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GIRALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.,
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Conversion of Great Britain to the Catholic Faith. By Abbé P. de Foville, P.S.S. - - - - -	481
Catholics and Freemasonry. By Rev. C. M. O'Brien - - - - -	309
Church, The, in 'the Dark Ages.' By Rev. Philip Burton, c.m. - - - - -	507
Conduct and Confession. By Rev. W. A. Sutton, s.j. - - - - -	123
 Correspondence:—	
Homes for Aged and Infirm Priests - - - - - 361, 467, 469, 545	545
Darwinism. By Rev. E. Gaynor, c.m. - - - - -	147
Derry-Calgach. By Most Rev. Dr. O'Doherty - - - - -	486
 Documents:—	
Baptism, The Abuse of Delaying - - - - -	82
Baptismal Font, Blessing of, by Chapter - - - - -	367
Bishop's Throne - - - - -	186, 278
Canonization of the Blessed John Baptist de la Salle, Founder of the Christian Brothers - - - - -	561
Confraternity of the Rosary, Erection of - - - - -	186
Convent Schools in France - - - - -	368
Degrees, Time Required for, in Ecclesiastical Faculties - - - - -	470
Delegation, May a Papal Delegate Sub-delegate without Restriction	179
Encyclical of His Holiness Leo XIII. on the Consecration of Man- kind to the Sacred Heart - - - - -	70
Faculties Granted to the Master-General of the Dominicans - - - - -	372
Faculties Given to Maynooth College to Confer Degrees in Theology, Philosophy, and Canon Law - - - - -	564
Fast to be Observed before Ordination and Consecration of Churches - - - - -	78
Funeral of Canons - - - - -	280
Heretics in Catholic Hospitals - - - - -	76
Index of Indulgences Granted to the Members of the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary - - - - -	546
Indulgences Granted by a Bishop - - - - -	84
Leo XIII. and French Catholics - - - - -	181
Leo XIII. and the Review 'Ephemerides Liturgicæ' - - - - -	182
Marriages of Freemasons - - - - -	81
Masses in Convent Chapels - - - - -	473
Matrimonial Consent, Renewal of - - - - -	182
Matrimonial Impediments - - - - -	79
Occurrence of Feasts - - - - -	279
Office, Doubts Regarding Divine - - - - -	375

DOCUMENTS— <i>continued.</i>	PAGE
Oratory, What is a Semi-Public? - - - - -	472
Ordination, Doubt Regarding Validity of - - - - -	180
Privilege, The Pauline - - - - -	183
Regulars who become Secularized - - - - -	83
Religious Life outside the Cloister - - - - -	371
Requiem Mass for the Poor - - - - -	185
Requiem Mass with Chant - - - - -	279
Statutes of the Sodality of Reparation, 363; Rules of same 'Tametsi' Decree, Proclamation of, in Costa Rica - - - - -	374 178
Translation of Candlemas - - - - -	375
Vespers of the Chapter - - - - -	280
Water Used at Baptism - - - - -	373
Dr. Horton and the Pope. By Rev. John Freeland - - - - -	327
Dr. Russell, of Maynooth. By Rev. Matthew Russell - - - - -	26
Episcopal City of Ferns, The. By W. H. Grattan Flood - - - - -	167
Evil, The Existence of. By Right Rev. Mgr. John S. Vaughan - - - - -	401
Father Marquette, s.j., Discoverer of the Mississippi. By E. Leahy - - - - -	496
Father O'Growney. By Rev. Michael P. Hickey, D.D., M.R.I.A. - - - - -	426
Freemasonry and the Church in Latin America. By Rev. Philip Burton, C.M. - - - - -	35
Idealism and Realism in Art. By Rev. M. Cronin, M.A., D.D. - - - - -	300, 412
Index, The New Legislation on the. By Rev. T. Hurley, D.D. - - - - -	49, 242
Manna, The. By Rev. Jerome Pollard-Urquhart, O.S.B. - - - - -	205
Masonic Persecution in Mexico, The. By Rev. Philip Burton, C.M. - - - - -	267
 Notes and Queries:—	
LITURGY (By Rev. Daniel O'Loan, D.D.):—	
Carrying the Blessed Sacrament in other Cases than to the Sick - - - - -	459
Certain Duties of the Subdeacon at Solemn Mass - - - - -	465
Purificators, Use of, when Bishops distribute Holy Communion - - - - -	465
THEOLOGY (By Rev. Daniel Mannix, D.D.):—	
Absolution from a Reserved Sin - - - - -	457
Baptism, Use of Short Form of - - - - -	359
Danger to Catholics in Protestant Institutions - - - - -	543
Dispensation in a Vow of Chastity - - - - -	456
Dispensation in the Vow of Religion - - - - -	459
Dispensation to Read Forbidden Books - - - - -	542
Protestants as Sponsors at the Baptism of Catholics - - - - -	542
Viaticum: Can a Priest who is not Fasting Celebrate in order to procure the Viaticum? - - - - -	359
 Notices of Books:—	
A Dead Man's Diary, 286; A Full Course of Instruction in Explana- tion of the Catechism, 191; Abridgment of the History of the Church for the Use of Schools, 569; Adrian IV. and Ireland, 568; Business Guide for Priests, 89; Cantiones Sacrae, 576; Carmel in England, 476; Commentarii de Deo Trino, de Verbo Incarnato, de Deo Consummatore, 383; Daily Thoughts for Priests, 571;	

NOTICES OF BOOKS—*continued.*

PAGE

De Paucitate Salvandorum, 479 ; De Justitia et Jure et de Quarto Decalogi Praecepto, 477 ; Demonstration Philosophique, 89 ; Directoire de l'Enseignement Religieux, 286 ; Entretiens et Avis Spirituels, 94 ; Exposition of Christian Doctrine, 191 ; History of Enniscorthy, 287 ; Idyls of Killowen, 377 ; Institutiones Theologiae Moralis, 95, 283 ; L'Apôtre, St. Paul, 188 ; L'Homme Dieu, l'Œuvre de Jesus Christ, 89 ; Mariolatry, 95 ; Morale Stoicenne en face de la Morale Chretienne, 94 ; Missa de SS. Virginibus, 383 ; Missa XVI. in Honorem S. Antonii de Padua, 382 ; Mrs. Markham's Nieces, 285 ; Natural Law and Legal Practice, 190 ; Occasional Sermons on Various Subjects, 475 ; Probabilismo, Dissertatio de, 86 ; Reformation, The Eve of the, 570 ; Religion of Shakespeare, 378 ; Sacraments Explained, The, 88 ; Sagesse Pratique, 287 ; Seraph of Assisi, 96 ; Si Vous Connaissiez le Don de Dieu, 92 ; Science of the Bible, 192 ; Seigneur, Y en aura-t-il peu de sauvés, 479 ; The Child of God, 285 ; The King's Mother, 285 ; The Catholic Visitor's Guide to Rome, 381 ; The Sacred Ceremonies of Low Mass, 382 ; Twenty-two Offertories, 480.	
Possession in Moral Theology and Anglo-American Law. By Rev. T. Slater, S.J.	193
Preacher, The, in the Making. By Rev. Richard A. O'Gorman. O.S.A.	130
Religious Education of the Young. By Most Rev. Dr. O'Doherty	114
Sacramental Causality. By Rev. John M. Harty	385
Sacred Heart, The, in the New Testament. By Rev. Gerald Stack	1
St. Patrick, The Birthplace of. By Very Rev. Sylvester Malone, P.P., V.G.	97
St. Patrick, The Birthplace of. By Very Rev. Edward O'Brien, D.D.	11, 237
St. Patrick, The Birthplace of. By Rev. Gerald Stack	341, 444, 521
Socialism, and the Title of Production. By Rev. Thomas Wilson	226





THE SACRED HEART IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

A STUDY IN SCRIPTURE TRANSLATION

IT is unnecessary to insist upon the importance of the devotion to the Sacred Heart, or upon the advantages to be derived from it. These are topics familiar to the readers of the I. E. RECORD, topics upon which they have to address their congregations not infrequently. But, I believe, it is not too much to say, that the Sacred Heart of Jesus occupies, perhaps, the most important place among recent devotional and doctrinal developments in the Church of God.

The question naturally presents itself, How far is this modern devotion foreshadowed in the writings of an earlier period, or founded in the Christian sentiment of past ages? And, above all, we are naturally moved to ask, How far is this devotion supported by the language of Scripture? The first of these questions is too wide to admit of discussion at present; but a few observations may at least be made as to the mode of conducting such an inquiry.

The reader will remember that Father Dalgairns, in his work on *Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus*,¹ quotes as follows from the well-known letter from the Churches of Lyons and Vienne, which is preserved to us in Eusebius,² and which is said to date from about the year 178:—‘He

(the martyr, Sanctus, deacon of the Church of Lyons) was bedewed and strengthened by the spring of living water which flows from the *Heart* of Christ.'

The Greek word used in this passage is *νηδύς* *nedýs*; but in translating it 'heart' Father Dalgairns follows, not only Neander, the Protestant historian, but also Professor Torrey, his Protestant translator. And here two considerations naturally present themselves. First, it is obvious that 'heart' is not the 'literal' translation; *i.e.*, it is neither the primary, nor the predominant meaning of the word *nedýs*: the meanings assigned to the latter, indeed, are those of 'stomach, belly, paunch, bowels, womb.'¹ But, secondly, it seems equally obvious that 'heart' is the only proper—it might also be said, the only possible—translation. The reason is plain; and is found in the very nature of a translation, properly so called, as opposed to the schoolboy's 'crib.' The 'crib' gives the 'literal' meaning of each individual word in a phrase, but does not, and cannot, convey the real sense of a passage; while a translation, if worthy of the name, endeavours to produce in the minds of those who may read or hear the rendering the very ideas, feelings, and associations which are expressed in the language of the original. Let us take a simple example, such as the Latin phrase *os durum*. The 'crib' may be justified in turning this into 'hard mouth'; but this somewhat 'horsey' expression is in no sense a translation. To translate the Latin words, we must employ some such English phrase, as 'brazen-face.' Similarly, *radices montium* does not, at least normally, mean the 'roots of the mountains'; and he who should venture to render Horace's *favete linguis* as 'favour with your tongues,' would certainly not succeed in conveying the meaning of the poet. In short, as already observed, a translation should reproduce, as closely as possible, the ideas and sentiments of the original; this is its first and most important function. If it can, at the same time, imitate the phraseology of the original by giving the equivalent for the particular words employed, so much the

¹ Cf. Liddell and Scott, s.v.

better; but it must never sacrifice sense or sentiment to mere words.

According to the principles here laid down, the translation already quoted from Father Dalgairns is worthy of all commendation; and the word 'heart' is rightly employed by him to render the Greek *nedýs*. But if this be so, it will immediately occur to one, that there must be a number of similar passages in the literature of the early Church, passages in which the devotion to the Heart of Jesus is foreshadowed; if only the proper translation be adopted, and if the true sense of the originals be not obscured by a false literalism. However, it has been already intimated, that my present purpose is not with early Christian literature in general: my object is a more limited, but a more important one; namely, to apply the principles just enunciated to the text of the New Testament. If the principles themselves are sound, surely we can, or rather we should, apply them to the words of Holy Writ. We may now proceed to answer the question: What support does Sacred Scripture give to devotion to the Heart of Jesus? The Heart of Jesus is apparently alluded to in only a single passage, and the allusion is found in the well-known words of our Saviour Himself: 'Learn of Me, because I am meek, and humble of heart.'¹

It may be noted, in passing, that our Catholic Version intimates that the meekness and humility of Christ are set before us, not directly as *the lesson* to be learned from Him, but rather as *the reason*, or *encouragement* for becoming His disciples. This is the view of our Saviour's words rightly adopted by Maldonatus, as well as by most modern commentators. But, for our present purpose, it is more worthy of remark that a *direct* reference in the above text to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, in our modern sense of the phrase, is by no means certain. The heart is regarded by us 'as the seat of the affections'² (to use a common phrase); and in

¹ Matt. xi. 29.

² How far the words 'the seat of the affections' are applicable to the human heart in general, and to the Heart of Christ in particular, is a matter that cannot be here discussed. I may refer the reader to the little work of Père Riche, the Sulpician, *De Sacré Cœur et le Précieux Sang de Jésus*; (see specially, ch. i.).

this capacity the Heart of Jesus is proposed to us by the Church as the symbol, or rather as the *embodiment*, of Christ's love and tenderness, and consequently as a fitting object of our worship and devotion. I may here reproduce the words of Father Dalgairns:—

The Church uses human language, and assumes for her own purposes that common mode of speech, infinitely varied, and to be found in every nation under the sun, by which we employ the word 'heart' when we talk of love. . . . Whether from this common witness of all languages we are right or wrong in inferring that the heart is the exclusive organ of human affection, at all events it is quite sufficient for our purpose that it should be, what it certainly is, the chief emotional centre of our being. . . . In one word, then, the object of our adoration is the very Heart of Jesus; and the reason why we select it for adoration is, because it thrilled and palpitated with the emotions of His love; and, like that of every other human being, is taken as the symbol of joys, griefs, and affections, which in some way or other it really felt.¹

In Matt. xi. 29, however, the word 'heart' seems to refer to the mind rather than to what we commonly understand by the heart, and this for two reasons. In the first place, because in the language spoken by our Saviour (*i.e.* in Aramaic), such a reference would be the more natural one. The Aramaic word ܠܒܐ, *libba* (in Syriac, *lebo*), corresponds to the Hebrew לב, *leb*, or לבב, *lebab*, which in itself denotes the seat of the intellect rather than that of the emotions; and this consideration acquires especial force, when we remember that we have, in St. Matthew's Gospel, a document originally written in Aramaic. In the second place, the qualities which our Saviour here attributes to His 'Heart' are such as we most naturally associate with the mind. Our ordinary mode of expression—when uninfluenced by the phraseology of Scripture—is sufficient proof of this assertion. Thus, we commonly speak of people as having a 'proud mind,' or an 'humble mind,' as being 'haughty-minded,' or 'humble-minded.' Such a phrase as 'meek-minded' is not, indeed, in common use; but expressions indicative of an opposite character, such as 'fierce-minded,' or 'bloody-minded,' are quite natural. Anyone

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 150-151.

with a proper sense of English idiom will at once perceive a certain strangeness of expression, if 'heart' be substituted for 'mind' in these phrases.

At the same time, it would be going too far to assert that Matt. xi. 29, contains no reference to the Heart of Jesus. A great deal of latitude is allowed as to the precise sense in which both the Hebrew לב, *leb*, or לבב, *lebab*, and its Greek equivalent, καρδία, *kardia*, may be used; and it is hardly possible to draw any hard-and-fast line. In English, too, we observe something similar in the use of the words *heart* and *mind*: the meaning of one term sometimes approaches indefinitely near to the ordinary sense of the other; while occasionally the two words seem practically interchangeable. Thus, in the phrase 'to learn, know, or recite *by heart*,' the reference is to the mind rather than to the emotions; in the phrase, 'to lay a thing to heart,' the reference may be described as being of a mixed character; while, in the closely allied phrase, 'to take a thing (very much) to heart,' the feelings rather than the intellect are obviously referred to. Again, we cannot overlook the fact, that in the text in question a reference to the Heart of our Saviour, if not directly expressed, is, at least, clearly involved. This appears from the character of the passage as a whole, taken in its full depth of meaning. Still, the word here used is not, perhaps, the word that we should have expected, and is certainly not the most expressive word that might have been employed, if the sense were precisely that which is conveyed by our word 'heart.'

What, then, is the term that we should expect to find in biblical language as the equivalent of 'heart'? The answer to this question must be drawn from a study of the peculiar idiom of the Bible. In the Old Testament 'the seat of the affections' is referred to by a number of different terms. Sometimes the word 'reins,' or 'loins' is found in this sense, being used to render the Hebrew כִּלְיֹתַי, *kělâyôth*, or מֹתְנַיִם, *mothnayim*. Thus, the word *kělâyôth* is rendered: 'Thou art near in their mouth, and far from their *reins*'¹: cf. Is.

xxix. 13, and Matt. xv. 8. Similarly, 'And my *reins* shall rejoice when thy lips shall speak what is right.'¹ As to the word *mothnayim*, it is rendered thus: 'And thou, son of man, mourn with the breaking of thy *loins* (Hebr. *běshibrôn mothnayim*; Vulg. in *contritione* lumborum), and with bitterness sigh before them.'² Another word employed in a similar sense is *בִּטֵן*, *beten*; e.g., 'Verba susurronis quasi simplicia, et ipsa perveniunt ad intima *ventris*,'³ where Luther's German version actually gives *herz*, 'heart.'⁴ Compare Prov. xxii. 18, where the Septuagint has *kardia*. Another noteworthy example is Hab. iii. 16. Here we may appropriately refer to the Hebrew word *קֶרֶב*, *qereb*, which is variously rendered by the Vulgate, but is sometimes translated *cor*; e.g., '*Cor* eorum vanum est.'⁵ Similarly, in Prov. xxvi. 24.

Two Hebrew words, which claim special attention, still remain, namely *מֵעֵי*, *mêghîm* and *רַחֲמִים*, *rachâmîm*, both of which are frequently found in such a context that the translation 'bowels' is utterly inappropriate. Even the Vulgate and our own version sometimes render *mêghîm* 'heart'; thus: 'Deus meus volui, et legem tuam in medio *cordis* mei.'⁶ But the same rendering might have been adopted in Jer. xxxi. 20, as also in the similar phrase, Lam. ii. 11, in both of which passages the Vulgate has *viscera*.

As to the Hebrew word *rachâmîm*, it also is translated *viscera* in passages where everyone must feel that the only appropriate rendering is 'heart.' Thus: 'Festina vitque quia commota fuerant *viscera* ejus super fratre suo.'⁷ Compare 3 Kings iii. 26; and Ps. lxxvi. 10, where the Vulgate has:

¹ Prov. xxiii. 16.

² Ezech. xxi. 6.

³ Prov. xxvi. 22.

⁴ In connection with these passages I cannot help calling attention to John vii. 38, which should surely have been rendered: 'Out of his *heart* shall flow rivers of living water.' Our present version is so repellent—if not absolutely repulsive—that it is practically impossible to make use of this beautiful text in its existing form. I am far from having sympathy with those who habitually decry our Catholic English Bible; but this, surely, is a deplorable instance of false literalism.

⁵ Ps. v. 10.

⁶ Ps. xxxix. 9.

⁷ Gen. xliii. 30.

‘Aut continebit in ira sua *miseri cordias suas*,’ but which might be at the same time more literally and more forcibly rendered: ‘Or will He, in His anger, close up His *heart*?’

In Prov. xii. 10: ‘Novit justus jumentorum suorum animas; *viscera* autem impiorum crudelia,’ the Protestant version has achieved an undoubted bull, which, however, usually passes for an epigram. We read: ‘The *tender mercies* of the wicked are cruel.’ In the original there is nothing about ‘tenderness;’ and the sense simply is: ‘The *heart* of the wicked is cruel.’

From the above examples it must be sufficiently evident that we need not expect to find in the Vulgate anything like uniformity of rendering with regard to the words of the Hebrew text. At the same time it is equally clear that the word *viscera* must sometimes be taken in the sense of ‘heart,’ especially when we observe that it represents the Hebrew *rachāmîm*.

If we now turn to the New Testament, we find that the word *viscera* occurs eleven times. In Acts i. 18, it is used in narrating the fate of the traitor Judas. Here, of course, it occurs in its proper physical sense, and calls for no special remark. But in the other ten passages, namely, Luke i. 78; 2 Cor. vi. 12, vii. 15; Phil. i. 8, ii. 1.; Col. iii. 12; Philem. vv. 7, 12, 20; 1 John iii. 17, it is certainly not used in a ‘literal’ or physical sense; it refers rather to the feelings and emotions.

In the Old Testament the Vulgate employs *viscera* to represent six different Hebrew words. In reference to three of these, however, the Vulgate usage is either exceptional or incorrect; so we may pass them over. See Job xvi. 14, xxi. 24, xxxviii. 36. With regard to the remaining three Hebrew words, the usage is as follows:—

(1) In seven passages *viscera* represents the Hebrew *qereb*: 3 Kings xvii. 21; Ps. l. 12; Is. xvi. 11, xix. 3; Jer. xxxi. 33; Ezech. xi. 19; Hab. ii. 19.

(2) In five passages *viscera* represents the Hebrew *mêghîm*; 2 Paral. xxi. 19; Is. ix. 15; Jer. xxxi. 20; Lam. ii. 11; Ezech. iii. 3.

(3) In three passages *viscera* represents the Hebrew

rachämim; Gen. xliii. 30; 3 Kings iii. 26; Prov. xii. 10. These three passages have been already considered.

So far, then, the Vulgate *viscera* might leave us to choose between three different Hebrew words. When, however, we turn to the Greek text of the 'New Testament, our choice is practically determined to the word *rachämim*. In every case in which the Vulgate New Testament has *viscera*, the original has *σπλάγχνα*, *splánchna*; and the usage of the Septuagint favours the view that *splánchna* represents *rachämim*, as in Prov. xii. 10.¹ The natural conclusion, therefore, is that *viscera* in the New Testament may be taken as the equivalent of the Hebrew *rachämim*.

This conclusion is rendered absolutely certain by an examination of the Syriac text. In all the cases under consideration, with the exception of Philem. vs. 12,² the Syriac New Testament presents us with the word *rachme*, the exact equivalent of the Hebrew *rachämim*. We are, therefore, justified in asserting that *viscera* in the New Testament represents the Hebrew *rachämim*. Now, we have already seen that in all cases where *viscera* in the Old Testament is the equivalent of *rachämim*, these words are to be rendered by the English word 'heart.' We are, therefore, forced to conclude that *viscera* and *splánchna* in the New Testament correspond most nearly to 'heart' in English. In some cases, perhaps, the idiom of our language may require that we should employ some more paraphrastic expression; but, speaking generally, 'heart' is the only word which will convey the ideas, sentiments, and associations of the Greek and Latin terms. Such, indeed, is the

¹ The only other text in point is Prov. xxvi. 22, where *splánchna* represents the Hebrew *beten*. In Jer. li. 13 (its only other occurrence), it may represent a possible *mêghim*, as read by the Septuagint; but our present Hebrew text has a different reading. In later Hellenistic works we notice indications of an increased tendency to employ *splánchna* in the sense of *rachämim*.

² In this passage the Syriac adopts the somewhat peculiar rendering *yaldo*, 'son,' or 'offspring.' In reference to the Syriac version of the other passages, it is right to mention that, while the same two words *rachme*, and *râchofo*, are employed to translate the Greek *σπλάγχνα*, *splánchna* and *οἰκτιρμός*, *oiktirmós*, in Col. iii. 12, and Phil. ii. 1, in the latter text the words are reversed. Still, the occurrence of *rachme*, even in this passage, is none the less significant. On the other hand, it should be noted that when the Syriac wants to represent the Greek *splánchna*, taken in a material sense, as in Acts i. 18, it employs a different word, *gawoyeh*, 'his bowels, or entra

rendering actually adopted by the Revised Version in the four passages, Col. iii. 12, Philem. vv. 7, 12, 20; but it is equally appropriate in other cases. It is the meaning adopted by Protestant commentators, such as Ellicott and Lightfoot, in Philip i. 8; and in this last text especially we should have no hesitation in rendering: 'For God is my witness, how I long after you all in the *heart* of (Jesus) Christ.' Almost equally striking is the passage, Luke i. 78. Here, according to Semitic idiom, the principal substantive has an adjective addition, expressed by the genitive relation. Compare the well-known text, Acts ix. 15, where St. Paul is called a *vas electionis*, i.e., 'a vessel (instrument) of choice,' or 'a chosen instrument.' We should, therefore, translate: 'Through the *merciful heart* of our God, in which (*i.e.*, through which, or according to which) the Orient from on high hath visited us.' Here, indeed, the direct reference is to the Heart of God, but of God who becomes incarnate for the redemption of men. The passage is of especial interest, as it serves as a link between those texts of the New Testament in which the Heart of Christ is expressly mentioned (Matt. xi. 29, Phil. i. 8) and those of the Old Testament which refer to the Heart of God.

From the foregoing observations it appears that we must recognise in the New Testament the germs of devotion to the Sacred Heart, clearly and forcefully presented in the ordinary idiom of Holy Writ. This, of course, is what we might have expected. What can be more natural, for instance, than that St. Paul, the ardent lover of his Divine Master, should speak to us of the Sacred Heart of Jesus? His writings breathe the spirit of tender devotion to the Sacred Humanity; he was the Apostle of the Precious Blood; can we wonder that he should also be the Apostle of the Sacred Heart?

The above has been written with the object of drawing attention to a fact which, however tacitly admitted, is seldom if ever expressly noticed. Without at all intending to advocate too free a treatment of our received English text, I may venture to suggest that the translations of Luke i. 78, and of Phil. i. 8 here given, might be sometimes

adopted in the pulpit, or, at least, that the real sense of the passages should be explained to the people. It is true that the word 'bowels,' on account of its frequent employment in similar contexts, may convey a proper meaning to the priest; but I greatly doubt whether it can do so to the congregation at large. Indeed, its repellent associations seem to render this very unlikely, and I suspect that our present rendering 'can only pass without censure when it passes without observation.' Whether we consider its original derivation, or its present signification, it has a very poor claim to be regarded as the equivalent of 'heart.' It properly refers to 'the small intestines,' so that it has not even the merit of being a true 'literal' translation of the Latin *viscera* or of the Greek *spláchna*, for both of these terms are wider in meaning, including what are sometimes called 'the nobler viscera,' *i.e.*, the heart, &c.

There may be some who would incline to defend the present use of the word 'bowels' by appealing to 'old English' usage; but I believe that—apart from more or less direct Scripture quotation—such usage cannot be generally established. The expression in question was never more than a foreign intruder in the language, whose introduction was due to a forced and false literalism. According to Murray's *New English Dictionary*, the earliest occurrence of 'bowels' in the sense of 'heart' is in the translation of the Bible usually ascribed to Wyclif, and dating from the year 1382. This is a significant fact; but it is equally significant that, according to the same authority, the next occurrence is not until about sixty years later, *i.e.*, in the *Gesta Romanorum*, c. 1440. Nay, for a century afterwards the expression must have been felt to be harsh and strange, for Tyndale, Coverdale, and other translators avoided it, using the phrase 'heart root' in its stead, when referring to the person of our Saviour.¹

But, whatever be the opinion entertained on the question of the propriety of the words employed, it is, at all events advisable that we should bring home, both to our own minds

¹ Phil. i. 8.

and the minds of others, the full significance of texts like those referred to. It is, surely, both consoling and instructive to reflect that we are at one with the Apostles and their contemporaries, not only in our faith in Christ, but also in the feelings with which we regard His Sacred Humanity, and even in the very modes of expression which indicate the strength and vividness of our belief in our Incarnate God.

GERALD STACK.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF ST. PATRICK

III.

THE translations of the 'Confessio' that are ordinarily current and accepted, represent Patrick as saying, 'I had for my father Calpornius (a deacon), a son of Potitus (a presbyter), who dwelt in the village of Bannavem Taberniae, for he had a small farm hard by the place where I was taken captive.' In the text there is nothing to justify the addition 'who dwelt,' Benavem is written in some copies Banavem or Banaven or Bonaven. Probus who clearly copies from the 'Confessio,' writes at Bannave. Now, it is a strange and most important fact, that in none of the lives, except in that attributed to Probus, and in the life by Joceyln, at the end of the twelfth century, is Bannave mentioned; but all with the exception of Fiacc mention Tabernae, though with significant variations of spelling. *Vita Secunda*:—

He was born in Campo Taburne, so called because the Roman armies once placed their tabernacula there during the winter cold, and from thence it was called Campus Tabern; that is, Campus Tabernaculorum.

That explanation shows that the author was perplexed by the word Taburne. *Vita Tertia* says:—'Patrick was born in illo oppido Nemther. He was born in Campo Taburniae;' and then goes on to give the same explanation as in the *Secunda*. Hence it is called Campus Tabuerni.

Vita Quarta repeats the same, omitting about the winter, and adding that in the *lingua Britannica* Campus Tabern is the same as Campus Tabernaculorem. Joceyln says: 'There was a man, Calphurnius by name, son of Potitus Presbyter in the canton (*pago*), Taburnia dwelling near the town Empthor, bordering on the Mari Hibernico. On the other hand, all mention Nemthur, or Empthor, as the place of his birth. Fiacc: 'Patrick was born in Nemthur.' *Vita Secunda*: 'Patrick was born in that town, Nemthur by name.' *Vita Tertia*: 'Patrick was born in that town, Nemthor by name. He was reared in Nempthor.' *Vita Quarta*: 'Patrick was born in that town, Nemthor by name, which put into Latin would be heavenly tower, and was reared in the town Nemthor by name.' *Vita Quinta* (Probus), who mentions Bannave, does not mention Empthor, but says Bannave belongs to the province Nevtriae; he has found that out. *Vita Sexta*: 'There was a man Calphurnius . . . dwelling beside Empthor.' *Vita Septima*: 'Patrick was reared in Nemthor.' *Leabhar Breac*: 'At Nemthur was he born, Patrick was reared at Nemthor.' *Book of Lismore*: 'In Nemthor was he born.' *Breviary of Paris*: 'Patrick was born in Britannia, the town Empthor.' *Breviary of Armagh*: 'In the town of Britannia, called Emptor.' I assume that Nemthur, Nemthor, Empthor, are all the same place, and the form that comes nearest to the correct spelling in Empthor. That the initial *n* cannot be defended, is sufficiently shown in the following quotation from the I. E. RECORD March, 1868:—

Many have imagined that the name of St. Patrick's birthplace was Nemthur, from the Irish phrase in Nemthur. However, Eugene O'Curry well remarked, that the initial *n* in this case is euphonious, and belongs to the preceding preposition, precisely as we find in the old MSS., in neren for in Erin; in nalban for in Albania; in memain for in Emania. The name of our apostle's birthplace is more accurately given as follows in a very ancient Irish MSS. In a village the name of which is Hurnia in Britain, near the city Empter.

I assume, also, that the spelling Empter or Emptor is as likely to be the original spelling as Emther.

Unless we are to set aside the Irish writers completely

we must hold, that Emphthor was the name of the place where Patrick was born. But if so, why does Patrick not mention it in the 'Confessio'? It is extremely probable that he did, and that the passage, 'Villam enim prope habuit ubi ego in capturam decidi,' is not what Patrick wrote: first, there is various reading Enon for enim, which shows the passage was obscure; second, enim has no meaning, and must be rejected; next, if Enon be retained it must be the name of the farm which his father had near Bannave Tabernia. Now, why should Patrick tell the name of the farm? What interest could anyone take in the name of the farm? It is almost certain that what Patrick wrote was: 'Villam in Emporio habuit,' which became, first, 'Villam inem porio,' and then, 'Villam enim or Enon prope habuit.'

Many Irish writers connect Emphthor with the Clyde. The Scholiast on Fiacc: 'Nemthur is a city in North Britain, that is Ail-cluade.' *The Liber Hymnorum*: 'Patrick's father was Calpuirnn; Conches was his mother.' They all went from the Britons of Alcluaid. The *Tripartite*: 'Patrick was reared in Nemthur.' The King of Britain's steward commanded Patrick and his nurse to clean the hearth in Al-cluaid.' *Leabhar Breac*: 'Patrick was of the Britons of Aid-cluaide.' *Vita Quarta*: 'His parents proceeded to the Strath Clyde.' *Book of Lismore*: 'Patrick's father was of the Britons of Alcluaid; in Nemthur was he born.' Manuscript quoted above: 'Patrick now was of the Britons; Al-cluaide was his native place.' Jocelyn (close of twelfth century): 'Emphthor situated in the Valley of the Clyde.' Fiacc does not mention Alcluaide, neither does the *Vita Secunda* or the *Vita Tertio*. Now those statements about the Clyde are either pure inventions or have some foundation in fact. They are on a different footing from the statements that he was a Briton, or was born in Briton. That statement is not a testimony; it is a deduction, an inference, and may be nothing more. If those writers knew that there was another Clyde not in Britain, and used the word Britain to distinguish the one Clyde from the other, then their statement that Clyde was in Britain, would be a testimony, whether true or false; but

it being clear that those writers never had the notion of making such a distinction, the statement that Patrick was born in Britain can be only a statement of their opinion, a display of their geographical knowledge. If you state that a man was born in England, that is a statement of a fact. If you state that he was born in London, and go on, in addition, to say that he was born in England, that is only a display of your geographical learning.

According to the usual interpretations of St. Patrick's statements he has given for his father's residence the names of places which nowhere can be found, or, at least, names which no one ever heard of. Is this credible? Every other writer that gives the names of places, gives names of known places. St. Patrick's father was a *decurio*; that is to say, a member of the senate of one of those cities which were thought of sufficient importance to have a senate modelled on the plan of the senate of Rome. The city must have been one of importance, seeing that Patrick adduces the fact of his father having been a *decurio*, as sufficient to prove that he was of a noble family. Why does he not give the name of that city, if it was only to fortify that he was telling the truth? Why does he tell at all the name of the unknown village to which his father belonged? What importance could that be to his readers; what interest could he imagine them to take in it? What then did Patrick say? He said: 'My father was a *decurio*, of *Vicus*.'

There are many cities called *Vicus*. Some in France, some in Germany, several in Spain: *Vicus Aquarius*, *Vicus Cuminarius*, &c.; and, of course, it is necessary to make some addition that will distinguish what *Vicus* is meant. So Patrick says *Vicus Bann-aven*. You will find it in the map of Spain, 41.55 N.L., 2.13 E.L. It is in the ancient atlases called *Ausa*, and is on the *Alba Fluvia*. *Alba* and *Fluvia* are Latin forms; that would not be the name by which the river would be known to the Iberian dwellers around, but it would be known by the name of which *Alba* and *Fluvia* are the translation *Bann Aven*.

Vich, an ancient town built on the ruins of *Ausa*, where the inhabitants resisted the Romans 185 years before the Vulgar era,

The streets are broad, and most of them are very steep. The principal square is surrounded with arcades. The copper and coal mines in the neighbouring towns, the linen and cotton manufactures within the walls, maintain the commerce of the inhabitants.¹

Vic (Vicus) a city of Spain, in Catalonia, with a bishop's see suffragant to Tarragona. The former name was Ausonia; when ruined by the Romans it got the name of Vicus. We see the signature of a bishop of Ausona of which Vicus was the episcopal see, in a council of Tarragona in 516, and in other councils down to 906.²

Vich (Vicus), a very ancient town of Spain, in Catalonia, 40 miles north of Barcelona. It is the capital and centre of its temperate and fertile plain. It is a most ancient bishopric. The cathedral was re-built in 1038.³

Ausa, the chief city of the Ausetani. In the middle age Ausonia and Vicus Ausoniensis Vic-d Osane, whence its modern name of Vique or Vich. It lies on a small tributary of the Ter, the ancient Alba. Ausetani, one of the small peoples in the extreme north-east of Hispania Tarraconenses, at the foot of the Pyrenees, in Catalonia. Pliny places them west of the Laetani (Laetani), and east of the Lacetani. Their position is fixed by their chief cities, Ausa, and Gerunda (Gerona), along the valley of the river Ter, the ancient Alba. Ausa and Gerunda had the jus Latinum.⁴

Thus, Vicus was a city that had a Senate, the members of which were decurions. With Vicus on the Bannaven all the Irish writers connect Emphor, and, most probably, so did Patrick himself in the 'Confessio.' The writers say it was his birthplace; Patrick says it was the place he was made captive. All the writers say Empor was on the Clyde, in Latin Cludianus.

You will find Emporium on the Clodianus, Lat. 42, 7 N. Long. 3, 3 E., about 40 miles to the east of Vicus.

Emporiae or Emporium, an ancient and important city of Hispania Tarraconensis, on the small gulf of Rosas, which lies below the east extremity of the Pyrenees, and at the mouth of the River Clodianus, which formed its port. Its situation made it the natural landing-place from Gaul, and as such it was colonized at an early period by the Phoceans of Massilia. Their first city, afterwards called the Old Town, was built on a small

¹ Malte Brun

² Moreri.

³ Findlay's *Gazetteer*.

⁴ Smith's *Geographical Dictionary*.

island, whence they passed over to the mainland, and here a double city grew up—the Greek town on the coast, and an Iberian settlement, of the tribe of the Indigetes, on the inland side of the other. Julius Cæsar added a body of Roman colonists to the Greeks and Spaniards, and the place gradually coalesced into one Roman city. On coins it is styled a municipium.¹

Ampurias, a seaport of Spain, in Catalonia, at the mouth of the Fluvia, 70 miles N.E. of Barcelona. Long. 3, 0 E. ; Lat. 42, 9 N.²

Ampurdan, a small territory of Catalonia, whose capital city was formerly Ampurias. It is 3 leagues from Rosas, 6 from Gerona, and 20 from Barcelona. It was formerly very considerable under the name of Emporiae or Emporium. Polybus calls it Emporias, Strabo, and Stephanus, Emporium; Titus Livius mentions it when speaking of Cato's arrival in Spain. It is said that this city was divided into two parts; that the Greeks who had come from Phoecea occupied the part next the sea, and that the Spaniards inhabited the other. After Julius Cæsar had vanquished the son of Pompeius, he left at Ampurias a colony which built a third city. These latter comers joined with the Spaniards, who became Roman citizens, and afterwards the Greeks obtained the same position. In the course of time, Ampurias became the seat of a bishop's see, and we find the names of its bishops in the Councils of Toledo from 589 and 599, in Egara 614, and in several others.³

Clodianus, a river of Hispania Tarraconensis at the east end of the Pyrenees, forming at its mouth the harbour of Emporiae.⁴

Going along the coast, and starting from Cerraria, we come at once to a precipitous headland, which makes one of the projecting summits of the Pyrenees, 'quae in altum Pyrenaeum extendit'; next the Tichis, a river which runs to Rhoda, next the Clodianum which flows to Emporias, next the Mons Jovis, whose western side is called Scalae Hannibales.⁵

Vossius:—That place is still called Scalae, and the whole mountain Monjui, altered from Mons Jovis. A glance at the map of Spain will show twelve salient points in the outline of the coast. The first, beginning at the north end of the east coast, is that formed by the eastern extremity of the Pyrenees, Pyrenes Prom, Veneris Prom, Pyrenea Venus, a mountainous headland, projecting far into the sea, and dividing the Gulf of Cervara or Portus Veneris, on the north, from that of Rhoda and Emporiae on the south (Bay of Rosas). At the present time, Cap de Creus.⁶

Creus (see 'Creuz') Cap de Creuz or of the Cross;

¹ Smith's *Geographical Dictionary*.

² Findlay's *Gazeteer*.

³ Moneni.

⁴ Smith's *Geographical Dictionary*.

⁵ Pomponius Mela.

⁶ Smith's *Geographical Dictionary*

in Latin Promontorium, Aphrodisium is the most eastern cape of Catalonia, in the province of Besalu, between Rosas and Ampurias.¹

The coast line of the Endegeton, the mouth [ekbolai] of the River Sambroka; Emporeai; the mouth of the River Klodianos; Rhodipolis; next to which is the before-mentioned Ieron Aphrodision.²

The River Rubricatus, beyond which [are] the Laletani and Indigetes, towns of Roman citizens; that is, having the Jus Romanum Baetulo, otherwise Iluro, River Larnum; Blanda (now Blanes), River Alba; Emporiae, a double town of the original inhabitants, and of the Greeks who came of the Phoceans River Tichis, about 40 miles therefrom, Pyrenea Venus (Cap Creuz) on the far side of the promontory.³

We see from Pliny¹ that most of the cities in Spain, perhaps all that had Roman names, had also Iberian names. The Iberian name would, as a matter of course, be the only one known or in use among the Spaniards, the Latin name used only in official documents. We have here the explanation of the word Taburne. Vicus and Empor are in the territory of the Indigetes (Ptolemy, Endeketae, or Indeketai). Why, then, did not Patrick write, de Vico Bannaven Indigetum. He could not have written Indigetum, for that is a name of idolatry, as Portus Veneris or Promontorium Aphrodisium. It is certain that as Promontorium Aphrodisium from the very introduction of Christianity was supplanted by Cap Creuz (the promontory of the remarkable cross); so, from the introduction of Christianity, the name Indigetes, an idolatrous name (Indigetes means the tutelary gods), would have been abolished, and by Patrick's time utterly forgotten. Taburne, then, was the name, the Iberian name of the territory. No wonder we cannot find it. That we cannot create no objection; for if we cannot find it, neither can we find any other name which Patrick would have written in place of the idolatrous name Indigetes—some other name he must have written. Taburn is just the most likely of all names for that district. I assume that the Irish and Iberian are the same language.

The Irish word *taob* means flank, and *burren* means

¹ Moreri.

² Ptolemy, lib. ii., c. 6.

VOL. VI.

³ Pliny, lib. iii.

⁴ Lib. iii., c. 3.

mountains ; burren is, in fact, identical with Pyrene. There could not be a more appropriate name, at any rate, to the district than the Mountain Flanks. If anyone dislikes taob-burren, he might prefer Taib, the sea, burren, mountains taib-burren ; but some other name he must suggest, and that other name will be just as unfindable as Tiburne.

Patrick also writes in his Letter to Coroticus, that his birthplace was Iberia. Considering that so much has been written about Patrick's birthplace, it is somewhat startling that this statement of Patrick's has been so persistently ignored. Yet, that he states he was born in Iberia is a fact that cannot be denied. Every writer admits and asserts that in every manuscript of the 'Confessio' is found the statement that he was born in Iberia. But with consummate audacity they change the word Iberia into Hibernia ; and, taking that corrupt reading of their own as a foundation they interpret the words, 'I was born in Iberia,' as meaning the Irish were born in Hibernia. The words are, 'They make little of us because we were born in Iberia.' For that is the way they talk, *sic enim aiunt*. Now, as we do not know but that Coroticus and all around him were fools, we are not sure but they did say, 'the Irish were born in Ireland, or the Irish are not worth heeding, because they were born in Ireland ;' but if they did think the less of the Irish because they were born in Ireland, and repeated often that remark, *sic enim aiunt*, Coroticus and those about him must have been great fools, indeed. Their remark would make sense if it was *he* Patrick was not worth heeding, because he was born in Iberia. The whole paragraph has Patrick himself for its subject, with the exception of these eight words. Common sense would dictate that those eight words are also about himself. If by Iberia Patrick meant Ireland, of course those eight words must have for their subject the Irish ; but the absurdity of the remark, and the incoherence of it, shows that by Iberia Patrick did not mean Ireland. Those who corrupt the text by changing Iberia into Hibernia have not the least excuse for doing so. Every consideration that in any text establishes a reading where there is a disputed reading is against Hibernia and for Iberia. And, first, there

is no disputed reading : there is no doubt that all the manuscripts gave Iberia. Where, then, is the ground for doubtful reading? Where is the ground for alteration? Does not the reading Iberia make good sense, while the reading Hibernia makes, if not nonsense, very incoherent sense? But what should put the matter beyond all doubt, nay, show that if the manuscript reading was Hibernia, that even so it was Iberia was meant, is, that Patrick never calls Ireland Hibernia, but always Hiberione.

