick, rough stem and single æsthetic blossom. In our climate it attains the height of five or six feet, bearing at its very top the round, disk-like flower a foot or more in diameter; but in the Tropics it often nods its head to its love, the sun, at a height of more than twenty feet.

With us it is cultivated, here and there, as a garden flower, or for the sake of the seeds, which are mostly intended as a holiday dessert for a few of the more favored fowl of the barnyard. In Germany, however, and Hungary and China, but especially in Russia, it is cultivated on a large scale as a field crop, not only for the sake of the seed, but because every part of the plant has its own special value.

The stalks, when treated as flax, yield a long, strong, fine fibre, which the Chinese are accused of using for the adulteration of their silk. They (the stalks, not the Chinese) are also used as fuel, and the ash, which contains fully 10 per cent. of potash, is highly prized by soap-makers. The leaves furnish an excellent fodder, and when the "little busy bee" gets a whack at the flowers, he "improves the shining hour," and sails home gladly, richly laden with honey and wax. The seeds are used instead of flour by some tribes of American Indians, and are a first-class fattening food for poultry and cattle. The growing plant has the reputation of possessing strong anti-malarial properties, and it is on record that a whole tract of country along the "lazy Scheldt," in Belgium, was freed from miasms and rendered healthy by its cultivation.

It surpasses the "good seed" in the Gospel, in that it brings forth fruit, not thirty—nor sixty, nor yet a hundred—but, literally, a thousand fold. Moreover, it is easily cultivated. Plant the seeds six inches apart and about one inch deep, and when the stalks are a foot high gave them a good hoeing, and then let nature do the rest. But we are losing sight of our oil.

Under favorable conditions, an acre of ground will yield 50 bushels of seed, and this quantity will give 50 gallons of oil, and 1500 pounds of oil-cake, valuable as fodder or fuel. The seeds are threshed out, and thoroughly dried. They are then hulled and winnowed by suitable machinery, and passed through the crusher. The hulled seeds contain 35 per cent. of oil. By a first cold pressure up to 20 per cent. may be extracted; by subsequent warm pressure an additional 10 per cent., while the remaining 5 per cent. sticks to the cake.

The cold-drawn oil is used exclusively as a table oil; and in eastern Russia it also takes the place of every other fat in the preparation of food. It is pronounced scarcely inferior even to the best olive oil. It is a clear oil, of a pale-yellow color, and an agreeable mild taste. The warm-pressed oil is employed in the manufacture of varnishes and soap, but as it is a medium-drying oil, it cannot be used on machinery. The glycerides of which it is made up, are those of lin-oleic, oleic, palmitic, and arachic acids. Knowing, as we do, its valuable properties, it is a matter of wonder that some enterprising American has not yet taken to its cultivation on a large scale. Among the other oils belonging to this

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group are beech-nut, hazel-nut, and niger-seed oils, and some others, but they are relatively of minor importance.

GROUP III.—LINSEED OIL GROUP. (Vegetable Drying Oils.)

These oils, on exposure to the air, absorb oxygen, and become perfectly dry varnishes. They are much more fluid than the non-drying oils, but nitrous acid does not solidify them. Their density ranges from ·923 to .967. The principal oils of this group are:

A. *Linseed Oil.*—Common flax is a native of Egypt, southern Europe, and some parts of Asia. It has a very slender, erect stem, two or three feet high, branching only near the top so as to form a loose cluster of flowers. The "flax," from which linen thread and cloth is manufactured, is the fibre of the inner bark of the stem, and is used equally for the finest and for the coarsest fabrics—for the most delicate cambric or exquisite lace, and for the strongest sail-cloth. Flax was cultivated under the Pharaohs long before the time of Moses, for it has been proved by recent microscopical examination that the cloth in which the mummies of Egypt are enveloped is linen. Of flax and its near relations there are ninety known species, but only a few are employed on a large scale. The Latin name is *Linum*, and hence "Linseed" and "Flax-seed," are but the Sunday and week-day names for the same thing. For want of space we leave the fibre and go to the seed.

In the grown plant the seeds are contained in a capsule which does not burst on ripening, and therefore the plants must be threshed. The seeds are yellowish- or dark-brown, glossy, oval-oblong, flattened, pointed at one end, and about one-twelfth of an inch long. They contain nearly 35 per cent. of oil, but, in practice, only about 26 per cent. can be profitably extracted. The large quantity still left in the oil-cake, together with the albuminous substances present, renders it exceptionally valuable as cattle food, its nutritive value being about 1½ times that of good hay. It is often used for poultices, but the entire-ground seed is much more drawing.

The oil is obtained by either of the three following processes:

(1) Cold-drawn Oil.—After harvesting, the seeds must be stored for several months, in order that the mucilage may become decomposed; otherwise, the oil will be viscous and turbid. They are then hulled, ground, and expressed without heat. By this process they yield about 20 per cent. of oil, which is used as a table oil and for baking in Russia and some parts of Germany. It is of a golden-yellow color, with a peculiar but not disagreeable taste and odor.

(2) Ordinary Linseed Oil.—This is prepared in the same manner as the foregoing, except that the drawing is done quite hot, and hence the oil acquires a very unpleasant taste. The yield is, however, greater, being 28 per cent. or more.

(3) The oil is sometimes extracted by solvents, but, although the yield is still greater, being as high as 33 per cent., yet this method is not considered economical on account of the extra labor involved in recovering the solvents, and the inevitable loss attending their use.

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Linseed oil is a mixture of olein, palmitin, myristin, and linolein. The last is the glyceride of linoleic acid, and to it the drying quality of the oil is mainly due. "Ordinary linseed oil" is used in enormous quantities in the manufacture of paints, varnishes, printing-inks, waterproof stuffs, floor-cloths, elastic rollers, etc. For these purposes it occurs in commerce under four different forms, viz., "raw," "refined," "boiled," and "artists' oil." The "boiled" oil is by far the most important.

The reasons for boiling linseed oil for paint are principally two: First, in order to improve its drying qualities; and these may be substantially aided by the addition of litharge, red-lead or manganese dioxide. Secondly, in spite of every care, the raw oil contains a certain amount of mucilage (a gum dissolved in water). By heating the water is evaporated and the gum rises to the surface as a froth and is skimmed off. The oil will then spread more evenly over the work, and unite more readily with the "body" (white lead, zinc-white, etc.), as well as with the coloring matters which taste (or the want of it), or fancy, or fashion, prescribes.

"Artists' oil" is a fine grade of oil, especially prepared and refined for the use of the long-haired fraternity.

Linseed oil is used, to some extent in the manufacture of soap; but, as a lamp oil, it is a decided failure, on account of the soot and smoke it gives forth.

B. *Walnut Oil.*—This oil is made in the usual way from the kernel of the common walnut so well known as an article of food. It is a better dryer than even the best linseed oil, and is preferred for fine painting; and being entirely colorless, is in demand for delicate white colors; but, the supply is somewhat limited, as is also the case with several other members of this group—such as the oils of hemp-seed, poppy-seed, belladonna-seed, tobacco-seed, etc.

Group IV.—Castor Oil Group.

These oils have a density varying from .950 to .970, being thus the heaviest oils known. As to their drying qualities they resemble the oils of the cottonseed group, as also in their behavior with nitrous acid. Their chief characteristic, however, is that they are readily soluble in alcohol, which is not the case with any of the other fluid oils.

The best known of this group are:

A. *Castor Oil.*—The castor oil plant (*Ricinus communis*) is a native of the south of Asia, but has been naturalized and is now cultivated in Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Spain, Italy, the West Indies, Brazil, and the United States as far north as New Jersey. In our climate it grows from 3 to 10 feet in height, but in the East Indies and in Africa it attains a height of 30 or 40 feet. On account of the soothing properties of its leaves, it has been called "Palma Christi," "The Palm of Christ."

It is highly ornamental by its stately growth, its large broad leaves which measure up to 2 feet across, and its generally purplish hue. The capsules, which hold three seeds each, are covered with soft spines. The seed is from ⅓ to ½ inch in length. The Romans called the plant

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Ricinus, from the resemblance which the seed bears to an insect of that name—in English, the *tick*.

From 100 pounds of hulled seeds the yield in oil is about as follows:

1st pressure (cold), ...	29 pounds (used in medicine).
2d pressure (cold), ...	15 pounds (machine oil).
3d pressure (warm), ...	6 pounds (lamp oil).
Total, . . .	50 pounds.

This is just 50 per cent. of the weight of the seeds. The oil-cake, which contains the other 5 to 10 per cent., is used as manure or fuel. The oil may also be obtained by soaking the crushed seeds in alcohol and then distilling the alcohol out; but the product does not keep well.

Castor oil is the most viscid of all the oils. It has a mild but somewhat nauseous flavor, and is colorless or nearly so. In medicine it is used as a mild (?) purgative. By exposure to the air it becomes rancid and acquires decidedly poisonous properties; it should never be used internally when in that condition. The principal component of castor oil is ricin-olein, mixed with a little palmitin and stearin.

B. *Croton Oil.*—The *Croton Tiglium* is a small tree or shrub indigenous to the Malabar coast, but now cultivated to a considerable extent in the Indian Archipelago. The capsules are about the size of a filbert-nut and contain three seeds each. The oil is obtained in the same way as castor oil, the yield being about 20 to 30 per cent. The chemical composition of the oil is as much a matter of dispute as the worse case in moral theology. Some say that it is a mixture of the glycerides of stearic, palmitic, myristic and lauric acids, touched up with a certain quantity of œnanthylic (pyroterebic), caproic, valerianic, butyric and acetic acids. Others assert that it contains moreover crotonic and angelic acids. Others deny this last flatly, and, instead of those two, put tiglic acid, and then find fault generally with that first modest list, and wind up by getting in a lot of ill-defined "what-not-ic" acids of their own. Having thought the matter over, and examined it as carefully as possible, we have concluded to take a middle course and "give it up."

Croton oil has an acrid taste, and a characteristic, unpleasant odor. It is a powerful purgative (perhaps that's what's the matter with them), one drop of the pure oil being plenty for a dose. When rubbed on the skin it produces inflammation and eruptions of pustules, and is therefore used as a counter-irritant; that is, to relieve inflammation in an organ where it is dangerous by producing it in another place where it is practically harmless. Happily, the oil is soluble in alcohol, and can therefore be diluted to any required extent, but it should still be employed with the utmost caution. Even the leaves of the plant are strongly impregnated with the same virtues (or vices).

GROUP V.—PALM OIL GROUP.
GROUP VI.—COCOA-NUT OIL GROUP. } (Solid Vegetable Fats).

These two groups resemble each other very much. About the only reason for separating them seems to be that members of the latter group

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contain a large proportion of certain glycerides which distil over in a current of steam at 212 degrees Fahrenheit, while in the former group, the percentage of these glycerides is much smaller. Their density runs from .920 to .995.

There are about 1100 species of palms. They are of all sizes, from little things, whose stems rise scarcely a few inches out of the ground, to graceful giants standing 250 feet high in their stocking-feet; though even at that, only three or four feet thick. The "rattan" is a palm, but as it is too slender to support its own weight, it seeks the friendly aid of other palms, climbing like a vine to the top, then descending again, crossing over to another tree, climbing again, and so on. A single "cane-palm," or rattan, is said, on the authority of Rumphius, to stretch out sometimes to a length of 1800 feet, but others think this statement an exaggeration. Anyhow, in our youthful days, we always thought the cane-palm more than long enough for all practical purposes.

The leaves vary as much as the stems. One of the small ones would not furnish a locust with a satisfactory breakfast, while the larger ones often measure fifty feet in length by eight or ten feet across.

The fruit is of all sizes, from that of a cherry to that of the cocoa-nut, with which latter the gorillas are said to play foot-ball.

The palm, in its different varieties, furnishes food, drink (temperance and otherwise), clothing, light, heat, paper, cordage, boats, household utensils, furniture, and even the houses themselves, for millions of human beings. It is said that a colored preacher once explained Divine Providence thus: "De Lord make ebberything. He make de black man and de white man. Den de Lord hold out his right hand and his left hand. In de right hand was a book; in de left hand rice and palm-oil. De black man choose first. He choose de rice and palm-oil. De white man den choose de book. De book teach de white man how to git ebberything else, but de black man nebber git nuffin but de rice and palm-oil."

Want of time and space, however, forbids us to dwell on these matters now. Martinus, of Munich, in 1845, published a work on the subject, entitled, "Genera et Species Palmarum." It is a magnificent work in three large folio volumes, illustrated with 219 colored plates. It describes about 500 species, all that were known at that time, and cost the author more than twenty years of labor. We recommend it to the perusal of our readers. But it is high time to get back to our oil-pots.

Palm oil (or palm butter) is obtained from the fleshy part of the fruit of two species of palms growing in West Africa; and the kernels of the same fruit yields palm-nut oil. Another species gives the cocoa-nut oil, and yet another the cacao butter. In all these the oil is solid (call it butter, or fat, or what you like) and the quantity is remarkably large, running from 50 to 70 per cent. of the weight of the flesh or the kernel, as the case may be. Formerly they were manufactured only on the spot where the plants grow, and where skilled ignorance is the rule. The percentage then realized was quite small; but of late years, since thé white man has got a grip on the raw materials, the fruit has been made to yield something approximating to theoretical satisfaction.

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These oils are mixtures principally of palmitin and olein, with enough of other glycerides to distinguish them from one another. In their own home they are used for food, but never by people who can get cow's butter. We employ them, however, quite extensively in the manufacture of fine soaps, and, in the form of stearic acid, for our pure white, opaque candles. The semi-transparent humbugs, which dealers at times try to palm off on us for wax, are merely paraffin, which has no blood relationship with any of the foregoing oils. The commerce in the raw materials is quite large, the single town of Marseilles importing annually more than 40,000 tons of palm-nut kernels for use in the soap and candle industries.

Nutmeg butter, shea butter, and laurel (bayberry) oil belong here, but they are relatively unimportant.

GROUP VII.—TALLOW GROUP. (Solid Animal Fats).

This group includes all the solid fats derived from land animals. We give some of the more important ones:

A. *Lard.*—At this point of our journey, the first to greet us with a bland and pleasant smile is lard. Not everything that glitters is gold, neither does every label tell the truth; but we think that lard-labels are about the worst, in this respect.

Properly speaking, lard is the fat deposited along the ribs, intestines, and kidneys of the swine tribe; and because this is separable into thin layers it is called "leaf-lard." All the fat, however, which can be "tried out" of the carcass is sold and accepted as lard. The operation of separating the fat, by means of heat, from the cells and tissues is called "rendering." It is a very simple operation. The leaf-fat, together with the head and such other portions as are not made use of in packing, is placed in tall tanks and heated by high-pressure steam for some hours until the fat-cells burst and the oil is set free. The product is then drawn off, clarified and cooled. It contains 62 per cent. of olein and nearly 38 per cent. of stearin, with only a very small quantity of palmitin. The uses of lard are too well known to require notice here.

B. *Tallow.*—Ox-tallow (beef suet) and sheep-tallow (mutton suet) differ from lard principally in the proportions of their constituents, these being of the same kinds in all, and therefore they differ also in their melting points, thus:

	Olein.	Stearin and Palmitin.	Melting-point.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Fah.
Lard	62	38	90
Ox Tallow	33⅓	66⅔	109
Mutton Tallow	30	70	115

Besides being very important articles of food, the tallows conjure up in our minds many a lovely vision of soap and candles.

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C. *Butter.*—Butter constitutes the oily part of the milk of all mammals, but the name is usually restricted to the product obtained from the milk of the domestic cow. The composition of milk varies somewhat with the breed of the cow and her general health, the season of the year, etc. On an average it has been found to contain:

	Per cent.	
Butter-fat,	3.3	Solid constituents.
Milk, sugar and soluble salts,	5.1	
Caseine (the principal constituent of cheese) and insoluble salts,	4.1	
Water,	87.5	
	100.	

The butter-fat exists in the milk in the form of minute globules (improperly called "milk globules,") $\frac{1}{1000}$ of an inch in diameter, each enveloped in a delicate membrane of caseine, which hinders them from running together. When the milk is left at rest, most of the globules rise and float on the surface; they are then called "cream." The spontaneous "coming" of the cream requires from twelve to twenty-four hours, but by means of centrifugal machines the separation is now effected in about twenty minutes. In the operation of "churning" the globules are broken up and the fat made to coalesce into lumps. By washing with cold water and kneading, most of the caseine, sugar and salts are removed, the composition of the butter now being:

	Per cent.
Butter-fat,	93.00
Caseine, sugar, etc.,	.30
Water,	6.70
	100.

The effect of the presence of the caseine, sugar and water is to set up a fermentation by which the butter soon becomes rancid. To hinder this, about 3 per cent. (½ ounce to the pound) of salt is added and well worked into the mass. Rancid butter may be made sweet by kneading it well with clear water or, better, with lime water and re-salting. To satisfy those who are yearning to know the whole butterine truth, we give the list of all the substances so far found in pure butter. They are the glycerides of

(1) Acetic acid,	$C_2H_4O_2$	These are volatile acids, soluble in water, to which the characteristic odor of butter is due.
(2) Butyric acid,	$C_4H_8O_2$	
(3) Caproic acid,	$C_6H_{12}O_2$	
(4) Caprylic acid,	$C_8H_{16}O_2$	
(5) Capric acid,	$C_{10}H_{20}O_2$	
(6) Lauric acid,	$C_{12}H_{24}O_2$	Volatile acids in minute quantities and soluble in water.
(7) Myristic acid,	$C_{14}H_{28}O_2$	
(8) Palmitic acid,	$C_{16}H_{32}O_2$	Non-volatile acids, insoluble in water.
(9) Stearic acid,	$C_{18}H_{36}O_2$	
(10) Arachic acid,	$C_{20}H_{40}O_2$	
(11) Oleic acid,	$C_{18}H_{34}O_2$	

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To which should be added, lecithine, $C_{42}H_{84}NPO_9$, which is also a component of hen's-egg oil, the N meaning nitrogen and the P meaning phosphorus.

It will be noticed that down to (10) inclusively the list is perfectly regular, the formula for each acid being obtained by the addition of C_2H_4 to the next preceding one. The 11th, however, is off, and the last a long way off; but unless you find all these things in your butter you may know that you are being cheated, and in that case it might be well to speak to your grocer.

Below 50 degrees Fahrenheit fresh butter is quite hard.

Between 50 and 68 degrees it is spreadable.

Between 68 and 77 degrees it gets ready to start on the run.

At 88 degrees it melts to a clear yellow liquid.

Butter is, we believe, used as food. The Greeks and Romans, however, employed it solely as an ointment in the bath. Perhaps it is an unconscious reminiscence of this which makes the country folks of New England say, "One foot in the grave and the other all but a—."

Oleomargarine (g hard, please) is a perfectly legitimate, honest, healthy and wholesome artificial butter, which has been "sat upon" in this country by ignorant legislators or, worse, by legislators who are accused of passive bribery; and hence we can have none of it. More's the pity, especially for the poor.

GROUP VIII.—TALLOW OIL GROUP. (Liquid Land Animal Fats.)

The members of this group are derived from the corresponding members of Group VII., and differ from them in being nearly pure oleine. They differ from the members of Group IX. by solidifying with nitrous acid and by not turning red or brown when treated with boiling caustic soda and by the absence of any fishy odor.

A. *Lard Oil.*—Lard oil is, perhaps, the nearest approach to pure olein to be found in nature. It does contain a little stearin and less palmatin, the percentage of which depends on the manner in which the oil has been extracted. When lard is subjected to very strong pressure at a low temperature the oil oozes out, while most of the stearin remains in the form of a hard cake. The oil is almost colorless and thinly fluid, and does not thicken by cold until near the freezing point of water. At a somewhat lower temperature it becomes solid.

Lard oil is used as a table oil, also for cooking, for burning, for lubricating machinery, for dressing wool and for adulterating olive oil. The annual product of the United States is about 10,000,000 gallons. The stearin left from the extraction of the oil goes to the candlemakers, principally of England, France and Germany.

B. *Tallow Oil.*—This oil is expressed from either beef or mutton suet, but the process is rather more difficult than in the case of lard oil. The tallow is first melted and then mixed with one-tenth of its volume of benzine or other suitable solvent. The mixture, after cooling, is subjected to a very strong pressure in a hydraulic press. The olein,

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dissolved in the solvent, runs off, while most of the stearin remains in the solid cake. It is used for the same purposes as lard oil.

C. *Neat's Foot Oil.*—Neat's foot oil is an exception, as to the manner of its preparation, to the other oils of the group. The feet of oxen deprived of the hoofs are boiled for a long time in water. The hot liquid is allowed to stand and cool. In doing so the liquid rises to the surface, but is still mixed with a good deal of tallow. To get rid of this the material is put into a kettle, together with a large quantity of water, and the whole is kept, for at least twenty-four hours, sufficiently warm to let the fat separate from the oil. On cooling, the fat solidifies, leaving the pure oil floating on the top. The oil having been drawn off and strained is ready for the market. Neat's foot oil is very good for light machinery, but it is especially prized for dressing leather, for which purpose it is said to surpass all other oils.

GROUP IX.—WHALE OIL GROUP. (Marine Animal Oils.)

This group comprises the various oils obtained from fish and from cetaceous (whale-like) mammals. They have generally a disagreeable fishy taste and odor, and turn red or brown when boiled with caustic soda, but are not solidified by nitrous acid. They are often called "train-oils" from the German word "thran," originally "liquid forced out by fire." They are all non-driers. A few of these oils are:

A. *Whale Oil.*—There are many species of whales, chief among which are the Right whale of Greenland waters, with his brother of the Antarctic seas and another brother of the north Pacific, and his cousin, the humpback (finback or rorqual). They measure up to fifty feet in length.

The oil is obtained by "rendering" the blubber (coating of fat tissue) which covers the body and keeps the animal warm. A right whale will yield from 15 to 30 tons of oil and the same weight of "whalebone," but the finback much less of each, while its whalebone is at the same time of an inferior quality. The largest capture ever made by the vessels hailing from American ports was in 1851, in which year 57,747 tons of oil and 1770 tons of baleen (whalebone), worth in round numbers $8,485,000 and $3,570,000 respectively. Since that time the business has decreased to comparatively insignificant proportions. The reasons for this falling off are, first, because the whale, not being a prolific breeder, was hunted nearly out of existence; second, because the discovery of petroleum gave us a substitute for nearly every purpose for which the whale oil was needed; third, because steel, valcanite and other substances have usurped the place of whalebone in many articles of clothing, parasols, umbrellas and the like. But the whales, having had a short rest and having been allowed to educate their young in their own right way, without the interference of public school systems, are beginning again to thrive apace, and are, therefore, again becoming a source of anxiety in certain quarters.