The passages in which Patrick mentions by name Ireland are:—(1) ‘Hyberione adductis sum ;’ (2) ‘Hyberione deveneram ;’ (3) ‘Vidi virum venientem de Hiberione ;’ (4) ‘Vox Hyberionarum ;’ (5) ‘Quotidie contra Hyberionem pergebam ;’ (6) ‘Iernas gentes ;’ (7) ‘Unde autem, Hiberione, qui idola coluerunt nuper plebs Dei effecta est ;’ (8) ‘Hanc scripturam Hiberione conscripsi.’ These are from the ‘Confessio.’ The following are from the Letter to Coroticus: (9) ‘Hiberione episcopus constitutus (sum) ;’ (10) ‘Lex quam Deus Hiberione plantaverat ;’ (11) ‘Veni Hiberionem ;’ (12) ‘Grex Domini Hiberione crescebat.’ Those are the only places in which Patrick names Ireland ; and we are to believe that after all those passages he suddenly turns, and at the end gives Ireland the name of another country, Iberia.

In 383, Maximus was proclaimed Emperor by the unanimous voice, both of the soldiers and the provincials in Britain. He was a native of Spain. He could not hope to reign, or even live, if he confined his ambition within the limits of Britain. He invaded Gaul with a fleet and army which were long after remembered as the emigration of a considerable part of the British nation. The armies of Gaul received him with acclamations. Andragathius, the general of the cavalry of Maximus, overtook Gratian, and delivered him into the hands of the executioner. Maximus sent an ambassador to Theodosius offering the alternative of war and peace. ‘As a Roman,’ the ambassador said, ‘he would prefer to employ his forces in the defence of the Republic, yet was prepared in field of battle to dispute the empire of the world.’¹

¹ Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

That this was no idle boast, is proved by the fact that Theodosius accepted his alliance. Andragathius and his followers returned to their own distant abodes; but not all of them, as will be noticed afterwards.

The reign of Maximus might have ended in prosperity, but he considered his actual forces as the instruments of greater success, and prepared to seize Italy, which Theodosius had stipulated he should not meddle with. Andragathius and his forces were summoned back. Ambrose mentions that he and his forces were brought from the *ends of the earth* to suffer the penalty due for the slaying of Gratian.

In 387, Maximus marched across the Alps. In 388, the contest was decided against him on the banks of the Save. Sozomen¹ says Maximus had gathered an immense army of the Britains, of the Gauls, and of the Celts, and that Andragathius, when Maximus was defeated, drowned himself in the river that ran by. This Andragathius was commander of the fleet and commander of the cavalry. Another account of his end is that he drowned himself in the Ionian sea. This double account of his death, so like the double account of the death of Niall—one account saying Niall was drowned in the Iccian Sea, another putting his death at the Loire—suggests that Niall and Andragathius were the same person. Irish writers put Niall's death in 409. At any rate, Andragathius was either Niall himself or one of his captains. The circumstances that there were Celts in the army of Maximus' soldiers, 'brought from the ends of the earth,' identifies them completely with Niall and his armies, and accounts for the Irish stories, otherwise utterly ridiculous, of Niall having invaded France, and Dathi having reached the Alps. It also vindicates Niall from being a mere pirate and freebooter, which the Irish stories about him would make him out to be.

Gildas tells us, that the right wing of the army of Maximus rested on Spain. Nennius tells us, that he confiscated lands, which he specifies, to his soldiers, who, of course, drove out the previous inhabitants. The lands he

¹ Book vii., c. xiv.

specifies, the names he mentions, are all in this district of Vicus Bannave, of Empor, and Clodianus :—

Maximus gave them many regions from the pool (stagnum), which is over the top of Mons Jovis, to the city which is called Tanguic. Those are at the Cumulum occidentalem, *i.e.*, Cruto chidentit.¹

The Latin Nennius confesses here, that Cumulus occidentalis is only his guess at the meaning of Cruto-chident. The Irish Nennius is more intelligible :—

Maximus gave them many lands, from the place where is the lake on the top (Mullach) of Mount Jove, to Canacuic (*alias* Cannachuic, *alias* Can-cuic), to the mound (duma) Ochiden where there is a celebrated cross, and these are the Britons of Letha.

This shows that Cruto of the Latin Nennius is not cumulus but crux. The Lake on the top of Mount Jovis is the Lacus Lemanus (the Lake of Geneva). The Mons Jovis is the Summus Penninus (the great St. Bernard) :—

The Pennine Alps was the appellation by which the Romans designated the loftiest and most central part of the chain extending from the Mount Blanc on the west to Mount Rosa on the east. The opinion having gained ground that the pass of the Great St. Bernard was the route pursued by Hannibal, the name was connected with the Poeni, and the form Poeninae was adopted by late writers. Livy points out the error, and adds that the name was really derived from a deity to whom an altar was consecrated on the summit of the pass, probably the same who was afterwards worshipped by the Romans themselves as Jupiter Penninus.

Per Alpes Penninas—This route which branched off from the Per Alpes Graciae at Augusta Pretoria led to Octiodurus at the head of the Lake Lemmanus. At the summit of the pass there stood a temple of Jupiter.²

‘Mons Jovis Summus Penninus a simulacro vel fano Jovis olim ei imposito sic dictus alias Mons S. Bernardi.’³

Canacuic the Canigou (Mons Candidus) the culminating point of the Pyrenees at this east end of the Pyrenees. It is over nine thousand feet high. It is at the west end of

¹ *Latin Nennius*. Gale's edition.

² *Smith's Geographical Dictionary*.

³ *Hofman's Dictionary*.

the territory of the Indigetes wherein is Vicus Bannaven, Empor and Clodeanus ; Canigou is its ancient name, seeing that the Romans called it Mons Candidus : ' where there is a famous cross, Cap Creuz.' Creus : see Creuz. Creuz Cap de Creuz, or of the Cross, in Latin, 'Promontorium Aphrodisium,' is the most eastern cape of Catalonia, in the province of Besalu, between Rosas and Ampurias (Empurias) (Empor).

Almost isolated from the rest of the range, the Canigou dominates the whole country, and was considered for a long time the highest summit of the Pyrenees. In favourable conditions of the atmosphere there can be seen from it the coast of the Mediterranean, from Barcelona to Agde and Montpellier, and even Marseilles. Port Vendres owes its name to Portus Veneris, dedicated to the Pyrenean Venus, whose temple was in the neighbourhood on the Promontorium Aphrodisium. Cap Creuz, on the rocks of Cap Creuz, the terminating masses of the Pyrenees, one might imagine oneself to be in a desert isle in the middle of the sea, except the rocky shore of France, which may be traced towards the north, nothing is to be seen but the blue waters of the Mediterranean dotted here and there with the white sails of ships.¹

Cap Creuz to those who dwelt in France would be very correctly described as Crut (Crux) occidentalis. The defeat of Maximus in 388 made little or no change in the position of the soldiers that had settled in this district described by Nennius. Theodosius published an amnesty for all persons, without exception, who had sided with Maximus. The auxiliaries who had come in 388 with Andragathius from the ends of the earth, would return home. It was on their return they brought with them Patrick. The passage through the south of France would not be open to them, and the natural return road would be to Bretonia. From Vicus to Bretonia would be about three hundred miles. Patrick indicates that the journey was a long one. He says: 'Day by day I was making my way, driven on (*non sponte*), until I was nearly worn out.' Bretonia, being the great cattle market, would be the mart for most of the traffic between Spain and Ireland. Probably, it was in

¹ Adolphe Joanne, *Guide Book of the Pyrenees*.

Bretonia Patrick was bought and sold. Captives coming from Bretonia would, of a certainty, be called Bretons, and Patrick would be known during his captivity, and remembered after his escape, by the name of the Breton. In his long captivity of seven years he must have been asked and have told many things about himself, his family, and his native home. He must have told that his native city was Emporiae on the Clodianus (Empor on the Clyde). The Irish were as much Iberian as the inhabitants of New York are English. He would have told them of the Bay of Rosas, into which the Clodianus flows, and of the Thyrrene Sea. Some of this would be remembered, and some not

The Scholiast on Fiacc, and all who followed in his track, would naturally, almost necessarily, hearing that Patrick was a Breton, and that his birthplace was on the Clyde, put his birthplace on the only Clyde they knew—the Clyde in Scotland, and (what else could they do?) say it must be Alcluith. They would not trouble much how Empor came to be forgotten, or called Alcluaide, or that an Empor never was heard of near their Clyde. No doubt it would be remembered that Empor was on the Bay of Rosas, and we have that memory preserved in the statement by Camden and by Humphrey Luydd, that Patrick was born in Valle Rosina. The River Clodianus, on which Empor was built, empties itself into the Bay of Rosas. It would also be remembered that the Bay of Rosas, the bay into which the Clodianus flowed, was a bay of the Tyrrehenean Sea; and we have this memory treasured in the notice given in the *Vita Quarta*, where it is stated that Patrick's parents proceeded from Armorica near the Tyrrehene (Torrian) sea. The incoherence of this account makes it the more valuable, for it shows that the reference to the Tyrrehene Sea is not an invention, and the writer found himself under the necessity of explaining the connection of Patrick's birthplace with the Tyrrehene Sea, which connection must then have been an undisputed fact. Probus says Patrick's parents were from 'Vicus Bannave Tiburniae regionis haud procul a mari occidentali.' I suggest that 'mare occidentali' here, the only place in which it is connected with Patrick's birthplace, is

only an interpretation of 'Mare Inferum,' a name¹ by which the Tyrrehene Sea was known to the Romans. 'Inferum' in Irish would be 'airthair;' 'airthair' would be 'occidentalis.'

To explain Patrick's being brought to Ireland, Probus—unconscious of what he had said before, that Patrick was from 'Vicus Bannave' of the region Tiburniae which Vicus he has found is in the province of Nentriae—goes on to say that Armuric was their city, and that the sons of King Rethmitius from Britain devastated Armuric, cut-throated Calpurnius and Conchessa. So, according to Probus, they were not living when 'Patrick was in Britain' with his parents after his captivity. There was, about one hundred years after Patrick's time, a king of the Britons of Armorica, Riotham, who, at the request of Anthemius, Emperor of the Romans, marched at the head of twelve thousand men against Euric, King of the Visigoths, got as far east as Berri, but was defeated by Euric, and had to take refuge still farther east in Burgundy. This Riotham is, of course, the one before the mind of Probus. The glaring anachronism of putting Riotham in the time of Patrick shows that Probus or the *Secunda Manus* had some information about Patrick's birthplace, which was irreconcilable with the off-hand statements of the Scholiast on Fiacc, and the rest of those who follow his track.

The triangular district bounded on the north by that small part of the Eastern Pyrenees commencing with Canigou (Canna-cuic) and going to Cape Creux, the cape of the remarkable cross, bounded on the east by the Thyrrene Sea, and on the west by the Rubricatus, that district in which is Empor; Vicus; the river Clodianus, and the gulf of Rosas, was divided among several tribes. Nearest to the sea the Indigetes, an idolatrous name, adjoining the Indigetes Laeaeta, the district of the Laeaetani.² This is the district Nennius calls Leta. Herein we have the explanation of the perplexing statements of the Irish writers about

¹ See Smith's *Manual of Ancient Geography*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 621.

Patrick's connection with Leta, perplexing because Leta was made out to be Italy. Fiacc: 'Patrick went beyond the Ealpa; he dwelt in the deisciort parte Leta. He dwelt in the islands of the Thyrehene (Torrean) sea; he came to Erin do cum neren' (cf. Nemthur). Scholiast on Fiacc (Patrick's people) 'causa negotiationis' went to Britannia Letha-censem. In that time the seven sons of Factmudius gathered booty in Britannia Armorica, in the region of Letha, where Patrick and his family were, and they slew Calpurnius (so Patrick's parents were not living when after his captivity he was with his parents in Britain). This Leta was not Italy.

The later Irish scribes translated Leta as Italy, and naturally, for they know not of Laeaeta in the north-east corner of Spain, and snatched at Latium as having a similarity in sound. But when was Italy called Latium? Certainly not in the time of Patrick.

Nennius tells us that the Letha he speaks of was in the region of Canigou (Canna-cuic) and the famous cross and Mons Jovis. Patrick must have often spoken of this Leta. It is not until about 1400 that there is any evidence that Leta was supposed to be Italy or any other place but Leta, wherever that might be.

Where, then, was St. Patrick's country? It was Spain—which he, as a native of a Greek-speaking town, Emporium, necessarily or naturally calls Iberia. He was born in Emporia, or at least was dwelling there, when he was made captive; that Emporium is on the Clyde (the Clodeanus), and on the Gulf of Rosas (Rhoda), a gulf of the Thyrrene (Torrean) Sea, the Mare Inferum of the Romans, as opposed to the Adriatic, the Mare Superum. His grandfather was a Presbyter; that is, a member of the supreme council; his father was a decurio. The city of which he was decurio was Vicus, an episcopal see. It was on the river Bann-(Alba), Aven (Fluvia), in the territory of Tiburne, formerly Indigetes. To the west of that territory, or rather included in it, was Laeaeta (Letha); to the north-west of it Canigou (Cannacuic Mons Candidus); to the north-east the projecting masses of the Pyrenees, where they push themselves out

into the sea, and end in the Cape, where is the remarkable Cross ; still farther north, and to the east of Mons Jovis and the Lake above Mons Jovis, Lake Geneva and the Great St. Bernard.

EDWARD O'BRIEN, D.D., P.P.

DR. RUSSELL, OF MAYNOOTH

HIS 'EDINBURGH REVIEW' ARTICLES IDENTIFIED

FOR the editorial hospitality which, in May, allotted considerable space to an account of Dr. Russell's first appearance in *The Edinburgh Review*, it is a poor return to crave now a few pages for the purpose of identifying his subsequent articles in that most famous of quarterlies. After the essay on Mezzofanti had served as his 'open Sesame,' he was a pretty frequent contributor during the twenty years that remained to him. Besides other motives for this exercise of his literary industry, the substantial cheque which followed each contribution was not unwelcome to one on whom pressed many public and private obligations, or what were accepted as obligations by his affectionate, unselfish, and generous heart.

No help towards the discovery of Dr. Russell's articles is afforded by the biography of his editor, Mr. Henry Reeve, recently published, in two volumes, by Mr. John Knox Laughton; but this work throws light on a little matter mentioned in our previous paper. It lets us know that the writer of the official obituary of Mr. Reeve, in *The Edinburgh Review*, October, 1896, was no less a person than the historian, Mr. W. E. H. Lecky; and, therefore, it was he who stated that Mr. Reeve had become editor after the death of Sir George Cornwall Lewis. Mr. Laughton quotes this tribute in full, but quietly changes 'death' into 'resignation;' for the learned baronet was Chancellor of the Exchequer some years after the date assigned by Mr. Lecky to his death in his own *Review*.

Dr. Russell's first article, as we have said, appeared in the last number edited by Sir G. C. Lewis, January, 1855.¹ In the following year the new editor, Mr. Henry Reeve, better known, perhaps, as editor of the *Greville Memoirs*, writes to him thus, on the 12th of October, 1856; for it is from letters preserved by Dr. Russell that the information which follows is derived:—

I have the pleasure to transmit to you, in this enclosure Messrs. Longmans' draft, in acknowledgment of your very interesting contribution. For my own part, I have seldom read a more agreeable and scholarlike article, and I am convinced the public will be of the same opinion.

I have not been able to determine the subject of this 'agreeable and scholarlike' article.

In 1857 Dr. Russell succeeded Dr. Renehan as President of Maynooth College, and the editor of *The Edinburgh Review* wrote to him, on the 10th of November:—

It affords me most sincere gratification to congratulate you and the College on your appointment to the highest office in it, and I regard it as the most favourable indication I have heard of for a long time amongst the ruling powers of the R.C. Church in Ireland, that they should have selected for the Presidentship of Maynooth a gentleman whose tolerant and liberal sentiments are not exceeded by the rarity and extent of his attainments.

I shall be perfectly satisfied if Maynooth become what I am convinced you would wish to make it.

Your corrected revises have duly reached me. I am much obliged to you, and I shall, *if possible*, insert the article very shortly. It has already waited far too long.

Accordingly, in the number which must have been at that time in great part in print, Dr. Russell's very curious paper on 'Hawkers' literature in France,' appears in January, 1858.²

The next article to which we find allusion made in the correspondence of the President of Maynooth, is 'The Graffiti of Pompeii,' in October, 1859.³ It had at first been called 'Graffiti on the Walls of Pompeii'—a title which Mr. Reeve, who called it 'a most curious and amusing paper,' asked

¹ Vol. ci., pp. 73-71.

² *Littérature du Colportage*, vol. cvii., pp. 232-247.

³ Vol. cx., pp. 411-437

his contributor to alter, lest the unlearned should imagine that it was some author named Graffiti who had written about the walls of the doomed city, whereas these 'Graffiti' are idle scribblings that have survived more than eighteen hundred years and many a work of genius.

Another victim of the volcano of Vesuvius was connected with the subject of the next article that we are able to claim for Dr. Russell. Like Pompeii, Herculaneum was destroyed by an eruption in the 79th year of our Christian era. Its ruins were discovered in the year 1720; and with many interruptions the work of excavation and exploration may be said to have been going on ever since. Among other discoveries, there have been brought to light many old manuscripts and papyri, containing various ancient treatises, &c. These are discussed with full and minute learning by Dr. Russell, in an article entitled 'The Herculaneum Papyri,' October, 1862.¹

In the course of this article, in referring to some publication of the Italian antiquarians which had been discussed in *The Edinburgh Review*, in the year 1824, Dr. Russell speaks of 'the notice we devoted to it on its first appearance;' namely, when he was himself twelve years old. A recent Edinburgh reviewer ought similarly to have respected the moral continuity of the editorial 'we,' when, in 1894, he contributed an elaborate dissertation on the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople; he ought to have referred to a previous treatment of the subject in the *Review*, in April, 1865.² The clue which enables me to claim this paper for Dr. Russell is an allusion which he himself makes to it in a letter, which came to me from Lord O'Hagan. In October, 1874, Lord O'Hagan was setting out on a trip to Constantinople, and his friend urged him to take the Danube route, as he himself had done a year or two before. He adds: 'I am sorry I didn't think of sending you my article in *The Edinburgh Review* on St. Sophia's. I wrote it very carefully, and it would have been a good preparation for a visit to the spot.' In the same letter, the President tries to cut

¹ Vol. exvi., pp. 318-347.

² Vol. exvi., pp. 456-493

down Lord O'Hagan's 'princely offer' of a subscription to the Maynooth College Church, then a noble project, and now, after quarter of a century, a magnificent achievement. Our first Irish Catholic Chancellor wished to give £500, which Dr. Russell, with difficulty, succeeded in reducing to £200.

Ten years earlier, on the 28th of May, 1864, the editor wrote to his Maynooth contributor:—

I am quite ashamed of the length of time the printers have been engaged on your article; but from the peculiarity of the inscriptions they found it very difficult to print. I hope, however, you have now received the proofs, and I shall be obliged to you to correct them with peculiar care, and return them to me as soon as you conveniently can. The article is one of extraordinary learning and interest, and I am extremely indebted to you for it.

This praise, unusual with an editor like Lord Jeffrey's successor, was bestowed on the article on 'De Rossi's Jewish and Christian Inscriptions.'¹ There are few who, living in a community like the Maynooth professorial staff, would have kept completely to themselves literary associations of this gratifying kind, so unusual for an Irish priest; yet I strongly suspect that Dr. Russell said nothing of all this to his colleagues; and he certainly did not confide it to a kinsman who would have been made happy by such confidences. The *Edinburgh*, which contained the De Rossi article, chanced to fall into my hands, and I noticed how skilfully the Catholic view of certain subjects involved was put forward. Knowing the authorship of the article on Mezzofanti, I ventured to attribute to the same this essay on 'Ancient Jewish and Christian Inscriptions,' and I received this answer:—

Your guess as to De Rossi is right. But this is a secret. I think it a great privilege to have the opportunity of putting forward, even negatively, such subjects from the Catholic point of view; and I am sure that such things do more general good than direct controversy. In the same spirit (also a secret) I have written, by invitation from Mr. William Chambers, all the Catholic subjects, and many others in the *Chambers' Encyclopedia*

¹ July, 1864, vol. cxx., pp. 217-248

from the letter E onwards. It has cost me little trouble, in fact only the time occupied in writing; and these things will be seen by people whom we could not hope to reach by any other channel.

I wish Dr. Russell had drawn up a list of his contributions to *The Edinburgh Review* similar to the list of his more than six hundred contributions to *Chambers' Encyclopedia* which I found among his papers, and have published in *The Irish Monthly*.¹ But he did not do so, and we are able to discover only four more alluded to in Mr. Reeve's correspondence. This leaves a complete blank between the years 1865 and 1874. Considering what Dr. Russell did under the blue-and-yellow standard before and after those dates, it is in the highest degree improbable that Mr. Reeve dispensed with his service during so long a period, especially when we find him writing to the President as follows, on the 13th of November, 1875:—

DEAR DR. RUSSELL,—Dr. William Smith has just published the first volume of his *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, which seems to me to be a most interesting and creditable book. I know no one so competent to review it as yourself, and I heartily hope you will undertake it. It is not at all written in a sectarian spirit, and steers clear of theological dogma, but if you detect any errors, you would be, of course, quite at liberty to criticise them from your own point of view. The work embraces the first seven centuries of the Church.

I should like to publish the article in April or July next. I have received 'Casaubon,' and hope shortly to send it to Press.

Yours faithfully,

H. REEVE.

Dr. Russell complied with this request; but the article did not appear till October, 1876.²

This letter reveals another of Dr. Russell's papers, his review of Mr. Mark Pattison's 'Life of Isaac Casaubon,' which appears in January, 1876.³ The printer, I remember once addressed the proof sheets to the 'Rev. Isaac Casaubon, Maynooth, Ireland,'—Casaubon having lived from 1559 till

¹ Vol. xxii., p. 75. (1894.)

² Vol. cxliv., pp. 406-442.

³ Vol. cxlviii., pp. 189-222.

1614; and being, therefore, far out of the reach of the penny post in 1875.

Those who are able to examine any of these articles in back numbers of *The Edinburgh Review* will find them to be full of the most minute and accurate information, often derived from recondite sources, and conveyed with a liveliness and grace which will have, perhaps, the added zest of a surprise. As one slight instance of the pains Dr. Russell took to secure accuracy in all the details of his subject, we may note that his article on 'Libraries Ancient and Modern' opens the number for January, 1874;¹ yet he was evidently preparing for it so far back as October 6th, 1872, when Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador at Paris, writes to him from Arundel Castle:—

DEAR DR. RUSSELL,—I intend to go back to Paris early next month, and will then try and get the information you want about the Library at Paris. I shall be most happy to be of service to you. If it would be inconvenient to you to wait until I get back to Paris, I will write to the Embassy at once; but I should probably manage the matter better if I were on the spot myself.

Yours very faithfully,

LYONS.

But his correspondent would not wait, for His Lordship writes on the 9th:—'I have written by this post to the Embassy at Paris to request that the information you wish for respecting the Library at Paris may be obtained and sent direct to you without delay.'

This enumeration of as many of Dr. Russell's *Edinburgh Review* as can now be identified was, at first, intended to be a mere footnote to our previous paper. As it has come to stand by itself, it may, in its turn, give shelter to one little item that was also crushed out on that occasion. The writer's name lends some value to the following slight note:—

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,

July 26, '59.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Pray accept my best thanks for your kind gift. The fame of Mezzofanti has reached every European

ear; and I have already derived much pleasure from looking into your memoir.

I sincerely hope that, if you visit town next year, you will allow me, during the season, an opportunity of improving our acquaintance.

I remain,

Rev. and dear Sir,

Your very faithful servant,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The REV. PRESIDENT OF
MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.

We may end this *catalogue raisonné* by linking together the first and the last appearance of Dr. Russell in the pages of the *Edinburgh* by means of two letters of his own which Lord O'Hagan gave to me after my uncle's death. The first of them alludes to the laborious volume which grew out of the original disquisition on great linguists in general, and the prince of linguists in particular. His friend had evidently asked him to join in befriending the widow of Hogan, the sculptor, who had recently died. Mrs. Hogan survived her illustrious husband till the beginning of the present year.

ST. PATRICK'S,

March 29, 1858.

MY DEAR O'HAGAN,—I am very reluctant to appear on committees; but I think this is one which I may fairly undertake, and especially as you think and wish that I should do so. I had not heard of poor Hogan's death.

I have been very busy of late between college work and the finishing of my unhappy *Life of Mezzofanti*, which has got anything but fair play in the midst of more engrossing and anxious occupations. I have, however, I rejoice to say, finished it *taliter qualiter*, and have but two or three sheets now to print. I hope to send you a copy before the end of April.

With every most affectionate message to Mrs. O'Hagan and the girls,

I am ever, my dear O'Hagan,

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

C. W. RUSSELL.

Eighteen years later he wrote to the same true friend a letter which I am able to connect with his final contribution

to the great quarterly which it has been necessary to name so often :—

DUNDALK,

Dec. 28, 1876.

MY DEAR LORD,—I fear it will be impossible for me to keep my engagement with you to-morrow. On my way down from the station, in the storm of Tuesday night, my portmanteau dropped off the car; and, although we retraced the route at once, it was not to be found, nor have the police been able to make it out since. Unhappily, it contained a parcel of cheques, with some cash, and a number of accounts and papers about the Church Fund, which are of the utmost consequence to me. The cheques I have written to stop, and most of them are crossed, and none had been endorsed; but the accounts are of great consequence to me, and there was also a lot of my own papers and books, which it would be most embarrassing to me to lose. I have had everything set in motion to make it out, and I must wait here till the end shall be seen. If it turns up early to-morrow, I shall go to you without fail; but in that case I shall telegraph.

It is a sad marplot to my Christmas hopes of enjoyment, but 'le trouble n'est bon pour rien.'

Say all kind things to Lady O'Hagan, and all regrets for my failure.

Believe me, as ever,

Most affectionately yours,

C. W. RUSSELL.

A less reticent and less modest man would probably have told his friend that the lost portmanteau contained the finished manuscript of a long article which was to appear in *The Edinburgh Review*, the fruit, perhaps, of months of laborious research. He may have regretted this loss even more keenly than the list of contributors to his Maynooth Church Fund, which he at once tried to supply out of the file of *The Freeman's Journal* in the Dundalk Newsroom. To the disgust of the police authorities, an extremely large reward was offered for the recovery of the missing treasure; but it was only after Dr. Russell had given up all hope, and had returned to his college duties, that the portmanteau was restored stealthily by night to his brother, who at once gave the reward, and asked no questions. By the first train next morning the good old man conveyed it to Maynooth,

never letting it out of sight till it was safe in the President's library.

During the interval of suspense and despair, Dr. Russell, as he mentioned to me afterwards, began to rewrite from memory his vanished article on the Pseudo-Sibylline poems; and this second edition, he said, was a great improvement. How many articles, and how many books would be greatly improved, if their author dared to face the heroic toil of writing them over again!

The Pseudo-Sibylline article may be found in *The Edinburgh Review* of July, 1877.¹ When despatching it to Mr. Reeve, probably in February or April, he little thought (who ever does?) that it was destined to be his last article. On the 16th of May occurred that fatal fall from his horse, which, in reality, killed him, though his death did not actually take place till the 26th of February, 1880. A Sister of Mercy, who was allowed to come from Newry to nurse her revered uncle, remembers what was considered one of the hopeful symptoms of convalescence, the pleasure he showed at receiving a *pingue honorarium* from the Messrs. Longman for this contribution to their great *Review*. She remembers, also, that the invalid, in dictating a letter of acknowledgment, inquired how she had spelled Sibylline, and found that she had incorrectly placed *y* in the first syllable.

This, then, was Dr. Russell's farewell to *The Edinburgh Review*. Of his own *Dublin Review*, to which his contributions were to be counted, not by the dozen, but by the hundred, he had taken leave in the previous January by the completion of his 'Critical History of the Sonnet,' which is still referred to by competent writers as one of the most brilliant and solid contributions to the literature of the subject. This holy priest, this tender-hearted and noble-hearted man, was thus to the end, in circumstances not altogether favourable to such a vocation, a cultivated and calmly enthusiastic man of letters.

MATTHEW RUSSELL, S.J.

¹ Vol. clxvi., pp. 31-68.

FREEMASONRY AND THE CHURCH IN LATIN AMERICA

IN connection with the Latin-American Council at Rome, a few details regarding those countries will not be out of place. All are now republics, all are Catholic. The masses are everywhere full of faith; but Masonry, transplanted from Europe, has poisoned the minds of the ruling classes. No educated Catholic of our time can be ignorant of the anti-Christian character of Masonry, for it has completely thrown off the mask. It has no great objection to a nominal, well-diluted Christianity; but its hatred of the Catholic Church is perfectly satanic. All its efforts are directed against Catholic populations, among whom it strives to abolish Christian marriage, Christian education, Christian burial, Christian festivals, and even the Christian Sabbath. Organized into opposite camps, Latin-American Masons are constantly planning new revolutions, in which all interests suffer, but most of all the Church. If European Masonry be satanic, its offspring, Latin-American Masonry, is often, if possible, still more satanic. The material and moral conditions are so similar in all those countries that a description of one will do for all. We shall, therefore, select the greatest and newest of these republics, Brazil.

In 1874 a cablegram from Rio startled us with the news that the Bishops of Para and Olinda had been condemned to four years' imprisonment, with hard labour. Little more was heard of it in the general press, and, of course, most people wondered how any Christian country could have such criminals for pastors. It is one of the devices of masonry to flash such news, and then leave it to settle in the public mind.¹

¹ After the Spanish elections, last April, the result was thus wired to us:—

Ministerialists	110
Liberals	50
Gamazists	7
Tetuanists	6
Carlists	3
Republican	1
Independent	1
Catholic	1

This means, of course, that the Spanish Senate is not Catholic! Good news.

As the details of this transaction shed a flood of light on the spirit of Masonry in those countries, I here insert a memorandum drawn up for me, in 1895, by a Brazilian gentleman of rank, who writes English :—

At the time—1872-1875—that this question arose, Masonry had spread far and wide among the ruling classes in Brazil. The Grand Master of one section, the Italian, Viscount de Rio Branco, being Prime Minister, it is no wonder that the lodges enjoyed unparalleled control in the country. Under the pretence that the object of their society was beneficence and mutual assistance, and, therefore, not at variance with religious purposes, they had not the slightest hindrance in taking part in the administration of churches, brotherhoods, seminaries, and all sorts of Catholic institutions. It thus came to pass that, far from making any display of heretic doctrines, or in any way attacking the Roman Catholic creed, they as yet professed to be in favour of religion, and even succeeded in alluring some Catholic priests into their community. On one of those festivals they used to celebrate ever and anon it happened that a Catholic priest took a prominent part, and in a most ostentatious way delivered a vehement speech in the Masonic style; and this he had published afterwards. The then Bishop of Rio de Janeiro, Dom Lacerda, felt bound to call him to the path of discipline, and, after some admonitions, suspended him. The Masons, considering themselves offended by this, met in council, and after a warm debate decided to attack the Bishop's act in the Press, which they actually did, not sparing, in the heat of the fray, even the doctrines of Catholicism in their purity and integrity. Owing to the Bishop's prudence, or weakness, no step was taken in Rio de Janeiro to prevent Masonry from interfering in Catholic affairs, and their influence, as before, continued to make itself felt in the very precincts of the churches. It lies beyond our scope to dilate on the virulence of the articles published in the Press then supported by the lodges; be it enough to say, that all control of decent language was lost. The Papacy itself did not escape their roughest invectives, and the dogmas established by the Church, they maintained, were nothing but sheer impostures. Such was the position of the Church in Brazil when Bishop Dom Vital took charge of the diocese of Olinda (Pernambuco), on the 24th of May, 1872. Soon after his arrival the Masons started a Masonic paper, *A Verdade* ('The Truth'), the language of which, of course, was very far from reverential to Catholicism. The Bishop was an intelligent, uncompromising young minister of Christ, and, perhaps too alive to the fact that Masonry had been condemned by the Holy See. The Masons having announced the celebration of a Solemn Mass for St. Peter's Day, to commemorate the foundation of their associations, the

clergy were prohibited from taking part in the service. As may be easily imagined, Masonry was too strong and irritable to endure the blow in silence. An outburst of resentment was not long in making itself felt, in the form of most violent articles in the papers. Led by the incitement of unrestrained passion, the Bishop's adversaries went so far in their invectives as to disrespect our Holy Father Pius IX., and positively deny the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. That was too much for Dom Vital, who immediately ordered an act of reparation to be performed in the churches, which, to his great satisfaction, had the effect of winning to him the enthusiasm and confidence of his flock. The storm was then inevitable; nothing could longer avert it. A decisive challenge was made by the Masons, inasmuch as they published the names of the influential members of Catholic brotherhoods who belonged to their organization, and ended by conjuring the Bishop to fulfil his duty. The gauntlet was taken up. As regards the Masons in the brotherhoods, the Bishop did his best to induce them to abjure, and after a second and third admonition laid their churches under interdict. The Masons appealed to the Crown, and Lucena, President of Pernambuco, himself a Mason, ordered the Bishop, but, of course, all in vain, to prohibit any preaching against Masonry.

Whilst such was the state of affairs at Pernambuco, the Bishop of Para, Dom Antonia da Costa, was undauntedly facing similar circumstances. The question being now before a Masonic Government, little doubt could be entertained as to the result: The appeal was decided in favour of the Masons, and the bishops were commanded to raise the interdicts. Three motives were alleged for this decision—1. The non-religious character of Masonry. 2. The want of approval (*placet*) by Government of the bulls against Masonry. 3. The twofold nature, civil and religious, of the brotherhoods. The bishops refused to carry the order into effect, and a judge was appointed to raise the interdicts. This step proved a complete failure, as no priest could be compelled to officiate in the interdicted churches. Exasperated by the firmness of the clergy, the Masons, in conjunction with some unscrupulous politicians, assembled in a riotous meeting, on May 14, 1873, the result of which was the assault on the college and chapel of the Jesuits, and the firing of the press where the *União*, the organ of Catholicism in Pernambuco, was printed. It was only when the mob shaped their course towards the Bishop's palace and the college of the Sisters of Charity, the Government interfered. It was thought of the utmost importance to hasten the *dénouement*, and the Government sent Baron de Penedo to Rome to ask the Pope to compel the bishops 'to acknowledge the rights of the State.' Yet, instead of suspending the criminal processes that had been started before the courts, the Government urged them forward, and when least expected sent

the bishops to prison. The trials of the Bishops of Para and Olinda, which took place some time after, were such solemn and touching events as never to be erased from the memory of the Brazilian people. When the sentences condemning them to four years' imprisonment, with hard labour, were read out before a great throng, held in painful suspense, many a heart throbbed with inexpressible anguish, many a careworn face was bedewed with tears. The Emperor soon commuted the sentence to four years' *simple* imprisonment. The successors (Vicar-Generals) of the bishops in the administration of the diocese kept the interdicts in force, and would have shared the same fate only for the following occurrence:—Just at this time a rebellion broke out in the northern provinces—Pernambuco, Ceara, &c.—against some new taxes. The Ministry seized on the opportunity, ascribed it to the Jesuits, imprisoned some priests of the Order, and expelled the rest from the country. But owing to the ever-increasing discontent of the country, the Cabinet fell, on the 22nd June, 1875. Yielding to the general feeling, the new Cabinet decreed the liberty of the bishops, without any conditions whatever. The only benefits gathered from the strife were the cohesion of the true Catholics then and after, and the unmasking of the real foes of Catholicism. As to the rest, we only see losses. Masonry, a little subdued for a time by the extensive gaps made in its ranks owing to the desertion of a great many whose belief in its aims had been destroyed, soon rose anew, and was able to achieve such changes as the republic, the separation of Church and State, civil marriages,¹ the secularization of cemeteries, &c.

This calm unadorned narrative places before us, in a concrete form, the true spirit of Masonry. Untruthfulness and irreligion, hypocrisy and tyranny, are so blended that one can hardly tell which predominates.

The Brotherhoods here mentioned are survivals of similar associations, once very numerous in Europe, and not yet quite extinct. They had special churches or oratories, and large corporate funds for the relief of indigent members. Visitors to Nice will remember their special costumes, funerals, processions, and churches.

Dom Vital, in a letter from his prison copied into the

¹The reader must not imagine that the civil marriage established under Masonic influence resembles that known to ourselves; no, it is obligatory on all, and a priest would incur a severe penalty if he married a couple not first married by the registrar. The religious marriage is not acknowledged at all by the state in several of those Latin-American countries, such as Mexico, Brazil, Uruguay, &c.; and the moral evils resulting from this Masonic law are just such as its authors intended.

I. E. RECORD,¹ gives some important details not mentioned in the above narrative. Thus, he says:—

If we calmly observe the character and proceedings of the persecution in progress in Brazil against the Catholic Church, we must come to the conclusion that it is the thread of the skein, one of the countless wrongs which Cæsarism, Liberalism, and Materialism are in our day inflicting on the Catholic Church. The three act under the influence of the secret societies. Thus it is that they work in concert on orders that come from beyond the sea—obedient to the signal sent to them by the all-powerful universal Masonry, the most relentless persecutor of the Catholic Church, in the era in which we live. All appearances lead to the belief in the existence of a pre-arranged plan, and of a compact long concluded between Masonry and the Government, which at present rules this unfortunate country. . . . Bitter enmities of long standing between the two lodges, French and Italian—were forgotten, and the Brethren shook hands once again. Thenceforward Masonry, casting off all reserve, showed itself in all its detestable deformity. It denied and turned into ridicule the fundamental dogmas of our holy religion—the Divinity of Christ, the Holy Trinity, the eternity of the pains of hell, &c. . . . But in spite of its rampant cruelty in every part of the Empire, it gave rise to a magnificent religious movement—a sudden awakening of a people too long asleep in the arms of indifference, and standing on the brink of a fathomless abyss, that is, Protestantism.²

A singular confirmation of the Great Bishop's words has come to light since Bismarck's death. According to the latest history of German Masonry, he was not at all the author of the Kulturkampf. He and his imperial master were only the pupils and agents of the lodges. It is also to be remarked that the German and Brazillian persecutions exactly synchronized, a fact which goes far to confirm the Bishop's assertion regarding unity of action in the Masonic camp. It is also to be noted that Bismarck and Rio Branco simultaneously urged the Pope to compel the bishops to respect the so-called 'rights of the State.'

By the fall of the Rio Branco cabinet in 1875, peace was restored. But peace is a very uncertain quantity in

¹ November, 1874.

² Dom Vital d'Oliveira was a Capuchin. We read in the *Les Missions Catholiques* of November 4, 1892, 'Le jeune et vaillant évêque d'Olinda, Mgr. Vital d'Oliveira, était frappé de mort, empoisonné par l'ordre des Loges.'

countries where rival lodges are always hatching new revolutions. In November, 1889, the Emperor was quietly shipped off to Europe, and Marshal Fonseca placed at the head of a provisional government. The news was at the same time cabled to Europe that *Positivism* was declared the religion of the State, with every tenth day as the day of rest instead of the Christian Sabbath. Early in 1890 a convention formally set up the republic, with Fonseca as President, and a total separation of Church and State, thus indirectly abolishing the new state-religion. Fonseca was upset in 1891, province after province revolted, and a civil war raged about the capital in 1893-4. An unstable peace has since reigned; but, perhaps, at this moment a new revolution is being hatched in the lodges. For Masonry has neither patriotism nor loyalty. All the old officials of the Empire stuck to their posts at home and abroad under the Republic.

This revolution was unusually peaceful as regards the Church. Bishops were neither imprisoned nor banished, priests were not murdered, and for once in Masonic history even the Jesuits were left unmolested. This can be easily explained. The revolution was entirely the work of high-class Masons, men extremely prudent in their generation. They remembered the reactions caused by Rio Branco's violent measures, Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*, and the fanatical deeds of Belgian Masonry from 1879 to 1885.¹

¹ We have seen the immediate effect of Rio Branco's violence. Bismarck boasted that he would never go to Canossa, but he had to go much farther before his death, and the Catholic party, the Centre, can now dictate terms to the Government, the Landtag, and the Reichsrath. Belgian Masonry, after years of preparation in the lodges, and a long monopoly of political power, felt strong enough in 1879 to attempt the one object of its aspirations—a law of godless education. Having carried this law, they went on for six years covering the country with godless schools and colleges at the public expense, and in open opposition to the Catholic establishments, until at last the people, unable any longer to bear the reckless taxation, drove them so completely from power that they have little chance of ever regaining it. Up to 1885 they called themselves Liberals, and their adversaries Clericals; but this astute distinction has disappeared, and they now openly profess pure Atheism. The Belgian papers of last March tell us that M. Rolin Jaquemyns, a prominent member of their last ministry, seeing his occupation gone, took office under the King of Siam, and can now be seen at his devotions every morning in the royal pagoda. The transition had no difficulty for a Belgian Mason.

Alfaro, the author of the Masonic revolution in Ecuador in 1895, was not a man of this stamp, and hence his revolution followed very different lines. *The Tablet* quotes the following account from the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*:—

For over a quarter of a year the victors have carried on a veritable orgy of hatred and persecution against everything Christian. The Bishop of Portoviego and his clergy have been driven into exile. The palace of the Archbishop of Quito was plundered, and partly destroyed. Last March twenty Capuchins were expelled from Ibarra during the tropical rains, and were not even allowed to borrow horses, but had to travel on foot to Columbia, though one of them was over eighty years of age. Orders were given to expel the Capuchins from Tulcan, but the very soldiers rose up against the decree. At Quito the lash is freely used. Two German priests, named Webber and Nuerhofer, were ill-treated by the officials at Manibi. A merchant of Portoviego, a Liberal himself, was shot by an official for having protested against the ill-usage of the Vicar-General. This caused an emeute, and the Governor caused the troops to fire upon the people. He turned the Bishop's house into a godless school, and placed a Freemason, Robert Andrack, over it as director. All the leaders of the new Government are most pronounced Freemasons. When Alfaro, the Dictator, landed at Guayaquil, his words were, *down with theocracy*.¹

This consisted simply in the fact that the Catholic was the religion of the State, Catholics being the only Christians in the country. Other outrages followed, and the usual Masonic laws were enacted; but those revolutions generally expend their satanic fury in the first outbreak, and then the real people begin to assert themselves. In a letter now before me, dated Quito, November 15th, 1897, I find the new Government had begun to fear the inevitable reaction:—

The radical Masons [it says] now perceive that they have gone too far, and most gladly would they fraternize with the moderate Liberals, who have no desire to support men who have persecuted and well-nigh ruined them. The Government dare not enforce the fatal educational edicts of Congress; and hence the religious teaching bodies have opened their colleges with a greater influx of students than in the previous years.²

¹ May 20, 1896.