B.—*Sperm Oil.*—The sperm whale, or cacholot, is usually larger than the right whale, sometimes measuring 70 or 80 feet. It differs from the

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latter in having in its head a large cavity filled with a semi-liquid mixture of oil and "spermaceti." The spermaceti is a beautiful white wax equally as valuable as stearic acid for the manufacture of candles.

The oil, separated from the spermaceti by draining, together with what is "rendered" from the blubber, is the sperm oil of commerce. One whale yields about 10 tons of oil. The production was at its height in 1853, when 17,179 tons of oil valued at $2,662,800 were brought in by the whalers; but, just as in the case of the right whale, the sperm whales have nearly run out and the business nearly run down. The sperm whale has no baleen.

The porpoise, the black fish, the dugong and some others are classed under the general term "whale" and yield oils similar to the above. Sharks, rays, codfishes, menhadens, herrings, sprats, sardines and anchovies, all do their share in greasing up the wheels (literal and metaphorical) of the world and keeping them running smoothly.

C. *Seal Oil.*—We shall finish this long-drawn article with the dreamy, playful seal, of which there are half a dozen varieties, but we have no time to watch his gambols now.

To prepare seal oil the first thing to do is to catch the seal. Then skin him, but don't spoil the fur, for in some species it is worth more than the oil and all the rest. Collect the fat, melt it by steam heat, let it stand and settle, draw off the clear oil and sell it for "first quality." A second quality may be got by warm-pressure, while the residue and bones make an excellent manure. Some South Sea seals have been known to yield more than a ton of oil each.

All the oils of this whole group consist of varying proportions of the glycerides of physetoleic, stearic, palmitic, oleic, butyric and valerianic acids, to the last two of which their fishy odor and taste are probably due. On account of this taste and odor whale oils are not in demand as articles of food among people who boast of refinement, but the natives of the colder regions drink them without any scruple or seasoning. For the manufacture of soap and candles and as lubricating and illuminating oils they are perfectly suitable and hold a large place in the commerce of the world.

T. J. A. Freeman, S. J.

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Book Notices.

BELIEF IN THE DIVINITY OF JESUS CHRIST. By the *Rev. Father Didon*, of the Order of St. Dominic. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1894.

This 12mo., of 235 pages, contains eight lectures or sermons, which Father Didon delivered as a Lenten course in the Church of St. Mary Magdalen in Paris. The importance of the subject is very great for all men at all times, but its consideration at the present time is particularly important, because now the heretic and unbeliever do not waste their energies by attacking particular dogmas of Christianity, but they attack Christianity itself. They no longer try to interpret the teachings of Christ to suit their taste and convenience, but they seek to escape entirely from the obligation of obedience to His commands by denying His divinity and robbing Him of the authority to command. To accomplish this purpose, false systems of philosophy have been invented, false deductions from the sciences have been drawn, Christian teachers have been driven from the schools, and true philosophy and true science have been ridiculed.

In the introduction to his lectures, Father Didon calls the attention of his readers to these facts, and prepares them for the truth which he is about to unfold before them:

"Jesus Christ remains for all humanity what He said He was: the Way, the Truth, and the Life. Whosoever does not know Christ, does not know where he himself is going, he is not on the road, he struggles in the darkness or lies inert in the shadow of death; and he who having known Him forsakes Him, strays in blindness and loses eternal life. No human science can show us our supreme destiny; how could it clear the way for us? No philosophy can instruct us about divine truth, and how shall it give light to the soul that hungers for God? No created force can raise us to God, to the Infinite; how can it give us that life of which God is the eternal nourishment?

"The disciple of Jesus Christ escapes from the fatality of that weakness against which every living soul struggles and revolts, or under the weight of which it sinks at last in sadness and despair. He is freed from the service of false masters, for he knows their radical incompetence in the domain of destiny. If God exists, they are incapable, with all their science and philosophy, of translating for us His impenetrable will.

"The Divine Master, on the contrary, opens to the believer the way in which he must walk, and into which our Master first entered. He reveals to him the infinite truth of which He is the the incarnation, and forms into his will the Holy Spirit as a source of life springing from the bosom of God.

"The vain systems of philosophy—pantheism, materialism, subjectivism, idealism, positivism, scepticism—whose ephemeral reign leads astray many simple intellects who believe that frail combinations of thoughts and theories, of hypotheses and facts, can measure the Universal, the Infinite, the Absolute—these vain systems take no hold on the disciple of Christ. He judges them and cannot be judged by them, for he is above them. His reason is enfranchised by the word of his Mas-

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ter; he holds this word by faith, he attempts not to measure it, knowing that it is unsearchable; human systems amuse and interest him, but they do not tyrannise over him. He treats them with independence and a good-natured eclecticism, without narrowness and without enthusiasm. He knows that they are all incomplete; why should he then submit to them? He recognises in each more or less truth; why then should he disdain their varied hues and sparkling facets? This proud emancipation of the mind has always been the honor of Christ's disciples.

"We hear howling all around us the wind of incredulity, enveloping the masses in its whirl, and even drawing into it a crowd of literary and scientific men, the masters of opinion and of power. We should stand calm in the tempest; our strength is not in numbers, in talent, in power, in science or human philosophy, in money, the god of faithless and decadent societies; no, our force is in Christ, who has chosen, and who keeps us in His word, wherein are all the treasures of wisdom and intellect; in His law of justice and love, without which all is given up to ruin; in His irresistible spirit, which has seized the world and against which nothing earthly and human can prevail."

The first lecture treats of the present state of the belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ:

"This belief is one of the most remarkable facts, the most prodigious phenomenon, of psychology and history.

"It is the centre of Christian dogma, the life of a multitude of believers, for it is professed by four hundred millions of human beings on the face of the globe. It is the life-giving principle of modern civilisation, the impregnable fortress which defends morals and culture, the corner-stone of that great pyramid raised by God in the midst of time and on the moving sands of humanity—the Catholic Church.

"Is the belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ living or dead? Is it declining or advancing? Has it finished the phase of its evolution, or does it describe a trajectory of which the term is infinite?

These questions are all the more interesting that we live in a time when, among those who consider themselves the chosen sons of literature, philosophy and the higher science, it has been and it still is the fashion to declare that dogmas are vanishing, that faith has received its death blow, that it is in its last agony, that its disappearance is a matter of years, it may be of centuries, but in any case a matter of time, and that emancipated reason and positive science will take charge of its obsequies."

But these prophets of woe are false prophets. Belief in Jesus Christ throughout the civilized world remains endowed with indomitable vitality. "A belief or a faith attests its vitality by two signs—its power of lasting and its vigor for expansion and resistance." The lasting force of a belief must be conceded when it is in harmony with human nature. Human nature craves absolute truth, unlimited good, impartial and uncorruptible justice. Now, these virtues exist in their entirety in God, and Jesus Christ has brought them to us in His sacred humanity, under a form suited to us, and, therefore, belief in the divinity of Christ is in harmony with human nature and possesses vitality.

"The second sign by which the vitality of a belief is shown is by the power of expansion and of resistance. A creature endowed with vitality manifests itself at once by its power of expansion in favorable surroundings, and by the force of its resistance in unfavorable surroundings." The surroundings most favorable to the belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ are those in which it has fullness of liberty. In modern civiliza-

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tion this liberty is largest in England and the United States, and in these two countries, belief in Jesus Christ manifests itself by the most vigorous expansion.

"In the United States this phenomenon is most manifest, most astonishing. That classic land of individual independence, where men are free as trees in the virgin forest, is the land of exuberant expansion. So, when I chance to meet with American bishops, or missionaries, I seem to see a new world where faith is living, where barriers are removed, where each has his own place in the sun and may develop without hindrance. When I see them I feel as if I were intoxicated with holy independence. Well may you be happy, Americans, who have not to reckon with any one in the expansion of your living force; and it is good to be active and to have free elbow-room, to be outside of the old civilisations which have reached a point where, in their fixed and narrow grooves, men can go neither to the right nor to the left, neither forwards nor backwards, without finding a fence on which is written 'no thoroughfare.' The American church is happy in having her liberty, her entire liberty, and I envy her. But fifty years ago she counted only two or three million Catholics; to-day more than twelve million." This fact is a striking proof of the vitality of our belief.

If we turn now to regions where conditions are unfavorable, we shall find this faith declaring its robust vitality by its energetic resistance.

In France there are thirty-eight million people, and among them there are many thousands of scientists, philosophers, scribes and politicians. Among these classes the dominant feeling is a lively sense of their individuality and absolute right of criticism. They consider themselves competent and supreme judges of everything. The philosophical systems which guide their opinions are materialism, pantheism, naturalism, idealism, criticism, scepticism. This is not a favorable soil for faith, and yet we find that in this land so sterile and uncongenial there are more than forty thousand secular priests, subject to a hundred bishops, and governed by one pope; there are forty thousand monks, and a hundred and thirty thousand nuns. This is a magnificent resisting army that proves the vitality of the belief in the divinity of Christ, no less forcibly than its rapid expansion under favorable circumstances.

In the second lecture we consider the denial of the divinity of Jesus Christ in our day. We have looked at the noble army of believers; we must now turn our eyes on the vast army of unbelievers. From the beginning the world has been divided into these two armies—believers and unbelievers.

"The denials of the divinity of Christ which have been brought forward in the course of ages may be reduced to six. The first, contemporary with Jesus Christ, is the denial of the Jews; the second, which occupied the end of the first century, still continues, and is the Gnostic denial; the third, also still continued, is the Arian denial, which appeared in the fourth century. Then in the seventh century came the denial of Islam, which is perpetuated by Mahommedanism in the midst of our European world, without, however, mingling with it. Then the Socinian denial of the seventeenth century; and lastly, the Deistic denial of the eighteenth."

At the present time we are battling with the seventh denial, and their variation from the beginning until the present time is the first strong argument against them; for truth does not vary, and the belief in the divinity of Christ against which they have in vain hurled their venomous shafts, has been ever the same.

The last denial is the most sweeping of all. The others denied that

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Christ is God; this one denies that there is a God, and it is built on the foundation of universal evolution without God.

The doctrine of evolution may be summed up in a few fundamental propositions:

1. Universal reality is a great and complete whole possessed and moved by immanent force.

2. This immanent force is so called, in order to lay it down plainly, that nothing exists above, beyond, or outside of created reality.

3. It is impersonal, unconscious, blind.

4. This movement tends nowhere; evolutionist doctrine knows no finality.

5. That which at the end of this progress continues forever and never attains its close, is the thought of man—man himself, the last step attained by evolution.

6. There is no God, because God cannot be an immanent, unconscious, blind force.

7. Fatalism, determinism is the universal law of production.

8. The world rolls unconscious towards an unknown goal. By aid of this doctrine, the divinity of Christ is denied at the present day. But this doctrine is opposed to essential reason.

Science affirms that matter is inert, and we know that matter moves. Now movement is a property of mind, and comes from a mind which transcends matter.

Again, we see life and thought appear. Whence do they come? The evolutionist says that matter produces life, but if it did, it would produce more than itself, for life is more than matter. But the greater cannot come from the less, nor the perfect from the imperfect, and therefore matter does not produce life.

Again, that movement which is ever lifting beings higher, must have an end in view. But to tend to an end is to go out of self, and no one can go out of self without being drawn, and no one can be drawn unless something draws him. This effort necessarily supposes something beyond, a finality, for there can be no tendency towards nothing.

Hence a person uncorrupted by false systems of philosophy admits in the universe a transcendent principle which is God; a legislator who produces movement, life, animal nature. It is surprising that so unreasonable a doctrine as evolution should have made so many disciples, but most of them are displeased with God for some reason or other, they are afraid to approach Him, and the easiest way out of the difficulty is to deny His existence.