² Masonry is strongly represented in English ministries and in the press. *The Freemason*—July 13th, 1895—boasted of thirteen 'brothers' in the new ministry, and gave their names and titles. Was none of them ashamed of his

The political history of Brazil and Ecuador is the same as that of the other fourteen Latin-American Republics; periodical revolutions, and persecution of the Church, all fomented by Masonry, the curse of those countries. Still the faith of the masses is sound and strong; and, with a sufficient supply of good and zealous pastors, they would be a fine Catholic people. But this is the difficulty. Masonry has confiscated most of the Church endowments, and the people have not as yet got accustomed to the voluntary system. In Mexico all Church property was confiscated in 1867, and all the religious houses suppressed.¹ If a bishop establishes a seminary or a college, the next revolution may sweep it away. In all these countries periodical missions do a great work, and hence Alfaro's fury against the Capuchins. A few details regarding these missions will give an idea of the people.

foreign brethren? We know the power of the press in those days of omnipotent public opinion. Let only a Jewish pedlar be touched, and at once all the wires and cables begin to speak; orders are sent to the British minister or consul, and a gunboat, if need be, appears off the coast, to seek redress for a British subject, or, at least, to defend the cause of 'humanity.' English ministers require only a very slight pretext to remonstrate with weak non-Masonic rulers. Who can forget the valuable assistance rendered in this way to the Italian revolution in its early stages? There was a British minister, W. H. Doveton Haggard, at Quito in 1895. Why was he not ordered to protest against the savagery of Brother Alfaro? Why was the English press so benevolently silent about it? We know what the press and ministers of England can do in the name of humanity; what becomes of it on such occasions? All the Friars in Ecuador may be banished, and those in the Philippines murdered, by the 'brethren,' without a word about it in the English press, or in any consular report. And yet these Friars are not robbers or murderers; they are peaceable citizens and educated men. But they are not 'brother Masons.'

¹The satanic barbarity with which this suppression was carried out opened the eyes of thousands hitherto ignorant of the true character of Masonry; but when five hundred hospital sisters came to be expelled at once from every notable city, the public indignation knew no bounds. The Masons then saw their mistake; their journals called aloud for applause, and were answered only by curses and protests. To come at these sisters a penal code was elaborated in the lodges in 1874, and announced long before it came before Congress. It still exists, and from one of its forty articles we can judge of its spirit: it is penal to make or receive any vow, even though the parties do not live in community. And all in the name of liberty! Adieu to every liberty, except the liberty of evil, wherever Masonry reigns supreme. By its very excesses Masonry has declined. The President in 1897 asked the Nuncio to procure some missionaries for the Indians; but this infamous penal code remains still unrepealed in, perhaps, the most religious of all these Republics. What an enigma!

Masonry is on its good behaviour at present in Brazil ; there is an ambassador at the Vatican, and the president-elect, General Campos Salles, paid a state visit to the Pope last August. Hence the work of the Church goes on quite freely at present. Nearly all the religious orders are represented there. Their chief work is education and missions. Having often seen letters from all these countries, I can assure the reader that the spirit of the people is everywhere the same as in Brazil. The Republic of Brazil is as large as Europe, and consists of twenty autonomous States. I have now before me letters from several of these States ; let us take the most populous and the least populous—Minas Geraes with 3,000,000, and Matto Grosso with only 100,000 inhabitants ; the former as large as France, the latter three times the size of France. Minas Geraes has two episcopal sees, Mariana and Diamantina. The Vincentians, mostly French, out of forty-two houses in all Latin-America, and fourteen in Brazil, have five houses in this State—viz., the two diocesan seminaries, a college, and two mission houses. The missions last eight months of the year, and two or three weeks in each parish. Diamantina is a new diocese, cut off from Mariana a few years since ; it contains eighty parishes, each as large as one of our largest counties, and generally served by only one priest. I take the following description from the letter of a missionary, dated Diamantina, December 3, 1898 :—

The rainy season being over, and the pastor being informed of the day on which the mission is to begin, we set out on our long journey. On the day appointed you see crowds of people proceeding towards the place ; the roads are encumbered by a multitude of people who come, some on horseback, others in waggons like movable houses intended to lodge an entire family during the mission. The horses in great number carry on their backs two or three persons. After the cavalry comes the infantry, always the largest portion ; most of these have to make forced marches without provisions, without foot-gear—as we remarked specially in the parish of Trahiras. Until the third day the audience meets in the church, but after that on the public square around a rude platform, the women with their children on their laps, forming the inner circle, the men standing in the outer circle. The first three days the audience augments visibly.

During the day the immense concourse offers the picture of a wide sea, whose murmurings are distinctly audible. Morning and evening the silence is absolute. The first two days the people are pre-occupied with their examen of conscience. On some occasions the confessor finds himself facing three penitents at once. The penitent is but little concerned at others hearing his confession, provided he succeeds in making it. At nightfall the scene becomes animated and assumes a festive appearance. The evening service opens with the Rosary; then a choir, almost always improvised, intones the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*. Ascending the platform, the already worn-out missionary addresses for an hour some 4,000 persons thirsting for the Word of God. At the end he lifts up his voice, sums up what he has been saying, and all eyes are bathed in tears.

Similar details abound in all these letters, not only from Brazil, but from all the other Latin-American countries. Another missionary, writing from Diamantina, December 1, 1895, says:—

The eagerness of the good people to avail of the blessings of the mission is most touching. The respect for the Word of God is wonderful. They wait hour after hour for their turn at the confessional, and many faint from fatigue. They come on foot thirty, fifty, and sixty miles, and attend the mission to the end, God only knows at the cost of how many sacrifices, poorly clad, sheltered, and fed. During one of these missions, when about ten thousand persons were present, we met two French engineers who were engaged in those parts on government works. They could not find words to express their astonishment, and could not understand how, at a word from a missionary, these crowds were inspired with enthusiasm to prepare the mission cross, form a cemetery, or gather enormous heaps of stones to build a chapel.

Surely, it is no exaggeration to call that Masonry satanical which labours to destroy the faith of such a people. But this is just what Brazilian masonry intends. The great Masonic weapon, godless education, is at work, and will certainly be extended when the finances permit, unless the Catholics can have the law repealed. There was no excuse for such a law in a country with a Christian population of 14,000,000, only 30,000 of whom were non-Catholic.

Of Matto Grosso there is little to be said; in 1889 it had only one episcopal see, Cuyaba, with only seventeen parishes and about twenty priests. Three of these mission-

aries founded a diocesan seminary there at that date.¹ Beside the Christian population of 100,000 there is an immense population of Indians for whom little or nothing has been done for generations, and the same state of things exists in all these Republics; and yet the vast majority of their Christian inhabitants are of Indian descent. The settled policy of Spain and Portugal down to the time of Pombal (d. 1782) and Aranda (d. 1794) was the conversion of the Indians; and at this work all the religious orders laboured most successfully for nearly three centuries. But these ministers introduced the seeds of Masonry; Spain and Portugal were covered with lodges in the next generation, and revolutions became chronic. This infatuation soon spread to their colonies; the religious orders in Spain and Portugal were suppressed; the conversion of the Indians ceased; and both these once powerful nations with their colonies, are at this day the most notorious object lessons in the whole world of the temporal and spiritual ruin which Masonry can produce in Catholic nations.²

The separation of Church and state is a fundamental article of the Masonic creed, but it has been put in force in only three or four of these Republics. Its real object is the plunder and oppression of the Church; but in Mexico and Brazil it has had one good consequence, the free erection of new sees. It took ten years of negotiation to establish the see of Diamantina under the empire. With only stable government the Latin-American Church could overcome every difficulty. The masses are sound, irreligion

¹ Cuyaba, the capital of Matto Grosso, is N.W. of Rio Janeiro. Well, to get to it they sailed from Rio on the 5th of October, touched at Montevideo and Buenos-ayres, then sailed up the Rio Plata, the Parana and the Paraguay to Assumption, and Corumba, then up the San Iorrenco, to Cuyaba, where they arrived on the 5th of November. The post arrives from Rio only once a month. This will give some idea of the country and its rivers.

² English writers always speak of Pombal as the greatest minister that Portugal ever had. This impudent fiction is repeated in the 'Story of the Nations' (*Portugal*), p. 354; but the writer honestly tells us the grounds of his estimate, and seems quite unconscious of the ridicule to which he exposes himself by his hero-worship of such a monster of cruelty and despotism. The new edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* goes on exactly the same lines. These writers see only his material improvements, and forget that he laid the foundations of his country's ruin by the despotism and irreligion which he fostered. The reader should see Feller's account.

does not exist to any great extent in the upper or middle classes, and the rich are extremely generous towards works of charity and religion. In a letter dated Diamantina, December 3rd, 1893, we find that on the death of a missionary, the Governor of the State, in his letter of condolence, says: 'I have just assisted at the seventh Mass which I have had celebrated in the chapel of the palace for the soul of your illustrious brother, my very dear professor and excellent friend.' Men of this stamp are constantly met on these missions, but they are generally ex-pupils of the Jesuits or other orders. Masonry understands this very well, and hence godless education is one of the most fundamental of its tenets. Masonry exists chiefly in the official classes, civil and military. Hence one may expect a *pronunciamento* any day from some new *dictator* selected by the lodges. The clergy are his natural enemies, and are generally sure to be victimized. The poor soldiers who do the fighting are only dupes of ambitious men; in the Peruvian revolution of 1895, the rebels on entering Lima prayed aloud in the churches for a blessing on their arms. And yet the great question in dispute was whether General Pierola or General Caceres was to be President.¹

Hoping that these few details may help to give some idea of these interesting countries, we may now endeavour to sum up the situation. The elements of good and evil are abundant and vigorous. Masonry is universal in the official classes, and is the chief, if not the sole, cause of the chronic revolutions which desolate these fine countries. The masses take no part in these revolutions; even in the towns only the mere rabble take part in them. The distances are

¹ On the night of March 16 there was a ball at the Palace; the President retired to rest at 4 o'clock on the morning of the 17th. At 6 o'clock cannon shots were heard; Pierola had entered the city during the night. For two days the streets of Lima ran with blood. At last the Papal Delegate went under fire between the combatants, and negotiated a truce of a few hours to bury the dead and remove the wounded. The dead numbered 1,300, the wounded 1,000. The Delegate, Mgr. Macchi, in union with the other foreign ministers, obtained a prolongation of the truce, negotiations were opened with both parties now equally strong. It was agreed that Caceres should resign, and that a new election should take place. Thus ended this revolution, which may be taken as a specimen of these Latin-American revolutions.

enormous between the centres of population, and hence a dictator who gets possession of the seat of government can hold it for a long time in spite of the protests of a scattered and unorganized population. He can easily get up a mock election, and bring together a pretended congress; the Masonic press at home and abroad will call this the mandate of the people, and iniquitous laws will be enacted in their name; but he has no assured lease of power. Another dictator may arise any day, and thus all sense of security vanishes; business of every kind languishes, material progress is impossible, and religious interests are ruined altogether.

Against this we have a people strong in faith, and a body of bishops unrivalled in the whole Church, but alas! entirely too few. And what shall we say of the parochial clergy? How could one priest attend to the spiritual wants of ten thousand souls, dispersed over a parish equal to one of our largest counties? And yet this is the state of things in all these sixteen republics. However, this fundamental want is gradually disappearing; diocesan seminaries, directed by various religious orders, have been opened in almost every diocese. The fanaticism of German and French Masonry has sent great numbers of missionaries and religious teachers to Latin America. Colleges, seminaries, and schools have been opened in almost every city and important town. Magnificent hospitals, hospices, orphanages, &c., are found everywhere in these countries, and, with the exception of Mexico, gladly welcome all the sisterhoods expelled by French atheism from the schools, hospitals, &c.¹ Even in

¹ In 1877 the Grand Orient of France erased the name of God from its constitutions, and English Masonry broke off all official communion. French Masonry, owing to the insane dynastic rivalries of the Conservatives, has been ever since in power; it has erased the name of God from the school books, and a deputy named Breton proposed last March to have it erased from the coins of the Republic, and got 166 deputies to vote with him. The Finance Minister, Peytral, opposed the motion, 'as a sound freethinker,' because the name was still retained on the coins of Switzerland and America! Who has ever heard a word of protest against such blasphemies from English Masonry or the English press? On the contrary, these atheists receive not only the important aid of a benevolent silence, but very often words of commendation and encouragement. This makes one suspect that the breach of communion is only *official* and *apparent*.

Mexico Satan has been completely disappointed. A priest who visited the capital in 1880 tells us that on the Feast of the Assumption there were over twelve thousand communions at the cathedral, and at least fifty thousand in the city; and this without any special invitation. The same revival of fervour exists over the whole Republic in every class, and the rich now pour out their wealth to ornament the despoiled churches on feast days, just as they used to be before the spoliations. Schools are opened everywhere to counteract the effects of the godless schools, although neither Christian Brothers or nuns are tolerated. The self-sacrifice of the people makes up for all. And yet no one can open even a private school without using the official class books. The present rulers did not make these laws; why are they not repealed?

The Catholic population of the sixteen Republics is about fifty millions. With their immense resources what a future might be predicted for them if only the demon of Masonry could be exorcised.

PHILIP BURTON, C.M.

THE NEW LEGISLATION ON THE INDEX

CAP. VII.—*De libris liturgicis et preceptoris*

REG. XVIII.—In authenticis editionibus Missalis, Breviarii Ritualis, Caeremonialis Episcoporum, Pontificalis Romani, aliorumque librorum liturgicorum, a Sancta Sede Apostolica approbatorum, nemo quidquam immutare praesumat ; si secus factum fuerit, hac novae editiones prohibentur.

AFTER having treated of sacred images and indulgences in Chapter VI., the legislator now turns his attention to the liturgy of the Church, and devotes Chapter VII. to it. It was necessary to consult the correctness of liturgy, in order to safeguard the faithful from misconceptions. The liturgy of the Church is her symbolic language ; it is the collection of the rites and ceremonies which she employs to express her inward feelings and belief. As a public speaker may make use of words and gestures to express his thoughts and feelings, so does the Church make use of Liturgy to give external expression to her inward belief. She is obliged to exercise continual vigilance over her liturgy lest inaccuracy should creep in ; for just as we might be deceived by the words and gestures of a speaker, so we might easily be led astray by a false liturgy.

The publications regarding the liturgy of the Church may be reduced to three classes : 1° Editions of the five liturgical books—the Missal, the Ritual, the Breviary, the Pontificale, and the Ceremoniale Episcoporum, together with some other books in which certain portions of the Church's liturgy are published apart : such as the ceremonies of Holy Week or the Ordination ceremony. 2° The public prayers of the Church, and especially the litanies. 3° Books in which the public prayers of the Church are collected and published. To each one of those liturgical publications, the legislator devotes a rule.

2. Rule 18 prescribes that no one shall presume to change anything in republishing the authentic editions of the Missal, the Breviary, the Ritual, the Caeremoniale Episcoporum,

the Pontificale, or of any of the other liturgical books which have been approved by the Holy See; if anyone should presume to make any change in republishing anyone of those books he shall have his edition proscribed.

The legislator speaks of the *authentic* editions of the liturgical books: now, which are the *authentic* editions? In general, when we speak of anything as authentic, we refer it back to someone that has power over it (*αὐθεντεῖν*). When we speak, for instance, of a book as authentic, we refer it back to its author; when we speak of a legal interpretation as authentic, we mean that it emanates from the same man as made the law; and so when we speak of authentic editions of the liturgical books, we mean those editions that have been revised and published in the first instance by the Church.

Who in the Church has power to make authentic editions of the liturgical books? The Pope alone has power to make authentic editions of the liturgical books. Liturgy is the expression of dogma. The truths that we believe in our hearts we express with our liturgy. As the Pope has supreme power in defining dogmatic truths, which are the elements of belief in the Church, so also he has supreme power to select a liturgy which will be the fit and proper expression of them; for the conception of an idea, and its expression, belong to one and the same individual.

There may be more correct liturgies than one: for just as the linguist may express the same idea in several different languages, so the Church may express the very same belief, and the very same feelings, in several different liturgies. Nor does a multiplicity of liturgies cause confusion: they rather give a richness to the symbolic language of the Church; just as a prolific speaker will employ a number of synonymous terms to express the same idea. Nor do they lead to schism or rend the garment of the Church: they rather give variety to the garb of the Church; just as we may employ different colours to ornament our dress.

Yet, as far as she has considered it convenient, the Church has introduced uniformity in her liturgy, in order that as there is but one faith, there might also be but one

expression of it. Now, of all the liturgies that have existed throughout the world, the Church has always preferred the antient liturgy of Rome ; because Rome has always remained orthodox in the faith, and has been sanctified with the blood of Peter and of Paul. In the Western Church, however, she has allowed one or two forms of liturgy to stand—to be as witnesses to testify to the conformity of the present Church with that of almost apostolic times ; and in the Eastern Church she has allowed several forms of liturgy to stand—to be as proofs that the various liturgies, which grew like plants from the traditions surrounding each of the Apostles, have all sprung from one parent stock.

The present rule has reference to the liturgical books of the Roman liturgy alone.

Having now determined that it is only the Church that can make authentic editions of the liturgical books, and that the Roman Pontiff holds supreme power in liturgy, as he does in dogma, it remains for us to determine what Pontiffs *have* made authentic editions. This question may be solved by examining the introductions to the different liturgical books. For instance : the authentic editions of the Missal are those of St. Pius V., Clement VIII., and Urban VIII. The authentic editions of the Roman Breviary are those made by the same Pontiffs. The authentic editions of the Roman Ritual, the Pontificale, and the Caeremoniale Episcoporum are those made by Benedict XIV.

3. *Quidquam immutare praesumat.*—The interpretation of this clause may be deduced from the Bulls prefixed to the authentic editions of the liturgical books. *Quidquam* includes all the substantial things in connection with the said books ; and *immutatio* implies any change whatsoever of the said substantial things, either by omission, transposition, or insertion.¹

¹ P. Pennacchi thus explains this clause :—' Atque advertatur has novas editiones iri prohibitum quamvis immutatio admissa sive per mutilationem, sive per interpolationem, sive transpositionem, &c.. levioris sit momenti : nam nemo quidquam immutare praesumat inquit legislator.

Ex lectione paragraphi apparet autem, singulis facultatem libros liturgicos imprimendi factam esse, cum et nemo excipiatur, et nihil requiratur aliud nisi conformitas cum editionibus authenticis. Qua de causa editores et

REG. XIX.—*Litaniae omnes, praeter antiquissimas et communes, quae in Breviariis, Missalibus, Pontificalibus ac Ritualibus continentur, et praeter Litanias de Beata Virgine, quae in Sacra Sede Lauretana decantari solent, et Litanias Sanctissimi Nominis Jesu jam a Sancta Sede approbatas, non edantur sine revisione et approbatione ordinarii.*

1. After having treated of the publication of new editions of the liturgical books in the last rule, the legislator now considers the publication of new litanies; and he prescribes that no litany be published without the revision and approbation of the bishop, except those ancient and well-known litanies¹ contained in the Breviary, the Missal, the Pontificale, and the Ritual, and the Litanies of the Blessed Virgin which are sung in the Holy House of Loreto; and, finally, the Litanies of the Holy Name which have been approved by the Holy See. Hence it appears that editors may publish the Litanies of the Saints as they are found printed in the Missal, the Breviary, or the Ritual, as well as the Litanies of the Holy Name and of the Blessed Virgin, without recur-

Typographi quicumque ob ejusmodi Leonis XIII. concessam licentiam possunt quosumque libros liturgicos imprimere, id unum prae oculis habentes, ut novae editiones sint plane conformes editionibus authenticis, cum sin minus ipso facto proscriptae mansurae sint; hinc neque facultate *S. Congregationis Rituum*, neque Episcoporum licentia pro ejusmodi novis editionibus conficiendis, post Leonis XIII. Constitutionem, indigent.¹

¹The litanies called by the legislator *Antiquissimae et communes* are those that are sometimes called *Litaniae Majores seu Sanctorum*, and that are sung in processions during the three Rogation days. They are found in the liturgical books, and from them are sometimes taken, and printed at the end of the *Graduale*. The legislator calls them *antiquissimae* because, according to the most reliable authority, they come down from the very earliest ages of the Church. Their author, however, has not with certainty been ascertained. Some attribute them to St. Mamertus, a French bishop, who died about 470. Others, however, believe—and, perhaps, on better authority—that they had been composed long before the time of St. Mamertus, but that it may be he who first got them sung during the Rogation days. Some would attribute them to St. Gregory the Great; and some, finally, to St. Leo. What, then, is the historical conclusion to be deduced from the number of conflicting testimonies adduced by the historians of the litanies? It is merely that stated by the legislator—that whereas their author and the year of the composition are unknown, it is quite certain that they are very ancient.

The origin of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin is also lost in antiquity. Various explanations have been given of its name, *Litania Lauretana*. Some would say that it is so called because it was composed at Loreto; others, again, would say that it is so called because it was first sung at Loreto; others, finally, would say that it was so called after the Holy House, to distinguish it from some other litanies which the faithful were wont to sing in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and which were afterwards proscribed by Clement VIII. and Paul V. Cf. Pennacchi, p. 157; and *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 1897.

ring to any ecclesiastical authority. For the publication of all other litanies the revision and approval of the bishop is required.

2. According to the present rule, therefore, bishops have power to revise and to authorize the publication of new litanies; hence, naturally, arises the question: Have bishops the power to approve new litanies, and to grant permission to have them sung or recited at devotions? In answer to this question we should distinguish two kinds of devotions—public devotions and private devotions. It would appear that bishops have not power of granting permission of having new litanies sung at public devotions; for we find the following decree passed by the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, 18th April, 1860:—

*Litaniae omnes, praeter antiquissimas et communes quae in Breviariis, Missalibus, Pontificalibus continentur, et praeter Litanias B.M.V. quae in Aede Lauretana decantari solent, non edantur sine revisione et approbatione ordinarii; 'nec publice in Ecclesiis, publicis oratoriis et processionibus recitentur, absque licentia et approbatione S. Rituum Congregationis.'*¹

From this it would appear that no litany may be sung or recited at public devotions that has not been approved, at least, by the Congregation of Rites.

In explanation we should say that when any particular prayer or devotion is publicly recited or practised, it becomes, in a certain way, the voice of the Universal Church. Now, who can *speak* for the Universal Church but him who thinks for the Universal Church? and who can think for the Universal Church but him who rules it? Power in dogma and power in liturgy belong to one and the same individual, just as thinking and talking. To say, therefore, that a bishop has power to sanction any particular public prayer or devotion, would seem to imply that he has power to speak for the Universal Church,—which is not true. Hence it would be erroneous to conclude from the present rule, that bishops have power to approve new litanies for public devotion.

¹ *Acta Sedis*, xxviii. 67.

Can bishops grant permission to recite new litanies at private devotions? It would appear that they can: for, if they cannot, the power granted them of approving new litanies would be perfectly useless? New litanies, therefore, to be sung or recited at public devotions, must be approved, at least by the Congregation of Rites. New litanies, to be recited at private devotions, may be approved by bishops.

REG. XX.—*Libros aut libellos precum, devotionis vel doctrinae institutionisque religiosae, moralis, asceticae, mysticae, aliosque hujusmodi, quamvis ad fovendam populi christiani pietatem conducere videantur, nemo praeter legitimae auctoritatis licentiam publicet, secus prohibiti habeantur.*

1. After having treated of the more common public prayers, the legislator now considers handbooks of devotion; and with regard to these he prescribes, that no one shall presume to publish, without the permission of legitimate authority, prayer-books, or books treating of piety or Christian doctrine, or books treating of morals, asceticism, mysticism, or any other similar subject, although they appear apt to foster and promote Christian piety. Should any books treating of those subjects be published without the approval of legitimate authority, they shall be proscribed.

2. In order to determine with accuracy the meaning of some of the terms of the present rule, its grammatical construction must be carefully noted. It is to be remarked, in the first place, that the words *religiosae, moralis, asceticae, and mysticae* are all adjectives qualifying *institutionis*. Then, as regards the meaning of the conjoined terms, *institutio religiosa, institutio moralis, &c.*, it is to be remarked that they imply something more than a mere exposition of religious doctrine or of Christian doctrine; they imply a certain building-up or development of Christian doctrine or morals, from certain fundamental principles. Let us now proceed to an individual examination of the terms.

Libri precum.—Are handbooks containing prayers to God, to our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, or to the saints.

Libri devotionis.—Are handbooks containing the litanies and other prayers proper to certain devotions or pious practices.

Libri doctrinae institutionisque religiosae.—The works here referred to must treat of Christian doctrine, as the word *doctrina* implies; they must, moreover, treat of Christian doctrine in a more or less scientific order, as the word *institutio* would seem to imply: for *institutio* implies a certain construction, or a certain building-up of knowledge. The works, however, here designated cannot be professional works on theology, for such works are treated of in Rule 41. It would appear, therefore, that the words under discussion, designate catechetical works which are written in a more or less scientific order, and are designed to impart a rudimentary knowledge of the principal truths of our faith.

Libri institutionis moralis.—Those words would seem to designate books written for the purpose of setting forth in a popular way the rules of morality, basing the proofs thereof on Scripture and on simple philosophical principles.

Libri institutionis asceticæ are books which explain how a soul may proceed step by step on the way of perfection.

Libri institutionis mysticæ are books which treat of the supernatural gifts of God, such as visions, discernment of spirits, revelations, or ecstasies.

Unless books treating of any one of those subjects bear the approval of legitimate ecclesiastical authority,¹ the faithful are forbidden to use them.

3. The main object, therefore, that the legislator had in view in framing the present rule was to sift the devotional books that issue from the press day after day. Although those works are always, we believe, written in the most pious spirit, and from the purest motives, yet it oftentimes happens that they contain unsound doctrine: that they propose forms of devotion that have not been sanctioned

¹ From Rule 35 we shall see that the *auctoritas legitima* here spoken of is that of the bishop of the place wherein the book is published. If the book should be published simultaneously in a great many places, the approbation of any one bishop would seem to be enough.

by the Church, or that they contain certain notions of virtues which are not theologically correct. The effect of the present rule will be to sift those works, and to block the way to any one of them, that is not calculated to foster piety on truly Catholic grounds.¹

CAP. VIII.—*De Diariis, foliis et libellis periodicis.*

REG. XXI.—*Diaria, folia, et libelli periodici, qui religionem aut bonos mores data opera impetunt, non solum naturali, sed etiam ecclesiastico jure proscripti habeantur.*

1. After having treated of sacred liturgy, the legislator now turns his attention to a species of literature, which may be said to be the literary production characteristic of the present age, *i.e.*, newspapers and periodicals. To this class of literature, which we may designate under the generic name of the Press, he devotes Chapter VIII.

We must distinguish at the outstart between newspapers and periodicals. Newspapers have generally for their *subject* the current events of the day, and the immediate conclusions to be deduced therefrom. Periodicals, on the other hand, generally discuss events more fundamentally; they discuss their causes and make surmises regarding their ultimate consequences. The press, composing both of those kinds of literature, gives expression to the ideas and feelings prevalent at the centres of thought in the country; accordingly, just as the human voice is the organ of expression in the human individual, so the press may be regarded as the organ of expression of the country.

¹ L'Abbé Pèries thus writes concerning the necessity of closely supervising the publication of devotional books: 'Cet article met un terme, il le faut esperer, à l'abondance de livres et d'opuscules de devotion, dont tant de gens bien intentionnés sans doute, mais insuffisamment instruits, ont saturé les fideles trop confiants au detriment de la saine doctrine. Ainsi donc, prières, considerations pieuses, essais doctrinaux sur le dogme, la morale, la theologie mystique, et autres matieres connexes doivent être soumis au visa de l'autorité competente, et sont regardés comme defendus s'ils n'en sont revetus. Il est à souhaiter que cette revision de l'autorité soit accomplie plus severement qu'elle ne l'a été bien souvent jusqu'ici, afin d'eliminer tous ces *mois* de differents saints et autres devotions analogues, où les considerations les plus absurdes s'étalent dans un style d'une platitude appropriée. La religion y gagnerait dans l'estime des gens serieux et les bonnes âmes n'y perdrait rien. Tout au plus certains libraires s'en plaindraient—ils.'

The *form* that the press will assume will depend in a great measure on the social condition of the country: in much the same way, as the exterior manner and deportment of an individual will depend on his natural character and education. The *form* of the press and the state of the country, will act and react on one another. In order of causality the state of the country is first, and it rough-hews the *form* of the press; the *form* of the press, in turn, brings the public feeling to a definite shape. If the press is good in *form*, it is of immense social benefit, inasmuch as it leads public thought and feeling in the proper direction; but, on the other hand, if it is bad, it is like a cancer or ulcer that draws to one point everything that is corrupt and fetid in the social body. In applying the present chapter of rules to the press, we may, therefore, regard newspapers and periodicals as moral individuals, having definite characters, guided by certain principles, and actuated by special motives. The separate issues, we may regard as so many specimens of the language of those individuals; and we may diagnose their character by reading their issues, just as we might diagnose the character of any person by listening to his conversation.

It is not easy to classify or *divide* newspapers and periodicals. They cannot be well divided according to their subject matter; because they may talk of anything, just as a human individual. Nor can we well divide them according to the principles they profess; for they are as different in character, as the faces of those we meet in the street are different from one another. They may, however, be roughly classified according to the intervals that elapse between their separate issues; and it would appear that the legislator has classified them on this basis in the present rule.

In the present rule the legislator declares and prescribes, that all newspapers whether dailies or weeklies as well as reviews and periodicals, that intentionally and designedly, or with set purpose, assail religion and morals, are proscribed not only by the natural law, but also by the ecclesiastical law; he also desires that bishops of places wherein

such publications should chance to be made, would give timely warning to their flocks of the danger with which they are surrounded, and the injury they suffer from reading such productions.

2. Let us now proceed to an examination of the terms of the rule.

Diaria.—*Diaria* is a word formed from *dies*, and signifies in the present context publications issued every day, whether they be composed of one or more sheets of paper; it would, therefore, be equivalent to our word *daily*.

Folia are publications composed of one standard sheet of paper; they will have a greater or less number of pages according as they are in 4to, 8vo, 12mo, &c.; and they may be made daily or weekly.

Libelli periodici are small books published periodically. They are, consequently, periodicals that may be issued weekly, fortnightly, or monthly.

Qui religionem impetunt.—What is the meaning of the term *Religio* in this context? It would appear that we are not to confine the term to purely Catholic doctrines, but that we are to extend it to all truths concerning God. The natural law stamped on the minds of all men, the written law given to Moses, and the Catholic Church founded by Christ, have a close relation one with the other. If anyone were to assail the natural law, he should assail thereby the Bible also; and were he to assail the Bible, he should assail the Catholic Church as well.

Directing our attention to the Catholic Church, and to the various sects, we remark there are many truths held by the sects in common with the Catholic Church; and that there are some doctrines held by the Catholic Church alone. Now, we must get words to express the set of truths peculiar to the Catholic Church: the words will be *Fides Catholica*. We must also get words to express *all* the truths held by the Catholic Church, even those which she holds in common with the sects: the expression will be *Religio*.

That the legislator has used the terms *Religio* and *Fides Catholica* with those significations throughout the present

constitution will become apparent from a collation of some of the rules : —

RULE 2.

Libri apostatarum, haeticorum, schismaticorum, et quorumcumque scriptorum haeresim vel schisma propugnantes, aut ipsa *Religionis fundamenta* utcumque evertententes omnino prohibentur.

RULE 3.

Item prohibentur aca-
tholicorum libri, qui ex
professo de *Religione*.
Tractant, nisi constet
nihil in eis contra.
Fidem Catholicam con-
tineri.

RULE 5.

Editiones textus origi-
nalis et antiquarum ver-
sionum Catholicarum
Sacrae Scripturae, etiam
ecclesiae orientalis, ab
acatholicis quibuscumque
publicatae, etsi fideliter et
integre editae appareant,
iis dumtaxat qui studiis
theologicis vel biblicis
dant operam, dummodo
tamen non impugnentur
in prolegomenis aut adno-
tationibus.

Catholicae Fidei dogmata
permittuntur.

Examining those three rules, we perceive that in Rule 2 *Religio* is used to cover the whole extent of Catholic truth—even those truths which the Catholic Church may hold in common with the sects. In Rule 5 we see that *Fides Catholica* is used to cover the area of truth proper to the Catholic Church ; and in Rule 3 we find the two expressions compared, and a far wider extension given to *Religio* than to *Fides Catholica*. For our part, then, we conceive all Christian truth as lying out in an immense area. This whole area we should call *Religio* ; a part of this area, however, is the personal property of the Catholic Church : and this we should call *Fides Catholica*.

Bonos Mores.—*Boni Mores* in the present context would seem to be co-relative with *Religio*. As Natural Ethics are co-relative with Natural Theology, or as Moral Theology is co-relative with Dogmatic Theology, so *Boni Mores* are co-relative with *Religio*. *Religio* includes the speculative truths, *Boni Mores* the practical ones. The expression will, therefore, not only include the moral code peculiar to the Catholic Church, but also the moral code of any of the sects in so far as it may coincide with that of the Catholic Church.

Data opera.—A difference of opinion exists among the commentators who have heretofore written on the rules of the Index, regarding the exact meaning of this expression,

1°. According to *Il Monitore Ecclesiastico*, *data opera* and *ex-professo* would be synonymous expressions, 'Dicemmo altrove che il *data opera* equivale all' *ex-professo*;' ¹ and elsewhere we read 'si noti quel *data opera*; espressione simile all' altra *ex-professo*.' ² 2°. L'Abbé Pèries; however, is of opinion that the two expressions mean quite different things. In translating Rule 9, wherein the expression *ex-professo* occurs, he writes:—'Les livres qui traitent *ex-professo* les sujets lascives ou obscenes, &c.:' ³ whereas in translating the present rule he writes:—'Que les journaux, feuilles, et revues qui atteignent à *dessein* la religion ou les bonnes moeurs, &c.' ⁴ For *ex-professo*, therefore, l'Abbé Pèries finds no French expression; for *data opera* he finds à *dessein*. 3°. P. Pennacchi makes a clear distinction between the significations of the two expressions:—

Data opera impetere nihil aliud est quam *studiose de industria consulto* aliquid aggredi; italice: *a bella posta, a bello studio, apposta, studiosamente, scientemente*. Quae dictio differt ab alia *ex-professo*: quae importat aliquid scribere vel docere circa datam materiam enucleate, et cum argumentorum serie atque delectu, ut lectores de re persuadeantur. . . . Exinde omne id quod *ex-professo* agitur, etiam *data opera* agitur; sed non e contra, cum haec dictio non adeo se extendat, nec tanta complectatur quantum dictio *ex-professo*.

Against the opinion, therefore, of *Il Monitore*, we have those of P. Pennacchi and of l'Abbé Pèries; and, moreover, there exists a strong presumption that the legislator would not have used two different expressions to designate the same thing in the present rules, wherein precision of diction has been so much studied.

In explanation, we should say that the term *ex-professo* implies in the first place a *declaration* of something (*ex-pro-fari*). In its literal sense, then, the expression should be applied to men and not to books. When applied to writings, as in the present context, it is used in a slightly metaphorical sense. But, since a person does not *declare* a thing without having some *intention*, the term implies in the second place,

¹ Cf. *Il Monitore*, p. 57.

² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³ Page 84.

⁴ Page 122.

an *intention* of doing something. An *ex-professo* treatment of a subject, therefore, implies two things—the *intention* of treating of it, and an open *declaration* of that intention. In treating of his subject the author will generally proceed along a predetermined line; but occasionally he may step aside for awhile; and what he then writes is said to be written *obiter*; hence we have the expressions *obiter dicta* and *dicta ex-professo*.

The expression, *data opera*, would seem not to imply a *declaration* at all. Thus, we have the common Latin expressions,—‘*est pretium operae, operam alicui negotio navare, studio operam praestare,*’—which do not imply a *declaration* of anything. Again, we read the following in the Civil War of Cæsar,—‘*Dent operam consules praetores, tribuni plebis, ne quid republica detrimenti capiat,*’¹—where the meaning is *precaution*, not *declaration*; and in Sallust’s history of Jurgurtha we read,—‘*Qui postquam allatas litteras audivit, ex consuetudine ratus opera et ingressu suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introivit,*’²—where the meaning is *advice* or *counsel*, and not the *declaration* of anything. Turning to ecclesiastical writers, we read in a sermon of St. Augustine,—‘*Sed potius abstinentes ab omni luxu, ebrietate, lascivia demus operam sobriae remissioni ac sanctae sinceritati,*’³—wherein there is no intimation of a *declaration* of any kind. Finally, in the present rules we have the expression clearly used to signify *intention* or *study*, exclusive altogether of any outward *declaration*. In Rule 8, for instance, we read: ‘*Hae nihilominus versiones iis, qui studiis theologicis vel biblicis dant operam, permittuntur.*’ We, therefore, consider the opinion of the *Monitore* as improbable.

Summing up then. *Ex-professo* implies two things: (a) an *intention* of doing something; (b) and a *declaration* thereof. *Data opera* implies only the *intention*. Hence it follows, as P. Pennacchi says, that what is *ex-professo*, is also *data opera*; but not *vice versa*. We should here call the attention of our readers to the greater severity of the

¹ *De Bello in Civil, in principio.*

² *Jurgurtha, cap. 71.*

³ *Rom. Brev. Serm: proposito pro Dom in Albis.*

legislator towards the press than towards books. A book is generally proscribed only for an *ex-professo* treatment; a journal or periodical is proscribed even for a *data opera* treatment.¹

Non solum naturali, sed etiam ecclesiastico jure proscripti habeantur.—We have already explained² that a book will be forbidden us by the natural law as well as by the ecclesiastical law. Now, what does ecclesiastical prohibition superadd to that of the natural law? Books treating of bad subjects, which might not be to us the occasion of sin, would not be forbidden us by the natural law: the ecclesiastical law steps in and proscribes them to all. Hence, 'it is in accordance with the Catholic tradition to believe that the natural law, which forbids us to expose ourselves to this danger (*i.e.*, of committing sin), except under the pressure of a proportionate necessity, is safeguarded by the addition of an ecclesiastical precept to the same effect.'³

¹ In paraphrasing the present rule we have rendered the expression *data opera* by the English words *intentionally, designedly, or with set purpose*. To justify ourselves for this version of the Latin expression, we here give some synonymous expressions in Latin, Italian, and French:—

	LATIN.	ITALIAN.	FRENCH.	ENGLISH.
Data opera,	studiose, de industria consulto.	a bella posta a bello studio apposta studiosamente scientemente.	à dessein de parti pris intentionelle- ment.	designedly intentionally with set purpose.

² Cf. Rule 4.

³ I. E. RECORD, February, 1897:—Art. by Dr. M'Donnell. We have already referred to the proscription of books by the natural law, in our remarks on Rule 4. A doubt here presents itself for solution regarding the meaning of *jus naturale* when applied to the proscription of bad books and newspapers according to the present Legislation on the Index. In order to bring the difficulty home to our readers, we would recall some proscriptions made by civil rulers.

It is recorded that the Athenian Senate proscribed a book of Anaxagoras for having disparaged paganism; and also that the Roman Senate proscribed the book of Cicero *De Natura deorum*, because he laughed therein at the idea of a multiplicity of gods. Finally, we know that Cæsar Augustus proscribed the book of Ovid, *De Arte Amandi*, and drove the author into exile. Let us place those proscriptions of the Athenian and Roman Senates side by side with that of the present rule, and compare them. By what motives were Cæsar Augustus and the Athenian and Roman Senates led to condemn the works of Ovid, of Anaxagoras, and Cicero? was it by motives founded on the natural law? And if it was, are we to predicate the natural law of those proscriptions of the pagan rulers, in exactly the same sense as we should predicate it of the proscription of

3. We now come to the practical question : when are we justified in saying that a particular newspaper or periodical is proscribed by the present rule? We have already explained the general character of the press ; we have also examined the anatomy of the present rule. Let us now apply the rule to measure the press.

In answering this question we must remark that the legislator speaks of two kinds of proscription—proscription

bad books and newspapers made by the legislator in the present rule of the Index? We propose to briefly examine those questions.

§ 1.

Object of the natural, divine, and ecclesiastical laws.

A law is primarily intended to direct or restrain one's actions. The Latins called it *lex* because it *bound* them to act in a certain way (ligare) ; and they called it *regula* because it *ruled* them. Now, we rule horses with bridles and bits, but men are ruled through reason ; and so St. Thomas calls a law an 'ordinatio rationis.' (i.—ii. ; 90 ; 4.)

Reason is of two kinds : speculative and practical. The laws of speculative reason are laid down in logic, and have *truth* for their object ; we should say that anyone would violate them, who would not observe the rules of the syllogism. The laws of practical reason are laid down in ethics, and have *good* for their object. There exists a very strong analogy between those two branches of reason, and the laws that regulate them. As there are certain speculative truths, called first principles, which are at the root of all logical conclusions, and which require no proof ; so there are certain *good things* which are at the root of all practical laws, and which man seeks and embraces without any constraint or persuasion.

Into the definition of man enter *animal* and *rationalis* ; he may be considered then as an animal, and as a rational being. As an animal there are two things that he seeks spontaneously and almost from instinct. First, to preserve his own life ; and to this end he is induced to take food. Second, to preserve the life of his race ; and to this end he is drawn to sexual intercourse. Considered as a rational being there is one thing that he spontaneously seeks—to develop his faculties ; and to this end he is induced to live in society. Accordingly, we have three precepts of the natural law : 1°. That which secures the life of the individual. 2°. That which secures the life of the race. 3°. That which secures the life of the state. Each of those have again subordinate or secondary precepts. (*Summa*, i.—ii., ; 94 ; 2.)

In theological questions we frequently have conclusions asserting that such or such an action is forbidden by such or such a precept of the natural law. Thus we might say that suicide is forbidden by the *first* precept of the natural law ; that polyandry is forbidden by one of the *primary* precepts of the second precept of the natural law, and polygamy by one of the *secondary* precepts of the same precept ; and we might say that Anarchism, Socialism, and Freemasonry are contrary to the *third* precept of the natural law.

How, now, are we to explain the proscription of the books of Ovid, Cicero, and Anaxagoras ? In the first place we should say that Cesar Augustus and the Roman and Athenian Senates would never have condemned the aforesaid books, unless they saw themselves in some way assailed by them. Rome and Athens believed themselves to be, in a certain way, the children of the gods : to have been blessed by them, and to have flourished under their patronage. The Romans never ventured on any great enterprise without having first offered sacrifice ; and they attributed their success as much to the good-will of

by the natural law, and proscription by the ecclesiastical law. We must, accordingly, take cognizance of both.

As regards proscription by the natural law, the answer is easy: any newspaper or periodical, or any issue thereof, is forbidden by the natural law that should be to us the occasion of sin.

As regards proscription by the ecclesiastical law, however, the answer would seem to be more difficult. Some

the gods, as to their own prudence and valour. Livy, for instance, tells us that before Scipio Africanus ventured on his great African campaign against Hannibal, he spent hours in meditation in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. The Romans, in fact, believed that Jupiter was as much at home on the Capitol, as he was in Olympus. What the Capitol was to the Romans, the Acropolis was to the Athenians. The pagan state identified itself with paganism; and accordingly, when Anaxagoras and Cicero openly assailed paganism, the Senates saw that a blow was dealt at themselves, and they rushed to the assistance of their patrons, as a child might rush to shield its parent from insult. The books of Cicero and Anaxagoras would, therefore, seem to have been proscribed under the *third* precept of the natural law. Not so, however, the book of Ovid. The books of Anaxagoras and Cicero might be said to be impious: that of Ovid was immoral. The books of Anaxagoras and Cicero assailed the state through its patrons: that of Ovid assailed it through its constituent element—the race; for nothing tends to the destruction of the race so much as immorality. The book of Ovid would, therefore, appear to have been condemned under the *second* precept of the natural law.