This seventh denial will share the fate of the other six; all that is human passes away, truth alone remains forever.

In the third lecture the worth of the denial of the divinity of Christ in our day is considered.

"The belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ is not only an interior fact, having its reality in the conscience of believers, and finding its public expression in the Catholic Church, it is at once a fact and a dogma; a fact entrusted to authentic books and bound in the chain of historical events of which it forms the principal link; a dogma which is the synthesis and the foundation of the whole creed of the Church." Therefore, those who deny the divinity of Christ and the existence of God, must suppress the documents in which it is recorded in facts of history and in dogmas.

The country which has especially distinguished itself in this work is Germany. There are about twenty-three German universities, and probably there are not three in which the divinity of Christ is not denied.

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In this work France is the servant of Germany. These atheists call the method by which they arrive at their denial, criticism. They have no right to this name. Criticism is the exercise of judgment in trying anything according to its absolute law. To judge anything according to a conventional standard, is to give to the judgment the value of the standard; if the standard is fantastic and capricious, the judgment is arbitrary; if the standard is false and absurd, the judgment is erroneous and absurd. Such a judgment the atheists of the present day call criticism.

These men find themselves in the presence of documents—the Gospels and Epistles—which testify on every page that Christ is God. The old-fashioned way of dealing with such troublesome witnesses was to destroy them, but that plan did not succeed, and it is no longer possible. The new-fashioned way is to destroy their force by reading them according to the laws of the modern criticism, so called. The right way is to seek their meaning from those who wrote them or who have been their custodians from the beginning. But the Catholic Church is the only appointed custodian of the Sacred Scriptures, and she alone can teach us their meaning.

The documents of history which teach us the divinity of Christ defy the atheist equally stubbornly. The flood of miracles and prophecies which testify to His divinity cannot be thrust aside arbitrarily. There are rules by which these facts of history are read and weighed, and according to these rules, those facts which bear upon the divinity of Christ cannot be challenged.

The fourth lecture deals with the chief reason for the belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ.

"The arguments or motives for belief are so numerous that to develop them at length would need not one, but twenty lectures; not one, but three or four volumes. These motives as a whole can be brought under three categories:

1. "We may appeal to all the ages which preceded Jesus Christ, and see them run their course; above all, among the people chosen of God to prophesy and prepare for the Messiah, and this is the argument: 'The Messiah announced from the beginning implied divinity. The prophets called Him God with man—Emmanuel. But Jesus was this Messiah, and therefore He was God.'

2. "We may look at the times which have been since Jesus Christ, which the Catholic Church fills with the power of her declaration, with the splendor of her doctrine and her virtues, with the splendor of her deeds, and we may say, 'The Church founded by Jesus Christ is a work which man could not originate nor even maintain; the divinity of the work reveals the divinity of the workman; therefore Christ, who was her founder, was God.'

3. "And, lastly, we may place ourselves at the centre of the history of Jesus Christ, and say: 'Jesus Christ declared Himself the son of God, equal to the Father; therefore He was the Son of God, equal to the Father, and God as the Father.'"

The fifth lecture discusses the worth of the testimony of Jesus Christ affirming His divinity.

Having established the fact that Christ declared His divinity, and made such a declaration a part of the body of His work and teaching, it is necessary to examine this declaration and to criticise it rationally. No one should be surprised that the word rational criticism is applied to the sayings of Jesus Christ. "Faith is not a blind and impassive action of reason. Every thinking man has a full right to examine the motives

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for belief before he believes, and he ought only to bend the knee when he recognises the wisdom of these motives. Jesus is a witness. He speaks, and declares that He is the Son of God, equal to the Father. What is the worth of this declaration before free, enlightened and impartial reason? If it has any worth, reason must recognise it; if it has not, the duty of reason is to repudiate it."

"The critical examination of testimony raises two questions: the first, relative to the tenor of the testimony; the other, relative to the worth of the witness. If we establish the tenor of the testimony from the point of men of reason, and if from the same point of view we establish the evidential value of Him who affirms, the duty of every impartial spirit, freed from prejudice, is to receive the testimony and bow to the authority of the witness."

The union of the human and divine natures does not imply anything contradictory or absurd. If we examine the nature of man, the nature of God and the general laws of the universe in which we live, we shall find perfect harmony between the declarations of Jesus Christ and our reason. Man, by nature, irresistibly moves towards the infinite. He ever seeks for more perfection, more love, more truth. Nothing created can satisfy his desires, and his goal must be the infinite.

The supreme law of God, if we may speak of law in regard to Him, is a law of outpouring and communication. He is goodness, and goodness seeks to communicate itself. Every idea which implies the communication of God with His creatures is conformed to the nature of God. Now, when humanity is joined to divinity it attains its highest perfection, satisfies its strongest cravings; and when divinity is joined to humanity, God communicates Himself to man in the most perfect manner. Therefore there is no repugnance, but the most perfect harmony, in this union.

Jesus as a witness is irreproachable. He swore to His testimony, His moral sanctity was perfect, He was competent to testify, His testimony was concerning that which was to benefit others; in giving it He antagonised others, and finally He lay down His life to seal it. This is a witness indeed, before whose testimony every reasonable man must bend the knee.

In the sixth lecture the difficulties of the act of faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ claim attention.

"There are two sorts of truths—those we can demonstrate by intrinsic evidence, and those we can demonstrate extrinsically. The former are clear; the second remain, in spite of their manifest credibility, in the shade of mystery. In the first the evidence is such that the intellect is vanquished and bound in subjection; men cannot but accept them."

The divinity of Jesus Christ is a truth wherein the intrinsic evidence is not given. It is declared by a witness—Jesus Himself—and confirmed by evident exterior signs; but this witness and these signs do not prove it, they only give it credibility. Human intelligence is convinced and overcome by evidence alone. Hence, where such evidence does not exist, the will must overmaster the mind, and compel it to give credence to the trustworthy witness, notwithstanding the mystery which surrounds the truth to which he testifies.

"In certain cases, then, evidence is supreme, in others testimony. In the second class the will must sway the intellect, because the witness is credible; but if the will does not bear sway, faith will not exist. The will of many does not command the assent of reason; hence, unbelief in the divinity of Jesus."

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Their refusal to believe is most inconsistent and unreasonable, because men at all times have admitted the value of the testimony of reliable witnesses to establish facts, and to deny it is to deny all facts of history, If we accept extrinsic proof at all—if we admit any part of history—we must accept the testimony of Christ, we must accept His divinity.

In the midst of doubt and denial we have always one grand, living witness of this great truth.

"In this night of the end of the nineteenth century, against this night of God, against the murky sky—a sky darkened by the thick dust raised by human toil—you may see the great Church of God arise and stand. It is the column of fire which tells you that light has not gone out. When men—too much occupied with earth and with themselves—darken the world, there always remains to guide them on the road, and to show them the good, the eternal light of God shining through the darkness of humanity, as stars shine through the clouds of heaven."

The seventh lecture is not, strictly speaking, a part of the course, for it is a Good Friday sermon on the seven words of Jesus on the cross.

The eighth lecture points out the practical means for believing in the divinity of Jesus Christ.

"As science and philosophy, morals and education, art and politics have their proper methods and processes, so faith has its own. We may go further, and say that the processes of science and philosophy, morals and education, the methods of art and politics, are not within the power of everybody, while the processes and means of belief belong to all; for all the world can and ought to aspire to belief."

In speaking of means of belief, we do not refer to that divine, supernatural succor called grace, nor do we speak of that larger, tranquil body of believers who have inherited faith and nourished it; but we consider only those natures that hesitate, are indifferent, claim the right to reflect, to argue, and to be a law to themselves.

For such persons there exist means of belief. The first is to read the Gospels in a connected manner and frequently—not with a critical spirit, not with the imagination, but with the conscience. This will bring us into direct and personal relation with Christ.

As a result of this close personal union, Christ will teach us that we must renounce self and become poor in spirit; the rest is easy.—J. P. T.

THE FIRST DIVORCE OF HENRY VIII., AS TOLD IN THE STATE PAPERS. By *Mrs. Hope*. Edited, with notes and introduction, by *Francis Aidan Gasquet, D.D., O.S.B.* London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1894

A new publication from the pen of so gifted and conscientious a writer as the late Mrs. Hope would be in any circumstance an important event in English Catholic circles; but the worth of the book before us is much enhanced by the fact that, owing to the decease of the authoress before completing her work, the labor of editing devolved upon the great Benedictine historian, Dom Gasquet, to whose transcendent merits a due tribute of praise was rendered in the July number of the REVIEW. However deeply, therefore, we deplore the loss of one who had deserved so well of English-speaking lovers of historical truth, we can scarcely be expected to agree with Dom Gasquet that "it is unfortunate that she did not live to complete it," since the delicate labor of a final revision devolved upon one who acknowledgedly is one of the princes of living Catholic historians. Dom Gasquet's share in the authorship of the work has been so large that, with the limitations which he has taken care to point out, we shall feel justified in appealing to the

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authority of his great name whenever we shall have occasion to quote from it.

"My first care," he tells us, "was thoroughly to revise it and to examine and verify every statement by reference to the authority quoted. Besides this, on reflection, I have thought it well to add notes giving some indication of the nature and dates of the documents cited. Speaking generally, therefore, the notes throughout the volume may be regarded as mine."

As we are not ambitious to "paint the rose" or (what would be quite as foolish) to improve upon the deliberate judgment of Dom Gasquet in a matter of English church history, we are not ashamed, after a careful perusal of the volume, to give our appreciation of the book in the very words of its learned editor.

"The chief merit of the work is that it tells the plain, unvarnished story of Henry's divorce from Katherine, disentangled from the various other events and courses of action, foreign and domestic, of the period, by which the marriage question is generally obscured. It relies entirely upon the original documents as published in the various calendars of state papers and other contemporary authorities, and the reader may see at once upon what ground any given statement is made. It is true that, taken as a whole, this tale of intrigues and negotiations and delays reads more like the recital of a feverish dream than sober history. The crisis, always imminent, seems never to advance, and to those unacquainted with Tudor methods the story may well appear incredible. In reality, however, it states fairly and without embellishment the devious paths by which Henry VIII. attained his end at last and divorced his first wife, Katherine, in order to marry Anne Boleyn."

Whilst commending Mrs. Hope's study as "a full and accurate account of this strange episode," the able editor makes "a slight reservation" as to the action of the English bishops in the Convocation of 1531, when they acknowledged the "Supreme Headship" of the English monarch. The author "quite excusably, and following most writers on the subject," had stated that Henry agreed to accept the fine to be paid for their *præmunire* by Convocation "only on condition that in the preamble of the bill, clauses acknowledging him as sole Supreme Head of the church and clergy of England, and giving him absolute spiritual jurisdiction and legislative power, should be inserted."

Dom Gasquet, in opposition to this current view of the transaction, draws attention to the fact that "even in the clauses originally proposed by the royal agents the grant of 'legislative power' is not so much as mentioned, and the idea of any spiritual jurisdiction in the king is involved rather than expressed." He then, at some length, narrates the whole incident and proves that the English bishops refused to resign to the crown the coveted acknowledgement of royal spiritual jurisdiction. That they were, with the exception of the saintly Bishop Fisher, too solicitous for the preservation of life and royal favor is not denied; that the crown aimed at and finally secured the spiritual supremacy is notorious. But it is not true, as is commonly supposed, that the successors of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Becket apostatized from Catholic truth at the first assault of the brutal tyrant.