The Divine Law.—Now, besides the natural law, and its various precepts, it was necessary for many reasons that God would deign to give us a divine law:—1°, on account of the *end* to which He had ordained us. If, indeed, man had been ordained to nothing beyond this mortal life, there would have been no necessity of a law beyond the reach of man's own understanding and inherent inclinations; but God has ordained us to an end far beyond the reach of our understanding, and far outside the range of our inherent inclinations; for St. Paul says that no ear hath heard, or eye perceived, what God has in store for His elect; and David, who had been already fully acquainted with the natural law, beseeches God to give him another law, the Divine law—'Legem pone mihi Domine viam justificationis tuarum.' (Ps. cxvii.) 2°. To enable man to act with certainty in the particular conclusions drawn from the natural law; although the primary precepts of the natural law will be known to all, yet all will not be acquainted with the particular conclusions drawn therefrom. Hence it was necessary for man to have for his guidance a divine law, as well as a natural law. (Cf. *Summa*, i., ii., 91, 4.)

The divine law would seem to have no *objectively* distinct precept from those of the natural law with regard to the proscription of bad books and newspapers; it merely promulgates anew, in a new light, as it were, the precepts already imposed by the natural law; and so St. Paul says, 'Eratis aliquando tenebræ, nunc autem lux in Domino; ut filii lucis ambulate.' (Ephes. 5.)

Ecclesiastical Law.—Besides proscription by the natural or divine law, we have also proscription by the ecclesiastical law. Sometimes a book may be proscribed by the natural or divine law without being proscribed by the ecclesiastical law; and of such we have an example in Rule 4 of the present Legislation. We have already explained how we are to understand such an act of the Church. We are not to understand it as an approbation of such books: because the Church could not approve of what is in itself bad. We are to

would be inclined to answer this part of the question by assigning a certain number of bad issues—say two, three, four, or five—beyond which all further issues should be proscribed. They would put those separate issues together into one volume, and weigh them against the rule, as they would a book. But this manner of procedure we should not consider correct. In the first place, no two judges could be got to agree to exactly the same number of issues; and,

regard it as a kind of toleration, to prevent confusion and greater evils. It is in this same spirit that the Church sometimes tolerates heresy and freedom of the press. Again, sometimes books will be proscribed by the ecclesiastical law which would not be proscribed by the natural or divine law. Thus many books which would not assail in any way the life of either the individual, the race or society, and which would not be the slightest occasion of sin to priests and some laymen, will be forbidden to all by the ecclesiastical law. The ecclesiastical law, therefore, in the proscription of books does two things over and above the natural or divine law; it specifies the precepts of the natural or divine law, and enforces them with a new vigour.

It is to be remarked that the more particular the case becomes, and the greater the number of surrounding circumstances, the more difficult it is to apply in practice a general law. Accordingly, although we might be well able to explain the precepts of the natural or divine law, yet it might happen that we could not apply our speculative knowledge to practical and particular cases. The ecclesiastical law does this for us; it takes us by the hand and lays our finger on the tainted book or newspaper. It does more; if we show any reluctance to keep away from what is bad, it compels us to do so.

§ 2.

Now, what are the relations existing between those three laws—the natural, the divine, and the ecclesiastical? In reply we should say that all relationship is founded either on *action* or on *quantity* (*Summa*, i., 28, 4). In discussing, then, the relations between those laws, we are to attend principally to their comprehension, *i.e.*, to the objects of the precepts contained under each of them.

Comparing thus the natural law with the divine law, we see that everything commanded by the natural law is also commanded by the divine law. It is, however, commanded under a new light, the light of revelation. And so we find St. Paul telling the Romans, 'Cum gentes quae legem non habent, naturaliter ea quae legis sunt faciunt' (Rom. ii.); and he tells the Ephesians after their conversion:—'Eratis aliquando tenebrae, nunc autem lux in Domino; ut filii lucis ambulate' (Ephes. v.). There are, however, some things commanded us by the divine law, that do not fall under the natural law; thus the acts of the three virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity, tend to a *supernatural* object.

Comparing in the same manner the divine law with the ecclesiastical law, we see that the object of the divine law falls under the ecclesiastical law, but not *vice versa*; there are some things commanded us by the Church which do not fall directly under the divine law. In illustration of this we should remark that we find several disciplinary decrees in the Decrees of the Council of Trent, which the Church changes from time to time to suit the exigencies of time and place. Now, if they were divine, she would not change them. Although, however, the object of the divine law falls under the ecclesiastical law, yet the Church sometimes preserves economic silence with regard to some particular things commanded by it; and of such policy we have an example in Rule 4 of the present Constitution.

To what, then, shall we liken those three laws? We may compare them

accordingly, those who would seek for an answer of such mathematical accuracy should be deceived in their hope: because their answer would not be practical. Secondly, it would appear from the end the legislator has had in view, that the separate issues of newspapers and periodicals, taken *singly*, do not fall under the present rule at all.

And hence no number of issues *taken singly* would suffice

to three wheels moving one within the other; or, again, recurring to the parable of the seed and the sower; may we not say that the herb was put forth in the natural law, that the ear grew in the divine law, and that an abundant harvest has been produced under the care of the Catholic Church? (*Summa*, i., ii., 107, 3.)

§ 3.

Now, are we to understand *jus naturale* in Rule 21 in the same sense as we should predicate it of the proscriptions of Augustus and the Roman and Athenian Senates? It would appear that we are not.

In explanation we should say that we may speak of virtuous actions in two ways. 1°. In so far as they are *virtuous*. 2°. We may speak of the *species* of the virtues. If we speak of human actions in so far as they are virtuous or not, then all good actions are according to the natural law, and all bad actions are contrary to it. Everything belongs to the natural law to which man is induced by the elements of his nature: and he is led by the elements of his nature to follow the dictates of reason. Hence, when he acts in accordance with reason he acts virtuously, and when he acts contrary to it he performs a bad action: and so St. Paul says: 'Quod non est ex fide peccatum est.' Hence in one sense we may say that every good action is in accordance with the natural law, and that every bad action is contrary to it. If, however, we consider the *species* of the virtue, or the *object* of the action, then those actions only will be contrary to the natural law which tend in some way to destroy either the individual, the race, or human society. (*Summa*, i., ii., 94, 3.)

Hence we find the words *jus naturale* used in two different senses by theologians. In one sense, to designate the *object* of the action: in the other to designate its *conformity* or *deformity* with reason. In the first sense we may say that the natural law tends to preserve the individual, the race, and human society: and it is in this sense that we are to predicate the law of the proscriptions of Augustus and the Roman and Athenian Senates. In the other sense, however, we may say that the natural law forbids us to expose ourselves to the proximate occasion of sin, unless a sufficiently grave reason supervenes; and it is in this sense that we are to understand the *jus naturale* in Rule 21.

It is in this second sense that writers on the Index usually use the words. Thus Dr. M'Donnell writes (I.E. RECORD):—'What are the obligations of Irish Catholics with regard to dangerous books and periodicals? What are we to preach? Are we to confine ourselves to inculcating the natural law, which undoubtedly forbids one, under the pain of mortal sin, to expose oneself to serious spiritual danger except under the stress of some necessity proportionate to the risk? *Il Monitore* writes (p. 57): 'E dichiarasi che come questi son prohibiti per *diritto naturale*, cosi pure sono proscritti per *legge ecclesiastica*;' and P. Pennacchi writes (p. 163): 'Jure enim naturali libros contra religionem legere prohibemur ob periculum ruinae spiritualis.'

In the present Legislation on the Index, then, there are two kinds of proscription—proscription by the natural law, and proscription by ecclesiastical law. By the natural law are proscribed all books that might be the cause of our spiritual ruin; by the ecclesiastical law are proscribed all books included in the present Rules of the Index, as well as those *individually* condemned by special decrees.

to have the newspaper or periodical, as a living organ, proscribed. The end of the present rule is to preserve the faith and morals of the people from being corrupted by the press. This end is attained by keeping the faithful from reading the publications of bad newspapers and periodicals. Now, the faithful cannot know whether any *particular* issue is bad or not till they have read it; and once they have read it, the end of the present rule, as far as that issue is concerned, can no longer be attained. Nor can the *future* issues, considered singly, fall under the present rule: for what is not blameworthy cannot be condemned; and how can the child unborn be yet guilty of personal sin? To assign a certain number of bad issues, therefore, as the limit of toleration, would not seem to be a good way of answering the question under discussion.

It would be well to distinguish the living organism, so to speak, of the newspaper or periodical from its individual issues. The newspaper or periodical may be regarded as a living moral person—having, as it were, personal interests and motives—guided in its publications by a certain policy, and by a certain set of principles, and by reason of its origin having a certain *clientela* to represent. The separate issues, on the other hand, may be regarded as so many utterances made by this moral person. Those separate issues convey the thoughts and feelings of the press, so long as they are read, in much the same way as our words convey our thoughts and feelings to others, so long as they are listened to; when they cease to be read, they are like words spoken in the desert, that awaken not even an echo.

Viewed in this light, all difficulties would seem to disappear; the end of the present rule can be attained with regard to the future issues as well as the past, and we have means of arriving at a practical conclusion. The separate issues may not be guilty as *individuals*, but they shall be guilty because of their origin, in much the same way—if we may compare small things with great—as the child comes forth stained with the sin of its origin. It was thus that the books of Luther had been condemned by the Church even before they were conceived in his mind; and it was thus

also that the books of Arius, Nestorius, and Eutyches had been condemned by the Church long before they were given birth. It would appear, therefore, that it is the *organ* of the newspaper or periodical, and not its *separate issues*, that falls under the present rule.¹

When, then, can we say that the organ of a newspaper or periodical falls under the proscription of the present rule? The rule itself supplies the answer: when it manifests a character antagonistic to religion or morals. If the organ, therefore, of any newspaper or periodical should manifest a character or spirit hostile to any point of the whole area of Christian truth, or to any precept of the entire Christian moral code, it is proscribed by the present rule.

REG. XXII.—*Nemo e Catholicis, praesertim e viris ecclesiasticis in hujusmodi diariis, vel foliis, vel libellis periodicis, quidquam, nisi suadente justa et rationabili causa, publicet.*

1. After having stated in Rule 21 when it is that bad newspapers and periodicals are proscribed by the ecclesiastical and natural law, the legislator now treats of contributions to the same, and prescribes that no Catholic, and, above all, no cleric, is to publish anything in such papers and periodicals unless he be induced to do so by a just and reasonable cause.

2. This rule is simple both in its *form* and its *matter*; neither requires explanation. It may be well, however, to consider the motives that seem to have induced the legislator to frame it. It would seem that one of his motives was to prevent scandal; for many persons would naturally be led to believe that the Catholics and priests who would contribute articles to such papers or periodicals could not be worthy of their name. Another end would seem to have been to save the faithful from falling into *error*; for seeing Catholics and priests writing for such papers they would gradually be led to put trust in the principles advocated by

¹ It is in this manner that *Il Monitore* considers newspapers and periodicals in the present context, for (p. 59) it writes:—'Ora i giornali quando assalgono la religione ed i buoni costumi, sono proibiti *di per se*, benché scritti da falsi Catholicici;' and again (p. 60) it writes:—'La proibizione dei giornali empîi o immorali porta seco l'obbligo di non retinerli, di non donarli ad altri, e molto meno di non *associarsi ad essi*; l'associazione ai giornali cattivi è un cooperare non solo alla loro diffusione, ma si ancora alla loro esistenza.'

such organs. Finally, he may have intended by the present rule to lessen the circulation of such papers and periodicals. When the public perceive that those organs speak the ideas and sentiments of none but men of bad character and ruined fortunes, they will gradually be drawn away from reading their publications.

The legislator states, however, that a just and reasonable cause may render it lawful for a priest or layman to publish an article in one of those papers or periodicals. We are not prepared to specify what causes would be sufficient; but it would appear that they must be very grave. Generally speaking, articles in such organs shall fail to produce any good effect; for, as the organs lie under the censure of the Church, the articles, though good in themselves, shall be tarnished with the same leprosy. The writer will be disregarded by the genuine supporters of the organ, and regarded with suspicion by Catholics of true spirit. Perhaps even such articles, instead of doing good, would do positive evil; for it might happen that some Catholics, desirous to read the said articles, would be induced to buy the issue on which they should appear, and therein find cockle with the wheat. Finally, there might be a risk that such articles, instead of advancing the Catholic cause, might do it positive injury. Some Catholics, full, perhaps of more zeal than discretion, might rush into a defence without sufficient previous preparation, and thereby seriously injure the cause they would defend; for, as there is nothing that so weakens the resources of a conquered country, and rivets the chains of slavery so tightly on it, as an unsuccessful revolt, so there is scarcely anything that does so much damage to a good cause as an indifferent defence.

We are, therefore, of opinion that it would be in accordance with the wish of the legislator that all Catholics and ecclesiastics would abstain almost altogether from inserting articles in such organs; and that when they should deem it necessary to enter the lists with any anti-religious periodical or paper, they would do well to select rather some Catholic paper or periodical of good and decent character as an organ to give expression to their ideas.

DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL OF HIS HOLINESS LEO XIII. ON THE
CONSECRATION OF MANKIND TO THE SACRED HEART

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII
LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE AD PATRIARCHAS PRIMATES ARCHIEPIS-
COPOS EPISCOPOS ALIOSQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIOS PACEM ET
COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES

DE HOMINIBUS SACRATISSIMO CORDI IESU DEUODENDIS

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBUS ARCHIEPIS-
COPIS EPISCOPIIS ALIISQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIIS PACEM ET
COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Annum Sacrum, more institutoque maiorum in hac alma Urbe proxime celebrandum, per apostolicas Litteras, ut probe nostis, nuperrime indiximus. Hodierno autem die, in spem auspiciumque peragenda sanctius religiosissimae celebritatis, auctores suasoresque sumus praeclarae cuiusdam rei, ex qua quidem, si modo omnes ex animo, si consentientibus libentibusque voluntatibus paruerint, primum quidem nomini christiano, deinde societati hominum universae fructus insignes non sine causa expectamus eosdemque mansuros.

Probatissimam religionis formam, quae in cultu Sacratissimi Cordis Iesu versatur, sancte tueri ac maiore in lumine collocare non semel conati sumus, exemplo Decessorum Nostrorum Innocentii XII, Benedicti XIII, Clementis XIII, Pii VI eodemque nomine VII ac XI: idque maxime per Decretum egimus die xxviii Iunii mensis an. MDCCCLXXXIX datum, quo scilicet Festum eo titulo ad ritum primae classis eveximus. Nunc vero luculentior quaedam obsequii forma observatur animo, quae scilicet honorum omnium, quotquot Sacratissimo Cordi haberi consueverunt, velut absolutio perfectioque sit: eamque Iesu Christo Redemptori pergratam fore confidimus. Quamquam haec, de qua loquimur, haud sane nunc primum nota res est. Etenim abhinc quinque ferme lustris, cum saecularia solemnina imminerent iterum instauranda postea quam mandatum de cultu divini

Cordis propagando beata Margarita Maria de Alacoque divinitus acceperat, libelli supplices non a privatis tantummodo, sed etiam ab Episcopis ad Pium IX in id undique missi complures, ut communitatem generis humani devovere augustissimo Cordi Iesu vellet. Differri placuit rem, quo decerneretur maturius; interim devovendi sese singillatim civitatibus data facultas volentibus, praescriptaque devotionis formula. Novis nunc accidentibus causis, maturitatem venisse rei perficiendae iudicamus.

Atque implissimum istud maximumque obsequii et pietatis testimonium omnino convenit Iesu Christo, quia ipse princeps est ac dominus summus. Videlicet imperium eius non est tantummodo in gentes catholici nominis, aut in eos solum, qui sacro baptismate rite abluti, utique, ad Ecclesiam, si spectetur ius, pertinent, quamvis vel error opinionum devios agat, vel dissensio a caritate seiungat: sed complectitur etiam quotquot numerantur christianae fidei expertes, ita ut verissime in potestate Iesu Christi sit universitas generis humani. Nam qui Dei Patris Unigenitus est, eandemque habet cum ipso substantiam, 'splendor gloriae et figura substantiae eius,'¹ huic omnia cum Patre communia esse necesse est, proptereaque quoque rerum omnium summum imperium. Ob eam rem Dei Filius de se ipse apud Prophetam, 'Ego autem,' effatur, 'constitutus sum rex super Sion montem sanctum eius. Dominus dixit ad me: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te. Postula a me, et dabo Tibi gentes hereditatem tuam et possessionem tuam terminos terrae.'² Quibus declarat, se potestatem a Deo accepisse cum in omnem Ecclesiam quae per Sion montem intelligitur, tum in reliquum terrarum orbem, qua eius late termini proferuntur. Quo autem summa ista potestas fundamento nitatur, satis illa docent, 'Filius meus es tu.' Hoc enim ipso quod omnium Regis est Filius, universae potestatis est heres: ex quo illa, 'dabo Tibi gentes hereditatem tuam.' Quorum sunt ea similia, quae habet Paulus apostolus: 'Quem constituit heredem universorum.'³

Illud autem considerandum maxime, quid affirmaverit de imperio suo Iesus Christus non iam per apostolos aut prophetas, sed suis ipse verbis. Quaerenti enim romano Praesidi: 'ergo rex es tu?' sine ulla dubitatione respondit: 'tu dicis quia rex sum ego.'⁴ Atque huius magnitudinem potestatis et infinitatem

¹ Heb. i. 3.

² Ps. ii.

³ Heb. i. 2.

⁴ Ioan. xviii. 37.

regni illa ad Apostolos apertius confirmant: 'Data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra.'¹ Si Christo data potestas omnis, necessario consequitur, imperium eius summum esse oportere, absolutum, arbitrio nullius obnoxium, nihil ut ei sit nec par nec simile: cumque data sit in caelo et in terra, debet sibi habere caelum terrasque parentia. Re autem vera ius istud singulare sibi que proprium exercuit, iussis nimirum Apostolis evulgare doctrinam suam, congregare homines in unum corpus Ecclesiae per lavacrum salutis, leges denique imponere, quas recusare sine salutis sempiternae discrimine nemo posset.

Neque tamen sunt in hoc omnia. Imperat Christus non iure tantum nato, quippe Dei Unigenitus, sed etiam quaesito. Ipse enim eripuit nos 'de potestate tenebrarum,'² idemque 'dedit redemptionem semetipsum pro-omnibus.'³ Ei ergo facti sunt 'populus acquisitionis'⁴ non solum et catholici et quotquot christianum baptismum rite acceperunt, sed homines singuli et universi. Quam in rem apte Augustinus: 'queritis,' inquit, 'quid emerit? Videte quid dederit, et invenietis quid emerit. Sanguis Christi pretium est. Tanti quid valet? quid, nisi totus mundus? quid, nisi omnes gentes? Pro toto dedit, quantum dedit.'⁵

Cur autem ipsi infideles potestate dominatuque Iesu Christi teneantur, causam sanctus Thomas rationemque, edisserendo, docet. Cum enim de iudiciali eius potestate quaesisset, num ad homines porrigatur universos, affirmassetque, 'iudiciaria potestas consequitur potestatem regiam' plane concludit: 'Christo omnia sunt subiecta quantum ad potestatem, etsi nondum sunt ei subiecta quantum ad executionem potestatis.' Quae Christi potestas et imperium in homines exercetur per veritatem, per iustitiam, maxime per caritatem.

Verum ad istud potestatis dominationisque suae fundamentum duplex benigne ipse sinit ut accedat a nobis, si libet, devotio voluntaria. Porro Iesus Christus, Deus idem ac Redemptor, omnium est rerum cumulata perfectaue possessione locuples: nos autem adeo inopes atque egentes ut, quo eum munerari liceat, de nostro quidem suppetat nihil. Sed tamen pro summa bonitate et caritate sua minime recusat quin sibi, quod suum est, perinde demus, addicamus, ac iuris nostri foret: nec solum non recusat, sed expetit ac rogat: 'Fili praebe cor tuum mihi.' Ergo

¹ Matt. xxviii

² Coloss. i. 13.

³ 1 Tim. ii. 6.

⁴ 1 Pet. ii. 9.

⁵ Tract. 120 in Ioan.

⁶ 3^a p. q. 59, a. 4.

gratificari illi utique possumus voluntate atque affectione animi. Nam ipsi devovendo nos, non modo et agnoscimus et accipimus imperium eius aperte ac libenter : sed re ipsa testamur, si nostrum id esset quod dono damus, summa nos voluntate daturus ; ac petere ab eo ut id ipsum, etsi plane suum, tamen accipere a nobis ne gravetur. Haec vis rei est, de qua agimus, haec Nostris subiecta verbis sententia. Quoniamque inest in Sacro Corde symbolum atque expressa imago infinitae Iesu Christi caritatis, quae movet ipsa nos ad amandum mutuo, ideo consentaneum est dicare se Cordi eius augustissimo : quod tamen nihil est aliud quam dedere atque obligare se Iesu Christo, quia quidquid honoris, obsequii, pietatis divino Cordi tribuitur, vere et proprie Christo tribuitur ipsi.

Itaque ad istiusmodi devotionem voluntate suscipiendam excitamus cohortamurque quotquot divinissimum Cor et noscant et diligant : ac valde velimus, eodem id singulos die efficere, ut tot millium idem vonentium animorum significationes uno omnes tempore ad caeli templa pervehantur. Verum numne elabi animo patiemur innumerabiles alios, quibus christiana veritas nondum affulsit ? Atqui eius persona geritur a Nobis, qui venit salvum facere quod perierat, quique totius humani generis saluti addixit sanguinem suum. Propterea eos ipsos qui in umbra mortis sedent, quemadmodum excitare ad eam, quae vere vita est, assidue studemus, Christi nuntiis in omnes partes ad erudiendum dimissis, ita nunc, eorum miserati vicem, Sacratissimo Cordi Iesu commendamus maiorem in modum et, quantum in Nobis est, dedicamus. Qua ratione haec, quam cunctis suademus, cunctis est profutura devotio. Hoc enim facto, in quibus est Iesu Christi cognitio et amor, ii facile sentient sibi fidem amoremque crescere. Qui, Christo cognito, praecepta tamen eius legemque negligunt, iis fas erit e Sacro Corde flammam caritatis arripere. Iis demum longe miseris, qui caeca superstitione conflictantur, caeleste auxilium uno omnes animo flagitabimus, ut eos Iesus Christus, sicut iam, sibi habet subiectos ‘ secundum potestatem,’ subiiciat aliquando ‘ secundum executionem potestatis,’ neque solum ‘ in futuro saeculo, quando de omnibus voluntatem suam implebit, quosdam quidem salvando, quosdam quidem salvando, quosdam puniendo,¹ sed in hac etiam vita mortali, fidem scilicet ac sanctitatem impertiendo ; quibus illi

¹ S. Thom. l. c.

virtutibus colere Deum queant, uti par est, et ad sempiternam in caelo felicitatem contendere.

Cuiusmodi dedicatio spem quoque civitatibus affert rerum meliorum, cum vincula instaurare aut firmitus possit adstringere, quae res publicas naturâ iungunt Deo. Novissimis hisce temporibus id maxime actum, ut Ecclesiam inter ac rem civilem quasi murus intersit. In constitutione atque administratione civitatum pro nihilo habeter sacri divinique iuris auctoritas, eo proposito ut communis vitae consuetudinem nulla vis religionis attingat. Quod huc ferme recidit, Christi fidem de medio tollere, ipsumque, si fieri posset, terris exigere Deum. Tanta insolentia elatis animis, quid mirum quod humana gens pleraque in eam inciderit rerum perturbationem iisque iactetur fluctibus, qui metu et periculo vacuum sinant esse nominem? Certissima incolumitatis publicae firmamenta dilabi necesse est, religione posthabita. Poenas autem Deus de perduellibus iustas meritasque sumpturus, tradidit eos suae ipsorum libidint ut serviant cupiditatibus ac sese ipsi nimia libertate conficiant.

Hinc vis illa malorum quae iamdiu insident, quaeque vehementer postulant, ut unius auxilium exquiratur, cuius virtute depellantur. Quisnam autem ille sit, praeter Iesum Christum Unigenitum Dei? 'Neque enim aliud nomen est sub caelo datum hominibus, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri.'¹ Ad illum ergo confugiendum, qui est 'via, veritas et vita.' Erratum est: redeundum in viam: obductae mentibus tenebrae: discutienda caligo luce veritatis: mors occupavit: apprehendenda vita. Tum denique licebit sanari tot vulnera, tum ius omne in pristinae auctoritatis spem revirescet, et restituentur ornamenta pacis, atque excident gladii fluentque arma de manibus, cum Christi imperium omnes accipient libentes eique parebunt, 'atque omnis lingua' confitebitur 'quia Dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris.'²

Cum Ecclesia per proxima originibus tempora caesareo iugo premeretur, conspecta sublime adolescenti imperatori crux, amplissimae victoriae, quae mox est consecuta, auspex simul atque effectrix. En alterum hodie oblatum oculis auspiciatissimum, divinissimumque signum: videlicet Cor Iesu sacratissimum, superimposita cruce, splendidissimo candore inter flammam elucens. In eo omnes collocandae spes: ex eo hominum petenda atque expectanda salus.

¹ Acts iv. 12.

² Phil. ii. 11.

Denique, id quod praeterire silentio nolumus, illa quoque caussa, privatim quidem Nostra, sed satis iusta et gravis, ad rem suscipiendam impulit, quod honorum omnium auctor Deus Nos haud ita pridem, periculoso depulso morbo, conservavit. Cuius tanti beneficii, auctis nunc per Nos Sacratissimo Cordi honoribus, et memoriam publice extare volumus et gratiam.

Itaque edicimus ut diebus nono, decimo, undecimo proximi mensis Iunii, in suo cuiusque urbis atque oppidi templo principe statae supplicationes fiant, perque singulos eos dies ad ceteras preces Litaniae Sanctissimi Cordis adiciantur auctoritate Nostra probatae: postremo autem die formula Consecrationis recitetur: quam vobis formulam, Venerabiles Fratres, una cum his litteris mittimus.

Divinorum munerum auspicem benevolentiaeque Nostrae testem vobis et clero populoque, cui praeestis, apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die xxv Maii, An. MDCCCLXXXIX, Pontificatus Nostri vicesimo secundo.

LEO PP. XIII.

AD SACRATISSIMUM COR IESU FORMULA CONSECRATIONIS
RECITANDA

Iesu dulcissime, Redemptor humani generis respice nos ad altare tuum humillime provolutos. Tui sumus, tui esse volumus; quo autem Tibi coniuncti firmiter esse possimus, en hodie Sacratissimo Cordi tuo se quisque nostrum sponte dedicat. Te quidem multi novere numquam: Te, spretis mandatis tuis, multi repudiaverunt. Miserere utrorumque, benignissime Iesu: atque ad sanctum Cor tuum rape universos. Rex esto, Domine, nec fidelium tantum qui nullo tempore discessere a te, sed etiam prodigiorum filiorum qui Te reliquerunt: fac hos, ut domum paternam cito repetant, ne miseria et fame pereant. Rex esto eorum, quos aut opinionum error deceptos habet, aut discordia separatos, eosque ad portum veritatis atque ad unitatem fidei revoca, ut brevi fiat unum ovile et unus pastor. Rex esto denique eorum omnium, qui in vetere gentium superstitione versantur, eosque e tenebris vindicare ne renuas in Dei lumen et regnum. Largire, Domine, Ecclesiae tuae securam cum incolumitate libertatem; largire cunctis gentibus tranquillitatem ordinis: perface, ut ab utroque terras vertice una resonet vox: Sit laus divino Cordi, per quod nobis parta salus: ipsi gloria et honor in saecula: amen.

Di questo importantissimo documento pontificio daremo quanto prima la versione italiana autentica.

HERETICS IN CATHOLIC HOSPITALS

HAERETICO MORIBUNDO POSTULANTI MINISTRUM PROPRIUM, NON
LICET MOREM GERERE, SED CATHOLICAE PERSONAE IPSI
INSERVIENTES, PASSIVE SE HABEANT

BEATISSIME PATER,

Superiorissa Generalis Instituti Parvarum Sororum a Pauperibus dictarum, provoluta ad S. V. pedes humiliter postulat quomodo sese gerere debeant sorores quando reperitur inter senes in propriis domibus receptos, acatholicus quidam qui in extremo vitae limine positus, posthabitis conatibus ut moriatur in sinu verae religionis conversus, absolute petit adsistentiam ministri haeretici. Possunt-ne Sorores dictum ministrum advocare?

Feria IV, die 14 Decembris 1898.

In Congregatione Generali ab EE. ac RR. mis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, propositis suprascriptis precibus, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt:

'Detur Decretum in Colonien. fer. IV, 14 Martii, 1848, una cum Declaratione ad Vicarium Apost. Aegypti fer. IV, 5 Februarii, 1872.'

Porro Decretum in colonien. ita se habet;

BEATISSIME PATER,—'D. Evens, presbyter dioecesis Colonien-sis in Borussia, V. S. humiliter exponit quod in civitate Neutz, eiusdem dioecesis, existit hospitium, cuius ipse Rector et Capellanus est, ac in quo infirmorum curam gerunt Moniales, dictae Sorores Nigrae. Cum autem in hoc hospicio subinde recipiantur acatholicae religionis sectatores, ac iidem ministrum haereticum, a quo religionis auxilia et solatia recipiant, identidem petant, quaeritur utrum praefatis monialibus falsae religionis ministrum advocare licitum sit? Quaeritur insuper utrum eadem danda sit solutio, ubi haereticus infirmus in domo privata cuiusdam catholici degit; utrum scilicet tunc catholicus ministrum haereticum advocare licite possit.

'Resp.: Iuxta exposita, non licere; et ad mentem. Mens est quod passive se habe .'

*Sequitur Declaratio ad Vicarium Apost. Aegypti:*¹

‘ Nella Fer. IV, 31 Gennaio, 1872, fu proposta a questi Emi Inquisitori Gen.li la dimanda di Mons. Vicario e Delegato Apostolico dell’Egitto . . . diretta ad avere istruzioni sul come diportarsi negli Ospedali misti, serviti da Monache cattoliche quando qualche scismatico o protestante infermo ivi degente richiede l’assistenza del suo ministro.

‘ Il S. Consesso, dopo aver preso l’argomento con i suoi aggiunti in matura considerazione, trovò conveniente di emettere il seguente Decreto: *R. P. D. Vicarius Apostolicus se conformet Decreto fer IV, 15 Martii, 1848, et opportune eidem explicetur sensus verborum eiusdem Decreti PASSIVE SE HABEAT.* Infatti egli nella sua lettera manifestava il suo imbarazzo nello interpretare quelle espressioni, ossia nel tradurle in pratica. Sul qual proposito i prelodati EEmi intendono sia fatta apposita avvertenza a quel Prelato, nel senso che alle Monache o ad altri individui cattolici, addetti alla direzione o al servizio dell’Ospedale, non sarebbe lecito prestarsi direttamente alle richieste degli acattolici infermi in quanto al chiamare un loro ministro, il che è bene che alla evenienza lo dichiarino; ma in pari tempo soggiungono che per la chiamata possono servirsi di qualche soggetto appartenente alla rispettiva loro setta. In questa guisa rimane salva la massima in quanto alla vietata comunicazione *in divinis.*’

Sequenti vero Feria VI, die 26 Decembris, eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita Audientia a SSmo D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII, R. P. D. Adessori impertita, SSmus D. N. resolutionem EE. et RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. CAN. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquisit. Not.*

¹ Feria IV, die 31 Ian. 1872 proposita fuit Emis Inq. gen. petitio Rmi Vicarii et Delegati Apl. Aegypti, ad hoc tradita ut instrueretur quomodo agendum esset in Hospitalibus mixtis in quibus catholicae Moniales servitium praestant, quoties aliquis schismaticus vel protestans infirmus inibi decumbens postulat adstantiam proprii ministri.

S. Ordo, petitionem cum suis adiunctis matura consideratione ventilavit, et opportunum duxit emittendi sequens Decretum: ‘R. P. D. Vic. Apl. se conformet Decreto fer. IV, 15 Martii 1848 et opportune eidem explicetur sensus verborum eiusdem Decreti *passive se habeat.* Ipse enim in epistolis datis sese anxium declarabat in interpretandis dictis verbis, seu in applicandis illis ad praxim. Et ideo prae laudatis Emis Patribus mens est ut notificetur Praelato Oratori, Monialibus vel aliis personis catholicis additis directioni vel servitio Hospitalis, non licere operam suam directe praestare infirmis acatholicis pro advocando proprio ministro, et bene erit, si data occasione, id declarent; sed addunt Emi Patres, quod adhiberi potest pro advocando Ministro, ministerium alicuius personae pertinentis ad respectivam sectam postulantium. Et ita salva manet doctrina relate ad vetitam communicationem *in divinis.*’

**FAST TO BE OBSERVED BEFORE ORDINATION
THE CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES**

CIRCA IEIUNIUM PRAEMITTENDUM S. ORDINATIONI ET CONSECRATIONI ECCLESiarUM

BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus N. N. ad pedes S. V. provolutus humillime petit benignissimam declarationem quomodo sit intelligendum *ieiunium* ante Ecclesiae consecrationem et ante Ordinationes.

In casu vero quod *ieiunium* hocce in Pontificali Romano praescriptum comprehendat tum abstinentiam a carnibus, tum etiam unicam in die saturationem, humillime petit Episcopus orator, qui pluries per annum Ecclesias consecrat et Ordinationes facit, pro se, pro Ecclesiae adscriptis et pro ordinandis mitigationem dicti praecepti, quatenus Sanctitas Vestra indulgere dignetur dispensationem a carnibus quoad prandium, tum ante Ecclesiae consecrationem tum ante Ordinationes, ita ut maneat, excepta sic dicta *suppa*, abstinentia a carnibus in coena et *ieiunium* pro more regionum nostrarum servandum.

Causae sunt : 1° Dispensationes pro diebus quadragesimalibus a S. V. similiter concessae. 2° Asperitas aeris et circumstantia victus nostrarum regionum. 3° Infirmitas moralis multorum laicorum Ecclesiis nostris adscriptorum, etc.

Feria IV, die 14 Decembris 1898.

In Congregatione Generali coram EEEmis et RRmS DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, propositis suprascriptas dubiis praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

‘Quoad Ordinationes, sufficit servare *ieiunia* Quatuor Temporum ; nam pro Ordinationibus extra Tempora non adest *ieiunii obligatio*.’

Quoad Consecrationes Ecclesiarum servetur Decretum S. R. C. in Mechlinien. diei 29 Iulii, 1870 (n. 2519 edit. noviss.) ad I, quod ita se habet : ‘Ieiunium in Pontificali Romano praescriptum esse strictae obligationis pro Episcopo consecrante et pro iis tantum qui petunt sibi Ecclesiam consecrari ; idemque ieiunium indicendum esse die praecedenti consecrationi ad formam Pontificalis Romani.’

‘ Quoad vero petitam dispensationem pro ieiunio in Consecratione Ecclesiae, supplicandum SSmo iuxta preces.’

Sequenti vero Feria VI, die 16 Decembris eiusdem anni, in solita audientia a SSmo D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII, R. P. D. Adessori impertita SSmus D. N. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit et petitam gratiam concessit, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.*

MATRIMONIAL IMPEDIMENTS

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

EXPLICATUR RESPONSIO IN UNA CENOMANEN II. MARTII 1896 . . .

QUUM DUO FRATRES DUAS SORORES DUXERUNT, EORUM SOBOLES
DUPLICI TANTUM IMPED. CONSANG. DEVINCITUR.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Recens vulgata est responsio S. C. S. Officii data ad Episcopum Cenomanensem,¹ circa impedimenta consanguinitatis multiplicia, casu quo duo sponsi in secundo gradu consanguinitatis revincti, avum et aviam habent in secundo item gradu coniugatos ; ex qua responsione aperte sequitur :

In casu contemplato adesse non solum impedimentum in secundo aequali, sed etiam in quarto aequali :

2. Ideoque non sufficere declarationem, item nec dispensationem impedimenti in secundo aequali ; unde matrimonium contractum in huiusmodi hypothesi, id est declarato et dispensato solo impedimento secundi gradus, esse nullum.

Sequitur praeterea 3. Consanguinitatem in quarto gradu esse duplicem ; quia cum avus et avia sponsorum non se habeant per modum unius stipitis sed ut personae, ideoque stipites distincti, iam duplex est via ad ascendendum usque ad ulteriorem stipitem.

Videtur autem illa duplex consanguinitas in quarto aequali ita duplex constituere impedimentum, ut si unicum declaratur et dispensetur impedimentum in quarto gradu (declarato item et dispensato altero in secundo gradu aequali), matrimonium foret nullum.

Porro frequentior praxis in Curiis ecclesiasticis nostrarum regionum duplex tantum, non triplex, in casu proposito retinebat

¹ Cf. *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. iv., p. 207, ubi haec responsio prostat.

et dispensandum curabat impedimentum : scilicet unum in secundo aequali ; alterum in quarto aequali. Numquid igitur dispensationes sic datae nullius fuissent momenti et matrimonia sic contracta, invalida? Namque graves pro matrimoniorum valore adesse videntur rationes. Nam : 1. Dum oratores arborem genealogicam exhibent, ex qua aperte deducitur eos descendere in secunda generatione a parentibus qui in secundo gradu aequali contraxerant, liquide et candide aperiunt omnia, nec locus esse videtur subreptioni aut obreptioni. 2. Dum Curia, considerans casum et arborem genealogicam, dispensat super duplici tantum impedimento, res prout sunt, contemplantur et casui vero prospicere intendit ; durumque videretur dicere matrimonium nullum fuisse, eo quod Curia, omnia casus elementa habens, duplex tantum vidisset impedimentum, dum triplex erat.

Sed et alia difficultas oritur ex praefata decisione. Casu enim quo duo fratres duxerint duas sorores, iam eorum filii non duplici tantum sed quadruplici impedimento consanguinitatis in secundo aequali devincerentur. Quia nempe, si pater et mater singulorum non per modum unius stipitis se habeant, iam quoad singulos filios, duplex datur via ascendendi ad duplicem stipitem ulteriorem, unde quatuor sunt impedimenta quod nemo auctorum, si unus, me conscio, excipiat, docuit, nullaque ex Curia, quantum scire fas est, in praxi servat ; quando enim adsint sponsi quorum pater materque sunt respective frater et soror alterutrius patris et matris, Curiae dispensationem petunt aut concedunt super duplici tantum impedimento in secundo gradu aequali.

Quum vero in hac Dioecesi N. innumera sint matrimonia cum variis impedimentis consanguinitatis contracta, sequentium dubiorum solutio a S. Congregatione S. Officii enixe petitur nempe :

I. Quando duo sponsi constituuntur in secundo aequali consanguinitatis gradu, et eorum avus et avia ipsi in secundo consanguinitatis gradu matrimonium contraxerant, ita ut devinciantur etiam quarto gradu consanguinitatis, utrum necessario petenda et obtinenda sit dispensatio super triplici impedimento, nempe in secundo et in duplici quarto, an valida sit dispensatio forsitan petita et obtenta super duplici tantum impedimento, nempe secundi aequalis et quarti item aequalis. Et quatenus negative ad secundam partem :

II. Quid agendum quoad matrimonia in hac Dioecesi cum simili dispensatione contracta, nempe super duplici tantum impedimento in secundo et quarto ?

III. Dum duo fratres duas sorores duxerunt, num eorum soboles devinciatur duplici vel quadruplici vinculo consanguinitatis in secundo aequali?—Et quatenus quadruplici;

IV. Num invalida sint matrimonia inter huiusmodi contracta cum dispensatione super duplici tantum consanguinitatis impedimento in secundo aequali?—Et quatenus invalida;

V. Quid faciendum quoad matrimonia in hac Dioecesi sic contracta?

Et Deus, etc.

Feria IV, die 22 Februarii, 1899.

In Congregatione Generali ab E. mis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, propositis suprascriptis dubiis, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt:

‘Ad I. Quoad primam partem, affirmative ut in fer. IV. die 11 *Martii*, 1896 Cenomanen.—Quoad secundam partem pariter affirmative; dummodo exponatur casus uti est, non obstante errore materiali in computatione impedimentorum.’

‘Ad. II. Provisum in praecedenti.’

‘Ad. III. Duplici tantum consanguinitatis impedimento in secundo gradu aequali.’

‘Ad. IV. et V. Provisum in praecedenti.’

‘Sequenti vero Feria VI, die 24 eiusdem mensis et anni, in audientia a SS. D. N. Leone Div. Prov, Pp. XIII. R. P. D. Adessori impertita, SS. mus D. N. resolutionem EE. et RR. Patrum adprobavit.’

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.*

MARRIAGES OF FREEMASONS

CONCEDITUR ORDINARIIS FACULTAS PERMITTENDI MATRIMONIA
LIBERORUM PENSATORUM

BEATISSIMO PADRE,

Il Vescovo N. N., prostrato ai piedi della S. V., rispettosamente espone quanto appresso:

Con decreto di Fer. IV 30 Gennaio 1867, confermato dall'altro di Fer. III loco IV 25 Maggio 1897,¹ il S. Ufficio dichiara: ‘Quoties agatur de matrimonio inter unam partem catholicam et alteram quae a fide ita defecit, ut alicui falsae religioni vel sectae sese adscripserit, requirendam esse consuetam et necessariam dispensationem cum solitis ac notis praescriptionibus et clausulis.

¹ Cf. *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. vi., p. 141.

Quod si agatur de matrimonio inter unam partem catholicam et alteram, quae fidem abiecit, at nulli falsae religioni vel haereticae sectae sese adscripsit, quando parochus nullo modo potest huiusmodi matrimonium impedire (ad quod totis viribus incumbere tenetur) et prudenter timet ne ex denegata matrimonio adsistentia grave scandalum vel damnum oriatur, rem deferendam esse ad R. P. D. Episcopum, qui, sicut ei opportuno nunc facultas tribuitur, inspectis omnibus casus adiunctis, permittere poterit, ut parochus matrimonio passive intersit tamquam testis *authorizabilis*, dummodo cautum omnia sit catholicae educationi universae prolis aliisque similibus conditionibus.'

Ora il Vescovo oratore chiede umilmente la facolta di permettere i matrimonii dei liberi pensatori secondo le norme del prefato decreto. Che ecc.

In Congregatione generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis, habita ab EE.mis et RR.mis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus, propositis suprascriptis precibus, prae-habitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Reformatus precibus : I. An verba Decreti S. Officii fer. IV, die 30 Ianuarii 1867 ad I 'rem deferendam esse ad R. P. D. Episcopum qui, sicut ei opportuna nunc facultas tribuitur' extendi possint ad omnes Episcopos ?

II. 'Et quatenus negative orator Episcopus N.N. suppliciter petit ut sibi dicta facultas concedatur.'

Resp. : ad I. 'Affirmative, facto verbo cum SS.mo.'

'Ad II. 'Provisum in primo.'