The noblest personality in Mrs. Hope's drama is undoubtedly that of the Roman Pontiff. To those whose acquaintance with the character of Pope Clement VII. has been formed in the pages of Guicciardini and Ranke, the Clement of the present volume, or rather of the original documents which it quotes, will be quite a new revelation. From first to last, he shows as an ideal Pope, gentle yet firm, neither cowed by

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menaces nor cajoled by flattery to abandon the path of duty and justice. Blunt Henry's (Shakespearean) abhorrence of the "dilatory sloth and tricks of Rome," appears in a ludicrous light when it is demonstrated that the Pope was, throughout, anxious to bring the affair to a speedy issue, and that the delays, prevarications and "tricks" all emanated from Henry and his agents. The only incident which might possibly have been more clearly explained, and which Dom Gasquet would certainly have dealt with it in a more masculine way, is that of the shadowy "Dogmatic Bull," so formidable in expectation and of such "impotent conclusion."

Henry's *first* divorce (the subsequent divorces were simple corollaries of no permanent consequence), will cease to be of present interest only when England shall have atoned for her ruler's sin by exemplary penance. The nation has suffered for generations for its monarch's crime, or rather for its fellowship therein. Books like the one before us, narrating the foul deed dispassionately, just as it happened, will bring the blush of shame to the cheeks of a sobered people, and hasten the day of propitiation.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA TO THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. By *Mary H. Allies.* London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1892.

As it is no easy task to compress the history of fifteen centuries into a small-sized volume of three hundred and sixty pages, it is no ordinary praise when we pronounce that Miss Allies has performed her task with consummate skill. With a true perception of historical perspective that does honor to the great name she inherits, she has extracted from the long list of authorities, ancient and modern, which she not only quotes but has evidently deeply studied, the very pith and marrow of the story, and evinces a genuine historical instinct by never losing sight of the vital truth that Catholic England's greatness was owing to her close connection with and filial devotion to the See of St. Gregory and St. Peter.

The entire story of England's civilization can be thrown into a drama in three acts: I. Rome civilizes the Britons. II.—Rome civilizes the Saxons. III.—Rome civilizes the Normans. The work of the Holy See is once and again undone by barbarians; but, with the patience of the industrious bee, Rome ever sets immediately about the task of resuscitating and rebuilding. In no other nation of Europe is what Le Maistre has called the real presence of the Pope so constantly visible as in the England of Catholic times. "From the days of the 'Italian Mission,' sent by St. Gregory," says Miss Allies, in her summing up, "England received her orders and jurisdiction from the Pope. It was the Pope who conferred the pallium on every metropolitan, and through the metropolitan confirmed the election of every bishop. . . . . Hierarchies might have failed, and would have failed had it not been for the central See of Christendom; for, in the course of these periods, we have seen arbitrary and cringing metropolitans and worldly bishops. Both were held in check by the successors of St. Gregory the Great, who could judge metropolitans and their suffragans alike. . . . . The battle of investitures and of homage, representing the liberty of the Church, was won, no thanks to the bishops, but to St. Anselm and St. Peter. A little later, another archbishop, also alone, appealed to the Holy See in almost the very words of St. Anselm. St. Thomas fell, but the cause lived; the hierarchy deserted him to a man. . . . . St. Thomas and the Pope saved the Church in England from becoming the handmaid of the

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State; for, at that time, the king represented the State. Innocent III., on the other hand, maintained the royal power even when vested in the person of King John, against rebellious barons, whilst it must not be forgotten that Cardinal Langton, the popular champion, was the Pope's nomination for which England had suffered an interdict. . . . . There was only one faith in England, one sacrifice, one priesthood, all resting upon the person of Peter." Yes, and when, through the pusillanimous connivance of the English bishops, the authority of St. Peter was undermined by the Tudors, faith, sacrifice, and priesthood perished from the land as completely as in the days of the pagan Saxons—perished in spite of the efforts made by Henry, Elizabeth, James and Charles, to keep from further dissolution the fair form which had been deprived of the vivifying soul.

An undercurrent of deep melancholy runs through the recital of Catholic England's glorious struggles and triumphs from the prevision that they are destined to issue in disastrous failure; and it is no wonder the historian's pen drops from her hand when the fatal catastrophe is reached. Yet the tale has its moral applicable to all times. That moral is the utter incompatibility of religious liberty and progress with such a union of Church and State as has existed in England since the Conquest. The Tudors were no worse than the Plantagenets. If the Tudors were more successful in their efforts at effacing the slightest vestige of ecclesiastical liberty, it was because the Plantagenet line had crushed out the manly independence which had distinguished the saintly heroes of the twelfth century, and had left Henry VIII. to contend with Wolseys and Warhams instead of Anselms and Beckets. Henry's sacrilegious burning of St. Thomas's bones puts on the semblance of respectability when compared with the stupid abuse which has been heaped upon the memory of the illustrious martyr by "bishops" who were conscious they have no share in his inheritance of glory.

We extend a hearty welcome to Miss Allies' timely little book. It will do more good to the multitude, whose leisure is limited, than many a large folio. In order that so valuable a volume should be in every way perfect, we beg to draw the author's attention to two (possibly typographical) errors, which we noticed in reading: (p. 165) St. Gilbert of Sempringham was born about 1090; (p. 281) the Pope elected at Pisa, as the whole Church has reason to remember, was Alexander V. Felix V., the last of the anti-Popes, was the simulacrum set up by the expiring schism at Basle.

WAS THE APOSTLE PETER EVER AT ROME? A Critical Examination of the Evidence and Arguments Presented on Both Sides of the Question. By *Rev. Mason Gallagher, D.D.* Introduction by Rev. John Hall, D.D., Pastor Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York. New York: Printed by Hunt & Eaton, 150 Fifth Avenue. 1894. Price, $1.00.

The QUARTERLY begs to return sincere thanks to Messrs. Hunt & Eaton for their courtesy in sending this publication. If its contents are not to our liking, this is not the fault of the publishers, who have done their part of the work in excellent taste. We consider that it is the correct thing for publishers of religious books, of whatever denomination, to give a wide publicity to their productions by bringing them to the notice even of those who shall not be much pleased or flattered by the reading of them. We believe that, in the long run, truth will prevail; and we dislike the notion, in a country such as ours, of confining one's reading public to sects or sections. As for the Catholic Church, she has been set up as "a sign to be contradicted." One must

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be a very poor sophist if he cannot find something or other, either in her ritual, her dogmas, or her twenty centuries of history, to carp at with arguments more or less plausible.

The book before us could not be written by any one, at the present day, who had a reputation to lose. In learned ecclesiastical circles, within and without the Church, the coming of St. Peter to Rome, and the importance of that event in the historical development of Roman supremacy, are things as well established as the Copernican system. But even as Brother Jaspers may still be found, who maintain stoutly, and quote scriptural authority for their statement, that "the sun do move," so does Protestantism conveniently retain, for the purpose of its anti-Roman crusade, a brigade of champions with lusty lungs and brains impervious to critical light, who go on serenely grinding out objections refuted a thousand times by Catholics, and abandoned as worthless by the better class of Protestants. Yet, we cannot afford to ignore these books "of the baser sort," for they circulate largely among the vulgar, that is, precisely among the class which still retains some vestige, however perverted, of Christian faith. Many a Protestant pulpit will, no doubt, re-echo the diatribe of Rev. Mason Gallagher, D.D., with amplifications more or less "calm and dispassionate."

Now, the first thing which has struck us on opening the volume is the gingerly way in which Rev. Dr. Hall "cordially commends the book to careful study." Dr Hall is evidently far from being convinced that his *protégé* has made out a case against the Catholics. The most he seems to claim is, that "the historical evidence at so many points suggest the verdict 'not proven.'" This is certainly putting the question far more "calmly and dispassionately" than the author has stated it. But then Rev. Dr. Hall has a reputation to stake. It is amusing, too, to notice with what varying shades of emphasis the Protestant witnesses adduced by Dr. Gallagher bear their testimony against St. Peter's coming to Rome. "It has not been satisfactorily proved," says one. "It is far from certain," says a second. "Even if we allow that Peter was actually in Rome," etc., says a third. "It is a matter of doubt," says a fourth.—"From beginning to end it is a fiction." "Peter never was in Rome." "It is plain as the sun at noonday that he never was there." "It is an arrant fable." "It is a monstrous absurdity," cry out the sturdier ones.

We wish to protest, in our turn, against Dr. Gallagher's strange mixing together of two things so distinct as faith and theological science. Millions believe firmly in the Roman Pontificate of St. Peter, and its consequences, without being able to sift the value of the testimonies by which these tenets can be proved. Even if Protestants could make out their case, that "there is no historic proof that Peter founded the Church in Rome," this would not make a single true Catholic waver in his faith; for we *believe* this and every other doctrine of faith on the authority of Holy Church. It is not true, therefore, that the burden of proof lies upon us. It lies upon those who presume to assert that Christ's Holy Church has erred in what all concede to be a fundamental article. From time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, the Roman Pontiff has sat on the Rock of Peter; and surely it is now an insane task to attempt to unseat him by merely negative arguments. So much for faith. If the question be approached from a scientific standpoint, we must discuss it "calmly and dispassionately," like any other historical fact, and free from the theological bias which disfigures Dr. Gallagher's book from beginning to end. Historical evidence is mainly accumulative. It will not do to take the intimations of Ignatius, Clement, Caius, Papias, and a hundred others, all pointing in

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the same direction, and endeavor to break them as so many separate sticks. They are bundled together; and bound together they neither break nor bend. The straits to which Protestant writers against Romanism are driven, especially now that their ablest writers have openly given up the contention that St. Peter was never in Rome, is shown by the (we must call it) scurrilous language in which Dr. Gallagher sees fit to indulge when speaking of the Fathers of the Church. He reminds us of a pettifogging lawyer striving to bolster up a desperate case by browbeating the witnesses. If Protestantism can stand such champions, we surely have no reason to complain. We only fear that some intelligent non-Catholic reader will be tempted to suspect that Dr. Gallagher, with his unmistakably Hibernian name, may be a Jesuit in disguise. We remember reading, some time since, of a Brooklyn divine named Gallagher, who startled the world with the discovery that "the Irish are not guided by reason but by impulse." If our author should turn out to be identical with this brilliant discoverer, his example will go a great way towards explaining if not justifying the paradoxical remark.

LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS BORGIA S. J. By *A. M. Clarke.* London: Burns & Oates. 1894.

This is one of the best specimens of hagiography we have ever seen. The story is so well told and the career of Don Francis Borgia, who was Duke of Gandia, Viceroy of Catalonia and later the 3d general of the Society of Jesus, was so extraordinary that when one has taken up this story of his life it is difficult to lay it down. His grandfather Don Pedro Borja, son of Cardinal Rodrigo Borja afterward Pope Alexander VI., was probably as Dr. Pastor says, born to the future pope before his father's ordination to the priesthood, for those were the evil days when for reasons of State or shameful nepotism laymen were raised to the Cardinalate. The Saint, who with his ancestors, is better known under his Italianized name of Borgia was of a very ancient Aragonese family remarkable for great personal beauty and even in those days of chivalric daring for extraordinary personal courage. It gave two popes to the Church, Calixtus II., the leading spirit in organizing Europe against the Turks and in breaking their power by the great victory over them at Belgrade on August 6, 1456, and Alexander VI., who, however great his vices as Cardinal, which we may be sure Dr. Pastor will not hide in his forthcoming life, was, so far as we know, blameless after his elevation to the tiara, and a ruler whose intelligence, prudence and foresight were of no common order. The subject of this book was the only one of the family, after these two, to make the name famous outside of Spain. He was of great personal beauty like all his race; "the new Apollo," he was called, and of such extraordinary nerve, will and courage that he was called by his contemporaries "the king of men."