Feria vero VI, die 13 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impetita, facta de his omnibus SS.mo D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII relatione, SS.mus resolutionem EE. morum Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.*

THE ABUSE OF DELAYING BAPTISM

CIRCA LUGENDUM ABUSUM DIFFERENDI NOTABILITER COLLATIONEM BAPTISMI

BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus N. N. invenit in sua dioecesi lugendum abusum, quod scilicet nonnulli genitores, ob futiles praetextus, praesertim quia patrinus vel matrina parati non sint, vel a remoto loco transire debeant, differunt collationem baptismi neonatis, non

solum per hebdomadas et per menses, sed etiam per annos, uti manifestum apparuit occasione Sacrae Visitationis. Ad obviandum praefato abusui, praefato abusui, omnes adhibuit conatus; valde tamen timet Orator ne illum iuxta vota eradicare possit.

Quibus positis, humiliter postulat utrum obstetrix, quando praevidet baptismum notabiliter differendum iri, possit illico neonatum abluere, quamvis iste in bona sanitate reperiatur, etiam insciis uno vel utroque conjuge, monito tamen de hoc parochi?

Feria IV., die 11 Ianuarii, 1899.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis, habita ab EE.mis et RR.mis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus, proposito suprascripto dubio, prae-habitoque RR. et DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE.mi ac RR.mi Patres respondendum mandarunt.

‘Urgendum ut Baptismus quam citius ministretur: tunc vero permitti poterit ut obstetrix illum conferat, quando periculum positive timeatur ne puer dilationis tempore sit moriturus.’

Feria vero VI, die 13 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, facta de his omnibus SS.mo D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII relatione, SS. us resolutionem EE.morum Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.*

LEGISLATION REGARDING REGULARS WHO BECOME SECULARIZED

DUBIUM. AN EPISCOPUS EXCIPERE COGATUR RELIGIOSOS SAECULARIZATOS, ET AN EOSDEM VALEAT ADHIBERE IN SACRIS MINISTERIIS

ILLME. AC RME. DNE., UTI FRATER,

Difficili Regularium hodiernae conditioni occurrere satagens, S. Congr. super Disciplina Regulari, pro illis *Religiosis*, qui gratia vocationis destituti, val de alia rationabili causa muniti, extra claustra degere voluerunt, et tractu temporis vellent—auditis Superioribus Generalibus Ordinis, maturo consilio, statuit atque decrevit:—‘Ut ipsis facultas tribueretur manendi extra claustra habitu regulari dimisso, *ad annum*: quo tempore S. Patrimonium sibi constituerent; Episcopum *benevolum receptorem* invenirent; atque deinde, *pro saecularizatione perpetua*, iterum recurrerent, et interim Sacra facientes, verbum Domini praedicantes, fidelibus populis pia conversatione prodesse valerent.’

Quibus autem dispositionibus iurisdictio episcopalis nulli subest detrimento : namque Ordinarius *invitus non* cogitur illos in suum Clerum cooptare, neque Beneficiis ecclesiasticis proponere ; sed *perdurante* gratia concessionis, eiusdemque a Sede Apostolica, consecuta *prorogatione*, ad sancta obeunda ministeria, *pro lubitu* in sua Dioecesi habilitare potest, si velit. Neque ullam huic agendi rationi dubitationem infert *Decretum Auctis admodum* 1892, qui hoc *per regulam generalem* afficit *Instituta* recentia *votorum simplicium* ; ac tantum *per exceptionem* respicit *Ordines proprie dictos*, in quibus *vota solemnia* religiosi nuncupantur. Quae tamen *exceptio*, si fieri contigerit, in *singulari decreto* adamussim *notatur*, ita ut *speciale Rescriptum*, eiusque conditiones, *legem pro individuo*, constituunt : et solummodo *ab eo* Ordinarius sui agendi rationem quaerere debeat.

Iam vero, litteris, quas, die 4 Iulii cur. an. Amplitudo tua, ad hanc S. Congregationem mittere existimavit, *relate* ad PP. . . . Ordiniis SS^{nae} Trinitatis—et *pro quibus* ut ait,—‘ *quin onera Episcopi benevoli* receptoris in se suscipiat, aliquod levamen ipsis offerre desiderat ; ideoque *licentiam exposcit*, ut Ordinem exercere valeant ad *suum beneplacitum*, &c.’

Hic S. Ordo respondit : ‘ Religiosos huiusmodi esse *saecularizatos ad annum et interim*, &c. ut supra : pertinere ad Ordines *votorum solemnium* ; proinde nisi sint aliqua *speciali* censura *irretiti*, nulla ipsi indigent *nova facultate*, ut Sacris ministeriis Episcopi auctoritate in respectiva Dioecesi possint vacare.’

Et haec dicta sint, ut ius et regula agendi in re Tibi proponatur ; cui a Deo Optimo Maximo cuncta felicia adprecamur.

Romae die 16 Aug., 1898.

Amplitudinis tuae
Uti Frater Addictissimus,
S. CARD. VANNUTELLI, *Praef.*

INDULGENCES GRANTED BY A BISHOP

EX S. CONGREG. INDULGENTIARUM

MONTIS POLITIANI DUBIA DE INDULGENTIIS AB EPISCOPO CONCESSIS

Episcopus Montis Politiani huic Sacrae Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae sequentia dubia enodanda proposuit :

I. An Indulgentiae quas Episcopus concedit valeant intra limites suae dioecesos tantum, an vero etiam extra ?

II. An acquiri possint intra limites dioeceseos etiam a fidelibus, qui non sunt subditi Episcopi concedentis Indulgentias?

III. An subditi Episcopi concedentis Indulgentias has lucrari valeant dum extra dioecesim commorantur?

Et Em̃i Patres in Vaticano Palatio coadunati relatis dubiis die 5 Maii 1898 responderunt :

Ad I. Affirmative ad 1.^{am} partem ; negative ad 2.^{am}, nisi agatur de subditis Episcopi concedentis, et de Indulgentiis personalibus.

Ad II. Affirmative, dummodo Indulgentiae non sint concessae alicui peculiari coetui personarum.

Ad III. Provisum in primo.

De quibus facta relatione SSiño Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII. in Audientia. habita die 26 Maii 1898 ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto, eadem Sanctitas Sua Em̃orum Patrum resolutiones benigne approbavit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 26 Maii 1898.

FR. HIERONYMUS M. Card. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

L ✠ S.

✠ ANTONIUS ARCHIEP. ANTINOEN., *Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

DE PROBABILISMO DISSERTATIO. Quam, cum subjectis Thesibus, pro gradu Doctoris S. Theologiae, in Collegio S. Patritii, Manutiae, Publice Propugnavit. David Dinneen, Presbyter Cloynensis. Dublini: Browne et Nolan, Ltd.

THE publication of Dr. Dinneen's treatise will have been awaited by many with a peculiar interest. A very wide-spread public attention was centered in the auspicious event of twelve months ago, when he figured as the first successful candidate for the Maynooth Laureate. In the Public Defence which he then underwent, he challenged attack from all comers on the propositions which are set forth in the present treatise.

Though the literature of Probabilism is already confessedly very extensive, yet we cannot regret the influences which determined Dr. Dinneen in the selection of his subject. From a careful perusal of his work we believe that he has made a contribution to that literature of distinct and permanent value. While he shows himself fully versed in the best literature of the subject, and manifests due deference to the views of the great masters of moral science, yet one cannot fail to recognise throughout a striking independence of thought, whether in the discriminating fashion in which he deals with the opinions and arguments of others, or in the masterly and confident manner in which he seeks to establish his own position. The book throughout is a model of clear exposition and capable reasoning, and evinces a thorough grasp by the author of the great principle in all its bearings.

The chapters occupied with the defence of his system are specially interesting. With Lehmkuhl and others, he attaches decisive force to the toleration of Probabilism by the Church. The argument from the necessity of promulgation he propounds in regard to *dubia juris*, which are such in the first instance—the doubt arising *ex culpa legis*. In regard to *dubia juris*, which are primarily *dubia facti*—a class which comprehends in his view all doubts in regard to the natural law—his defence is based on the principle that one may have a sufficient reason for incurring the danger of material sin. To establish the presence of such a reason wherever Probabilism applies, he has recourse to the

well-known method of weighing the good and evil which would accrue to the race from the presence or absence of a universal obligation.

But is it so clear that this method is really applicable here—at least when there is question of doubts in regard to the natural law? The method seems to have been employed already in regard to the direct doubtful law, and *ex hypothesi* has failed to yield a satisfactory conclusion. For instance, in the case of a doubtful negative law, we have weighed the *commoda* and *incommoda* to the race, were a certain line of conduct universally permitted or prohibited, and we have simply failed to reach a better conclusion than this. It is probable, or more probable, as the case may be, that the *incommoda* resulting from a universal permission would predominate, while the contradictory of this remains quite probable.

In regard to all doubtful laws (*juris naturalae*) the application of the same method has resulted in similar failure. How, then, can we hope to *demonstrate* that, were a universal obligation of observing all those doubtful laws imposed, evil to the race would predominate in the result, seeing that, for aught we know, an obligation of observing them severally may result in good to the race? Furthermore, we do not clearly see that, in estimating the sufficiency of the reason, account should be taken of the danger of formal sin as such. We speak still in regard to doubts of the natural law. We could understand the frequency of sin being adduced as a proof of the over-burdening of nature by the proposed obligation. But our author evidently requires for his argument a consideration of the immense evil inherent in formal sin as such. But if an obligation be demanded by the essences of things—if the obligation against which Dr. Dinneen contends be so demanded—will it not be present irrespective of the fact that men will knowingly violate it? How, then, can we legitimately take into consideration the evil of formal sin as such, or the dangers of this evil, in determining the presence or absence of an obligation? Indeed, we cannot help thinking that if Probabilism be true at all in regard to natural law, it would still be true, even though the *humana fragilitas*, which occasions so many formal sins, were completely foreign to our poor nature. These are points on which we should certainly desire further elucidation. We are not concerned with our author's conclusions, or with his main thesis; but we cannot fall

in completely with his method of defence. There are other points on which we should wish to touch—especially his very ingenious attempt to vindicate the consistency of Probabilists in their teaching with regard to the cessation of a law. A further discussion, however, would carry us too far afield. The dissertation cannot fail to set a reader much a-thinking by reason of the excellent presentation which it gives of the particular line of defence which the author adopts.

W. B.

THE SACRAMENTS EXPLAINED. By Rev. A. Devine.
London: R. & T. Washbourne, Paternoster-row, and Benziger Brothers.

‘THIS volume, after the treatise on Grace, is confined to the Sacraments, and is intended as a companion to two volumes already published, one on the “Creed,” the other on the “Commandments.” In the three compendious volumes a complete course of instruction on the Christian doctrine is intended, which may serve as a help to the readers to know God by a lively faith, to obey Him by keeping His Commandments, and to use those means which Christ has instituted for obtaining His grace here and His eternal beatitude hereafter by frequently receiving the sacraments.’ These words occur in the Preface to this work. They explain its aim and object. And there can be no doubt that in fulness, conciseness, and accuracy, it leaves little to be desired. The whole doctrine of Grace and the Sacraments is scientifically set forth within the compass of some five hundred pages. Father Devine, indeed, never wrote anything that did not bespeak solid knowledge and a full grasp of his subject. He has laid his fellow-priests under an additional obligation by the publication of this work; rightly or wrongly, many of them will always prefer an English rendering of theology to the Latin manuals—more especially in the preparation of sermons and instructions.

But it is a pity he did not free himself from the scholastic idioms and the scholastic terminology. The truths of faith, though possessing an almost sacramental power of their own, will never reach the hearts and minds and souls of latter-day readers, unless presented in language at once correct, elegant, and attractive.

E. N.

BUSINESS GUIDE FOR PRIESTS. By Rev. W. Stang, D.D.
New York: Benziger Brothers. Price 85 cents.

THE name of Dr. Stang upon the title-page is a sufficient indication of the practical utility of this manual. It is meant, I dare say, to meet the wants of the American mission; but it contains much that will be of use to priests in these countries. It is only a young priest who finds himself suddenly launched into a responsible position can say how valuable a companion it may prove. The manner of keeping parochial registers, the method of applying for dispensations, the various little ordinances of letter-writing, etiquette, and other hints in 'business' matters, will be welcome items of information to one who has not yet been trained in the school of experience. However, the book is not as full as could be desired, at least for missionaries on this side of the Atlantic. Perhaps its appearance may lead to the publication of a 'Business Guide' adapted to the special needs of the mission here at home.

E. N.

LA DEMONSTRATION PHILOSOPHIQUE. Par l'Abbé Jules Martin. P. Lethielleux, 10 Rue Cassette, 10 Paris, 3.50.

THIS is a volume of the 'Bibliothèque Philosophique,' edited by P. Lethielleux. To use the venerable Abbé's own words, it is 'a doctrinal exposition which lays down and explains (qui montre comme intelligible) a complete conception of the universe,' or 'a body of principles and reasonings arranged in accordance with one leading doctrine.' The author expands and elucidates his system with elegance and ease, deals with the relations between metaphysics and science, dispels the illusions created by the aberrations of Descartes, Kant, and Renan, and sets proper limits to the idea that speculative truth is essentially one. We cannot help admiring the felicity of language, even in the expression of the most abstruse thoughts.

L'HOMME DIEU. L'ŒUVRE DE JESUS CHRIST. Par E. C. Minjard, Miss. Apost. Paris, Lethielleux. 2 vols. f. 7.00.

THE commendatory letter from the distinguished member of the Academy, M. François Coppeé, which appears opposite the title-page of this work predisposes the reader to find abundant merit in the succeeding pages. In common with all other

attempts to depict the true portrait of Jesus Christ, the present one earns the gratitude of all who desire to see the Great Teacher better understood, and His injunctions more loyally obeyed. In these studies on the divine character of the Godman, as mirrored in His lifework, M. Minjard proceeds upon lines consecrated by usage, and suggested by the title which has become proper to Jesus alone, that of 'the Christ,' who received unction as, *par excellence*, prophet, priest, and king.

The study of his divine subject as Teacher and King occupies our author throughout his first volume. It is his aim to present in brief compass the Master's chief teachings as the true solution of human perplexities defying the searchlight of vaunted modern science to reveal therein the faintest shadow of error, and also to put in high relief the sublimity of Christ's precepts which revolutionized the ethics of His day, becoming the foundation of what is good in most existing moral codes. The elevated character of His doctrines, the vastness of His enterprise, and His boundless success in regenerating the corrupt world, all prove Him to be what He claimed to be 'the Christ, the Son of the living God.' In His office as king He founded a kingdom which for extension and stability stands without a rival. Composed of what are humanly speaking the most disintegrating elements, it has endured ages longer than the work of any merely human intelligence; and this without any essential modification of its original constitution, while ceaseless shiftings and changings are proceeding all around. This sums up the argument of the first volume. In the second we are introduced to a study of Christ as the author of a religious system unique in its sublimity, and at the same time wisely adapted to the needs and learnings of the human individual and human society. The whole economy of the Redemption and the machinery, so to speak, for applying its effects to the individual are treated with the hand of a master and in a liberal spirit.

In the execution of his task the author presents us with a very thorough and convincing apology for the Catholic Church as the true interpreter of Jesus Christ had His accredited representative in carrying on the work He has inaugurated. We do not recollect being struck by any thoughts of a startlingly novel nature, but we are very far from regarding this in the light of a defect. We desired to see the old thoughts arrayed in a garb calculated to attract and impress the readers of this novelty-loving age,

and it is a pleasure to us to testify to the gratification of this desire. In the main, the old familiar truths are re-stated in the old familiar ways, but throughout in a style rich in varied illustration and glowing with that warmth and freshness so admittedly and distinctly French. Clear and forcible at all times, even at the cost of occasional redundancy, our author rises not unfrequently to true heights of eloquence. Of such opportunities for powerful and vivid description, and the pointed inference as the marvellous spread of Christianity, and the wonderful practical outcome of the observance of the evangelical counsels afford, the author is not slow to avail himself. In connection with the latter point, faithful as so often to his practical aim, he improves the occasion to marshal against French anti-clericals a powerful array of facts showing what religious orders have done and are doing in the service of humanity.

We encounter in the course of these two volumes frequent reference to '*lae critique scientifique*,' and we, therefore, felt inclined to exact from the author a critical cogency in his proofs and replies. It appeared to us that the author was sometimes wanting herein. To cite an instance—we think no good purpose is served in adducing—incidentally, be it admitted, the plurality of divinities among pagan nations as the proof of the remains of a primeval revelation of the mystery of the Trinity. We are not at all so certain as our author that the body of even the Jewish people possessed any acquaintance with the idea of a Trinity of Persons in God. More than once our author makes passing mention of current errors without any immediate attempt to a direct reply. This, no doubt, is due to his own confidence in his position, and to his expectation that his work will be received in its logical entirety; yet we think this proceeding demands too much of a strain upon the attention and reasoning powers of a large section of readers whom he designs his work to reach and influence.

But these are very minor points, and perhaps exist only to our own thinking. Throughout its pages this work is replete with solid information on every subject reasonably coming within the author's scope. Scarcely a point upon which the candid inquirer might seek information is left untouched. Quite a feature is the appositeness with which the author without any apparent digression glances at contemporary topics, and sheds light on many dark problems of current controversy. The following

passage, for instance, would appear in view of recent events, to be dictated by more than a speculative purpose. He is speaking of the Church's relation to human progress:—'Ces besoins nouveaux, sous les masques divers dont ils se couvrent selon les temps et les lieux, sont toujours les mêmes et se romment l'orgueil, l'avarice et la luxure. L'Église se déclare, depuis soixante siècle, impuissante à les satisfaire ; et l'Église mourrait dans l'avenir de cette impuissance quand elle n'en est pas morte dans le passé?'

In conclusion, we dare echo the wish of M. Coppeé, that this admirable work will dissipate the doubts and prejudices of the multitudes of the incredulous, and lead many hesitating and troubled spirits to the contemplation of the adorable Person of Jesus Christ, of His lifework and His teaching, in which to find the peace unattainable in the creeds of scepticism and unbelief. That M. Minjard's work will find readers in our own countries also, we earnestly hope. It remains to add that the present volumes form the second part of M. Minjard's entire work on the Man-God. The first part, likewise consisting of two volumes, is entitled 'La Personne de Jesus Christ. Ses Origines, Sa Mission, Sa Physionomie Divine.'

P. L.

SI VOUS CONNAISSIEZ LE DON DE DIEU. Mgr. Isoard, Bishop of Annecy. Paris: P. Lethielleux. 2f. 50c.

At a time when the signs of unrest which came to a climax in the recent storm of Americanism have not completely disappeared, the work of a French bishop on the position of Catholics, lay and clerical, in regard of progress with science, true and false, will be read with unwonted interest. Some will look upon it as an Apologia for those to whom the title of 'prie-dieu men' was lately attached as a stigma. Some, we are inclined to suspect, will open the work in the expectation of finding therein all the 'slowness of mediævalism.' However, after a careful perusal of the book we prefer to regard it as a summons to progress in the right direction.

The immediate cause of the partial giving away of the Catholic position regarding dogma and the presentation thereof, the virtues, their nature and practice, Mgr. Isoard finds in the fact that most Catholics to-day are content to remain passive when their faith is ridiculed, and to leave defence to some self-constituted lay

apologists who are gifted with a supreme idea of their own omniscience, and are not over-burdened with a knowledge of their faith. Such lack of knowledge of the gift of God, our faith, pervades, his Lordship believes, all the French Catholic laity, and is to be laid to the charge of the clergy, who teach not, because they have not what to teach withal. The bishop is to be understood as maintaining, not that the priests of France to-day lack a theoretical knowledge of theology, but that they need that intimate acquaintance with the science of God which ramifies through all the powers of man and bears the fruit of Christian deeds. In a word, they are not as rich as they might be in the supernatural life. 'Ce qui nous frappe et nous afflige, c'est la pauvreté du sens divin.'

Speaking in this connection his Lordship has a word to say concerning the training of the young priest. Dogma, learned from the heresies of old, whence alone it is best mastered, must stand at the head of the curriculum of our seminaries. But while Mgr. Isoard thus fittingly crowns dogma, no one maintains more stoutly than he that it needs the attendance of the other sciences so often pressed into their service by the enemies of our faith. Here, too, as throughout his whole work, the author avoids extremes, proving how absurd it is to demand that the young priest should at ordination be able to meet all modern antagonists on their own ground with all the proficiency of a master in sciences from which attack may come. To attain such proficiency is beyond the power of any man. To attain it in one department requires the work of a lifetime. But such attack must be met. Hence, priests must study to the end.

Such is his Lordship's charge. To enable us to fulfil it he suggests two means already employed in France with incalculable benefit—the Apostolic Union of Secular Priests, and the Sacerdotal Circulating Library. The former we have amongst us; the latter is described in detail in the work under review, and did it alone give ground for approval it would render Mgr. Isoard's work worthy of our closest perusal.

In two trivial particulars have we any fault to find. We think 'modernism' a title which would suit a large section of the book better than it does a sub-section of a chapter, and we believe 'feminism' not the most prominent feature of 'modernism.' Taking these exceptions, which are, perhaps, hyper-critical, we can give nought but the highest praise to a work which is at once

a defence of those who hold, with Leo XIII., that the solutions of latter day errors are to be found in works long since penned, of those who believe with Vincent de Paul that the loss of the clerical spirit is the cause of much of the disrepute into which religion has fallen, and an invitation to progress which will be readily accepted by all lovers of 'personal initiative' in the only true sense of the term.

T. W.

LA MORALE STOICIENNE EN FACE DE LA MORALE CHRETIENNE. L'Abbé Chollet, Professor at the Catholic University of Lille. Paris: P. Lethielleux, f. 3'50.

ENTRETIENS ET AVIS SPIRITUELS. R. P. Lécuyer, O.P. Paris: P. Lethielleux, f. 2'00.

THAT the Christian moral code is derived from that of the pagan philosophers, especially of the Stoics, is an ancient error recently resuscitated in France by Miron, Proudhon, Renan, Tiscot, and a host of others of that species. Suppressing, on the one hand, all that is supernatural in our code, and, on the other, putting carefully out of sight all the extravagances of the Portico, these philosophical acrobats exultingly point to the similarity in the residues as incontrovertible proof of their position.

Subjecting the salient features of both codes to strict examination, L'Abbé Chollet clearly demonstrates that the conclusion is rendered illegitimate by the eliminations which precede it, and that the analogies discovered prove not the evolution of the latter from the older code, but merely the right use of reason on the part of the Stoics, and the remembrance of primitive tradition. The work is unanswerable, and forms a valuable addition to the philosophical library at present issuing from the press of Messrs. Lethielleux.

The first portion of Father Lécuyer's book consists of a *résumé* of instructions given by the author to children of Mary. It deals with the primary truths of our faith in their special relation to young persons in the world anxious to lead lives of perfection beyond the ordinary. While diminishing none of the native force of these truths, the author quickens them with a new life by touches which reveal at once his own intense piety, and a thorough knowledge of the needs for whom he wrote.

The latter part contains advice on practical spirituality, a rule

of life, and two letters on the sanctification of a life of celibacy outside convent walls, and bears all the laudable characteristics of the earlier portion. We earnestly recommend the little work to all who are brought into professional contact with such souls as those for whom Father Lécuyer worked so well.

T. W.

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGIAE MORALIS GENERALIS. Auctore G. Bernardo Tepe, S.J. P. Lethielleux, 10, Via Dicta Cassette. 8 frs.

READERS of Father Tepe's previous works will gladly welcome his latest addition to theological literature. It was fitting that the fundamentals of Moral Theology should supplement his treatment of Dogma, and I venture to think that these handy volumes will meet with equal commendation. Human acts, laws, sins, virtues, and the gifts of the Holy Ghost are dealt with clearly, concisely, and comprehensively. On the ever-perplexing question of probabilism he is extremely full, and at least as satisfactory as his predecessors. To veteran theologians he may not be as 'strong' or as 'original' as Lehmkühl; but to those who have been merely introduced to the queen of sciences he will prove a staunch 'friend at court.' There is not a tract touched which he has not illuminated. There is no extraneous matter; there is no waste of space over *questiunculæ*; minor matters are very properly relegated to *scholia*, and all is most orderly. If a theological tyro may so express himself without laying himself open to the charge of presumption, I would earnestly express the hope that Father Tepe may continue his labours. Having been so many years in Wales he cannot be unacquainted with English law in its relations with Moral Theology. Surely, it would be a great blessing for theological students in these countries to possess a work dealing therewith. Germany, France, Italy, America, can point to manuals adapted to their peculiar needs. Why is it not so in the British Isles?

E. N.

MARIOLATRY. By Rev. Henry G. Ganns. Notre Dame, Indiana.

THE reverend writer discusses some 'new phases of an old fallacy' in a fresh racy style. At first sight, it is very difficult to get through a book in which the stupid and insulting

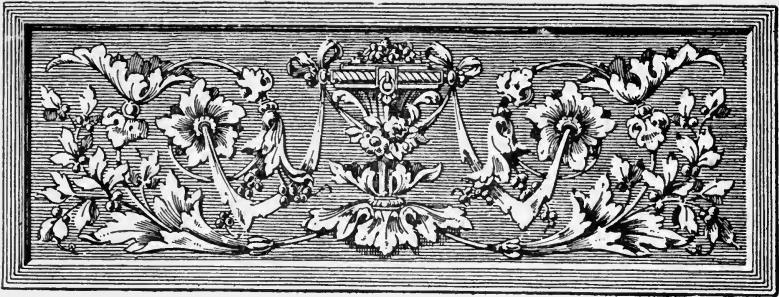
statements of men like the 'Rev. W. M. Frysinger, D.D.' are refuted *seriatim*; but the refutation is so triumphant, that we exclaim with Wordsworth at the close :—

Mother whose virgin bosom was uncrossed
 With the least shape of thought to sin allied ;
 Woman ! above all women glorified,—
 Our tainted nature's solitary boast ;
 Purer than foam on central ocean tossed
 Brighter than eastern skies at daybreak strewn
 With fancied roses, than the unblemished moon
 Before her wane begins on heaven's blue coast
 Thy image falls to earth. Yet some, I ween,
 Not unforgiven, the suppliant knee might blend
 As to a visible power, in which did blend,
 All that was mixed and reconciled in thee
 Of mother's love with maiden purity
 Of high with low, celestial with terrene.

We heartily congratulate the *Ave Maria* on its latest literary offspring.

THE SERAPH OF ASSISI. By Rev. J. A. Jackman, O.M.
 Dublin : Duffy & Co. Price, 5s., net.

ONE cannot help regretting that the author's literary powers are not commensurate with his piety. Had Father Jackman been gifted with the divine fire of poetry as he is with the fire of divine love, we might be certain of a great poem on the seraph saint of Assisi. This tasty volume of over two hundred pages enshrines is love for the virtues which St. Francis preached and practised. We have no doubt his verse may lead souls to imitate the life of the father he admires so much.



THE BIRTHPLACE OF ST. PATRICK

THESE are those—and I sympathise with them—who feel impatient at a discussion on the birthplace of St. Patrick. This may arise either because they judge the discussion likely to unsettle some preconceived theory, or because they deem some other subject of more practical importance. I can very well understand such feelings, though I do not share them: for there are few historical subjects which, to my mind, can have a more practical interest for all Irish ecclesiastics than the birthplace of our national saint. Alas! for the day on which his anniversary shall not be celebrated in Ireland by at least a few words touching him; and these are not, and cannot well be, addressed to the faithful without, at the same time, being told whence he came to us. Hence the utility of having the national mind made up as to the saint's birthplace.

As it is very doubtful if time will add to the materials at present available for forming a solidly probable, if not certain, opinion on the birthplace; and as, perhaps, there exists as critical, discerning a spirit at present as ever will exist, the more discussion is carried on, provided it be intelligent, the sooner will ensue a practically general agreement. The happy result should be the avoidance of contradictory statements from the altar on a historical point which tell injuriously on religion.

All of us are familiar with the touching lines on the
FOURTH SERIES, VOL. VI.—AUGUST, 1899.

burial of Sir John Moore on the heights of Corunna. In one of these lines allusion is made to the last sad office performed by a Briton :—

In the grave where a Briton had laid him.

A literary wag, in order to expose the too vague description of the poet, transformed the whole scene; transferred it to the ramparts of Pondicherry, a French colony, and would have us believe that the Briton burying the French general hailed from Brittany.

This literary freak is paralleled by an article in the last number of the [I. E. RECORD. The theory of its ingenious writer briefly told comes to this:—St. Patrick was from Emporia, or Vich, in Spain, where he was made captive, and his Irish captors sailed with him from Bretonia, three hundred miles away from the place of capture. The Confession of the saint is relied on for mention of Emporia and Vich. Our saint, speaking of his father, says: ‘Fuit vico *Bonaventaberniae*, villulam enim prope habuit ubi capturam dedi.’ To account for Emporia and Vich our ingenious writer gives a peculiar reading to the words *enim prope* by Emporia, and translates *vico* by Vich. Now for a reply.

Firstly. All the biographers of our saint have placed his residence in the *Bonaventaberniae*, and never in *vico* or in *enim prope*.

Secondly. If a transcriber, through inadvertence or ignorance, gives a wrong reading, a fundamental canon for amending it is to alter as few letters or parts of a letter as possible, especially when the reading is given without a doubt expressed. Now, no doubt is expressed as to the phrase *enim prope*, yet we are asked to believe it was originally written *Emporio*! Such liberty with a text is unpardonable.

Thirdly. The supplemental leaves to the *Book of Armagh* inform us of St. Patrick being by nationality a Briton, having been born in Britain; yet the remark of our ingenious writer on this is that he was shipped from Bretonia to Ireland, and that his biographers confounded it with Great Britain. But Bretonia in the N.E. of Spain

was the name merely of an episcopal see, and not of a nation; nor were its inhabitants called Britons. Nor is Bretonia the same as Britannia or Britanniae, a term exclusively applied to Britain. The life-long companions and fellow-labourers of our saint, forsooth, did not understand the story of his life as well as the writer in the I. E. RECORD, but confounded the place of his shipment with that of his nativity and the Bretonia as an episcopal district with the Britanniae of the British isles!

Fourthly. Our writer assumes that the Irish language was identical with the Iberian, or Spanish, and then derives from the Irish the word *taberniae*, which, we are told, means the flanking mountains, or, if we prefer it, the mountains of the sea. Why, the word could with as much propriety mean, in the Irish language, Timbuctoe. But it is too much to assume the identity of the Irish with the Iberian language; for the *Book of Armagh*¹ tells us that even the British language, in the days of St. Patrick, was different from the Irish.

Fifthly. The supplemental leaves to the *Book of Armagh*² inform us that after St. Patrick's escape from captivity in Ireland he left home for Rome, with a view of qualifying himself for the Irish mission. He accordingly crossed the British sea, on the south ('mari dextro Britannico'), and in making for Rome fell in with St. Germanus of Auxerre, where he tarried for a long time. Now, I ask, could a man under the southern shadow of the Pyrenees have a British sea on his south, or, in going to Rome, face northwards to Auxerre?

Sixthly. Our saint, remonstrating with Coroticus, and speaking in the name of the Irish, with whom he identifies himself, asked were they to be treated unworthily because they were Irish ('de Hiberia nati sumus'). Our ingenious writer insists that Hiberia is Iberia, and that this means Spain. Yet he has to admit that our saint always expresses Ireland by Hiberio, and the whole context shows that in the present instance the saint is speaking of Ireland. Why,

¹ Fol. xvi. ba.

² Brussels MSS.

then, change Hiberia to Iberia? Moreover, Iberia, in the fifth century, was never used as an expression for Spain. If it was, let us have a single instance in proof. On the other hand, Hispania or Hispaniae was the expression for Spain since, and for centuries previous to the days of St. Patrick. Thus Pope Innocent I., in St. Patrick's time, writing to Decéntius,¹ dwells on the missionary work of Rome in evangelizing Africa, France, and Spain (Hispanias).

Seventhly, Coroticus, who carried away St. Patrick's converts while neophytes, is acknowledged to have been a prince in South Wales. Our saint addressed to him and his followers a letter of excommunication. He disowns them; but in doing so acknowledges a nationality common to all of them ('non dico civibus meis et civibus sanctorum Romanorum sed civibus demoniorum'); and the saint added that, as they contemptuously ignore him ('mei non cognoscunt'), they verify the proverb: 'Propheta in patria sua honorem non habet.' This is a proof of the Britannia Secunda being the birthplace of our saint.

Eighthly. Our ingenious writer appeals to Probus, an Irish writer of the tenth century, who states that our saint's birthplace was not far from the Western Sea, and concludes that this means the Tuscan Sea. Only think of an Irish writer describing the Tuscan sea as a western sea, or our sea, as the supplement to the *Book of Armagh* gives it ('mari nostro').

The strange reasoning of our ingenious writer is in keeping with his wild hypothesis. The Tuscan sea, he suggests, was the 'Mare Inferum.' *Inferum* is the Irish *airthair* (not to my knowledge), and *airthair* would be *occidentalis*. Why, *Airthair* means quite the opposite—*orientalis*, or eastern.

Our ingenious writer having satisfied himself, by indirect proofs, that Britain was not our saint's birthplace, proceeds to give us direct proofs of it. He maintains that Britain is so far from being the birthplace of St. Patrick, that the saint, in three places, 'distinctly conveys that it is not, and

¹ Ep. Coustant.

is not the residence of his parents.' His first passage or proof runs thus :—

1. Iterum post paucos annos in Britannia eram cum 'parentibus' meis qui me ut filium exceperunt, et ex fide rogaverunt me ut vel modo post tantas tribulationes quas Ego pertulimus nusquam ab illis discederem.

The wrong explanation given by our ingenious writer of this passage is that *parentibus*, which I have italicized, means relatives, and that their reception of him *as* (ut) a son proves he was not really a son. Now, any person who looks into the oldest life of our saint, from which all others are mainly copied, can see that there was question of parents in the above passage. The Index to the Life in the *Book of Armagh*, has :—

De secunda captura quam senis decies diebus ab inimicis pertulerat. De susceptione sua a parentibus ubi agnoverunt eum.

The relatives or natural parents given in the Life just quoted, and no others, are those to whom our saint refers in his Confession.

Furthermore, the derivative and primarily conventional meaning of *parentes* is parents. In the Confession the saint himself identifies *parentes* with father and mother. He spoke of those who became virgins, 'not with the will of their fathers (*patrum*), but rather suffered persecution and unjust reproaches from their parents' (*parentum*). Here clearly *parentes* and *patres* (fathers) are identified.

The Justinian Code, advocating the liberty of children to become religious, strictly forbids parents to interfere with them: 'Ut non liceat *parentibus* impedire.'¹

On the other hand, the Second Council of Toledo,² legislating on the children given up to the Church by their parents, decreed thus: 'De his quos voluntas *parentum* a primis infantiae annis in clericatus, &c.' Does the word *parentes* here exclude parents, and signify only relatives?

In looking into the Theodosian Code³ we get further proof of the meaning of *parentes* in our saint's time: 'Si

¹ Lib. i., tit. 3, de Epis., leg. 55.

² Ch. i.

³ Lib. ix., tit. 24.

quis cum parentibus puellae ante depectus invitam rapuerit vel volentem, &c.’ Here, as in every passage of the fifth century, *parentes* signifies parents. The word, then, contrary to the assertion of our learned writer, had the same meaning as it has either in the Tridentine decrees on the consent of parents (*parentum*) to the marriage of their children; in the Roman Ritual on directions to parents (*parentes*) in regard to newly-born children; or, as in the Maynooth Statutes on the Catholic education of children by their parents (*parentum*).

(b) Our ingenious writer, remarking on the reception of St. Patrick *as* a son by his parents, says that the word *as* (*ut*) proves that he was not a real son. Not at all. I have shown that the word *parentes* meant parents; and, therefore, the parents in receiving him received their son. St. Patrick left, or was carried away from his home a beardless boy. He returned to his parents a full-grown man, with probably a flowing beard, with scanty and tattered garments, and speaking gibberish. What wonder there should be a passing doubt as to his identity! The *Book of Armagh* suggests some such hesitation; for a heading to one of its chapters runs thus: ‘De susceptione sua a parentibus *ubi* agnoverunt eum.’ There was question of recognising him, and *when* acknowledged he was received as their real son. Nothing could be plainer.

(c) But our ingenious writer proceeds to say that: ‘There is not the slightest intimation that our saint’s parents had their residence in Britain.’ Indeed! The *Book of Armagh*, or, more correctly, its supplement in the Brussels manuscript (learnedly edited by Rev. P. E. Hogan, S.J.), states that ‘Patrick was by nationality a Briton, being born in Britain;’ and as we learn from the *Book of Armagh*, ‘his father had a farm hard by where he was made a captive.’ To this capture our saint alludes in his letter to Coroticus, where he says, ‘that he came back to those who at one time seized me, and laid waste the male and female servants of my father’s house,’ ‘*domus patris mei*.’ And yet a bewildering theory is thrust on us, grounded on the bold assertion, that ‘his parents had no residence in Britain!’

2. The second proof, equally as valueless as the first, in support of a baseless theory is given by the ingenious writer in English; but as I do not admit its correctness I give the original thus:—

Et comperi ab aliquantis fratribus ante defensionem illam quod ego non interfui nec in Britannis eram nec in me orietur ut et ille in mea absentia pro me pulsaret.

The only remark which our learned writer makes on this alleged proof is 'this passage does not show that Patrick says Britain was his country.'¹ Yes; but it is adduced by him to prove that St. Patrick 'conveys distinctly that Britain is not the place of his birth, or of his parents' residence.' Does it at all allude even to his parents or their residence? Assuredly, no. All the above passage proves is that Patrick was not in Britain on a particular occasion.

With a view to a clear understanding of the passage, I may mention that some persons had opposed the consecration of our saint because of some alleged fault. At this time, and for some time previously, our saint was studying with St. Germanus, at Auxerre, to whom, through the interference of Palladius, was committed the charge of the British churches. Palladius himself, a Roman deacon (I am quoting from the *Book of Armagh*), was sent the first bishop to Ireland; but having to return to Rome immediately after, he died, while returning, in Britain. The disciples of the dead chief Palladius, Augustin and Benedict, together with others crossed the English Channel, and made their way as far as Eburo-briga (Ebmoria). There they met St. Patrick accompanied by the priest sent with him by St. Germanus. The disciples of Palladius, with others, who were probably on their way to Germanus, and then were within some thirty or forty miles of Auxerre, announced the death of Palladius to St. Patrick, who was on his way to Ireland. He at once stopped and received consecration from Amatus. After his consecration our saint at once made his way through France, passed over to Britain, and thence to Ireland.² One of those who came with the

disciples of Palladius from Britain, probably opposed the consecration of St. Patrick at Eburo-briga, situated on the Yonne, by charging him with a fault which our saint told him in confidence thirty years previously; and this charge was made by one who previously *defended* him when his fitness for the mitre was discussed in Britain. To this our saint alluded in the passage under discussion, and already given in the original:—

And I learned from some of the brethren of that defence at which I was not present, nor was I in Britain, nor did it arise from me that he should solicit for me in my absence: he even said from his very mouth to myself ‘you are to be raised to the episcopal grade,’ of which I was not worthy. But how did it occur to him after to dishonour me publicly before the good and the bad?

Why, if I were in want of proof I would use the above passage as tending to establish the saint’s birthplace in Britain. For as he was opposed at his consecration for a fault committed thirty years previously, and told in trouble of mind when he was scarcely fifteen years old, the fault must have been committed before he was made captive, in his sixteenth year, in Britain. Now it can be clearly seen that the phrase: ‘I was not at all in Britain at the time’ (*‘nec in Britannis eram’*) does not give the proof promised—that St. Patrick was not born in Britain.

3. The third argument produced in proof of our saint being not born in Britain rests on the following passage:

Unde autem et si voluero dimittere illos et pergere in Britannias, etsi libentissime paratus irem quasi ad patriam et parentes, et non solum sed etiam usque ad Gallias visitarem fratres.

(a) This extract would rather prove the contrary of what it is adduced for. The saint says that though he should have wished, and was ready, to go to Britain by abandoning his converts, and visit, as it were, his country and parents, and go even as far as Gaul to visit the brethren, yet he felt bound by the Spirit not to abandon the work he began. The objection raised is, that Britain is mentioned as if, and not as being, his country. Now, considering that

our saint renounced his country and parents ('ut patriam et parentes amitterem'), he had need of qualifying the statement that Britain was, in point of fact, his country.

Again: in his letter to Coroticus he says that for the love of God he made a surrender of his country, his parents, and his life, 'pro quibus tradidi patriam, et parentes, et animam meam;' and in another passage he states he sold his nobility or free-born condition and became a slave, 'vendidi enim nobilitatem meam denique servus sum.' Now as the barter of his nobility lost to him his freedom, so the renunciation of his country made him call Britain qualifiedly his country.

(b) There is an objection grounded on the statement that our saint was old when he was writing his confession, and that if he had wished to visit people in Britain they must be only relatives and not parents (*parentes*). He did not say then that he would visit them: he merely said that though he had wished to go to Britain the Spirit forbade him. Our saint used indiscriminately the various moods to express his desire to have visited his country, *etsi voluero, irem, valde optabam*. So, too, in another passage, he declares that 'poverty and calamities befit him more than riches and delights. Wretched and unfortunate as I am, though I were to desire riches (*etsi voluero*) I have them not, nor deem myself worthy.' He wished to show that he was not an alien to his country from human motives, but habitually wished to visit it and his parents; and not only so, but from spiritual motives to visit the brethren in distant Gaul, which was the country merely of his education. No wish is expressed about Spain.

4. The following words are quoted as an objection to Britain as his birthplace: 'The Lord dispersed us among many nations, even to the ends of the earth.' Our writer asks could St. Patrick have spoken so if he and his fellow-captives were taken from Britain to Ireland? Where were the many nations (*gentes*) in Ireland? The *gens* does not mean a nation. There were indeed many (*gentes*) clans in Ireland. Thus, in the *Book of Armagh*,¹ the angel directed

¹ Fol. 21 c.

that in cases difficult for the judges of Ireland, arising among the Scottish clans (*Scotorum gentium*), they should be referred to the see of St. Patrick. Thus, too, in the old 'Corpus' Missal the prayer of St. Patrick makes mention of his mission to the Irish clans (*Hibernenses gentes*) who sat in darkness.

Again: in the Book of the Angel, already referred to, St. Patrick is represented as having from God as his parish the entire *nations* of the Irish (*universas Scotorum gentes*). The Irish clans (*gentes*) correspond to the Roman *gens Julii, Servilii, Quinctilii, Curiatii, &c.*

(b) Our saint very appropriately described himself in Ireland as at the ends of the world. If Britain, in sight of the Continent, was said to be separated from the entire world, with greater reason could the same be said of Ireland. No matter how near or otherwise St. Patrick's birthplace in South Wales was to Ireland, he was fully justified in applying to Ireland, because of its remoteness, the language which Claudian applied even to Romanized Britain:—

Venit ab *extremis* legio praetenta Britanni,
Quae Scoto dat frena truci.¹

And when our saint looked out from the shores of Tirawly over the boundless ocean, he was justified, without copying any stereotyped phrase, in his realistic description of his position, 'ad exteras partes ubi nemo ultra erat.'