He was first in everything he undertook to do; a fine musician whose compositions were famous in his time and are yet prized in Spain, an excellent mathematician from whom his Emperor, Charles V., said he learned more and better than he did from the best professors; of such weight in council that no man had more of the confidence of his sovereign, and of such skill and courage in battle that Charles prophesied of him that he would be the first general of his day; and yet amid all these great qualities, he was pious, pure, mortified and humble, was never known to offend modesty by word, look or action, and went to his married life with unwasted manhood. His first meeting with St. Ignatius of

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Loyola, his future director, is well told by our author: so too is the account of the Saint's trials and struggles, the growth in him of the resolve to give up his splendid station and to become a humble religious. But there is so much to say and his life gives the lie so completely to so many worldly men and women who say they cannot lead pefect Christian lives in the world of society and politics and war and statesmanship that it cannot be treated properly in the limits of a book-notice. We hope in the January number to have an article on him, his work as a man of the world and a Jesuit, and on the society of which he was so illustrious a member.

LIFE OF THE BLESSED ANTONY BALDINUCCI, S. J. By *Francis Goldie, S. J.* London: Burns & Oates. 1894.

It is a saint of another stamp whose life is herein depicted—one of the many whose devoted lives made and kept the Italians for so many centuries devoted to the Church. The son of a Florentine notary and his wife, both of ancient lineage and pious, he made his studies with the Jesuits in the College of San Giovanni, where his docility and ability won for him the love of his teachers. Self-forgetfulness and devotion to duty marked him from his earliest years. Scarcely had he attained his fourteenth year before he yearned for the higher life in the practice of the evangelical virtues of poverty, chastity and obedience. The great sin of his young days was that once he went fishing in a ditch at the risk of his health. Yet he was a joyous, laughing, cheerful, happy boy, making others happy about him; strong of character, too, as the picture of him shows, whose happiness, even in his youthful austerities, sprang from that peace of soul which accompanies a good conscience. He made his novitiate in San Andrea del Quirinale, once the home of many saints, but now, alas! no more. His master of novices, a man who had been at the head of several provinces and knew men well, said his life there was as that of an angel from heaven. His life, even then, was modelled on that of his Divine Master—a life of voluntary penance, unintelligible, and even barbarous, in the eye of the weak and yielding, but well known by strong characters as necessary to self-conquest in the little things of which most lives are made up, and much more so in great emergencies of trial and temptation. The rule of life he then made for himself was heroic, young though he was, and he was faithful to it. It broke his constitution and ruined his health, and it was with difficulty that he could continue his studies on that account. But wise superiors saw the finger of God there, and seem to have put but little restraint on his enthusiasm. But even when so ill that his life was despaired of, he yearned and begged for the work of the foreign mission, where he hoped to die a martyr for the faith. Even when thus suffering, he was a devoted teacher, as fun-loving and mirthful as the boys of his grammar class, and ready always, in what time he was free from his studies, to care for the sick—always many in a community of 150. His ability was such that, in spite of all this, he was able to make a public defence of his theses and to pass the final examination in philosophy and theology.

But it was in his missionary work that our saint's virtues were seen to the best advantage. He always made his journeys on foot. He was looked for and longed for as if he were the Messias, and no matter how much of a hell was the place he was sent to, he left it a very heaven of peace. His food was always of vegetables—corn or beans—and wine and wormwood. Yet he would not allow his companions to imitate

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him in this, but made them eat meat and other food. One who tried to do so was forced, after one day, to take to his bed. After the eighteen or twenty hours' labors of the day were over, he went to his room to pray, and was often found three or four hours afterwards on his knees, with arms outstretched in prayer. When he did lie down, it was on the bare boards after he had disciplined himself to blood. He arose about 1 or 2 A.M., and made his meditation, then to church, where he found people awaiting him. This was his life for eight years. No wonder that the fruit of his mission was extraordinary—that even the most hardened yielded to him, and that, wherever he went, he renewed the face of the earth. Miracles attended his landing—that of the falling leaves was witnessed by many thousands. Nor did he confine himself to spiritual and the ordinary temporal works of mercy, but knowing from experience, as well as by faith, that idleness is the root of all sin (p. 81), "he established hand-looms for cloth-making, and taught the poor people this useful way to better themselves, so that simple peasants, born in the campagna, attained as great a skill as workmen who had been trained in factories." Most probably this was one of the bases of the charges made against the Jesuits of trading, although no profit came to him or his order, but we may be sure that the middle class, whose overcharging was thus checked, were not slow to calumniate him and his brethren—so hard is it for many men to believe that any man, or body of men, is unselfish.

Hardly was he laid in his grave before God began to work wonders in his honor, ninety-one of which are on record in the summary of the process. The examination of them was begun in 1723 less than two years after his death, and so many witnesses came forward at Rome, Sezze and Florence, that not until 1753 could their testimony be submitted to the Congregation of Rites. Then Benedict XIV. waived in the saint's favor the law that forbade the question of the heroic sanctity of a servant of God to be brought before the congregation until fifty years after his death. Then the Society of Jesus was suppressed; the cause of Blessed Anthony, as of so many others, was postponed indefinitely, until, in 1873, under Pius IX., our saint's virtues were declared heroic, and Leo XIII., on the Feast of St. George, 1893, declared that the humble and laborious Antony Baldinucci should receive the honors of beatification. Read F. Goldie's book. It is very well written, indeed.

A PRACTICAL COMMENTARY ON HOLY SCRIPTURE FOR THE USE OF CATECHISTS AND TEACHERS. By *Frederick Justus Knecht, D.D*, Auxiliary Bishop of the Archdiocese of Freiburg. Translated from the tenth German edition, with a Preface by Rev. Michael F. Glancey. 2 vols. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder, 17 South Broadway. Price, $3.75, net.

Father Glancey, who holds the responsible position of Inspector of Schools in the Diocese of Birmingham, frankly confesses that in the matter of teaching Christian doctrine and Bible history Germany is far in advance of anything which England or America has to show. Of the German catechetical writers, prominent among whom is Dr. Knecht, the author of the present "Practical Commentary," he writes: "These writers have done what in them lay to elevate catechetics into a science, and to build it up from a solid foundation." "And where do we stand in England?" he asks. "Have we so much as grasped the truth that catechetics is a science at all? On looking into the dictionary, I found, indeed, the word catechetics, but it was marked with an obelus, or death mark, to show that it was either dying or dead." Father Glancey does not contend that there is a lack of earnestness in the teaching of Chris-

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tian doctrine in England, or that experienced teachers have not attained any measure of success. But his contention is that an improvement in tools and methods would be fruitful of greater results. Passing over his admirable suggestions in the domain of general catechetics, which, however, we strongly recommend to the attention of teachers, we come to that branch which treats of Bible history. What is the object of teaching children the history of the Bible? Endorsing Dr. Knecht's principle that "Catechism and Bible history must mutually interpenetrate, for only in this way is a systematic course of religious instruction possible," Father Glancey holds it as clear "that Bible history is not to be read, as too often it is, merely as a story-book; that it is to be studied, not on its own account, but because it imparts life and vigor, picturesqueness and comprehensiveness to religious instruction; because it elucidates, proves, enforces and illustrates the truths that go to make up religious instruction. The key-note of Dr. Knecht's method of presenting the sacred story to children is, therefore, that it must be "taught in the closest connection with the catechism," or, in Father Glancey's words, "Catechism and Bible history must go hand in hand, but catechism must be in the van. Catechism is the guiding principle and Bible history its handmaid."

In the practical working out of this principle the translator advocates the abandonment of the chronological system of teaching Bible history. In the current method he notices that oftentimes "while children are being instructed in the Holy Eucharist, their Scripture history turns on that singularly uninspiring period embraced by the reigns of the kings of Israel and Juda." His method, on the contrary, would be, whilst children are studying the Blessed Eucharist, to teach Bible history after the following plan:

I.—Types of the Holy Eucharist:
1. The Sacrifice of Melchisedech.
2. The Paschal Lamb.
3. The Manna.
4. The Food of Elias.
5. The Jewish Sacrifices.

II.—The Prophecy of Malachias.

III.—Christ Promises a New Sacrifice:
1. At Jacob's Well.
2. After the Multiplication of the Loaves.

IV.—The Last Supper—Institution of the Blessed Eucharist.

V.—The Two Disciples Going to Emmaus.

VI.—Miracles Illustrative of the Blessed Eucharist:
1. Water Made Wine at Cana.
2. Multiplication of Loaves.
3. Christ Walking on the Waters.
4. The Transfiguration.

In a similar manner he would treat the important subject of the Church and all the other great doctrines of our faith.

We have said enough to excite the interest of our pastors and all others who have at heart the religious education of our youth. We have no doubt that the introduction of this truly scientific method would be productive of immediate and great results. To facilitate the use of the book in the teaching of the catechism, a valuable "Concordance between the Holy Scripture and Catechism" is printed at the end by way of appendix, thus enabling the teacher to group the study of Scripture about that of the catechism.

We congratulate the publisher upon the typographical neatness of the

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two volumes. We might be permitted to remark, however, that since the work is intended for use by teachers, space might have been saved by omitting the 108 illustrations, which are not of great service to adults.

MELODIES OF MOOD AND TENSE. By *Charles H. A. Esling, A.M., LL.B.* Philadelphia: Charles H. Walsh. 1894.

"A new volume of poems"—but the friends of the poet will be gratified to learn that very many of the poems in this beautiful collection are not unfamiliar faces. Mr. Esling has collected and arranged, in logical divisions, the many poems of many places, of many moods and many memories, which justify his peculiar title of "Melodies of Mood and Tense." Part I. is devoted to "Songs of the Seasons." The dancing dactyls of the "Roundel for Rosetime" suggest the picture so directly painted in the last stanza:

> "The pole of the May time
> We're rounding in gay time,
> Our souls keeping tune as its meshes we thread,"

and have had appropriate musical setting in the 6–8 measures of the rhythmic melody of Prof. Clarke, printed in the Appendix to the volume. The many romantic sites that even a lazy pull on the upper Schuylkill can bring into view, like a vision of fairy-land, find commemoration in the two "Boat Songs on the Schuylkill River," until the reader half fancies himself a dreaming occupant of the gliding "Arachne," the "buoyant shell" that can knit together, with invisible strands of spidery magic, the lovely banks of the stream into a continuous web of enchantment and repose:

> "I glide and gloat—
> A water mole—
> Upon my spinning insect boat;
> A winged bliss
> That spring, I wis,
> From Junetide's sheathing chrysalis.
>
> "In lucent strands,
> With magic hands,
> She taketh hold of misty things;
> From golden beams
> She builds, like dreams,
> Air palaces of fairy kings."

In Part II. the poet fulfills his prophetic selection of a motto from Austin Dobson:

> "Here be spaces meet for song."

Saco River, Mossy Brook, "I the merry Merrimac," and many more haunts of the poet, furnish appropriate suggestion for song and madrigal.

Part III. is devoted to "Personal Poems," with a just motto from Mr. Dobson:

> "Here, as everywhere, one sees
> Ranks, conditions, and degrees."

Several quaint conceits have been embodied in Part IV. "In lighter vein: Vers de Société." Read, for examples, "Dans la Serre: au Bal Masqué" and "A Gay Quakeress."

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Part V. is devoted to "Memorial Poems:"

"Here be shadows large and long."