5. The ingenious writer has undertaken to correct the plainest passage in the saint's Confession by historical blunders, and to the detriment of history. The *Book of Armagh* opens the Confession of our saint in the following words:—'I Patrick had for father Calpurnius, a deacon (*diaconum*), son of Potitus, son of Odissus, a priest (*presbyteri*).

The comment made on this by our writer is that:—

It is possible Patrick wrote *decurion* (*decurionem*); and that (*diaconum*) deacon is the transcriber's guess, and would assume wrongly that *presbyter* meant a priest.

In proof of the *possible* blunder of the transcriber, our

¹ *De Bello Get.*, 416.

theorizing critic blunders by saying 'there is no setting aside the fact that, except in this improbable instance, antiquity shows no case of a *decurio* being a deacon.'

Such is not the fact. I may here mention that St. Patrick in his letter to Coroticus says his father was a decurion.

Firstly, the Roman laws forbade any persons being ordained who were incorporated into a society for the service of the State without the consent of the Senate or the Emperor. For the duties of the ecclesiastical and civil conditions were deemed incompatible. By these laws decurions were forbidden being ordained. However, weariness of the world and a yearning after a more perfect life led to the evasion of the law. But to meet the objection that a religious call should not be conscientiously disregarded, it was enacted that religion or a monastic state should be entered for fifteen years before ordination was permissible. Hence the law of Justinian :—¹

Sed neque cohartales neque decuriones clerici fiunt—dempto si monachicam aliquis ex ipsis non minus quindecim annis transegeris.

By the laws of Theodosius Junior² and Valentinian the Third,³ bishops, presbyters, or deacons, when ordained, had to provide a substitute qualified in every respect to serve in the corporation from which the ordained had been taken.

The laws of Valentinian and Theodosius the Great ordained thus :—

Eos qui ad clericatus se privilegio contulerunt aut agnoscere primam oportet functionem aut ei corpori quod declinant proprii patrimonii facere cessionem.

To prevent decurions from being ordained deacons, not only the State but the Church interfered. For, sometimes when ordained and found very useful they were recalled by the State. St. Ambrose informs us that deacons who had been for thirty years in the service of the Church were recalled to the Curial duties : 'Per triginta et innumeros

¹ *Novellæ* 123, c. 15.

² *Novellæ* 26, *de corporatis Urbis Romæ*, &c

³ *Novellæ* 12, *ibid.*

annos retrahuntur a munere sacro et curiae deputantur.'¹ Yet we have been boldly told by our writer that antiquity furnishes no instance of a decurion being made a deacon!

The deaconship of the father is given clearly and unhesitatingly in the *Book of Armagh* and in the Life found in its supplementary Brussels manuscript; and from these all other manuscripts subsequently more or less perfectly have copied. It is unwise, then, to state that the mention of deacon in connection with the father of our saint was unknown to the early writers of the Irish Church: it is not creditable boldly to assert that antiquity shows no instance of a decurion being a deacon.

Secondly. Our learned writer thinks it 'possible' as the transcriber of the *Book of Armagh* wrongly (?) made a deacon out of a decurion, that he wrongly concluded *presbyter* to be a priest. Our critic says it is *dishonest* to translate the word by priest rather than by a lay official, such as senator. For this extraordinary explanation of *presbyter* two arguments are drawn by him from the writings of St. Patrick:—

Everywhere the Lord ordained clerics through my mediocrity.

It is the custom of the Roman and Gallic Christians to send holy presbyters to redeem baptized captives.

And I sent by a holy presbyter whom I taught from his infancy, and I sent with him clergy (*clerici*) asking them for some of the captives they had taken.

The argument founded by our theorist on these extracts is thus formulated: 'Patrick calls those whom he ordained *clerici* or *sacerdotes*, and not *presbyteri*. In two places in which *presbyteri* for the redemption of captives is found, it has no connection with priestly duties, and the words excluded *presbyter* from meaning priest.'

So far is it from being wrong to assume *presbyter* to mean priest, it were wrong to assume it as meaning anything else.

Prosper of Aquitaine tells us that in connection with the dispute about grace, St. Augustine writing to Xistus before being Pope, who succeeded Pope Celestine in the year 432,

¹ Ep. 29.

calls him '*beatissimum presbyterum nunc vero Pontificem.*' Here, surely, *presbyter* did not mean a lay official. In the Book of the Angel¹ we read there 'were in the Southern Basilica at Armagh, bishops and presbyters (*presbyteri*), and anchorites, and various religious. Does the word *presbyter* here mean senators? The same *Book of Armagh* speaks of the ordination of bishops and priests (*presbiteri*) after being baptized in their advanced age and taught by St. Patrick.²

In principle as well as in fact our critical theorist is at fault. For, as a general rule, *clerici* by itself meant those in the ecclesiastical state, but in conjunction with bishops and presbyters meant the inferior clergy; the mention of *presbiter* in the fifth century universally meant a priest to my mind; and if it meant a lay officer in any passage I challenge its production.

Thirdly. Our writer states that it argues only a secular office to have sent presbyters to ask back some of the captives from Coroticus, and that the fact of their being accompanied by clerics? (priests) proves the *presbyter* to have been a layman. That *presbyter* meant a priest, and *clerici* inferior ministers, is known to every ecclesiastic with even elementary knowledge. The *presbyter* was the same as *sacerdos*, with the difference that *sacerdos* was employed to designate a bishop when it was coupled with *summus*, *primus*, *princeps*. The *clerici* by itself included all who had their lot or inheritance in the Church. To illustrate what I say we have only to look into the Councils or fathers of the Church. St. Cyprian, speaking of Optatus and Satorus, whom he ordained respectively sub-deacon and lector, calls them *clerics*.³ His contemporary Lucian, martyr, calls lectors and exorcists clerics: '*Presente de clero exorcista et lectore, Lucianus scripsit.*'⁴

The third Council of Carthage, Canon 21, extended the name of clerics even to the Psalmista and Ostiarius, and the same council forbade civil employment to the clergy: '*Placuit ut Episcopi et presbyteri et diaconi vel clerici non sint*

¹ *Book of Armagh*, fol. 21.

² Fol. 9, b. 1.

³ Ep. 24, al. 29.

⁴ Epis. 17, al. 23.

conductores.' St. Ambrose, speaking for the Church of Milan, says¹: 'Aliud est quod ab Episcopo requirit Deus, aliud quod a *Presbytero*, et aliud quod a Diacono, et aliud quod a clerico, et aliud quod a laico.' And St. Hilary, speaking for the entire Latin Church, as well as for Gaul, says: 'Nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant, neque clerici vel laici baptizant.'

These authorities ought to give a clear idea of the meaning of *presbyter* and *clerici*. We learn clearly their relative position from Optatus: 'Quid commemorem Presbyteros in secundo sacerdotio;' from the Council of Eliberis: 'xxvi. presbyteris resedentibus, adstantibus diaconis,' &c.; from the condemnation of Jovinian, with the approval of all, by Pope Siricius: 'Tam presbyterorum et diaconum quam totius cleri;' and from St. Jerome: 'Et nos habemus in Ecclesia coetum presbyterorum.'

I have stated more than enough to prove that our saint sent, in the person of a presbyter, a priest for the restoration of the captives. Nor was it wise to add that such an office of charity 'had no connection with priestly duties.' St. Ambrose melted down the vessels of the altar to redeem captives;² St. Augustine did the same; Deo Gratias of Carthage did the same, and extorted the praise of Victor Uticensis.³ Paulinus of Nola, the probable ordainer of St. Patrick, in Campania, sold himself to redeem the son of a widow; and are we to suppose that St. Patrick considered this work of religion and humanity peculiar to a layman?

That the person sent by St. Patrick for the release of his captives was a priest (presbyter) is strongly suggested even by the *Book of Armagh*. It states⁴ that the priests (*presbyteris*) ordained by our saint were innumerable, as he daily baptized men to whom he taught literary and sacred knowledge. Now, we may fairly infer that it was not as a mere schoolmaster St. Patrick acted, with a gigantic work before him, by instructing a youth for thirty years, but to fit him for being, what he was, a priest (presbyter). The person

¹ *De dig. Sacerd.*, c. iii.

² *De Offic.*

³ *De persecut. Van.*

⁴ Fol. ix., b. 1.

first sent, with his attendant clerics, by St. Patrick, and laughed to scorn by Coroticus, was a consecrated priest; and the person secondly sent with a letter of excommunication, on the event of not having the captives restored, was also consecrated to religion (*famulus Dei*).¹ *Famulus* and *famula Dei* were convertible terms for male and female religious. Evidence, then, of the meaning of *presbyter* and *clerici*, as used by St. Patrick, may be gathered from the luminous page of contemporary history.

Behold an additional instance of the abuse of language. Our saint, in his Confession, says: 'You know how I have conducted myself *a juventute mea*.'

The unnatural and unusual comment made on this phrase is that the saint means from the end of his youth, having come on the Irish mission in his fifty-second year, rather than from the beginning of his youth.

Now the phrase occurs in another passage in our saint's writings, but could not have such a meaning: 'Ever since I came to know Him (God) *a juventute mea* the love of God has increased in me. The *a juventute mea* here refers to his captivity in his sixteenth year. For he says, 'he was in incredulity and death till he was corrected by daily hunger almost to fainting in Ireland, and fitted me for what I never hoped for . . . and that the fear and love of God since then increased more and more.' Now this, and much more to the same effect, proves that, even supposing our saint understood fifty years as the end of youth, he did not refer the *a juventute mea* to the end, but beginning of his youth. Thus, too, in the Gospel, the young man (adolescens) says to our Lord: 'I have observed all these things *a juventute mea*.'²

Now the phrase in this case could not mean the end of youth, for the age of adolescence did not extend beyond the end of youth. Again, the Psalmist says: 'Son receive instruction *a juventute tua*.'³ Here the phrase evidently did not mean the end of youth.

In like manner, St. Paul, speaking in his defence before Festus, said: 'All the Jews know my life *a juventute mea*.'⁴

¹ Folio clxxiv., b. 2.

² Matt. xix. 20.

³ Ps. lxx. 17.

⁴ Acts, xxvi. 4.

That did not include up to the time he wrote, in the year 60. For after being brought in youth from Tarsus to Jerusalem for education, and having become a Christian in A.D. 34, he turned his back on Jerusalem and his brother Pharisees, lived in Cyprus, Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor, and Cæsarea, where he appeals to the Jews of Jerusalem for their knowledge of him *a juventute mea*. In like manner, and with greater reason, as he spent his many last years of life with the Irish, did St. Patrick say to them, in reference to the time of his captivity, 'You know how I conducted myself among you *a juventute mea*.'

Certain dates are fixed on by our theorist for which history must be disjointed. Thus the year 372 is given by him for the birth of our saint; 404 that of his captivity; 424 that of his consecration in his fifty-second year; 448 that of his Confession; and 458 that of his death, having been thirty-five years on the Irish mission.

1. Now 372 could not be the year of his birth if 404 was that of his captivity. As our saint says in his Confession he was made a captive in his sixteenth year, and continued so for six years.

2. If 372 was the year of his birth, 404 could not be a year of his captivity for the above reason.

3. He could not have been consecrated in 424 if born in 372; firstly, because, as he tells us, at his consecration he was charged with a fault committed thirty years previously, and was scarcely fifteen years when committed. Secondly, because our theorist says our saint wrote his Confession in the year 448, and he was then, and even before then when he wrote to Coroticus, thirty years in Ireland, having trained a priest from his infancy; therefore, in 448 the number 30 does not square with 424.

4. If our saint was fifty-two years old when consecrated in 424, he should have been thirty-two years when captured in the year 404; yet, the Confession says he was then only sixteen years, and six years in captivity.

5. Thirty-five years could not be the term of the saint's mission in Ireland, dying in the year 458. For having written the Confession ten years previously in 448, and

having been even before then, when he wrote to Coroticus, thirty years on the mission, he should be over forty years on the mission in Ireland.

6. The year 458 could not be the year of the saint's death, if, being consecrated in 424, he had been over forty years on the mission.

Such self-contradictions together with the contradictions to the writings of our national saint, which I could multiply, and to his oldest Life in the *Book of Armagh*, are the result of a wild theory; and this result is the more remarkable as the theory is propped by the mutilation of texts, the violence offered to the plainest meaning of words, and by the misrepresentation of historical facts.

Just ten years ago St. Patrick's birthplace was identified and published in the I. E. RECORD. It took its place not as a theory or hypothesis, but as an absolute certainty clearly established; so clearly and naturally as to excite wonder that the discovery had not been previously and easily made. Now as then Usk town stands forth as the birthplace of St. Patrick, a proof against every objection that may be derived from a linguistic, geographical, historical or any other source.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG

THE subject of education is so extensive, that it would be impossible to enter into it at length. It is one of the great subjects of the age, on which theories have been propounded and treatises written, and which seems still inexhaustible. Our object, however, is to show the importance of grounding education on religion, so as to bring up the child, instructed not alone in secular knowledge, but imbued with the principles of faith, and trained to the practice of piety. What appears to be the tendency of the age is the desire to separate religion from education, to hand over to the State the training of the young, and to gradually exclude the Church from her sacred office of providing for the instruction of the little ones of Christ's fold. Such a separation must be condemned by thinking men of every denomination. The late Sir Robert Peel once said: 'I am for a religious, as opposed to a secular education. I believe, as Lord John Russell has said, that such an education (which is not avowedly religious), is only half an education, with the most important half neglected;' and we require but little experience of the world to know that if the principles of religion be not instilled in youth, it is vain to expect to find them in after years. 'The things thou hast not gathered in thy youth,' says Ecclesiasticus, 'how shalt thou find them in thy old age?'¹ The young mind is easily moulded to any shape we please, and the impressions made upon it usually remain in after life. Some trifling words, some thoughtless remark, or, it may be some pious admonition, frequently exercises a magic influence over the unformed mind of the child, giving it a particular bias for good or evil. This idea has been beautifully expressed by the distinguished American writer Longfellow in his *Outrè Mer*.

If [says he] we trace back to its fountain the mighty torrent which fertilizes the land with its abundant streams, or sweeps it

¹ Eccl. xxii. 3.

with a desolating flood, we shall find it dripping from the crevice of a rock in the distant solitudes of the forest: so too the gentle feelings that enrich and beautify the heart, and the mighty passions that sweep away all the barriers of the soul, and destroy society, may have sprung up in the shadowy recesses of the past, from a nursery song or a fireside tale.

Early impressions are of the utmost importance, and remain till the latest age; and when advancing years have impaired the faculties, do we not often find these first impressions still glowing on the page of memory, whilst those of later years have faded away?

In their anxiety about secular education, men appear to forget that there is a knowledge of greater importance than what facts of history or scientific problems can impart. They seem to lose sight of the truth that man is not a mere animal, but that he possesses an immortal soul, the salvation of which is the supreme good. 'Knowledge,' according to the Wise Man, 'is a fountain of life to him that possesseth it;'¹ but he speaks of that true knowledge which springs from the study of God's Law. There is another kind of knowledge of which the Apostle speaks, which 'puffeth up,' and which fills the mind with pride and vanity. Now, what will it avail to be profoundly versed in science, to be an accomplished linguist, to be an eloquent orator, to be a successful statesman, if God be forgotten, and His service be neglected? 'For what doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul?'² St. Augustine tersely expressed it when he said: 'He who knows God knows enough, though he be ignorant of other things; but he who knows not God knows nothing, though he may know all other things.' Secular education, which excludes religion from the school, is simply a modern form of paganism. Once excluded from the school, it will soon be neglected in the home; and the young will grow up learned, perhaps, in this world's knowledge, but ignorant of the only knowledge that is really worth having.

Two things are indispensably necessary for a truly Christian man—sound faith and pure morals. And how is

¹ Prov. xxix. 17.

² Matt. xvi. 26.

he to acquire these except by careful training? If the young mind be left to itself, ordinarily speaking we know it will tend to evil, and we cannot expect from it the good fruits of virtue. Since the fall of Adam there is in man a natural proclivity to vice, but the voice of conscience and the dictates of religion alike point out to him the necessity of virtue, and the conflict thus generated remains during life (at least to a spiritual man) a source of pain and anxiety. This conflict St. Paul experienced and thus described in forcible terms:—‘I find then a law, that when I have a will to do good, evil is present with me. For I am delighted with the law of God, according to the inward man: but I see another law in my members fighting against the law of my mind, and captivating me in the law of sin, that is in my members.’ Thus drawn to sin, which he loathed in his heart, he cried out: ‘Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?’ And knowing the only source from which he could derive strength, he immediately answered: ‘The grace of God, by Jesus Christ our Lord.’¹ Now this conflict was not peculiar to St. Paul. It is, unfortunately, the lot all, and the skilful training of the young Christian athletes for this spiritual combat is the duty alike of parent and of pastor.

The first duty is to instil the principles of faith into the minds of the young, knowing that ‘without faith it is impossible to please God,’² and next to guard that faith from danger. Faith, indeed, is a priceless gift; consequently, it should not be exposed to danger. It can be, and often is, weakened, or even entirely lost, through evil associations, particularly the associations of school and college. This was why our ancestors in penal times preferred the enforced ignorance imposed by cruel laws to knowledge acquired at the peril of their faith. They chose to be what St. Gregory the Great described St. Benedict, ‘*Scienter nesciens et sapienter indoctus*’—‘learnedly ignorant and wisely unlettered,’ rather than drink in knowledge from a poisoned source. Their love for learning was great, but their love

¹ Rom. vii. 21-25.

² Heb. xi. 6

for the faith was greater still ; and though their schools were banned, and their religion proscribed ; though their churches were desecrated, and their altars profaned ; though learning, and wealth, and honour were offered as the price of the sacrifice of faith, they nobly spurned the proffered bribe, and chose the poverty of the afflicted Lazarus in preference to the purple and fine linen of Dives. The penal days were a sad, yet a glorious epoch in the history of our Church, for then 'her sanctuary was desolate like a wilderness, her festival days were turned into mourning, her sabbaths into reproach, her honours were brought to nothing. Her dishonour was increased according to her glory, and her excellency was turned into mourning.'¹ Catholics could then acquire learning and instruction in their faith only by stealth; yet how they strove to acquire the one, and how nobly they clung to the other, is the great glory of our Church and people. They transmitted unsullied the legacy of the true faith to their descendants, and our fathers, in turn, have transmitted it unsullied to us. We contend for the right to teach the principles of that faith in our schools to the young ; and, surely, no right is more sacred. St. Paul admonishes parents to bring up their children 'in the discipline and correction of the Lord.'² And long before him Solomon had said: 'Instruct thy son, and he shall refresh thee, and shall give delight to thy soul.'³ Ecclesiasticus had similarly expressed himself: 'He that instructeth his son shall be praised in him, and shall glory in him in the midst of them of his household.'⁴ But as it is unreasonable to expect that he who has not the faith himself could impart it to others, the necessity is at once apparent of having Catholic teachers for Catholic children. 'Faith cometh by hearing,' as the Apostle assures us, and so does the knowledge of the virtues which the possession of the true faith implies. It is through oral teaching that most knowledge is communicated; and not only in the New Law, but also in the Old, this system of instruction was

¹ 1 Machab. i. 41, 42.

² Ephes. vi. 4.

³ Prov. xxix. 17.

⁴ Eccl. xxx. 2.

enjoined upon God's people. After giving the Commandments to the Israelites, God said to them: 'Teach your children that they meditate upon them, when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest on the way, and when thou liest down, and risest up.'¹ Indeed, our every-day experience so clearly proves the necessity of mental training, that it requires no proof; but if in literature and science this be necessary, it is doubly so in the matter of religion. The human mind is so prone to wander from the right path, that it takes all our precautions to keep it from going astray; but the Wise Man assures us that the child who is trained up in the way he should go, even when he is old, will not depart from it. But what use is all training, or what use is the possession of all knowledge, if not grounded upon religion? It is religion that gives its proper direction to learning, that sanctifies and elevates it into a sacred science. It is religion that digs the channel for the current of the young Christian mind wherein it may steadily flow to the great ocean of God's love and service. It is religion alone that properly animates all knowledge, because 'the commandment is a lamp, and the law a light, and reproofs of instruction are the way of life.'² What were all the learned systems and vain theories of the pagan philosophers, but a mere skeleton, because they lacked the spirit of religion? How futile were their teachings which rested upon a false code of morality; and how ineffectual to satisfy the cravings of the soul, since they held out no certainty of a world beyond the grave! And equally vain are modern systems which would exclude religion from the schoolroom and the study-hall, which would give us again the dry skeleton of a pagan education, and rob us of the living soul which Catholic training imparts. Is such a system calculated to foster the life of the soul, and to make it what St. Paul declared it to be—'the temple of the living God'?³ Certainly not; for if you divorce science from religion, and leave the mind to wander at will through the fields of speculative philosophy, it will soon make shipwreck

¹ Deut. xi, 19.² Prov. vi, 23.³ 2 Cor. vi, 6.

of the faith, and end in destruction. A sound religious training is the foundation on which to erect the superstructure of learning—it is the fortress that is able to withstand the assaults of the spiritual enemy.

But it is not alone in matters of faith that the young require instruction. They must, in addition, be taught the code of morality imposed by that faith. They have duties to discharge to God, to their neighbours, and to themselves; and where can these be taught more effectually than in the schoolroom? It is true this duty devolves first upon parents; but observe how long in the day scholars at school are withdrawn from the influence of their parents, and still more so, those at college. If, then, children attend a school where no religious instruction is given them; above all, if they associate with others of depraved morals, we know what will be the natural result. 'With the holy, thou wilt be holy,' said David; 'and with the innocent man thou wilt be innocent; and with the elect thou wilt be elect; and *with the perverse thou wilt be perverted.*'¹ Is not this especially true of the young, whose minds are so susceptible of good or bad impressions? With the perverse they shall, indeed, soon become perverted; for though at first their virtuous nature may shudder at the sight of vice, yet soon from familiarity with it, they will come to endure it, to love it, and, finally, to practise it. No efforts, then, should be spared to save the young from the knowledge of evil, and from the company of those whose example teaches it, for 'evil communications corrupt good morals.' Too soon, perhaps, will they come to know the wickedness of the world, too soon will they experience the violence of temptation; but, if trained in the maxims and the practice of piety in youth, they will be able to fight the more successfully against the dangers of after years.

Here, however, we will be told that the argument fails; that we see many from time to time who have received all the advantages of early religious training fall away from virtue, and, in some instances, become rocks of scandal.

¹ Ps. xvii. 26, 27.

What, then, becomes of the religious training in their case, or where are the good fruits it produces? This objection, specious at first sight, rests entirely upon a false hypothesis. Religious training does not pretend to eradicate the passions; it merely teaches us how to subdue them, and, when subdued, to keep them in subjection. Who will say that if a man fail to put into practice the good instructions given him, that, therefore, the blame is chargeable to the early training? But this objection supposes more than this; it assumes that because the education does not prevent evil, it is, therefore, the cause of it. Now, it is a trite saying among philosophers that 'what proves too much proves nothing.' And so it is in the present instance; for as in the first family on earth there was found a Cain, as in the household of Jacob there was found a Ruben, as Amnon and Absalom were the shame and the sorrow of David, and as in the very school of Christ there was a Judas; so, to the end of time, some will be found who will resist grace and spurn instruction. From the example of such no sound objection can be urged. We look rather to the millions who are benefited by early religious training than to the few who reject its blessings.

Two different parables of our divine Lord, however, sufficiently answer the objection without going farther for solution. In the one He tells us of a sower who went out to sow seed, some of which fell by the wayside, and was trodden down; and other some fell upon a rock, and withered away for want of moisture; and other some fell among thorns, and was choked; and other some fell upon good ground, and produced fruit a hundredfold. Now, here the sower was the same, the seed sowed was alike, the only difference consisted in the soil on which it fell. And, in the second parable, He tells us how good seed was sowed in well-prepared soil, and took root; but an enemy came in the night and over-sowed it with cockle, which grew equally with the good seed, and was reserved for the fire of destruction. The application of these parables is apparent, and from them one can see how frivolous is the objection advanced against religious training.

But even in the case of those who, well-instructed in

youth, give way to passion and plunge into vice; who seem in the gratification of their senses to forget the spiritual joys of their youth, is the blessing of early religious instruction always and entirely lost? No; certainly not. What was it induced the prodigal son, mentioned in the Gospel, to arise in the day of his distress, and return to the home of his kind and loving father? Was it not the early training and the delights he had felt in that home of youth and innocence? Was it not the memory of those by-gone days, when, as a distinguished orator has expressed it, 'life was young and hope unbroken, and the chalice of guilty pleasure untasted'? Yes; even in the days of his wandering, in the years of his folly and vice, virtue still had charms for him, and the vessel of his soul, broken by many a crime, retained to the end the scent of youth's roses—the odour that early virtue and religious training had left behind. As when an exile, pining in a foreign land, hears some once familiar but long-forgotten song, and at once a thousand memories of childhood and youth sweep across his soul, and tears of fond emotion fill his eyes, and an indescribable longing for the place of his nativity takes possession of him; so is it with our once virtuous but erring youth. The old familiar voice of religion reaches him in the strange land of sin, and images of the past rise up before his mind in all their bright, unsullied beauty. The years, unstained by sin, when prayer was his delight, confession his comfort, and the Eucharist the joy of his soul; the years when he loved to learn what religion taught, and to practise what his faith inculcated—these, with all their tender associations, shake his soul with an agony of remorse, open up the fountain of his tears, convulsively rend his very heart, till, crushed, subdued, and humbled, he cries out in his distress, 'Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee: I am not worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants.'¹ Thus the early graces are not all lost—the plant of early virtue has still vitality in its roots. Still more does this hold true when sickness tears off the tinsel from the pleasures of life.

¹ St. Luke, xv. 18, 19.

When the shadows are gathering round him, and in that strange land of sin into which he has wandered, he is realising the nothingness of the world ; when the vista of eternity is opening out before him with its endless joys or its endless sorrows, there still remains ' the lingering light of his boyhood's years ' to guide the penitent back to the home of youth. Just as a crystal spring, whose fountain has been choked, and whose course has been impeded by the weeds that cluster round it, sends forth its living waters gushing freshly as ever when the hand of the husbandman has cleared its channel ; so, when the hand of sickness has gathered the weeds of vice from the heart of the prodigal, and laid it open to the influence of God's vivifying grace, then does the stream of faith, and hope, and charity well up once more, and gush forth again with the vigour and the freshness of his earlier days. Thus in the supreme moment of existence, when the poison of sin seemed to have done its deadly work, an antidote is furnished by the remembrance of the lessons learned in the time of boyhood.

' And if such things be done in the green wood, what shall be done in the dry ? ' If religious training in youth produce such fruits in the prodigal, who shall enumerate its effects in the just ? Who can count the temptations it has enabled them to overcome, the occasions of sin it has made them avoid, and the many virtues it has taught them to practise ? Unseen by the world, a warfare is daily going on within the precincts of the soul, and victory is been recorded in favour of virtue. Unpretending piety which loves concealment from the world is one effect of this early training, for the truly good seek not to display their piety before the world. Like the *Singaddi*, or night-tree, which grows by the rivers of Sumatra, and which opens its flowers and exhales its perfume only in the darkness and stillness of the night ; so do holy souls love to commune with God in secret, and offer to Him the perfume of prayer when the busy world heeds not, and sluggards are sunk in repose.

Religious instruction is, then, the greatest blessing which the young can receive, for, as has been truly said, ' education is an ornament in prosperity, and a refuge in adversity. ' It

was what moulded the saints of the Old Law, and guided the early Christians in the New Law ; and it is what still must guide the young in the way of virtue. The rich man may lose his wealth, the king may be hurled from his throne, all the honours of the world may be wrecked by the storms of adversity ; but the treasure of virtue imparted by religious training will survive every tribulation, and remain with us when friends forsake us, when the world is melting from our vision, and our souls enter into the house of their eternity.

✠ JOHN K. O'DOHERTY.

CONDUCT AND CONFESSION

WHAT ought I to do, is the many-sided problem that all human beings, while they have the use of reason, have to be perpetually solving. It is the crown of all our worries and perplexities. It enters into all our joys and sorrows, into all the details of our life. There is a right and a wrong way of doing everything. Nothing we freely do is so unimportant as not to have this characteristic. In real life there is always a motive, or collection of motives, on account of which we act, whenever we do so freely, and not instinctively and unreflectingly ; and in this way there is always some merit or demerit in what we do, whether that doing is chiefly exterior, or in our minds and wills only, the conduct and management of which are much more important than what appears exteriorly. Merit and demerit vary infinitely, not only from the intention we have in acting, but also from the acts themselves ; some being about 'trifles light as air,' while others have for their sanctions 'proofs from holy Writ.' Nevertheless, we require to be always on our guard, for the consequence of trifles are often the very reverse of trifling.

The teaching of others by word and example, and our own experience, give us practical rules for the conduct of

life. And yet there is no one who is not frequently puzzled as to the right thing to do in the varying circumstances which day by day develop. It is not enough to know how; it is still more important to have the good will to act rightly. It will be enough, and more than enough, here to consider about knowing how. Even this must be restricted to considering where we have mainly to apply for information, when our moral and religious conscience is concerned and puzzled, as to what is sin and what is not, what is in harmony with genuine piety and what is not, how is a man to know in what manner a Christian in any state under any circumstances ought to behave.

This is one of the greatest blessings the Catholic Church confers on her children, guidance safe, sure, and scientific in this all-important sphere. For two thousand years her saints and doctors, in whom every species of moral and mental excellence have been conspicuous, have devoted themselves to the study and elaboration of all moral and religious questions affecting all human relations and circumstances. The fruit of their holiness, wisdom, learning, and labour in this field, is moral and ascetic theology. Their prayerful study has never lost touch with real experience. A chief spur to them 'to scorn delights and live laborious days' in this work has been the requirements of human society in its manifold developments. Over all their fruitful toils the Church has kept watch with the divinely promised guidance of the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of truth, which guidance accommodates itself to human needs and human modes of motion.

In the merely natural order there is a science of morals, of the principles and rules of conduct in all the relations of life. This science is called ethics or moral philosophy. It is a branch of philosophy of the greatest importance, and always most highly valued and sedulously cultivated in the Church. Its principles and conclusions enter largely into moral theology, which deals with conduct in the light of revelation, while using, too, in every way the light of reason. The natural order is not superseded, maimed, or dwarfed by the supernatural, but, on the contrary, elevated,

developed, and perfected thereby. Christianity has made human life and conduct immensely more complicated than the mere natural order presents it; but it has introduced supreme order into all its complications, so that no one need be at a loss how to satisfy conscience in his conduct in any state or circumstance, if he will listen to the directions and counsels of the Church. The most perplexing problems of human conduct are being perpetually solved, and unhappy consciences perpetually relieved and healed by the application to their miseries of that wisdom which is stored up in moral theology. Not only are miseries and diseases of the moral and spiritual order alleviated and healed, but through the same channel human beings are led on to every form of moral and spiritual good and greatness. These results are mainly for the general faithful brought about through confession: for it is chiefly through the Sacrament of Penance that the treasures of wisdom stored in moral and ascetic theology are distributed. Men carefully selected, having positive signs that they are divinely called to the work, are trained with all possible care in the knowledge and application to human needs of moral theology. It is not enough that they should be priests of the Most High, they must be known to have knowledge enough, they must have given proof of worthiness of their awful responsibilities, they must be delegated by their prelates to sit in the tribunal of God and with full consciousness of the sublimity and requirements of their office, and the tremendous consequences of how they discharge it, they administer by the institution of our Lord Himself this most consoling sacrament, more than any other typical of the unutterable mercy of God.

Of course not all come up to the ideal the Church forms of what a confessor should be. Seeing what human nature is, it is one of the many miracles of grace existing in the Catholic Church, that this ideal is realized all the world over in so many cases, and that wherever there are Catholics in any number there are so many competent and satisfactory directors within common reach of the faithful. A prudent, competent, holy confessor is one of the greatest blessings anyone could experience; one of the most valuable

members of human society, of whom the saying: 'Worth his weight in gold,' but feebly conveys the idea of his inestimable value. Whatever truth there is in the saying: 'No one is more dangerous than a pious fool,' it is quite certain, that no advice is so reliable as that of a wise and pious confessor, who knows when to judge that an act or line of conduct is obligatory, and in what degree, or advisable, or perfectly optional to adopt or decline. This does not mean, as every Catholic knows, that we surrender our consciences to the absolute rule of the confessor. Every man is accountable for himself, his own conscience it is which he ought to follow; but, inasmuch as we are bound to do what we can to have right and true consciences, and to avoid wrong and false ones, the advice and direction of one specially trained, and specially aided by Divine grace, must be of the greatest assistance in the moral and spiritual struggle on which our highest interests depend. A man, who is his own lawyer, is said to have a fool for his client, and something analogous must be said of one who thinks himself able to dispense with moral and spiritual counsel.

Through confession, more than any other way, human conduct is brought into harmony with the moral and spiritual order. Catholics hold with the certainty of faith, that it is God's will and law that they should tell in confession all the sins they have on their conscience, which they believe to be grievous and never before absolved. Forgiveness of these sins is not by any means the sole fruit of confessing them, but many other great blessings are thereby secured. Not to mention the immense relief which all experience proves it is to one conscious of sin and crime to pour out his miseries to another in whose secrecy and sympathy he can absolutely confide, a specially great advantage is knowledge of how we ought to conduct ourselves interiorly and exteriorly in matters where our conscience is concerned. This in itself is a priceless boon. Again, it is almost altogether through confession that the morally diseased learn how to heal their hideous maladies. In the same way, too, as has already been intimated, we get to know in perplexing cases what we are downright

bound to do, or to avoid, and wherein we are perfectly free to act one way or the other. And this knowledge is marvellously efficacious in liberating the mind from anxieties, scruples, and multiform distress.

It must be remembered that it is the grace of God which makes confession so fruitful. God, who created human nature, and knows infinitely well its requirements in every shape, instituted the Sacrament of Penance in all its parts—confession, contrition, and satisfaction, as one most necessary and most consoling mode of conferring all kinds of grace and help on his sinful but penitent creatures. Penitent and confessor, hearer and preacher, faith in grace is what makes these certain it is worth their while to go through the pain and labour of telling and listening, of instructing, exhorting, resolving. Without grace we are all but helpless in our moral struggles; with grace we are able for all difficulties; we are more than a match for all our enemies, the world, the flesh, and the devil. There are sublimer means of grace than confession; there are none more practical, none more expressive of God's mercy towards knowledge of and condensation to human needs and weakness.

The best proof—at any rate a perfect proof—of the divine institution of confession is experience of it. Miserable slaves of vice are being constantly delivered and restored to moral and spiritual health by the persistent use of confession. The very fact of having made up their minds to go frequently and regularly is an immense deterrent against yielding to the suggestions of temptation and disorderly passions. Being bound in conscience to tell their grievous falls, and being determined to do so, has tremendous efficacy in preventing them, or marvellously lessening their number. Knowing that they will not be absolved unless they give signs and proofs of sincerity of sorrow endows them with strength of resistance, and helps them to that sincere sorrow, which seems on the surface altogether beyond their power. And so it would be were not the Sacrament of Penance a fountain of grace ever flowing, succouring and stimulating poor sinful human beings.

Although getting rid of sin and of the effects of sin, more

and more, is most especially the fruit of this sacrament, it is not, as we have seen, all the benefit derived from it. A most important part is direction how to discharge the duties of our state of life and circumstances, and how to advance in the service and love of God and our neighbour. Of course a great deal of knowledge on these points is the consequence of telling sins, and what are thought to be sins; for then we are told, when we are ignorant ourselves, what is lawful, what is not, what is advisable to do. Prudent and zealous confessors point out to their penitents how they may make progress in Christian perfection, by trying to do their ordinary actions conscientiously, by often calling to mind the presence of God, by uniting what they do and suffer with the actions and sufferings of our Lord, by trying to have right intention in the very things in which they find pleasure, according to the words of St. Paul: 'Whether you eat or drink, or whatever else you do, do all to the glory of God.'¹ And again: 'All whatsoever you do in word or in work, all things do ye in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.'²

Doing all for God in the supernatural order is the conscious and free perfecting of that law of our rational nature, whereby we are necessitated to do all that we freely do in order that we may satisfy, or tend to satisfy, our craving for happiness. We are not free to choose whether we shall wish to be happy or not, but we are free to choose in what we shall place our happiness. By grace we choose God and His service as the true object and way to become happy. The more perfectly we refer all our lives to Him, the more we secure what we aim at. At first sight it would seem that, since eternal happiness is the one thing supremely important to us, we should, if we were wise, scarcely mind anything else. This idea presents itself to some as if they ought to renounce the world in every shape and form, and do nothing but works of piety, think of nothing but God and their soul, and what would unite them more and more with Him. Others, realizing the terrible state of this world, the temporal

¹ 1 Cor. x. 31.

² Col. iii. 17.

and spiritual destitution so widely, so awfully prevalent, have it borne in on them that anyone in earnest about a noble and self-sacrificing life should devote or share all he has of every kind for the relief and succour of the suffering. Incomparably more have such thoughts than ever seriously attempt to give them act. Many do try to carry them out, and more do a good deal, which relieves and consoles and improves some, at least, of the huge multitudes of unhappy human beings. Now, it is in this field that moral theology and confession, moral teaching and spiritual direction are of priceless value for the religiously and philanthropically inclined. Without these helps they become fanatical or despairingly selfish, or in other ways moral wrecks and failures, more or less complete. The Catholic Church, through the teaching and application of moral theology, has the secret of peace of heart for all sorts of characters, for all sorts of situations, for all sorts of human circumstances. It is God Himself in His own way, and in accordance with human nature and society, who has provided His Church with this infinite treasure, and the experience of ages proves its divine source and unlimited power for human good.

All that the world really and reasonably requires for the due development of human society is in perfect harmony with the will and design of God, and therefore of His Church. There must be different ranks in life, different degrees of wealth and temporal means, all sorts of human careers, rulers and subjects, civilians and soldiers, artists, scholars, philosophers, professional, commercial, mechanical toilers, married and single, sacred and secular callings. Every field for legitimate enterprise and energy must be worked, every legitimate enjoyment must have its place and consideration. The will and full plan of God can only be worked out through human society. Experience as well as nature itself makes clear how that society must be constituted and developed. No doubt the world, as we know it, is a great mystery. We shall never understand it in this life in all its bearings. Reason alone can make no satisfactory hand of it. Reason enlightened by faith can. Not that anyone will be completely delivered from all perplexity and worry in the

moral and spiritual sphere. The wisest and holiest often enough suffer therefrom. Perhaps it is not in the nature of things that such complex beings as we are, having such complicated and conflicting relations at times with others, should be able to be perfectly balanced in this state of struggle and probation, and in perfect adaptation and harmony with our environment moral and spiritual. For all that, through the maze and tangle of life, its duties and opportunities for useful and noble action, its temptations, dangers, disasters, joys, and sorrows of every kind, a sure, safe, and sufficient guide of interior and exterior conduct, as far as conscience is concerned, is the moral and ascetic theology of the Church, conveyed and applied for the most part to the faithful through the Sacrament of Penance.

WILLIAM A. SUTTON, S.J.

THE PREACHER IN THE MAKING

*Ἐπὶ γὰρ λόγων ὁ νοῦς τε μετεωρίζεται,
ἐπαίρεται τ' ἄνθρωπος.*

ARISTOPHANES.

NOT the least important obligation imposed upon us when ordained to the Christian priesthood is that of preaching the word of God. At that hour we receive our mission to spread and to carry on that Gospel message of peace and reconciliation with God which are the fruits of man's redemption. In the Church the preacher has invariably been regarded as a power for good. He is able to influence many; his words will occasionally sink deep into the human heart and imagination, and may be they are treasured up, and oft repeated in the home circle, long after the speaker has passed into the land of shadows.

St. Paul, were he alive to-day, would probably, in addition to preaching, like to fill an editor's chair, in the hope of influencing by his writings those whom his voice was never destined to reach. This may be true; but, 'non omnia possumus omnes,' as Virgil has it; and, is it not wiser to

use to the best advantage the opportunities which are daily at hand rather than sigh regretfully for others which the capricious wheel of fortune is never destined to bring within our reach.

In mediæval Europe there were few men whose sway was more unquestioned than the friar preachers. Those moated castles and plumed knights, which writers of modern fiction have cajoled us into regarding, in the one instance as the secure haven of refuge for the sore-bestead husbandman, and in the other as the living quintessence of truth and chivalry, did not appear exactly in the same light to the vice-combatting friars. As somebody has put it :—

Vehemens ut procella, excitatus ut torrens, incensus ut fulmen, tonabat, fulgurabat, et rapidis eloquentiæ fluctibus cuncta proruebat et porturbabat.

What a spectacle it must have been ; and how resonant the groans of the conscience-stricken lordlings.

Probably there are few ecclesiastics in history who believed more entirely in the power of the preacher than Hugh Latimer, who was forced into the see of Worcester by Henry VIII. and Cromwell, in 1535. Never was he happier than when occupied roving from village to village, addressing the simple rustics, and preaching to them a doctrine which, though manly and vigorous, was highly tinged with the unfortunate errors of the Reformation period. In his sermon entitled the 'Ploughers,' delivered at St. Paul's, January 18th, 1549, he draws an analogy between the preacher and ploughman :—

First [as he puts it], for their labours of all seasons of the year, for there is no time of the year in which the ploughman hath not some special work to do ; and then they also may be likened together for the diversity of works and variety of offices that they have to do. For as the ploughman first setteth forth his plough, and then tilleth his land, and breaketh into furrows, and sometimes ridgeth it up again ; and, at another time harroweth it, and clotteth, and hedgeth it, diggeth it, and weedeth it, purgeth it, and maketh it clean ; so the preacher hath many divers offices to do. He hath first a busy work to bring his parishioners to a right faith ; he hath then a busy work to confirm them in the same faith ; now cutting them down with

the law and with the threatenings of God for sin ; now ridging them up again with the Gospel and with the promises of God's favour ; now weeding them by telling them their faults, and making them forsake sin ; now clotting them, by breaking their stony hearts, and making them to have hearts of flesh, that is, soft hearts, and apt for doctrine to enter in ; now teaching to know God rightly, and to know their duty to God and their neighbours ; now exhorting them when they know their duty, that they do it, and be diligent in it—so that they have a continual work to do.

If, in the sixteenth century, the work of the preacher was so arduous, and required such unremitting attention, how much more is not this the case to-day, when we are called upon to address ourselves to a people in the full enjoyment of all the advantages of modern culture and civilization ; and distracted by the glamour of an age of extreme luxury and corruption, a materialistic age, when the temptations to sin are all the more effective and insidious because presented under forms in which there is little or any trace of grossness.

There are many qualities which go to the making of a successful preacher. In fact, we can well say that, like the poet, he is not made. Nature must have endowed him with certain important gifts and graces, and if these are wanting to him he may labour and study much, and gain for himself some repute as a careful and polished speaker, but a great preacher he will never be. A friend of mine, a highly esteemed clergyman of the Church of England, has frequently been heard declaring that it takes a clever parson to get together one good sermon in a week ; that it takes a regular genius to preach two in the same time ; but that any fool can fire off five or six : and certainly there is a fair share of truth in the remark. Some men certainly have caught the trick of being able to enter the pulpit at a moment's notice, and of discoursing with the eloquence of a verger for long or short, as the case may be, on any subject from the fall of Adam to the question of predestination. But is this preaching, and do those to whom such addresses are delivered leave the church with a clear conception of what they have heard ? Seneca tells us that speech is the mirror of the mind,

imago animi sermo est; and if the mind be confused and full of ill-digested thought, can its reflection be said to impress us? 'Preaching,' says Sydney Smith, 'has become a by-word for long and dull conversation of any kind: and whoever wishes to imply, in any piece of writing, the absence of everything agreeable and inviting, calls it a sermon.' Yes, but the man who is forced to listen to this sort of discourse, will not be caught so easily a second time. We cannot disguise from ourselves the fact that the average intelligent Catholic has a dislike to hearing sermons. The low Masses are crowded: but the *Missa Cantata* is shunned as far as possible; and chiefly, I fear, because it entails the hearing of a sermon. This does not indicate a healthy state of things; and that unfortunate sermon is responsible for all the mischief.

'Unless,' says C. H. Francis, in *Orators of the Age*, 'you have the art of clothing your ideas in clear and captivating diction, never hope to rule your fellowmen in these modern days.' This hits off the situation to a nicety. In fact, if we want to deliver even a moderately good sermon it is essentially requisite that we be able to express our ideas clearly and neatly. The young admirers of Thackeray who wished to follow in his footsteps invariably received one piece of advice from the famous creator of Becket Sharpe: first, to be quite certain of what they meant to convey, and then to set it forth as plainly, as simply, as straightforwardly as possible; and Flaubert urges us in the same direction when he declares that the chief aim of the writer—and I presume that what applies to the writer obtains with equal appositiveness in the case of the preacher—should be absolute precision. There is, he tells us, but one noun that can convey your idea: only one verb that can set that idea moving, and only one adjective that is the proper epithet for that noun. Flaubert himself was a marvellous writer: yet it was nothing unusual for him to spend half a day in thought, seeking for some word or expression with which he might express his idea the more exactly. The great statesmen, Fox and Pitt, were both speakers of the highest order. Yet Fox was large-minded enough to say, after hearing a

famous speech delivered by his rival, that although he himself was never at a loss for a word, yet that Pitt never failed to hit upon *the* word. This is the result of thought, neglect of which is the fruitful cause of uncertainty and circumlocution. Sophocles evidently felt this when he makes Theseus say: *Δίδασκ' ἄνευ γνώμης γὰρ οὐ με χρὴ λέγειν.*¹

The simpler and the easier the language we use when expressing our ideas the better. The English tongue is wonderfully comprehensive; yet for homeliness and directness the old Saxon words cannot be surpassed. Still it would be an affectation to limit ourselves too rigorously to their service. Probably the best style, whether in writing or speaking, is that which is trained to draw upon a well-balanced measure of Celto-Saxon words with numerous others which have come to us from a Latin or a French source. The use of too many long words of Latin origin is apt to lead up to the formation of a style at once spineless and inflated. Professor Meiklejohn, in his recently published work, *The Art of Writing English*, which no student of our language will fail to read, mentions the case of an alderman of the city of London who felt aggrieved when one of his colleagues proposed that the following simple words should be inscribed on the tomb of the famous statesman George Canning, '*He Died Poor.*' As an amendment, the alderman proposed that the inscription should read, '*He expired in circumstances of extreme indigence.*' Another example of this bladder-like diction is furnished by the famous reference of the Earl of Beaconsfield to Mr. Gladstone in the course of a speech delivered in the House of Commons in 1878. It runs as follows:—

A sophisticated rhetorician, inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity, and gifted with an egotistical imagination, that can at all times command an interminable and inconsistent series of arguments to malign an opponent and to glorify himself.

There are hardly three words in this quotation that do not smack of foreign birth. It is scarcely in good taste: for, as Lady Mary Montague puts it, '*Copiousness of words,*

¹ *Œdipus Coloneus*, 594.

however ranged, is always false eloquence, though it will ever impose upon some sort of understandings.' There is much of this sort of writing to be found in our daily and weekly newspapers. Thus, a leader in the *Times* is like to the continuous booming of a big gun; and the *Saturday Review* cultivates a style, the identity of which can never be mistaken. To give a simple example: the *Review* of April 15th, 1899, when referring to the report then current, of the considerable irritation which had been caused in Malta owing to the attempt to substitute English for Italian as the official language, argued that as Maltese is an Arab dialect, the Italian tongue might never have been tolerated for a moment in the island. The result of its continuance, said the writer, has been 'to foster a spurious irredentism among the insignificant Italian settlers.' This is very stilted English; and the allusion to 'irredentism' is enough to cause one to lose ten minutes hunting in a work of reference, unless his memory can carry him back as far as 1876, when one of the parties of the Left in Italian politics climbed into office by means of the cry of *Italia Irredenta*. A little over a year since a volume of Catholic sermons from the French was published; and looking through the sermon set down for the Second Sunday after Easter, 'Jesus the Good Shepherd,' I noticed the following sentence:—

But it is not enough that Jesus died for us. His ingenious love has done more: it has found the secret of surviving death, and eternalizing His presence and His benefits among us.

The derivation of the word 'ingenious' will certainly permit of its being employed in the manner indicated in the above sentence; but I take it that no preacher would use the word during the delivery of his sermon unless he chanced to be addressing a body of savants. All this goes to prove that the simpler the language we employ when expressing our ideas the better. Clearness or perspicuity, according to Locke, 'consists in the using of proper terms for the ideas or thoughts which a man would have pass from his own mind into that of another,' and to succeed in this particular should be the ambition of every preacher.

The education or training of the preacher is a matter of

such vital importance that it can never receive too much attention at the hands of those who are responsible for the instruction of such as aspire to the priesthood. It is almost a crime against society to send a young priest out into the world now-a-days without his being carefully prepared for the onerous work of preaching which presses so heavily on every beginner ; so heavily, in fact, as almost to make the young priest's life a misery for a year or two after his ordination. An intimate acquaintance with the Bible is absolutely necessary for any man who is sent to preach God's word. Read the works of St. Augustine, or those of St. John Chrysostom, and you cannot fail to be impressed by their knowledge of the sacred writings. Their sermons and homilies are replete with quotations, for the most part apt, drawn from that treasury of wisdom and holiness. Kingsley has said that 'a man may learn from his Bible to be a more thorough gentleman than if he had been brought up in all the drawing-rooms of London.' Certain it is that with it, and from it, the preacher can imbue his mind with thoughts and sentiments which never grow stale, which invariably produce a good effect on the minds of his hearers. As a translation our Douay version is not to be mentioned in the same breath with the Anglican Authorised edition in which we find the best and most musical rhythms contained in our language.

Ruskin has put it on record that he owes his taste for literature to the care and anxiety of his mother, who, good woman, was determined that he should know his Bible at all costs. Day after day he had to learn whole chapters by heart, 'hard names and all,' until he had committed every word of the ponderous tone to memory from Genesis to the Apocalypse. I am afraid that we Catholic preachers do not make as good a use as we might of the Bible. Its language comes to our lips only with an effort ; hence our neglect of the wealth of illustration it affords us ; and our inability to hit upon an apt quotation at a moment's notice. Thus we deprive ourselves of one of the most potent weapons not merely for inviting the attention, but for carrying conviction to the minds of our hearers, 'The word of God,'

says St. Paul,¹ 'is living and active, and sharper than any two-edged sword, and piercing even to the dividing of soul and spirit, of both joints and marrow, and quick to discern the thoughts and intents of the heart.' I should say that our intimacy with Latin rhythms from the daily use of the Breviary, and our scientific works gives us a distaste for the simple but tuneful Saxon rhythms of the English Bible. Yet, let us but be profoundly moved and forced to give vent to feelings of grief, anguish, anger, or reproach, we shall find that we naturally revert to the simpler Saxon terms, and employ words which express our meaning with a force and a directness that cannot be mistaken.

A sound and fairly extensive knowledge of Dogmatic Theology is necessary in the case of every preacher. However, we should so assimilate its principles as to be able to refer to them in that easy, ordinary, language which never exceeds the scope of the mind of our humblest hearers. Not only are we laying ourselves open to the charge of pedantry, but we even make an otherwise good sermon intolerably tiresome when we drag into it the tag ends of theological *termini*, about which those we are addressing know probably next to nothing. This cannot be too carefully guarded against. Ignorant people may be impressed by the frequent repetition of Latin words or phrases; but the more intelligent can only regard their use as an evidence of bad taste, united with crudeness of information.

In the dogmatic system of the Church we shall find a wealth of argument, and a studied clearness of statement on points of doctrine, which cannot be too highly appreciated of the preacher. In it, too, we can easily follow the traces of what Newman calls the 'development of doctrine,' and concerning which he wrote so eloquently. By it we understand the gradual crystallization with the advance of time of the teaching of the Church on points of faith contained, without doubt, in the original deposit of revelation delivered of old to the saints; always believed, yet slowly attaining their proper setting and position in the jewelled crown of the Spouse of Christ.

¹ Heb. iv. 12

Again, dogmatic theology puts before us exactly what has been defined as of faith, and what has not been so declared. This is a matter of vital importance, and never more so than to-day. It is nothing unusual for a priest to meet with people who are of the household of the faith, and who fear lest they may have overstepped the limits of discretion when debating questions which are really not of faith, but rather subjects for discussion amongst theologians. To give an instance, some people who are good and religious-minded find a certain difficulty in accepting all that they read or hear concerning the miracles which are reputed as having taken place at Lourdes, or at some other well-known place of pilgrimage. Unauthenticated cases of the appearance of the stigmata, apparitions, &c., engender in their minds a feeling of mistrust. Now, we are all perfectly convinced that these wonders have occurred in the past; and that there is no unlikelihood of their reappearance at some future date. Miracles, the Gospel hall-mark, have never been wanting to the Church. Yet we may not disguise from ourselves the fact, that the mother of saints is extremely slow to pronounce as to the genuineness of the different phenomena described above. The paradoxes of one age dwindle down to the dull level of the common-places of the next; and so what may appear mysterious and hard of explanation to-day, will seem evident as the summer sun at noon-tide a century hence, when the restless eyes of science has penetrated deeper into the hidden things of nature, and gauged more accurately the over-lapping of mind on matter, and the power of a living faith in things unseen to subue and to correct our bodily infirmities. Mindful of these facts, the preacher will never allow himself to lay undue stress upon any event, upon any apparent wonder, upon anything which might tend to upset that evenness of balance, or to break down that clearly-defined barrier between essentials and non-essentials, to be found in every text-book of theology. There is a certain class of people who are only too ready to turn and twist every word uttered by the preacher to a sense utterly foreign to his intention. Many of us have had personal acquaintance with the man who

attaches more importance to the act of creeping to the cross on Good Friday than to compliance with the precept of the Easter confession and communion; and with another individual who is miserable for days if he miss receiving the blessed ashes on the first day of Lent, yet who is ready to wink at fornication, and other such peccadillos.

Mr. Augustine Birrell, in his *obiter dicta*, speaks of the 'great dust heap called history' into which every thoughtful mind loves to plunge itself. The history of any race or nation is always a captivating study; but much more interesting is it to go through a really trustworthy record of the annals of the Church from the time of the Apostles. No preacher can afford to dispense with this knowledge. He can use it in a variety of ways, and always with good effect. In our ecclesiastical annals we see the Church growing century after century, constantly gaining ground. We marvel at that mysterious assistance which, in all contests with the power of evil, enabled her to come off victorious, and to keep the purity of the faith unsullied. Doctrines and beliefs latent and undeveloped in the beginning, come in the course of time, occasionally as the result of some bitter schism, to find their true position and setting amongst the Church's formularies. The human element in the Church will put before us man's character in all its baseness. Lust, avarice, ambition, now in the cleric, now in the statesman or the sovereign; occasionally in all three in combination against the Spouse of Christ. Their rage expends itself, and leaves her unhurt, as great, as vigorous, as powerful as ever.

Much useful information may be gathered from the study of the acts of the early Œcumenical Councils. Then, the origin and development of monasticism, a power which has never failed to make itself felt in the Church; its decline and rehabilitation; its services to the Church and to civilization; its shortcomings, must open up a vista for thought and meditation to any serious student. Who can study the religious life, worship, and discipline of the Church, say from the year 750 to 1000, when all Europe seemed hopelessly sunk in barbarism, without being impressed by the civilizing,

elevating influence exercised by the Church on all sides? Then we have the Eastern Schism; the famous pontificate of Hildebrand; the Crusades; the events which culminated in the so-called Pragmatic Sanction; the appearance of St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure; with the subsequent Scholastic controversies; the spread of the Mendicant Orders: these events, which filled the stage of Europe for centuries, afford endless opportunities of reference to the preacher, and furnish him with a wealth of illustration well-nigh inexhaustible.

The seventy years captivity of the Church at Avignon, one of the saddest epochs in her history, is well deserving of close study. Though we find much to sadden and depress us, there is yet much more to rejoice over in the evidences of such rare sanctity as was shown forth in the lives of Catherine of Sienna, the guide and counsellor of popes and bishops, and Vincent Ferrer.

The incidents which led up to the so-called Protestant Reformation, and made such a movement possible, whether in Germany or England, are well-deserving of careful notice. There is no use blinking facts. Nor must we allow ourselves to run away from the truth. It is heartbreaking to reflect on what we then lost; and that, I fear, beyond all hope of recovery.

The course of events in the Church for the last three hundred years, and her rapid extension in the New World, the circumstances which rendered the declaration of the dogmas of the Papal Infallibility and the Immaculate Conception absolutely necessary, are well known to every reader. It is plain, however, to every thinking man to-day that times have very much altered. The march of events is rapid to quite a startling degree. The social conditions of the nations have altered considerably. Venerable, ancient systems and institutions are being swept away, and replaced by others of a fresher type. Past works are being read in a clearer light; a dead weight of prejudice is being lifted slowly from off men's minds; things are now seen in a clearer perspective. But, immovable in the midst of all changes, and towering above all human institutions,

the student of history will easily discern the Church of God; that light set upon a mountain, and attracting the attention of all nations; the unfailing source of truth, peace, and salvation. Grievously have her children dishonoured and disgraced her. Pride and ambition have led to many a fall; but in her doctrine the Church has never wavered—the same to-day as yesterday, the mother of saints, the infallible teacher of truth for all time.

There is one thing the Catholic preacher cannot afford to lose sight of at the present moment, and that is the immense influence wielded by the press, and that which is also exercised by our writers of fiction. Now-a-days everybody reads. Newspapers are multiplying weekly: all tastes are catered for, from those of the scholar to those of our kitchenmaids. Then the modern novel is a factor which, in many instances, is likely to cause serious mischief. Many of them deal with questions which even men of the world scarcely care to mention in the course of conversation.

Now, as Catholic priests, it is plainly our business to make ourselves acquainted with current literature, and to do all that in us lies to apply the antidote to what is admittedly poisonous. Idle it is to imagine our people do not read such writings. They do, and what is more they are influenced by them to a far greater extent than we imagine. What are we to say of the Catholic maidens of the better class, and their married sisters, who revel in such a book as *Evelyn Innes*? Then there is that powerful and fascinating story by Miss Robins, *The Open Question*, which caused so much excitement on its appearance a few months ago. Have we nothing to say to the startling ideas put forward in this book as to the commission of suicide, the propagation of disease, and the numerous other questions debated in its pages? To be in a position to refute any and all misleading theories, it is essential that we keep ourselves well abreast of the times in the matter of current thought on all social, political, moral, and religious questions. Owing to the spread of education our people are fast becoming more and more cultured. This is just as it should be. But the priest as

their guide, must make it plain that he is still more cultured than they, and that he is capable of correcting any error which may effect their minds, and which tends to dim the purity of their faith. Emerson says that he who would fain lift another up must himself be on higher ground: and if we wish to arrest the spread of the corrupting influences which are ever at work in society, we must grapple with them, and show full plainly their inherent rottenness.

There is one side of the preacher's training, the value of which we cannot afford to ignore, and that is his knowledge of rhetoric. To many minds this word conjures up the idea of artificiality, insincerity, and clap-trap. But this is a fatal mistake. A preacher is not, surely, insincere, because he has trained his voice to the best modulations, and whose articulation is a joy to listen to? We sit and enjoy the vocalization of some well-known singer who plays upon our feelings even as a musician does upon his instrument; and yet we never dream of accusing the singer of artificiality. Why, then, the speaker or the preacher? In fact, matters are fast coming to that pass that church-goers used to the perfect voice production of the stage, will think twice before going to hear a sermon, for no other reason, perhaps, than that the speaker's voice grates upon their ears. 'Speak the speech,' says Hamlet to the players; 'trippingly on the tongue, suit the action to the word, the word to the action.' Splendid advice this, if only we could succeed in carrying it out in practice. It may be said, I think, that character has a great deal to do with the formation of a man's delivery; and, as no two characters are exactly alike, so it will be difficult to find two speakers who will deliver the same passage after the same fashion. 'All speech,' says Demosthenes, 'is vain and empty unless it be accompanied by action.'¹ This is very true, but no two men will agree as to the extent to which action may be employed when preaching; much will depend on the matter we are discussing.

When Sir Henry Irving put Robespierre on the Lyceum

¹ Ἄπας μὲν λόγος ἂν ἀπόντ' ἔργ' ἔχη μάταιόν τι φαίνεται καὶ κενόν.

stage a few weeks since, one of the leading successes proved to be the acting of Mr. Laurence Irving as Tallien. In the convention scene, many ignorant people, who were present, were inconsiderate enough to laugh at the young actor. But his gesticulation, though wild and fierce, was quite in keeping with the character and circumstances of the man he was representing. Tallien had been an actor before he became a politician. He had a private reason for bringing about the downfall of Robespierre; so when his opportunity came we may rest certain that he made the most of it, forcing into his service every trick of diction and action which was likely to influence his hearers. Still gracefulness of action is a thing that is not acquired in a day. Herein, if in anything: 'Chi va piano va sano ed anche lontano.' We may not leap up the oratorical ladder, but we can all mount it step by step according to the measure of our ability. As Browning says: 'ever with the best desire goes diffidence.' In time, however, the diffidence disappears; or we become more self-controlled. Yet not even then ought we to allow ourselves to forget, that in the matter of action the golden rule is moderation, a gift which someone has charmingly described as the silken string running through the pearl chain of all virtues.

The older some of us grow in the sacred ministry, the more manifest appears to us the absolute need that exists for careful preparation before preaching. Study, thought, and prayer, these we can never afford to dispense with, be we ever so gifted. Those, says, Montaigne, who are deficient in matter endeavour to make it up in words. But this can never be accomplished. The seedlings must first have struck root in the mind and heart of the preacher before they can be transferred to the minds of his hearers, where he hopes, with God's help, they will fructify. A small drop of ink, as Byron has it,

Falling like dew upon a thought, produces
That which makes thousands, perhaps millions, think.

But, first of all, the thought has assumed form and shape in the mind of the writer.

There is one quality which will make even a very poor sermon acceptable to the people, and the absence of which cannot fail to render a beautiful discourse almost intolerable; that is, earnestness, or the happy faculty of making others realize that we believe what we are saying; that the exhortations we address to them are of supreme importance to ourselves. 'It is the speaker's character,' says Menander, 'which persuades, and not his words.' The name of John Knox is one to which most of us are not particularly partial. Yet there is no denying that he was a most earnest preacher. In his old age he had to be carried from his home to the pulpit; but, as an ancient writer tells us, 'ere he had done with his sermone, he was so active and vigorous that he was lyk to ding the pulpit in blads, and flie out of it.' This same note of intense, overpowering conviction and earnestness will be noticed in Thomas Guthrie's well-known sermon on intemperance. Even the least imaginative can form some idea of the effect likely to be produced by an impassioned orator, his mind throbbing with conviction, giving utterance to the following words in the middle of his discourse: 'Before God and man, before the Church and the world, I impeach intemperance; I charge it with the murder of innumerable souls.'

An affected preacher will never make a successful one. The pulpit is a very conspicuous piece of furniture, and any tendency to exaggeration or posing whilst in it is sure to be widely noticed, and remembered. Some preachers like to say amusing things, especially when delivering controversial sermons, and to tell stories which are sure to excite laughter; but this is a tendency which ought to be very carefully guarded against. Laughter, says Demophilus, like salt, must be sparingly indulged in, at all events in such a sacred spot as a Catholic church.

The reading of the Epistle and Gospel preparatory to preaching at the sung Mass on Sunday may seem a matter of very slight consequence; but, like most other things, it is capable of being done either very well or altogether badly. A good reader delivering the sacred word with due emphasis, slowly and deliberately, may do more during that minute or

two in the direction of making a lasting impression, than he will by a dozen sermons. Dr. Barry, in his recently published novel, *The Two Standards*, gives a beautiful description of the reading of the Church of England vicar, Mr. Greystoke, father to the heroine of the story. It runs as follows:—

Mr. Greystoke read the lessons with an intonation so large and well-balanced, so sweet and searching, or so convincingly profound, that while he was giving them out, Marian sat as in the hearing of a mighty orchestra. No less—for the exquisite *vox humana* was borne up, was quickened and thrown into a flame by the words themselves, which sang with him in their ancient beauty and struck their golden cords in unison, and sometimes danced as if the stars in their courses turned about a steadfast sun; and again wept most feelingly, and fell into the minor, and sank down one by one, dying as if from very sweetness and the pain of an intense desire.

This was the perfection of reading which we all have to admire, but which few of us dare emulate. There are few writers or students but feel tempted to burn the midnight oil, and to neglect that amount of open air exercise which is necessary in the case of every healthy man. This entails the most lamentable consequences; and is, moreover, a positive neglect of a most important duty—the preservation of our health, on which depends the proper performance of our daily work. ‘All breaches of the laws of health,’ says Herbert Spencer, ‘are physical sins,’ an injustice done to nature. Mental power, says the same writer, cannot be got from ill-fed brains. Therefore, the preacher must keep constantly before him the excellent idea of the *mens sana in corpore sano*; and rest assured that this cannot be brought about if active exercise in the open air is neglected. As Browning finely expresses it:—

Air, air, fresh life blood, thin and searching air,
The clear, dear breath of God that loveth us.

The man that takes a cold tub in the morning, and rides twenty-five miles a day on his cycle, will generally have his wits about him; he will not be troubled much with the headache, nor will he pay much away in doctor’s fees.

I think I have touched upon the chief qualifications which go to the making of a successful preacher. We should have an ambition to be able to perform this important work of our ministry faithfully and well. We may have to spend much time and labour in the drudgery of preparation; and then the finished work may not come up to our expectations: but it is so in every walk of life. We can but do our best, fully convinced of the importance of the position we occupy, and the endless opportunities we have ever at hand to advance the interests of the Master whose ambassadors we are.

Men my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something
new;

That which they have done but the earnest of the things
which they shall do.

Ours it is to work and pray, but God still giveth the increase. Souls have to be saved; and we, even we, are the dispensers of the mysteries of our Father. Our duty it is to support the weak, to check the headstrong, to picture vice in all its native grossness, to foster a love for virtue, to raise the eyes of our people above the things of this world, and, as far as may be, to fix them upon the city of God, our eternal home.

RICHARD A. O'GORMAN.

DARWINISM

SENSATION

[This article is one of an interrupted series formerly appearing under the general heading of 'Modern Scientific Materialism.' This will account for the opening sentences, and for some passing references later on. The preceding articles can now be had in book form under the name of *The New Materialism.*]

WE now reach that part of the materialistic Genesis which professes to account for the diversity of organic life we see around us. We have witnessed the frantic efforts of the 'advanced philosophers' to get matter out of void and life out of matter. We shall now see that even when they have assumed life, they are by no means at the end of their troubles. Before they can take a single step forward they have to give some account of a new phenomenon connected with life, viz., *sensation*. Life presents itself under two such totally different aspects in the animal and in the vegetable that common-sense as well as philosophy looks for some explanation. What is this superadded something which makes such a difference between them, and whence is it derived? ¹

Our 'philosophers,' not having anything better to say, simply deny that there is any fundamental difference between what we call *sensitive* and merely *vegetative* life. It is another case of 'difference not in kind, but in degree.' 'No man can say that the feelings of the animal are not represented by a drowsier consciousness in the vegetable.'² Certainly no man can say it in precisely the same way as he says 'I feel,' for no man—not even a green-grocer—is a vegetable. Nevertheless it is a curious thing that every

¹ We are not here asking for a *definition* of sensation. Such a demand would be unreasonable, and even absurd. Sensation is for us an ultimate fact, and as such inexplicable; it cannot be resolved into simpler elements. No other form of words can make clearer to us the meaning of 'I feel.' But as the 'advanced philosophers' profess to be able to derive 'every form and quality of life' from primal matter we have a right to know what, according to materialistic principles, is their view about this remarkable 'quality,' and how they account for its appearance in only one of the two great divisions of organic nature.

² Tyndall, *Fragments*, p. 244.

man in his senses, including the green-grocer, does say it. 'The aggregate common-sense of mankind' may seem sometimes a very pig-headed power; but it generally knows its own mind, and speaks it. And this is a case in point. No number of philosophers will ever persuade the world of the consciousness of a turnip. It does not matter in the least what any man may or can say. We here pass out of the realm of formal demonstration into that of what we may call rational instinct. Speaking of the almost intuitive manner in which practical certainty in concrete matters is often arrived at, Cardinal Newman says:—

It is difficult to avoid calling such clear presentiments by the name of instinct; and I think they may be so called, if by instinct be understood, not a natural sense, one and the same in all, and incapable of cultivation, but a *perception of facts without assignable media of perceiving*.¹

This exactly describes the common belief about sensation in vegetables—it is 'a preception of a fact without assignable media of perceiving,' and as such we may, with Cardinal Newman, call it instinct.

We may be told that this is a case in which common belief not only has no assignable foundation, but no foundation of any sort. Each unscientific unit of the population simply represents ignorance. How can the mass represent knowledge? We have here a difficulty similar to one which Cardinal Newman proposes to himself when justifying his unreasoning conviction that Great Britain is an island.

As to the common belief, what is to prove that we are not all of us believing it on the credit of each other? And then when it is said that everyone believes it, and everything implies it, how much comes home to me personally of this 'everyone' and 'everything?' The question is—Why do I believe it myself?²

Perhaps each one's belief is no more than 'a life-long impression,' which is really quite mistaken.

This very well represents our present difficulty. No man—at least no man that we have met—can say of his own knowledge that Great Britain *is* an island. If some

¹ *Grammar of Assent* (1891), p. 334.

² *Ibid.*, p. 295.

few by sailing round it have definitely ascertained the fact, who ever cross-examined any of them with a view to settling the point for himself? Clearly the population as a whole have just been taking it for granted, each one depending on his neighbour's knowledge, which is as baseless as his own. And as for books, papers, maps, and the like—what are they but mere reflections of the common impression? They can prove nothing. Error is not converted into fact by printing it or mapping it.

And what is the upshot of all this most logical demolition of a common belief? That the common belief remains as unreasonably vigorous as ever. Not a single Briton with brains enough to know what an island is but still believes his country to be one, and rests illogically content that no foe can get at him while Britannia rules the waves. And is his belief therefore irrational, a prejudice? The Cardinal's whole argument is meant to bring out the fact that there may be cases when 'we cannot analyze a proof satisfactorily, the result of which good sense actually guarantees to us.'

So with the common belief about vegetable sensation. It defies logical analysis; it is so elementary that a man can hardly say how or when he came by it; it seems to have always been an unnoticed part of him, like an internal organ. He has been as little conscious of it as of his spinal chord. It has shaped his conduct every day and hour, and nothing has ever happened that would give rise to the faintest suspicion that it does not represent a fact. Indeed he is quite unconscious of holding anything so definite as a belief about the matter at all. It is just a fact, like the weather—a part of the nature of things, in the existence of which it would be ridiculous to express one's belief. And when some day he sits down to dinner beside an 'advanced philosopher,' and learns for the first time that the potatoes were 'sensitive and conscious,' though a trifle 'drowsy,' before boiling, if not still, the probable result of the communication will be a feeling of pity for the poor gentleman, qualified with a slight uneasiness when he sees him reach for the bread-knife. Surely we may say of this common belief

what Cardinal Newman says of his geographical conviction about Great Britain: 'It is a simple and primary truth with us, if any truth is such.'

Nor is our argument in the least affected by the undeniable fallibility of each individual witness. It must not be looked at in the individual, but in the mass; in fact it is only when so looked at that it is an argument at all. It rests, not on men, but on mankind. As the opinion or conviction of this and that individual it might be discounted; but as an implicit judgment of the whole human race in every age and every land, backed up by a constant experience equally wide, it bulks out into an argument of the biggest kind. It may be 'one of those arguments which, from the nature of the case, are felt rather than are convertible into syllogisms';¹ but nobody misses the syllogism. In fact it would only be in the way. This is not a weapon of the Excalibur type, but unshapely and uncouth as Samson's. Still it breaks heads in its own way just as well, and it has this advantage over Excalibur logic, that it comes handy to every man of average common sense. But perhaps it will seem that we are slipping away into rather mythical regions, and losing sight of our thesis. So we bid good-bye to the heroic figures of Arthur and Samson, and return to our turnips. We think we may claim that in denying turnip-consciousness we have the support of the common belief of humanity—an ample and goodly backing.

But may it not still be urged that in a matter of this kind the informed opinion of a small number of experts outweighs the blind conviction of even the whole world? We might perhaps be disposed to allow this argument some weight if we knew less about the expert opinion. But we know it to be simply one more instance of the expertness of the experts in dodging a difficulty—another example of the magnifying and transforming power of the scientific imagination. Something had to be done to avert a repetition of the *fiasco* of the origin of life at the very next step. 'Cooling planets' were more or less used up; 'subtle influences' were rather

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

too delicate to stand wear and tear; while 'successive complications' and some other machinery of 'advanced philosophy' had better not be obtruded too often on the public view. So recourse was had to that favourite trick of 'advanced philosophy,' the appeal to ignorance—'no man can say'—supplemented by highly coloured views of certain facts of natural history. We had this sort of thing before in the case of living and not-living matter. That too was 'a difference of degree, not of kind.' 'No man could say' that the rock was not as much alive as the moss that clung to it. Tyndall 'could fancy the mineral world responsive to the proper irritants.' The man who could fancy this would have little difficulty in fancying a 'drowsy' vegetable. Shakespeare's 'nodding violet' becomes something more than a figure of speech—in fact a fore-glimpse of the 'advanced philosophy.' Wonderful man, Shakespeare!

To eke out the 'nobody-can-deny' argument the philosophers bring forward two classes of facts from nature—(1) the difficulty of distinguishing between the lowest forms of the animal and vegetable kingdoms; and (2) the extraordinary behaviour of what are called 'insectivorous' or 'carnivorous' plants.

PLANT OR ANIMAL—WHICH?

1. 'If we look to the two main divisions [of organic beings], viz., to the animal and vegetable kingdoms, certain low forms are so far intermediate in character that naturalists have disputed to which kingdom they should be referred.'¹ Tyndall insists strongly on the continuity of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. 'The vegetable shades into the animal by such fine gradations that it is impossible to say where the one ends and the other begins.'²

It is quite true that there are a few organisms of so indeterminate a character that it is impossible to decide whether they are animal or vegetable. All the same, no naturalist who has not 'advanced philosophy' on the brain doubts that they are either one or the other, not a judicious mixture

¹ Darwin, *Origin of Species*, p. 399.

² *Fragments of Science*, vol. ii., p. 244.

of both. And if it were decided to-morrow to which class they belong, no unprejudiced naturalist would hesitate for a moment as to whether he should or should not credit them with sensation. The actual fact might be as hidden as ever, but the recognised analogies of the two great kingdoms would at once settle the point. 'No line has ever been drawn,' says Tyndall, 'between the conscious and the unconscious.'¹ Certainly there has—a line as plain as a turnpike road. The fact that at one point it runs into a fog does not make the rest of it less clear. And we have as little doubt that it keeps on still through the fog as if we saw it. This is a case where we very properly 'prolong the method of nature' beyond the reach of observation. We rightly credit the confusion, not to the poor Pariahs 'on the ditch,' but to our own limited 'capacity to observe.' To borrow Tyndall's 'always elegant words,'² we 'cannot stop abruptly where our microscopes cease to be of use.' We 'draw the line from the highest organisms through lower ones down to the lowest; and it is the prolongation of this line by the intellect beyond the range of sense that leads us to the conclusion' that these puzzling creatures are not abnormal mixtures, but true members of one or the other kingdom. The analogy of all the rest of animated nature reduces the doubt in these few cases to a simple alternative—a question of *which*, not *what*; and 'a being with our capacities indefinitely multiplied' would, we feel sure, solve that doubt, and have these 'nobody's children' off the ditch and into their proper places in a wink.

CARNIVOROUS PLANTS

2. Plants that catch and, in a sense, eat flies with their leaves, and show a decided taste for raw meat, soup, and the like, may well be ranked among the curiosities of nature. It had long been known that the leaves of certain common plants exuded a sticky substance in which flies were caught, while a district in North Carolina produces a 'fly-trap' that acts with the startling promptness of a spring rat-trap.

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Belfast Address.*

The peculiar conduct of these various 'fly-catchers' had been studied by several naturalists, but nothing like a satisfactory account of them had appeared until the publication of Darwin's *Insectivorous Plants* in 1875. Darwin found that the fly-catching leaves close upon, and, in a manner, digest the prey captured or given to them. Some of them help on this digestive process by an acid secretion not unlike the gastric juice of the animal stomach.

Now it is worthy of [remark that Darwin himself did not see in the behaviour of these plants those indications of an approach to animal sensation which appeared so evident to his more 'advanced' followers. Indeed he repeatedly goes out of his way to forestall and prevent such misinterpretation of the facts he describes. 'The leaf *falsely* appears as if endowed with the senses of an animal.'¹ In using the term 'reflex action' of a certain process which seems analogous to what is so described in animal sensation he is careful to warn us that 'the action in the two cases is probably of a widely different nature.'² He several times calls attention to the complete absence of anything even remotely resembling *nerves* in these leaves. 'No one supposes that they possess nerves,' nor does it appear that 'they include any diffused matter analogous to nerve-tissue.'³ On the same page the absence of nerves is again referred to, as also on pp. 219, 221, &c. Finally, the whole concluding paragraph of Chapter XV. is devoted to a summing up of the many fundamental differences between these plants and any kind of animal.

Turning now from Darwin's work to a review of it by the late Professor Asa Gray of Harvard,⁴ we hardly recognise the sober science of the English naturalist in the lively paragraphs of the American reviewer. 'When plants are seen to move and to devour, what faculties are left that are distinctively animal?' Comparisons of these vegetable functions with analogous animal functions are quoted in

¹ Page 222. The references are to the second revised edition, 1888.

² Page 197. He repeats the warning on p. 223.

³ Page 295.

⁴ The article now forms chap. xi. of his *Darwiniana*.

the most striking way, *but not a word is said of any of Darwin's numerous cautions about these deceptive resemblances.* This is an excellent example of 'advanced philosophy' as she is made!

Needless to say the whole band of 'philosophers' fully indorsed the view of Professor Gray. There could no longer be any doubt of the complete identity of animal and vegetable life. Plants ate, drank, and presumably made merry. An alderman could do no more. But what was the whole amount of solid foundation for all this triumphant theorising? Was the world altogether ignorant that plants are nourished by the products of animal substances? Has Goulding carried the globe on his back to no purpose? Is there a man on this or any neighbouring planet still unconvinced that the sovereign'st thing on earth is bone manure for growing crops? And to bring the matter yet nearer home—how many ages is it since men first noted the perennial richness of the churchyard sod?

So practically everybody knew that plants absorbed animal products through their *roots*; and the only thing that was not so well known was that some plants absorbed them also through their *leaves*. But where is the wonderful significance of the fact, beyond giving us one more instance of the marvels of adaptation in nature? How are plants brought any nearer to animals because some of them have glands on the leaves which discharge some of the functions of roots? A far more extraordinary analogous fact was already known of plants in general, viz., that it is through the leaves they gather in the carbon which is the main constituent of their solid stems. That some of them should procure in the same way the comparatively small quantities of nitrogenous and phosphate substances they require can hardly on reflection be regarded as altogether abnormal. And as for the *modus agendi*, is it so much more wonderful than many other things in plant economy? Has not the sticky substance that first attracts and then captures the greedy fly its perfect counterpart in the nectar which entices 'the little busy bee' to become the most indefatigable of gardeners? And are the movements of the leaf towards

the captured fly one bit more wonderful than the movements of the roots pushing their way through the soil towards a dead cat buried below? And remembering that the nutriment is to be assimilated by protoplasm similar to that of animals, what more natural than that it should be prepared in some such way as in the animal stomach? And finally, what has all this to do with *sensation*, which is the distinguishing characteristic of animal life? Digestion subserves the *vital* process—the work of protoplasm—and is equally unnoticed.

In truth the old knowledge was quite as suggestive as the new, and it was simply the circumstances of the time that lent the new its apparent significance. Evolution was in the air, and every fresh discovery was at once seized upon in its interests. The origin of the whole contention for sensation in plants may be told in half a dozen words—the needs of the evolution theory. The two lines of life must start from a single ‘low and intermediate form’ such as the doubtful cases above referred to. What we distinguish as sensitive and non-sensitive life must spring from the same root; and the only way in which such a thing can be rendered conceivable is by denying the distinction. It must be allowed that the ‘advanced philosophy,’ whatever its defects, is not wanting in courage. No assertion or denial is too gigantic for it. When the origin of life could be accounted for in no other way, it confounded animate and inanimate nature, and ‘discerned in matter the promise and potency of every form and quality of life.’ When the two kinds of life offer a difficulty, it confounds with equal facility the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and blots out the line between the conscious and the unconscious.

ABSENCE OF SENSATION IN PLANTS

Finally, as regards our present point, viz., the absence of sensation in plants, modern research tends very decidedly to confirm it by showing (1) that animal sensation is always associated with a nervous system;¹ and (2) that no trace of

¹ Huxley calls the nervous system ‘the physical basis of consciousness.’ *Critiques and Addresses*, p. 280.

a nervous system is to be found in plants, even in such promising cases as the aforementioned 'fly-catchers.' The 'vascular bundles' in no sense represent nerves; and Darwin has shown that the contractile impulse is not transmitted through them, but through the ordinary cellular tissue of the leaf.

Notwithstanding this adverse opinion from the Father of Advanced Philosophy, Huxley is not disposed to yield. There is still that unfailing resource of distressed materialism—the unknown possibilities of the future. The problem he admits to be of such 'extreme difficulty' that it must be attacked 'by the aid of methods that have still to be invented.' This seems to render the prospect of solution discouragingly remote; but he is not daunted.

It must be allowed to be possible that future research may reveal the existence of something comparable to a nervous system in plants.¹

This is very moderate for Huxley, but it is quite enough to warrant the conclusion which duly follows:—'So that I know not whether we can hope to find any absolute distinction between animals and plants!'

This is sufficiently answered by a still more recent 'advanced' writer.

In plants, it is almost needless to remark, no nervous system has been demonstrated to exist; *and no botanist has even suggested the possible existence of nervous tissues within the limits of the vegetable creation.*²

We will close this part of our argument by quoting an authority whose right to a hearing will not be questioned. The praises of Alfred Russell Wallace are in the mouths of all the 'advanced philosophers.' He has the distinction of being 'the joint discoverer of natural selection' and co-patron with Darwin of the modern theory of evolution.

¹ *Science and Culture* (1881), p. 158.

² Dr. A. Wilson, *Leisure-time Studies* (1884), p. 55. With the inconsistency characteristic of his school, Dr. Wilson, in another essay in the same volume, says:—'The wonderful facts recently brought to light respecting insectivorous plants . . . tend to the conclusion that the difference between animal and vegetable is one of degree rather than of kind.' *Ibid.*, p. 178.

His name is constantly coupled with that of Darwin, both by Darwin himself and his most zealous admirers. 'Darwin and Wallace dispelled the darkness' surrounding 'the species problem,' writes Huxley in 1887.¹ He is an uncompromising advocate of Darwinian evolution all the way up to the evolution of man's bodily organization 'from some ancestral form common to man and the anthropoid apes.'² Hence, he cannot be suspected of any undue leaning, apart from conviction, towards views opposed to the evolutionary school. In the light of these facts the importance of the following declaration can hardly be overstated. It will be seen that it covers all the ground we have been discussing:—³

There are at least three stages in the development of the organic world when some new cause or power must necessarily have come into action. (1) The first stage is the change from inorganic to organic, when the earliest vegetable cell, or the living protoplasm out of which it arose, first appeared . . . (2) The next stage is still more marvellous, still more completely beyond the possibility of explanation by matter, its laws and forces. It is *the introduction of sensation or consciousness, constituting the fundamental distinction between the animal and vegetable kingdoms.* (3) The third stage is the existence in man of a number of his most characteristic and noblest faculties, those which raise him furthest above the brutes, and open up possibilities of almost indefinite advancement.

These three distinct stages of progress from the inorganic world of matter and motion up to man, point clearly to an unseen universe—to a world of spirit, to which the world of matter is altogether subordinate. To this spiritual world . . . we can refer those progressive manifestations of life in the vegetable the animal, and man—which we classify as unconscious, conscious, and intellectual life. . . . Any difficulty we may find in discriminating the inorganic from the organic, *the lower vegetable from the lower animal organisms* . . . has no bearing at all upon the question. This is to be decided by showing that a change in essential nature (due, probably, to causes of a higher order than those of the material universe) took place at the several stages of progress which I have indicated—a change which may be none the less real because *absolutely imperceptible at its point of origin.*

¹ *Life of Darwin*, vol. ii., p. 197.

² *Darwinism*, p. 461.

³ *Darwinism*, pp. 474-5-6.

Comment would but mar the effect of this pronouncement from a man whose authority on all questions of evolution is admitted to be second only to that of Darwin himself. We will only point out that it is the matured opinion of the author, published just thirty years after the *Origin of Species*.

NERVES NOT SENSATION

One of the arts in which our 'philosophers' excel is, as we know, that of making a partial knowledge of a subject seem to cover the whole of it. Our present subject, sensation, furnishes a good instance of their skill. The knowledge they have acquired of the *physical machinery* of sensation is somehow made to look like a knowledge of sensation itself.

Great credit is indeed due to the science of biology—which, we may remark, is not coextensive with 'advanced philosophy'—for the light it has thrown on the working of that marvellous telegraphic maze, the nervous system. It has disentangled the wires that carry the incoming and outgoing messages to and from the central station; it has even calculated the speed with which nerve-messages are conveyed.¹

Thanks to its discoveries we can all now at least talk about 'sensor and motor,' or 'afferent and efferent' nerves, 'reflex action,' and the like. We also know that the act of some one treading on our corn and the explosive language that conveys our idea of that act are not simultaneous, but separated by an appreciable interval. This is all very interesting and wonderful *as far as it goes*. But how far does it go? Will the most accurate knowledge of the course of a river and the speed of the current tell us what water is?