And in very deed the shadows are both large and long cast over many a devout Catholic heart by the death of the worthy men and women commemorated here. Fathers Barbelin, and Dunn, and Sourin, and Rev. Dr. Moriarty—these are names not easily forgotten by Philadelphians.

In Part VI., "Poems for Special Occasions," Mr. Esling has collected many "occasional" verses, which will serve to keep alive a memory of past events, dear, doubtless, to many hearts. As they refer to themes of less general interest, we shall content ourselves with a mention merely of one, "The Ride of the Royal Wraith," which, because it is a tribute to the "crownless king of the hearts of men"—our grand Washington—and because it is conceived and executed in a loftier strain, cannot fail to awaken the interest of the general reader.

Part VII. contains a selection of Mr. Esling's miscellaneous poems. We have found his poems on "Haydn" and "An Incident in Fairmount Park" of special interest.

Part VIII. is devoted to translations from the Latin, Italian, French, and Greek. We need not speak in commendation of his translations from the Latin, as Mr. Esling became very early known as a painstaking student, loving admirer, and felicitous translator of hymns from the Roman Missal and Breviary.

In conclusion, we venture to come down to the rather prosaic matter of typography and illustrations. But the poetic atmosphere lingers around us still, and we can only refer to the letter-press, the illustrations, and the binding as another *poem* in a figurative sense.

THE DISEASES OF THE WILL. By *Th. Ribot*, Professor of Psychology in the Collége de France. Authorized translation from the eighth French edition, by Merwin Marie Snell. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company. 1894. Pp. vi., 134. Price, 75 cents.

M. Ribot's avowed object in his study of the pathology of the human will is to throw new light on the will in its normal condition. The reader who follows his leading may pick up some facts, quaint and curious, regarding the derangements of the organism which go along with abnormal volition, but will gain no new knowledge as to the volitional *faculty* itself. The word *faculty* is, as every one knows, a term very distasteful to M. Ribot, implying as it does one of those "metaphysical entities" which are the stock-in-trade of "the old psychology" he so thoroughly despises. We, therefore, use the term in deference to his prejudices as designating simply "a state of consciousness," though common sense, language and a sound philosophy demand for it a deeper meaning. "How can an idea produce movement? That is a question which very much embarrassed the old psychology, but which becomes simple when the facts are considered in their true nature" (p. 5). Our author finds the "simplicity" in a mere "*nego suppositum.*" "The volition that subjective psychologists have so often observed, analysed and commented upon, is for us only a simple state of consciousness. It is merely an effect of that psycho-physiological activity, so often described, only a part of which enters into consciousness. . . . Furthermore, *it is not the cause of anything.* The acts and movements which follow it result directly from the tendencies, feelings, images and ideas which have become co-ordinated in the form of a choice. It is from this group that

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all efficacy comes. . . . If one insists on making the will a faculty, an entity, all becomes obscurity, perplexity, contradiction. . . . One does not have to ask oneself, like Hume and so many others, how an 'I will' can make my members more.

"This is a mystery which need not be cleared up, since it does not exist as *volition, is in no degree a cause.* It is in the natural tendency of feelings and images to express themselves that the secret of acts produced should be sought" (p. 133). The inquiring reader will naturally ask—how does M. Ribot know all this—that volition is not causative, that the movements which follow its wake are not its effects? Pathology doubtless shows that when the machinery in the organism is out of gear the will is impotent to *cause movement* but to find out whether the "I will" is causative in the normal state of the body, one, even the "new psychologist" must use the same medium of knowledge as the "old psychologist," namely, *introspection;* and this "messenger from within" testifies unerringly that the will is self-determinative and *causative* of other movement, organic and psychic. No physiology or psychology has yet given the lie to this datum of consciousness.

M. Ribot professes to carry on his research "without touching on the inextricable problem" of the will's freedom; to place his subject in such light as to be equally acceptable to the determinists and their adversaries and reconcilable with either hypothesis; to conduct his researches in such a manner that the absence of any solution of this point (freedom) will not even so much as once be noticed" (p. 2). Between this profession, however, and the actual working out of the author's thesis there is decided contradiction. The whole weight of his thought falls against the freedom of the will, and accounts for his express approval, towards the end, of Spinoza's dictum: "Our illusion of free will is only ignorance of the motives which make us act" (p. 111), and, indeed, in the other popular books. One could wish to find in a scientific work of this kind, from the same hand, more of that moderation in statement, more of that regard for the views of other minds, which characterizes the real scholar.

The translation is well wrought in clear English, a better dress than the original merits. F. P. S.

MONUMENTA GERMANIAE PAEDAGOGICA. SCHULORDUNGEN SCHULBÜCHER UND PAEDAGOGISCHE MISCELLANEEN ANS DEN LÄNDEN DEUTSCHER ZUNGE. Unter Mitwirkung Einer Anrath von Fachgelehrten herausgegeben von *Karl Kerbach.* Band XVI. Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societatis Jesu 4. Berlin: A. Hofman & Co. 1849. Pp. xviii., 621, p. 15, MK.

The series of original documents and historical monographs bearing on German educational systems, whereof the present volume forms a part, is a monument as well to the scholars who founded and perfected the systems as to those who have undertaken the work of compiling, editing, and narrating their history. Amongst the sixteen volumes thus far published are Dr. Günther's work on the "History of Mathematical Instruction in Mediæval Germany"; three large volumes on the "History of German Military Education and Discipline," by Colonel Boten. A special volume is devoted to the catechetical and pedagogical work of the Bohemian Brothers; another to that of Melancthon; another to the original documents relating to the "History of Education Amongst the Jews up to the Days of Mendelsohn."

The mention of these volumes will show the breadth of plan adopted by the originators of the series. What, however, will most interest

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Catholics of every nationality is the new edition, completed by the volume before us, of the famous "Ratio Studiorum" of the Jesuits. The collecting and editing of the material bearing on this great work was entrusted to Father Pachter, S. J. Death, however, stopped the builder's hand at the end of the third part; and the fourth, the crown of the work, was added by Fr. Duhr, S. J. It is no small praise to say that here, indeed, *finis coronat opus.*

The original design in republishing the "Jesuit Plan of Studies" had been to extend the work to six volumes, so as to include the pedagogical writings of Fathers Sacchin, Jouvancy and Kropf on the German gymnasia. As, however, recent editions of the latter writings had been published, it was thought better to limit the work to its present dimensions, giving space only to the more important and interesting portions of Kropf's "Ratio et Via."

The volume before us falls into three main parts, dealing respectively with the early Jesuit gymnasial systems, boarding-schools and ecclesiastical seminaries, and the modern "Ratio Studiorum" of 1832.

The first part contains instructions as to the boarders' means and methods of gymnasial instruction, regulations for perfecting the teacher, provisions to be made for poor but worthy pupils, etc. The second part treats of the national or economic side of the boarding establishments, including herein diocesan seminaries. The third part is directed to the various changes introduced by the new plan of studies adopted in 1832, and to the modifications since given to the latter.

This new and we might say almost perfect collection of pedagogical documents ought to go far to beat down old prejudices and to win a more favorable appreciation of the Jesuit system of education, even amongst those non-Catholics who are in other respects, because of ignorance, of course, not friendly towards the Society. No fairly-disposed man can read the old "Ratio Studiorum" without being impressed, if not astonished, by the broad culture, the far-seeing prudence, the practical wisdom of these early giants who reared this, for their day, perfect monument; an impression which will be deepened by the perusal of the modern plan. For in the latter he will see how the Jesuit educator has let no sign of progress escape his notice, but whilst retaining the elements of mind and character-building that change not with time, has wisely assimilated to his system such factors as are required by the newer learning. No one interested in pedagogy can afford to be ignorant of the contents of this volume; and for those whose vocation it is to direct educational work, its far-reaching, prudent ordinances as to professor, teacher, machinery and methods, will prove invaluable.

L'HOMME-SINGE ET LES PRÉCURSEURS D'ADAM EN FACE DE LA SCIENCE ET DE LA THÉOLOGIE. Par *Fr. Dierckx, S. J.* Pp. 124. Société Belge de Libraire, 16 Rue Treuremberg, Bruselles.

This interesting brochure is composed of articles which have appeared in that justly celebrated quarterly, *Revue des Questiones Scientifiques*, and will repay perusal on the part of those who are interested in the questions which it discusses. During the past few decades much has been written regarding the man-ape, but we cannot recall a single work which deals with the subject in a more masterly manner than the one before us. From beginning to end it is a marvel of condensation and cogent reasoning. Father Dierckx is thoroughly familiar with his topic in all its phases and never blinks a difficulty, however great it may appear. He examines the teachings of Darwin and Hæckel respecting

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the animal origin of man, and finds that, when not manifestly absurd, they are based on assumptions for which there is no scientific warrant. He questions geologists and palæontologists and shows that their testimony, far from making for the theory of man's animal origin, decidedly negatives it, so far as any positive evidence is available. He interrogates anatomists and physiologists, and learns that their findings in the question mooted are of one with those of geologists and palæontologists.

Throughout the book thoroughly absorbs the attention of the reader. Indeed, there is not a single dull paragraph in it. To our mind, however, by far the most interesting and instructive chapter is the last, which treats of *L'Homme Singe et Les Précurseurs d'Adam en Face de la Théologie*. Herein he shows that the vogue which transformism has obtained is due not to the scientific evidence which can be adduced in its favor, but rather to the fact that it is supposed to disprove the doctrine of creation and to make against the necessity of a personal creator. Transformation, as taught by Hæckel, Darwin and Huxley, is either atheistic or agnostic, and with the unthinking and anti-religious many it is popular because it is atheistic and agnostic.

Every reader will be interested in the entertaining account which the learned Jesuit gives of Pre-Adamites, as conceived by Père Valroger, the Abbé Favre d'Envieu, and Père Monsabré. This account, together with the discussion respecting Mivart's celebrated theory of the evolution of man, *quoad corpus*, exhibits in a brilliant light the liberty of thought which the Church permits her children in all questions which do not trench on faith or dogma. Indeed, one of the most commendable features of Father Dierckx's timely study is its liberal Catholic tone. While thoroughly orthodox, he respects the opinions of those with whom he does not agree, and is willing to leave to the future the decision of questions on which the Church has not yet pronounced, and which can be decided by science only when far more data are available than we possess at present. Mivart's theory—which the well-known Dominican, Père Leroy, has endorsed—may be true; but, in the present state of the controversy, there seem to be almost insuperable philosophical and theological—not to say scientific—objections against it. The author quotes, with approval, the opinion of the erudite Cardinal Gonzales concerning Mivart's theory, and we can do no better than transcribe his Eminence's words: "I shall not," he says, "qualify with any unfavorable note the opinion of the English theologian, as long as it shall be respected, or, at least, tolerated by the Church, the sole judge competent to fix and qualify theologico-dogmatic assertions, and to decide positively regarding its compatibility or incompatibility with Holy Scriptures."

It goes without saying, that we cordially recommend Father Dierckx's clever brochure. It is thoroughly up to date, and is calculated, if duly circulated, to do much good. J. A. Z.

BIBLE, SCIENCE AND FAITH. By *Rev. J. A. Zahm, C.S.C.* Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1894. Price, $1.25.

Only those who have had the good fortune to attend the lectures given at the Catholic Summer School of America, can rightly estimate the importance of this new movement among the American Catholics. For one reason or another, the desire so widely expressed of having the lectures reproduced in a permanent shape through the press has been but sparingly complied with. This book of the able Professor of Physics in Notre Dame University, which is substantially a repetition of his lectures in Plattsburgh last year, may, therefore, be regarded as a feeler

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thrown out to discover the sincerity of the demand for the printing of the Summer School lectures; if successful, it may incite other lecturers to follow his example. We welcome the book moreover, because a perusal of it will go far towards effacing the erroneous impression, to which the author vaguely alludes (how it originated, it would be hard to tell), that Father Zahm was inclined to entertain novel and radical opinions upon the important questions to which he has devoted so much time and study. If his lectures "furnished both the religious and the secular press with special material for comment and criticism"; if the "complimentary notices" and "friendly spirit" were, at the time, given and displayed "especially by the secular press," this was owing to the misleading reports which were sent abroad, whereby the country was informed that the learned lecturer's utterances were "spreading consternation among the conservative Catholics," and much more to the same effect. The only criticism which any one who followed Father Zahm's course of lectures could with any foundation make, or which was actually made, arose from the prudential consideration whether the case against the anthropological universality of the Deluge had been made out so clearly as to warrant a speaker to proclaim it categorically from a Catholic platform to an audience, a large proportion of which was not prepared to receive it. There are so many edifying topics connected with the study of the Bible that vexed questions can very safely be left out of consideration when one is addressing a promiscuous audience.

We are much pleased to notice that the valuable series of articles contributed by Father Zahm to this REVIEW on "The Age of the Human Race," have, with the accustomed generosity of the proprietor, been permitted to form part of the book. Many of our readers who perused them in these columns will welcome them in their present neat shape. Altogether, we look on this latest work of Professor Zahm as by far the most valuable contribution made by American talent and industry to the cause of Christian apologetics. Father Zahm is still in the prime of life, and with God's blessing will continue for many years to defend the cause of Revelation against the assaults of perverted science.

THE NATURE OF THE STATE. By *Dr. Paul Carus.* Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1894. Pp. vii., 54. Price, 25 cents.

"The mediæval conception (of the State) mainly represented by Thomas Aquinas's work, 'De Rebus Publicis et Principum Institutione'—founds the State upon the theological thesis that the government's authority is a divine institution." We find this statement on p. 27 of this little pamphlet. Has Mr. Carus unearthed a new work by S. Thomas Aquinas? The one he cites is not to be found in the Opera Omnia of the Angelic Doctor. Does he refer to the "Opus de Regimine Principum ad Regem Cypri," part of which is certainly genuine, or to the "Opusculum de Eruditione Principum," which is certainly spurious? Perhaps it is unimportant to which he refers, provided he reports the mind of St. Thomas correctly. This he does but partly, the obscurity suggesting the inference that St. Thomas defended the "divine right of kings," which he assuredly did not. This off-handed misquotation of a work might go unnoticed did it not typify the general character of our author's method. There is everywhere dominant that lofty, oracular deciding of great issues which, whilst it is apt to pass with the unwary for real possession of truth, is calculated to set the thoughtful reader to questioning whether there is after all anything solid back of the pro-

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nouncements. The suspicion that there is not, turns to conviction when one comes across the vague pantheism which pervades the author's theories—a pantheism which is but thinly veiled by mystical phrase, nor one whit changed in its true inwardness when labelled with the term "*entheism.*" "The State is, as the Roman sages thought, based on the *jus naturale;* it is a natural product of evolution and as such it reveals the nature of that *All-power* which religious language hails by the name of God. . . . . All facts are a revelation of God; they are parts of God. . . . . but the human soul and that moral empire of human souls called the State are more dignified parts of God than the most wonderful phenomena of unorganized nature" (p. 40). This passage alone, similar ones could easily be multiplied, suffices to make good our assertion.

In republishing these papers in their present form, Doctor Carus wishes to do his share towards spreading "broadcast a sound knowledge concerning the State, its main functions and purpose, among all classes of society, especially among those who for some reason find it advisable to struggle and strike for an improvement in their condition" (p. vii.). Fortunately the American people are beyond all things practical, and not likely to accept philosophical theories and work them out to their logical consequences. Otherwise the spreading of teaching such as is contained in this pamphlet would bring about a reign of immorality, crime, universal anarchy.

WEIZSÄCKER'S APOSTOLICAL AGE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. Theological Translation Library, Vol. I. Edited by T. K. Cheyne, M A., D.D., Oral Professor of Interpretation, Oxford, and Rev. A. B. Bruce, D.D., Professor of Apologetics, Free Church College, Glasgow. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894.

If, as Mr. Bruce says, this work is "scientific in spirit and reverent in tone," what are we to think of the authors' and editors' and translators' ideas of science and reverence? This book is dogmatism run mad. Mr. R. E. Thompson, of our Philadelphia High School, says the dogmatism of skeptics is more intolerant than that of priests. Here is a proof of the truth of that assertion. Why does the author take it for granted that St. Paul enumerated all the apparitions in I. Cor., xv., and that therefore the account of the appearances to the women are only legendary? Because, forsooth, the apostle first mentions that to Peter, was there then none before that? And this is scientific! We are reminded of the Irishman who was convicted of murder on the testimony of several who saw the act, and who answered the judge, when asked if he had anything to say why he should not be sentenced, that he could bring ten times as many people who would swear they did not see him do it. See, too, the author's statement concerning the speech of Gamaliel, that "his words contain such manifest errors on the part of the historian, that all historical foundation must be denied them." And therefore what? "From this single example we are entitled to lay down the opinion that . . . . the author of the Acts freely invented such speeches." Surely, we may now look for proof of this, clear and strong? No, not a word. But, it may be said, the proofs are well known to the learned. This would not be true. But even were it so, what becomes of the general reader, for whom the preface says this book is as well fitted as for the professional theologian? Surely, they are entitled to know the grounds of this extraordinary statement. These are not exaggerated extracts, but fair samples of this most ridiculous book, which we defy any one of ordinary common judgment to read without amazement at such hopeless egotism, and disgust at finding in university professors so little science. Such special pleading with so

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little reverence and less logic! Putnam's Sons are likely to have much difficulty in unloading this trash on the public. We had some thought of making this and kindred books the subject of an article in the January number, but the game is not worth the powder. One who will accept the unsupported statements of this volume against the testimony of the gospel, has so little of intellect that he will believe anything he sees in print.

Occasional Sermons and Lectures. By *Rev. John M. Kiely*, Rector of the Church of the Transfiguration, Brooklyn, N. Y. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1894.

It is always a genuine pleasure to us to welcome the literary labors of the American priesthood, not only from the patriotic motive that they are our own, but also because they are a faithful reflex of the virtues which distinguish our national clergy—sober, practical sense, wide and varied experience of books and human life, and sterling zeal and piety. The pretence of being engrossed by the active work of the ministry, with which too many of our able priests seek to excuse their literary inactivity, might have been pleaded with more than ordinary justice by the hard-working builder of the Church of the Transfiguration in Brooklyn; and his present example is a clear proof of the invalidity of the excuse. In fact, the best literary work has been produced by the busiest men. Witness St. Liguori in Europe and Archbishop Kenrick in our own country. A busy man's book, with its directness of argument, its disregard of purely rhetorical ornament, and its fulness of ideas, is precisely the kind of book which appeals to a busy and practical age. We heartily recommend Father Kiely's lectures to our readers and his example to the rectors of churches.

Missale Romanum, Etc. Editio octava juxta editionem typicam: cum approbatione S. Rit. Congr. Ratisbonæ, Neo Eboraci et Cincinnati: Sumptibus et typis Friderici Pustet. 1894. Price, bound in morocco, $2 25.

This little volume is a triumph of typographical art. In the compass of a neat book only six inches by four, the entire contents of the Roman Missal are presented in attractive form, with beautiful illustrations and clearly legible type. The purpose of the distinguished publisher evidently has been to put into the hands of students and educated Catholics the most perfect of all prayer-books, the official book of prayer of Holy Church. As the number of those who understand the Latin tongue, at least to the extent of following the plain language of the Church's liturgy, is growing apace, the old objection against her of speaking in an unknown tongue is daily losing force. It is, in fact, a much easier solution of the language-problem, that the faithful in an "age of universal education" should learn the elements of Latin, than that the Church should be asked to change her tongue with every change of race and nationality. As we find no difficulty in making our seminarians familiar with the use of the Missal, so we shall find it an easy task to familiarize the educated laity with it. We should be much pleased to find this little volume in general use in our churches.

John Locke und die Schule von Cambridge. Von *Dr. Georg Freiherrn v. Hertling*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder (St. Louis, Mo.). 1892. Pp. xi., 392. Price, $2.00.

This work forms an important chapter in the history of philosophy. The generally received opinion as to Locke's position in the evolution of

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philosophy places him as the father of modern sensism and materialism. It may fairly be questioned whether this judgment has not been based on the elements of his system found within the first two books of his essay. A careful study of the fourth book especially reveals a phase of speculation utterly opposed to the empiricism of the earlier books—a marked intellectualism or idealism. To account for this latter element has puzzled those critics who have recognized in it as distinct a feature of Locke's thinking as is the empirical.

The author of the work before us finds Locke's idealism in the latter's relation to the Platonizing theologies of Cambridge, especially Cudworth and More, with whom he was intimately connected by various ties. Doctor Hertling gives an analysis of Locke's essay, sketches the history of the School of Cambridge, shows Locke's relation to the latter, what gave occasion to the essay, and his position as to the doctrine of innate ideas. We reserve our judgment of the author's theory for the next number of the REVIEW.

DER NEUTESTAMENTLICHE SCHRIFTCANON UND CLEMENS VON ALEXANDRIEN. Von *Dr. P. Dausch.* Pp. 58, large 8vo. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. 1894. Price, 50 cents.

This able monograph, which comes to us with the approbation of the Archbishop of Freiburg, is the work of a young doctor qualifying for a professorship in the University of Munich. The author proposes to discuss, 1, The use which Clement of Alexandria made of Scripture, and, 2, the great Alexandrian's conception of Scripture as one volume and as of divine authority. While reading it, we fell to longing that some graduate of our own university would set about the production of a good popular English Introduction to Scripture which we might put into the hands of educated Catholics. It fills us with envy when we run across a solid German work like the present, and reflect that it can be purchased, bound in half cloth, for fifty cents.

OCCASIONAL ESSAYS. By the *Rt. Rev. Francis Silas Chatard, D.D.*, Bishop of Vincennes. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1894.

In the present volume the scholarly Bishop Chatard has gathered together the articles which, during the space of a quarter of a century of a distinguished career, beginning as Rector of the American College in Rome and continuing now in one of the most important of American sees, he found time to contribute to this REVIEW and to other prominent periodicals. These articles were well received on their first appearance, and a re-reading of them confirms the favorable opinion then expressed. It is gratifying to be thus made sensible of the vast amount of really excellent literary work that is appearing in our Catholic magazines.

CAERIMONIAE MISSARUM SOLEMNIUM ET PONTIFICALIUM ALIAEQUE FUNCTIONES ECCLESIASTICAE ILLUSTRATAE: Opera *Georgii Schober, C.SS.R.* Ratisbonæ, Neo Eboraci et Cincinnati: Pustet. 1894. Price, bound in cloth, $1.10.

This volume bears the approbation and warm commendation of the Bishops of Ratisbon and Laybach, and is well deserving of the double honor. We know of no other ceremonial which can compare with it in conciseness and thoroughness. All the ceremonies of solemn ecclesiastical functions, from the *missa cantata* to the solemn pontifical mass and vespers are lucidly explained in the light of the rubrics and the *Cærimoniale Episcoporum.* A copious index greatly facilitates the use of the book.

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