¹ This is found to be surprisingly low. In man and warm-blooded animals it is only about 120 to 130 feet a second, or between 80 and 90 miles an hour—a speed sometimes reached by fast trains. Compared with the speed attained in other departments of nature's work, this is a mere bagatelle. A portion of the earth's surface near the equator makes its daily round sixteen times as fast; the whole earth travels round the sun at a speed of nearly nineteen miles a second; while light is propagated through space at the rate of 186,000 miles a second.

Does the Postmaster-General know anything more than other people about the nature of electricity because of his presumably more extensive knowledge of the telegraph system? Would the most perfect knowledge of the purely mechanical working of that system entitle him to propound a new theory of electricity? Yet something like this our 'philosophers,' implicitly at least, claim to do in regard to sensation. Because they have learned something of the purely mechanical part of nervous action, they assume to speak with a show of knowledge of the *nature* of sensation and of the consciousness that is its shadow. Here is a specimen of the kind of thing we mean, taken from a work by a living writer already referred to, Dr. A. Wilson of Edinboro'.

There can appear little doubt that the domain of mental science is being invaded on more than one side by the sciences which deal more especially with the material world and with the physical universe around us. When physiologists discovered that the force or impulse which travels along a nerve originating in the brain, and which represents the transformation of thought into action, is nearly allied to the electric force—now one of man's most useful and obedient ministers—one avenue to the domain of mind was opened up. And when biologists, through the aid of delicate apparatus, were actually enabled to measure the rate at which nerve force travels along the nerve-fibres, it might again be said that physical science was encroaching on the domain of mind, being in a certain sense thus enabled to measure the rapidity of thought. . . . The common phrase 'as quick as thought' is found to be by no means so applicable as is generally supposed, especially when it is discovered that thought or nervous impulse, as compared with light or electricity, appears a veritable laggard.²

Here we have that skilful interweaving of assumption with fact that is so characteristic of the 'advanced' writers and so misleading to the unwary reader. The near alliance of nerve force to electric force is purely imaginary; physiologists have never 'discovered' anything giving the smallest warrant for such a statement, no one having the slightest idea of the nature or mode of action of either force. We shall return to this point later on. Throughout the

² *Leisure-time Studies*, pp. 229, 230.

rest of the passage the skill with which *sensation* and *thought* are confounded is admirable. Because the speed with which *sensation* travels in a nerve has been measured, science may be said to be able, 'in a certain sense,' to measure the speed of *thought*—which, so far as we know, does not travel anywhere. 'As quick as thought,' is quietly assumed to be the equivalent of 'as quick as sensation'; while the phrase 'thought or nervous impulse' gives the finishing touch to the identification of the two processes.

Needless to say, our friends Tyndall and Huxley are accomplished masters of this art of hiding ignorance behind knowledge. Tyndall will admit with apparent frankness that between the physical process and the consciousness with which it is linked there is 'a blank which mechanical deduction is unable to fill'; but in the very same breath he practically obliterates the blank by 'denying to subjective phenomena all influence on physical processes.'¹ This is as much as to say that as consciousness does undoubtedly 'influence physical processes,' it must itself be a sort of physical process. Huxley plainly asserts this in so many words:—

There is every reason to believe that consciousness is a function of nervous matter, when that nervous matter has attained a certain degree of organisation. . . . Our thoughts are the expression of molecular changes in that matter of life which is the source of our other vital phenomena.²

We do not now stop to refute the assumption slyly introduced into the last sentence, viz., that protoplasm is the 'source,' and not simply the *physical medium*, of our vital phenomena. We treated that question at sufficient length in a former paper. As for the assertion here made of the mechanical nature of consciousness, it is best answered by the accomplished Professor himself.

We class sensations, along with emotions and volitions and thoughts, under the common head of *states of consciousness*. But what consciousness is we know not; and how it is that any-

¹ *Fragments*, p. 356.

² *Critiques and Addresses*, p. 283.

thing so remarkable as a state of consciousness comes about as the result of irritating nervous tissue, is just as unaccountable as any other ultimate fact of nature.³

This is excellent teaching, and hardly needs backing up with a still later opinion, which will be found in the *Contemporary Review*, No. 182.

In the first place it seems to me pretty plain that there is a third thing in the universe, to wit, *consciousness*, which, in the hardness of my heart or head, I cannot see to be matter or force, or any conceivable modification of either.¹

ALL WE KNOW OF SENSATION

Let us clearly bear in mind that the whole amount of scientific knowledge hitherto gained about sensation is purely *mechanical*, viz., the lines along which sensations travel to and fro, and the speed of transit. There is no authority even for the use of such terms as 'molecular motion'² to indicate a physical equivalent of sensation. There is not a shadow of ascertained fact to warrant the assumption that sensation in a nerve is represented by motion or any other special condition of its molecules. And this for the very obvious reason that molecules are quite beyond the reach of observation.

Therefore when Huxley says: 'We *know exactly* what happens when the soles of the feet are tickled; a *molecular change* takes place in the sensory nerves of the skin, and is *propagated along them*, &c.,'⁴ we answer, that as molecules are at present only *inferential*, and of course quite imperceptible, entities, all such descriptions of their behaviour must be regarded as figures of speech. In our present ignorance of the constitution of matter what we 'know exactly' about sensation amounts only to this—that *the*

¹ *Physiology* (1886), p. 202.

² The reader has long ago, we presume, given up expecting consistency in Professor Huxley's philosophical opinions. The Professor might have made his own of the characteristic avowal with which the late Lord Randolph Churchill once delighted the House of Commons. The erratic Lord, in reply to a vigorous attack on his inconsistency, placidly 'begged to inform the honourable member that he never meant to be consistent!'

³ Tyndall *passim*.

⁴ *Science and Culture* (1881), p. 219.

nerve-tissue is affected in some way, and that this affection, whatever is its nature, is propagated at a known velocity through the nerve.

The intrinsic nature of the change in the nerve-fibre effected by a stimulus is *quite unknown*. . . . From the stimulated point *some kind of change* is propagated along the nerve.¹

Again, there is no warrant whatever for the comparison often made between the condition of a nerve in action and that of a conducting wire. This is simply a comparison of ignorance with ignorance. Nothing whatever is positively known of the condition of either nerve or wire while discharging their respective functions. The electric influence is propagated through the wire,² the sensation through the nerve, and that is all that can be said of either. Yet Huxley speaks as positively as if science had really solved the puzzle of electricity.

Our conceptions of what takes place in a nerve have altered in the same way as our conceptions of what takes place in a conducting wire have altered *since electricity was shown to be, not a fluid, but a mode of molecular motion*.³

The bottom is very effectively knocked out of this comparison by a few quotations from recent works on electricity. We take up *Modern Views of Electricity*,⁴ by Professor Lodge of the Liverpool University College, and learn from it that *the 'modern view' now in favour is 'ethereal.'* Electricity is not associated with any action or condition of the molecules of matter, but with the *ether*. 'Electricity is a form, or rather a mode of manifestation, of the ether.'⁵ Professor Lodge goes out of his way to warn us that the one thing we must be careful to exclude from our conception of electricity is *molecules*; for the ether, to which electricity is now referred, is 'continuous, not

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1875)—*Physiology*.

² A recent American writer on electricity, Professor Trowbridge of Harvard, questions even this: 'There is but little evidence that there is a flow of electricity in a wire which we ordinarily say conveys a current.' *What is Electricity?* (1897), p. 51.

³ *Science and Culture*, p. 207.

⁴ 1889. The references here are to the second edition, 1892.

⁵ Page 9.

molecular.'¹ So much for Huxley's 'mode of molecular motion.'

Of course all this is *theory*. The real *fact* of the matter is tersely stated in a lecture appended to the volume. 'Now then we will ask first—What is electricity? And the simple answer must be—We don't know.'² . . . It may be that it is an entity *per se*, just as matter is an entity *per se*.³—Which shows pretty plainly how near we are to the solution of the puzzle of electricity, viz., just about as near as we are to the solution of the puzzle of matter.

A little farther on in the same lecture we are told how much has been found out about the nature of an electric *current*, which, according to Huxley, throws such light on the nature of nerve currents. 'The nature . . . of the simple stream of electricity is at present unknown.'⁴ All that can be said of it, we are told elsewhere, is that 'it is certainly a transfer of electricity, whatever electricity may be ;'⁵ but 'the actual mode of conveyance' is 'unknown.'⁶

We can now gauge the value of Huxley's comparison—and something more. He compares his knowledge of sensation with his knowledge of electricity. Professor Lodge gives us the measure of one term of the comparison. *Ergo*.

We next turn for information to that enterprising people who, in practice at any rate, seem to have got the firmest grip of this slippery agent. Two years ago Professor Trowbridge of Harvard published a very interesting work about electricity. He boldly wrote on the title page the great question—WHAT IS ELECTRICITY?—and we took up the volume with a sort of feeling that now or never it would be answered. We were right. It was seemingly a case of now or never—but *it was not* NOW! After 308 pages explanatory of the behaviour of 'this wonderful something which we call electricity,' on the last page we are once more confronted with the still unanswered question. 'What shall we therefore answer to the question—What is electricity? Must we reply—*Ignoramus, ignorabimus?*'

¹ Page 396.

² Page 370.

³ Page 371.

⁴ Page 372.

⁵ Page 73

⁶ Page 74.

And there we are left! No doubt we got premonitory hints as we went along which somewhat prepared us for this, *e.g.*—‘Philosophers of to-day set themselves to work to study the transformations of electricity . . . *with very little hope that they can ascertain what electricity really is.*’¹—But what a fall from Huxley’s comfortable state of assured knowledge!

From all which we conclude that, so far from its having been ‘shown’ what electricity is, Lord Salisbury, in that splendid address at Oxford five years ago, did not exaggerate when, with full knowledge of all the latest achievements, he said: ‘As to the true significance and cause of those counteracting forces to which we give the provisional names of negative and positive [electricity], we know about as much as Franklin knew a century and a half ago.’

Before finally leaving the point let us once more remind the reader that it is the ‘philosophers’ themselves who challenge us to estimate the extent and certainty of their knowledge of sensation by the extent and certainty of their knowledge of what they are pleased to regard as a kindred force, electricity. We have taken them at their word, with the result of showing that while they know something of the *action*, they know nothing whatever of the *nature*, of either force.

DARWIN AND SENSATION

But some reader whose patience is running short may here challenge us. ‘This is all very well; but what has it to say to Darwinism?’ And we have to confess that strictly speaking it has nothing—at least to the Darwinism that will be found in Darwin’s own books. But that is due to the saving virtue of inconsistency that was so characteristic of Darwin as a thinker and a theorist.² He professed to trace all living organisms back to a few animal and vegetable types, *or perhaps to one common type*—‘one low and intermediate form.’ We see at once how vast is the difference

¹ Page 178.

² Darwin’s intellectual character has been summed up in one sentence—he was a wonderful observer, but a bad reasoner.

between the alternatives. As a matter of fact he never attempted the second, and so escaped the whole difficulty about the origin of sensation. And this brings out the curious fact that the title of his most famous book, the *Origin of Species*, is a misnomer. He never really made any attempt to trace species to a common origin in 'one primordial form,' much less to account for the origin of that form itself, which, however 'low,' was necessarily a *species* of some sort. On the contrary, he borrowed from what he called the 'creator' as many 'origins of species' as he wanted; and his book really aims at accounting, not for the *origin* of species, but for the *development* of groups of species from these borrowed origins or original types.

Darwin's attitude towards 'origins' in general was remarkable. They had as little attraction for him as 'honour' had for Jack Falstaff. And for just the same reason:—the tracing of origins *might be* very philosophical; it certainly *was* very risky. And so Darwin came to the same conclusion as prudent old Jack—'I'll none of it!' Hence the origin of matter, of life, of animal instinct, of the higher mental powers—all were taboo. 'Rubbish' was his word for such investigations. This was of course inconsistent: but then, who minds about consistency? Darwin certainly gained in reputation for soundness by his careful avoidance of the wild speculations of his less prudent friends.

Huxley would have us believe that 'with respect to the origin [of the primitive stock or stocks, the doctrine of the origin of species is obviously not necessarily concerned.'¹ We should say the very contrary is obvious. The primitive stock or stocks were *pro tem.* representative *species*, and therefore any complete theory of the origin of species must obviously concern itself about them. An account of the origin of the steam-engine which would begin with the first steam-engine in full blast, and, without making any attempt to explain how it arose, would go on to describe the evolution of all the later forms from that 'primitive stock,' would hardly be considered complete. But Darwin has not done

¹ *Lay Sermons*, p. 243.

even so much as this. The historian of the steam-engine, to put himself quite in line with the historian of species, should start with several 'primitive stocks,' representing the chief types of steam-engine—say the ordinary locomotive, the stationary, and the marine; and should declare himself 'obviously not necessarily concerned' with the origin of these.

The transmutation hypothesis [continues Huxley] is perfectly consistent either with the conception of a special creation of the primitive germ, or with the supposition of its having arisen, as a modification of inorganic matter, by natural causes.

Quite so; but the adoption of one or other alternative is necessary for the completeness of the account. Either 'special creation of the primitive germ' must be honestly accepted as the ultimate origin of species, or some rational scientific account of its 'arising, as a modification of inorganic matter, by natural causes,' must be given. Darwin does neither of these things. He first takes his 'primitive stocks' from 'the Creator,' and afterwards explains that by *creation* he 'really meant *appear by some wholly unknown process.*'¹ So according to Darwin the origin of species comes at last to this:—species 'appeared by some wholly unknown process.' This is surely an origin as mysterious and mentally unsatisfactory as the origin of Topsy, who, according to her own account of herself, 'jess growed'!

E. GAYNOR, C.M.

¹ *Life and Letters*, iii., p. 18.

THE EPISCOPAL CITY OF FERNS

III.

IN the diocesan annals of Ferns, a rather curious incident is chronicled for the year 1435, as we read that Eugenius IV., at the request of Bishop Whitty 'absolved the citizens of New Ross from any ecclesiastical censures which might have been incurred by their ancestors.' It would appear that owing to the massacre of some Crutched Friars, about one hundred and fifty years previously, the citizens were solemnly 'censured' by the ecclesiastical authorities, and so the trade of Ross declined, as was believed, from A.D. 1300 to 1434. Hence, at the request of the citizens of this ancient town—which was even then called *New Ross*—Bishop Whitty applied to the Holy See to remove the excommunication.¹

The viceroyalty of the Earl of Ormonde having proved a failure, as regards the anticipated conquest of the Leinster septs, the Earl of Shrewsbury—better known as Lord Talbot de Furnivall—one of the greatest English generals of the age, was sent over in 1446. He held a parliament at Trim, in 1447, 'on the Friday after the Feast of the Epiphany,' in which many enactments were made against the native Irish. On July 17th, 1447, this nobleman was created Earl of Wexford and Waterford, and Viscount Dungarvan; but he very soon afterwards returned to England, leaving his brother Richard, Archbishop of Dublin, as Lord Deputy, who died on the 15th of August, 1449.

There was a great famine throughout Ireland in 1447, and seven hundred priests are said to have perished. Richard, Duke of York, arrived as Viceroy in July, 1449; and the Blessed Edmund Campion, S.J., has preserved for us a letter written by him to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated from Dublin, June 15th, 1450. Owing to continued infirmity, the Bishop of Ferns, then eighty years of age,

¹ Wadding.

was unable to be present at the parliament which was held at Dublin in October, 1449; and so, in 1450, he was given an assistant prelate in the person of a certain Thady, O.S.F., of whose rule we have scant particulars. About the year 1453, an abbey for Austin canons was founded at Lady's Island, though some say they were Austin friars.

Bishop Whitty went the way of all flesh early in 1458, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, and had as successor Dr. John Purcell, who, on November 30th of the same year, was appointed collector of Peter's pence in Ireland. Some time previously there was a dispute regarding the advowson of Rathmacknee Church,¹ near Wexford, which was claimed by one of the Rossiter family against the Prior of All Hallows, Dublin. Owing to the vacancy in the see of Ferns, the episcopal *curia* did not take place till June 2nd, 1460, when nineteen 'inquirers,' under the presidency of Laurence, Archdeacon of Ferns, found in favour of All Hallows Priory. The following clergymen assisted at the inquiry:—

Robert Sutton, Rector of Fethard; Richard Busher, Rector of Coolstufte; John Boggan, Vicar of Kilmore; Thomas Browne, Vicar of Mulrankin; Nicholas Connick, Rector of Kilmannin; Daniel Reilly, Vicar of Killag; Richard Keating, Vicar of Kilkevan; William Grant, Vicar of Kilturk; Walter Fowler, Vicar of Clonmines; Richard Cloney, Vicar of Mayglass; John Wilmot, Vicar of Hook; Garret O'Byrne, Curate of Ballymore; John White, Curate of Ballybrennan; G. Walshe, Curate of Lady's Island; and the Curate of Bannow.

Pope Pius II., wrote a letter to the Bishop of Ferns (Dr. John Purcell), the Prior of St Catherine's, Waterford, and the Archdeacon of Ferns, acknowledging the petition which they had presented on the part of Robert le Poer, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. The next item we find is the founding of a noble Franciscan friary at Enniscorthy, by Donald *Fuscus* (*Reagh*, the brown, or the swarthy complexioned) Kavanagh, King of Leinster, which was

¹ The church of Rathmacknee was dedicated to St. Martin of Tours. On October 29th, 1538, Walter, Prior of All Hallows, Dublin, granted to Nicholas Stainhurst, of Dublin, 'the next presentation to the vicarage of the Parochial Church of St. Martin of Rathmacknee.' The church had been granted to All Hallows by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, in 1240, which grant was confined by Pope Innocent V. in 1276.

solemnly dedicated to the service of God, on October 18th, 1460, by Bishop Purcell—Father Nehemias O'Donoghue being Vicar Provincial.

The viceroyalty of the Earl of Kildare, which terminated in 1459, effected nothing of consequence; and the county Wexford had to contribute £20 yearly to the King of Leinster, in addition to the 'black rent' of 80 marks annually paid by the Government. Edward IV. was proclaimed King of England on March 4th, 1461.

Pope Pius II., on September 26th, 1461, wrote to the Bishop of Leighlin, the Dean, and Canon Patrick O'Byrne, of Leighlin, who had been appointed judges of the ecclesiastical dispute in the diocese of Ferns, regarding the Chancellorship—confirming the appointment of Dermot O'Doyne (O'Dunne or Dunne) as Chancellor of Ferns, *vice* Philip Nagle, who had been deposed for manifest irregularities. The position was then valued at ten marks per annum. This Dermot O'Dunne was subsequently promoted to the bishopric of Leighlin:¹ a fact which is worth chronicling, inasmuch as his identity was unknown to Brady or Comerford; and he is the *Dermotius* mentioned in the Papal Bull.

In 1461, the Abbot of Ferns, by a Bull of Pope Pius II., was entrusted with the erection of a house for Austin friars or hermits of St. Augustine, at Callan, county Kilkenny, which had been petitioned for by Sir Edmond Butler, who died on the 13th of July, 1464. In 1467, Sadh, or Sabina Kavanagh, the daughter of Donald *Fuscus*, was married to Sir James Butler, who completed Callan friary.

Notwithstanding the civil strife which raged violently from 1460 to 1476, King Donald was not unmindful of the interests of religion. There is yet preserved in Kilkenny Castle the original of the grant which this petty sovereign gave to the Cistercian Abbey of Duiske (Graigenemanagh), county Kilkenny, by which he made over to the monks 'a charge of eightpence, lawful money of England, on every plough working in *his dominion of Leinster*.' This grant

¹ Thomas Fleming, O.S.F., Bishop of Leighlin, died in 1458.

is dated from Enniscorthy Castle, 3rd of April, 1475, and is sealed with his great seal, with the legend: '*Sigillum Donall Meic Murchada Regis Lageniae.*' Among the subscribing witnesses are the Rev. Dermot O'Bolger, Rector of Carnew; Charles and Gerald, sons of the aforesaid King Donald; Aulaf O'Bolger, physician; Hugh O'Farrell, Cormac O'Brien, Magnus O'Brien, William M'Aylward, clerics of the diocese of Ferns; Donald, son of Hugh O'Byrne, and many others.

In connection with this grant, which was read before the Royal Society of Antiquaries, on January 17th, 1883, by the late Rev. James Graves, this distinguished archæologist was unable to identify some of the names; and he was also unaware of the date when King Donald died, merely presuming, with Dowling and others, that he was alive in April, 1475. I have, fortunately, succeeded in identifying the names; and I have also discovered the exact date of the king's death, which occurred on the 21st of April, 1476, at the age of eighty. This latter fact is attested by an entry in an ancient manuscript missal belonging to the now extinct Franciscan Friary of Enniscorthy, which missal was written 'for the use of the Friars Minor.'

Bishop Purcell, of Ferns, died in 1479; and on November 26th of the same year, Laurence Neville, Archdeacon of Ferns, a blood relation of the Baron of *Ros-Carlan* (Rosegarland), was appointed his successor, receiving restitution of temporalities on the 20th of May, 1480. At this date, the episcopal city of Ferns was shorn of its ancient splendour, and the castle was held by the MacMurroughs. Bishop Neville resided at his ancestral Manor of Rosegarland; but, notwithstanding his Anglo-Norman proclivities, he sided with the pretensions of Lambert Simnel in 1487.

In 1481, 'Cahir Kavanagh, the son of MacMurrough (who witnessed the grant to Duiske Abbey, in 1475), was slain by the English of county Wexford.' Alas! from 1478 to 1487, much internecine strife prevailed in the diocese of Ferns, though, at the time, the Irish had possession of most of county Wexford. Never was there a better opportunity

for 'wiping out' the Anglo-Normans, and yet the clans would not unite for the common cause. Under the date of 1488, the Irish Annals tell us that Mahon O'Murphy, chief of Ballaghkeene (county Wexford) 'was treacherously slain by Donogh MacArt MacMurrough, Lord of Kinsellagh.'

Bishop Neville, notwithstanding the troublesome period during which he ruled the diocese Ferns, worked zealously for the good of the Church. On May 13th, 1489, Dr. John Phelan, Canon of Ferns and Rector of Clonmore, county Wexford, was appointed Bishop of Limerick.

In 1490, Sir Jordan de Valle (Wall), Knight, granted to the abbey of St. Thomas, near Dublin, 'the church of St. Andrew and St. Brigid of Mathelcon, in the diocese of Ferns; and the deed was signed by Laurence, Bishop of Ferns.' This church of St. Andrew and St. Brigid of Mathelcon, was the parish church of Moyacomb (a corrupted form of the Celtic *Magh-da-con* = 'the plain of the two dogs'), which had replaced the old Augustinian abbey known as Abbeydowne, founded by St. Dubhan, the patron saint of Hook: It is situated beyond Newtownbarry, Co. Wexford, and quite near Clonegel, Co. Carlow, but is in the diocese of Ferns. Here, again, I must impress the reader with the fact that the see of Ferns is conterminous with Leighlin and Glendalough, and follows the tribal parochial arrangement of pre-Norman days.

Sir Edward Poynings arrived as Lord Deputy on the 13th day of October, 1494, and convened the celebrated parliament which met at Drogheda, on December 1st, when the statute was passed known as Poynings law. This parliament voted a subsidy of £454 to Captain Thomas Garth, commander of the English forces in Leinster.

At the Provincial Council held in Christ Church, Dublin, attended by Bishop Neville, of Ferns, an annual contribution for seven years was imposed on the clergy of the province of Leinster, to provide salaries for lecturers in the University of Dublin, then in a moribund condition.

On August 26th, 1496, Henry VII. granted a general amnesty to all those prelates and nobles who had been implicated in the Perkin Warbeck comedy. However, the

Pretender, styling himself Richard IV. again landed at Cork in July, 1497, and on the 28th of the same month besieged Waterford, but was so successfully resisted by the citizens that he was compelled to fly on August 3rd.¹

Bishop White, of Glendalough, surrendered his see on the 30th of May, 1497, and it has ever since been incorporated with that of Dublin. The average reader may, perhaps, not be aware that the diocese of Ferns embraces a small portion of Co. Wicklow, including Kilpipe, Preban, Tomacork, Annacurra, Tinahely, Killaveny, Aughrim, Shillelagh, and Rathdrum. This arises from the fact that the old Irish sees were mostly *tribal*; and Ferns was coincident with the territory known as *Hy Kinsellagh*.

In 1497 there was a terrible famine throughout Leinster; and, in August, 1499, the Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy, held a parliament at Castledermot, Co. Kildare, which granted to the English monarch and his successors 'a tax of twelve pence in the pound on all kinds of merchandise that were imported, except wine and oil,' and also levied a subsidy off the clergy for the king. In 1501, our ancient annals have the pleasing announcement that 'a general peace prevailed in the provinces of Leinster and Munster.'

Bishop Neville passed to his eternal reward in 1503, after a rule of twenty-four years, and had as his successor, Edmond Comerford, Dean of Ossory, who was consecrated for the see of Ferns in St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny, in 1505.

During the episcopacy of Bishop Comerford, nothing of any note occurred, but he was summoned to the parliament which was convened at Dublin, in October, 1508, by the Earl of Kildare, 'in which subsidies were granted to the king,' as MacGeoghan writes, 'by taxing the lands according to their produce.' This prelate died on Easter Sunday, 1509, and was succeeded by Nicholas Comyn, who was duly consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, on January 20th,

¹ It was on this occasion that Henry VII. conferred the title of *Urbs intacta* on Waterford for its loyalty (?); and ever since the legend of the city is: *Urbs intacta manet Waterfordia*. Perkin Warbeck with his friend John Waters, Mayor of Cork, was hanged at Tyburn, on the 23rd of November, 1499.

1510, being the first year of the reign of Henry VIII. This prelate resided at Fethard Castle, Co. Wexford, and attended the Provincial Council of Dublin, held at Christ Church Cathedral, on the 21st of September, 1512, under the presidency of Archbishop Rokeby.

Murrough *ballagh*, King of Leinster, died in 1511, and was succeeded by Art *boy* (*Buidhe* = the yellow, or the sallow complexioned), Kavanagh, who received 'twenty *marte* lands,' *i.e.* fattening lands for beeves or kine, from his father King Donald *fuscus*. This Art ruled the kingdom of Leinster during a stormy period of seven years, and died at Enniscorthy Castle, in 1518, whereupon the kingship devolved on his brother Gerald, 'of Ferns.'

Bishop Comyn assisted at the second Provincial Council held by Archbishop Rokeby, at Dublin, in 1518, the acts of which are still extant in the *Red Book of the Church of Ossory*. After an able administration of nine years, he was transferred to the more lucrative see of Lismore and Waterford, on April 13th, 1519; and on the same day John Purcell, Austin Canon of St. Catherine's, Waterford, was 'provided' to the see of Ferns, being consecrated at Rome, on the 6th of May, 1519.

Murtogh Kavanagh, a younger son of Art *boy*, on May 20th, 1521, during the viceroyalty of the Earl of Surrey, seized the freehold lands of Enniscorthy; and, in the following year, on the death of King Gerald, of 'Ferns,' he was proclaimed by the clan as *the* MacMurrough.

In truth, this was a very troubled period for the see of Ferns. The whole county Wexford, with the exception of the town of Wexford, was in the hands of the MacMurroughs. Even New Ross was merely nominally within the Pale. To further complicate matters, there were intermarriages between the Butlers and the Kavanaghs; and the English power in Leinster was scarcely ever at so low an ebb. The dispute regarding the title to the vast Ormonde estates had been settled, on August 16th, 1496, by the death of Sir James Butler, who was killed by Sir Piers Butler, the legitimate heir. Still there was no unity.

This Sir Piers Butler, who afterwards (August, 1515),

became Earl of Ormonde, was the maternal grandson of Donald *fuscus* Kavanagh, King of Leinster, and was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, in December, 1521, in succession to the Earl of Surrey. Two months previously, Henry VIII. wrote a letter to the Earl of Surrey, that he was most anxious to arrange a marriage between Sir Piers and the celebrated Anne Boleyn ; and, had such an interesting event taken place, how differently might the history of the 'Reformation' have been written. Anyhow, Sir Piers did not fall in with the views of King Henry, and, in 1524, he was replaced as Lord Deputy by the Earl of Kildare. I may add that, in 1524, the King himself first took serious notice of 'Mistress Anne ;' and, on June 18th, 1525, he advanced her father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, to the peerage, under the title of Viscount Rochford, 'one of the long-contested titles of the house of Ormonde.'

Murtogh Kavanagh, King of Leinster, drew up an agreement, dated August 28th, 1525, with Piers Butler, eighth Earl of Ormonde, in which the 'King of Leinster' (the last who subscribed himself as such) agreed to resign all claim to the lordship of Arklow, on condition of being allowed to live there whenever he liked, and to receive 'a moiety of the rents, services, and customs as well of fish as of timber, accruing to the said Earl, as well in his said town of Arklow as in its port,' with certain reservations. For pledges, MacMurrough gave the Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy of Ireland, the Seneschal of county Wexford, Richard Power, Edmund Duff O'Donoghue, MacDavid and his clan, O'Murchoe [the O'Murphy], and Donall O'Murchoe, the sons of Gerald Kavanagh, *the Bishop of Ferns and his clergy*, the Guardian and other brethren of Enniscorthy, with all his community, &c.

From documents of the year 1524-1530, we meet with the names of the Rev. Nicholas Keating, as Rector of Taghmon, and the Rev. Thomas Browne, Prebendary of Clone. At this period the MacMurrough held Ferns Castle, and continued to receive the accustomed tribute of 80 marks annually from the Crown, until 1532. On the death of Murty (Murtogh or Maurice) Kavanagh, and his two sons Dermot

and Donogh, the chieftaincy of Leinster devolved on Cahir (Charles) MacInnycross.

During the deputyship of Sir William Skeffington, *i.e.*, from August 1522 to August, 1532, various raids were made by the English forces in Ulster and Leinster. For some unexplained cause John Purcell, Bishop of Ferns (who resided at Fethard Castle), was taken prisoner, and placed in the custody of the Marshal of the Exchequer on the 1st of September, 1531, but was released early in 1532. Very probably this was owing to his inability to pay some debts due to the crown.

In 1530, Cahir MacInnycross, King of Leinster, took possession of Ferns Castle, and on August 3rd, 1534, he burned Ballymagir Castle, county Wexford. With the unfortunate murder of John Allen, Archbishop of Dublin, on July 28th, 1534, may be said to end the pre-Reformation period of Irish history; and on March 19th, 1535, Henry VIII. exercised his new prerogative as 'Head of the Church,' by appointing George Browne, an ex-Augustinian friar, as first Protestant Archbishop of Dublin. On October 3rd, Lord James Butler, son of Sir Piers, Earl of Ossory,¹ was created Viscount Thurles, on condition of 'vigorously resisting the usurpation of the Bishop of Rome.'

Lord Leonard Grey, the new Viceroy, convened a motley parliament, which met at Dublin, on May 1st, 1536; and this base assemblage of sycophants declared the King 'Head of the Church of Ireland,' also attainting the Irish estates (many of which were in the county Wexford) of the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Berkeley, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Abbot of Furness, &c.; which were then vested in the King. The first assignation of religious houses was at the same time made to the crown, comprising thirteen monasteries, including Dunbrody and Tintern, in the diocese of Ferns, the yearly value of which was estimated at £32,000.

Cahir MacInnycross Kavanagh surrendered Ferns Castle to Lord Grey, on July 4th, 1536, but was left in possession

¹ Sir Thomas Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, was created Earl of Ormonde, and as a *solutium*, Sir Piers Butler was given the title 'Earl of Ossory.'

as constable, on payment of eighty marks, Irish, annually; Gerald Sutton being appointed deputy constable. A very interesting account of the capture of Ferns Castle was sent on July 17th, by Thomas Allen, to the Secretary of State, Cromwell, from which I give the following, merely modernizing the spelling:—

My Lord and the Master of the Rolls returning from Kilkenny towards Dublin, sojourned at Leighlin, from whence he sent Stephen ap Harry to Kilkea [Co. Kildare], to prepare his footmen [infantry], ordnance, and victuals, and with all celerity to repair to the castle of Ferns. My Lord rode all that night, and was there early in the morning, and viewed it. My Lord demanded whether they would surrender, and deliver the same to him, or not. They made plain answer, they would not leave the same, using very spiteful language. And so passing the day in preparing engines, instruments, and other necessaries for the obtaining thereof, bringing them nigh to the castle to the intent they might see my Lord would not have the same . . . and caused part of his men to go to the castle, and *break the outer gate, entering to the drawbridge* . . . Whereupon, shortly after they desired to speak with my Lord, who showed them that inasmuch as they would not deliver the castle unto him before his Lordship had bestowed his ordnance, which was coming within a mile, that afterwards, even if they would have delivered the same, it should not be accepted of them: *but man, woman, and child should suffer for the same.*

Which altogether, with the death of their captain, discomfitted them. They surrendered and yielded the same to my Lord, who, for that night, put a captain and men in the same, and the next day put a ward of the MacMurroughs in the same. And MacMurrough himself came in hostage with my Lord Deputy to Dublin, to agree with his Lordship, and Mr. Treasurer [Lord James Butler], for the taking of the same, which was let very late for 5 marks, Irish, or thereabouts. . . .

Assuming your right honourable good Mastership, that *the said castle is one of the ancientest (sic) and strongest castles within this land*, and of the Earl of Shrewsbury's, or the Duke of Norfolk's, old inheritance, being worth sometime 500 marks by the year, situated nobly within 10 miles to Wexford, and 12 miles to Arklow.

From the State Papers we learn that on December 7th, 1537, James Sherlock was appointed 'treasurer, general receiver, and bailiff of the lordship of Wexford, and of all other manors and lands in county Wexford; to hold during good behaviour, with the accustomed fees.' On December 20th

of the same year William St. Loo, as a reward for the capture of *The MacMurrough*, was given a lease for twenty-one years of various lands in county Wexford, including Kilmannock, the Hook, Clonmines, Rosegarland, the Park and Ferry of Wexford, the Saltee Islands, the Rectory of Kilmore, Long Grange, &c. At this date the Very Rev. Dr. Hay was Dean of Ferns, Rev. Walter Rossiter was Rector of Taghmon, and the Rev. Thomas Browne was Prebendary of Clone.

John Allen, Master of the Rolls, who had been present with Lord Leonard Grey at the surrender of Ferns Castle, was, on December 1st, 1536, given a grant for ever of the Priory of St. Wolstan's, county Kildare, which was the first great religious house suppressed in Ireland. It was not, however, till 1537 that the drift of the so-called Reformation began to be seen, and in 1538 the spoliation began. As might be expected, there was much bickering over the distribution of the loaves and fishes; and under date of July 25th, 1538, we find a petition from Thomas Agar to Secretary Cromwell for the seneschalship of county Wexford, then held by William St. Loo aforementioned.

On Saturday, January 4th, 1539, Archbishop Browne, of Dublin, arrived at New Ross, where he preached on the following day (Sunday) in St. Mary's Church; and on Sunday night he proceeded to Wexford, where, on January 6th, the Feast of the Epiphany, as we read in the State Papers, 'the Archbishop again preached, having a great audience.'

The aged Bishop Purcell, of Ferns, died July 20th, 1539, whereupon Alexander Devereux, last pre-Reformation Abbot of Dunbrody, was schismatically consecrated his successor, on December 14th of the same year, by the aforesaid Archbishop Browne.

Ferns Abbey was suppressed by Royal Commission, dated April 7th, 1539; and an account of its last days, as also a sketch of the life and work of Alexander Devereux, who, though consecrated in schism, subsequently became orthodox, and was rehabilitated, will be given in a subsequent paper.

WILLIAM H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

DOCUMENTS

PROCLAMATION OF THE DECREE 'TAMETSI' IN COSTA RICA

BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus de *Costa Rica* in America Centrali sequentia dubia enodanda proponit :

Licet nulla extet memoria publicatum fuisse Concilium Tridentinum in dioecesi de *Nicaragua* et *Costa Rica*, tamen nunquam in dubio positum est quin eiusdem leges in tota America Latino-Hispanica vigerent (etiam cap. I. sess 24 De ref. matrim.); nihilominus dubium occurrit utrum haec lex Tridentina publicanda sit in novis parochiis quae eriguntur, speciatim in locis, ubi maior pars habitantium est haeretica.

Casus concretus hic est: Portus de *Limon* anno 1870 regio erat inculta et silvis consita. Primi incolae fuerunt Nigritae haeretici et nonnulli Catholici Costaricensis. Anno 1893 erecta fuit parochia in eodem portu, ubi degunt 1000 Catholici et 4000 haeretici.

I. Vigetne ibidem lex Tridentina quoad celebrationem matrimoniorum propter solam rationem quod terra illa pertineat ad dioecesim ubi publicata censetur lex, an vero denuo publicanda est.

II. Validane sunt matrimonia ab haeticis celebrata coram ministro acatholico vel coram Gubernio in Portu de *Limon*?

III. Anno 1897, viginti septem haeretici suos errores abiurarunt et in Ecclesiam reversi sunt. Quaerit Parochus quid cum iis faciendum qui matrimonium inierunt n. II. exposito. Post baptismum conditionalem etc. consensus matrimonialis renovandus est necne?

IV. Utrum conveniat, ad tollenda dubia, Concilium Tridentinum publicare?

V. Utrum conveniat dispensationem petere a S. Sede relate ad matrimonia haeticorum, sicut concessa fuit a Benedicto XIV. die 4 Novembris, 1741, pro provinciis foederatis Belgii et Hollandiae.

Feria IV, die 23 Novembris 1898.

In Congregatione Generali S. Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis habita ab Eminentissimis ac Reverendissimis DD.

Cardinalibus in rebus Fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus, propositis suprascriptis dubiis, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Eminentissimi ac Reverendissimi Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Ad I. Decretum *Tametsi* Concilii Tridentini tanquam promulgatum censi debet in tota Dioecesi de Costa-Rica; neque proinde necessaria est eiusdem decreti promulgatio in nova paroecia Portus de Limon.

Ad II. Provisum in praecedenti; scilicet Negative.

Ad III. Affirmative: et detur Decretum S. Officii 20 Novembris, 1876.¹

Ad IV. Publicationem necessariam non esse.

Ad V. Negative.

Feria vero VI. die 25 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia R. P. D. Assessori S. Officii impertita, facta de his omnibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Divina Providentia Papae XIII. relatione, Sanctissimus resolutionem Eminentissimorum ac Reverendissimorum Patrum approbavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis. *Notarius.*

MAY A PAPAL DELEGATE SUBDELEGATE WITHOUT RESTRICTION?

DUBIUM. AN DELEGATUS A PAPA ABSQUE RESTRICTIONE SUBDELEGATE VALEAT

Feria IV., die 14 Decembris, 1898.

Huic Supremae S. R. et U. Inquisitioni propositum fuit enondandum sequens dubium.

An possit Episcopus dioecesanus subdelegare, absque speciali concessione, suis Vicariis Generalibus, aut aliis Ecclesiasticis, generali modo, vel saltem pro casu particulari, facultates ab Apostolica Sede sibi ad tempus delegatas.

¹ Huius Decreti tenor est huiusmodi: 'Utrum debeat Baptismus sub conditione haereticis qui ad Catholicam Fidem convertuntur e quocumque loco proveniant et ad quamcumque sectam pertineant? Respondetur:—Negative, sed in conversione haereticorum, a quocumque loco vel a quacumque secta venerint, inquirendum est de validitate baptismi in haeresi suscepti. Institutio igitur in singulis casibus examine, si compertum fuerit, aut nullum, aut nulliter collatum fuisse, baptizandi erunt absolute. Si autem pro temporum et locorum ratione, investigatione peracta nihil sive pro validitate, sive pro invaliditate delegatur, aut adhuc probabile dubium de baptismi validitate supersit, tunc sub conditione secreto baptizentur. Demum si constiterit validum fuisse, recipiendi erunt tantummodo ad abiurationem, seu professionem fidei.'

Porro in Congregatione Generali, ab EĒm̄is DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, maturime praedicto dubio expenso, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt:

‘Affirmative, dummodo id in facultatibus non prohibeatur, neque subdelegandi ius pro aliquibus tantum coarctetur: in hoc enim casu, servanda erit adamussim forma Rescripti.’

Sequenti vero Feria VI. die 16 eiusdem mensis et anni, in audientia a SS. D. N. Leone Div: Prov. Pp. XIII. R. P. D. Assessori impartita, SS̄m̄us D. N. resolutionem EE. et RR. Patrum approbavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis. *Notarius.*

DOUBT REGARDING VALIDITY OF ORDINATION

DUBIUM AN VALIDA SIT ORDINATIO PRESBYTERALIS, SI IN TRADITIONE CALICIS VINUM NON ADFUERIT

BEATISEIME PATER,

Episcopus N.N., ad pedes S.V. provolutus humiliter exponit:

Nuper, in collatione generali Ordinum, sabbato Quatuor Temporum Adventus, accidit ut presbyteris ordinandis traditus sit, una cum patena et hostia, calix *absque vino*, ex mera Caeremoniariorum inadvertentia. Res processit omnibus nesciis, nec nisi vespere nota fuit, quum iam recessissent omnes ordinati, qui nec hodie defectum suspicantur.

Quare humiliter orator anceps quaerit:

I. An possit acquiescere? Et quatenus negative;

II. Quid agendum in praxi?

Et Deus etc.

Feria IV., die 11 Ianuarii, 1899.

In Congregatione generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis, habita ab EĒm̄is ac RR̄m̄is DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus, propositis suprascriptis dubiis, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt:

Ad I. et II. ‘Ordinationem esse iterandum ex integro sub conditione et secreto quocumque die, facto verbo cum SS̄no, ut suppleat de thesauro Ecclesiae, quatenus opus sit, pro Missis celebratis a sacerdotibus ordinatis ut in casu.

Feria vero de die 13 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita

audientia R. P. D. Assessori impertita, facta de his omnibus SSñno D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII. relatione, SSñnus resolutionem EEñnorum Patrum approbavit et gratiam concessit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis. *Notarius.*

LEO XIII. AND FRENCH CATHOLICS

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII. ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

LEO XIII. DENUO INCULCAT HORTATIONES IAM PLURIES DATAS CATHOLICIS GALLIS, CIRCA RATIONEM AGENDI IN RE POLITICA ET SOCIALI

VENERABILI FRATRI PETRO, ARCHIEPISCOPO BITURICENSI

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILIS FRATER SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Haud levi sane moerore cognovimus, ex quibusdam Actis ab Apostolica Sede nuperrime evulgatis nonnullos occasionem perperam omnino nancisci publice edicendi: mutasse Nos consilia circa illam de re vel politica vel sociali rationem agendi catholicorum in Galliis, quam et Ipsi primum indicavimus et pro opportunitate deinceps inculcare nunquam destitimus. Eo autem magis hoc indoluimus, Venerabilis Frater, quod et animos dubio percellere a rectoque itinere obturbatos possit revocare, ac notam iis vestratum inurat, qui hortationibus Nostris sese praecipue audientes exhibere, et, vita ad earumdem hortationum normam exacta, pro religione et patria agere passim contendunt.

Etenim quae a Nobis documenta recenter prodire, ea quidem qua christianam disciplinam unice respiciunt, nulloque aliquando pacto praescriptiones attingunt, quae, uti diximus, de ratione, apud vos. agendi catholicorum sunt, inque Epistola, februario mense MDCCCXII. ad Gallos data, et in Encyclicis Literis *Rerum novarum*, dilucide continentur.

De quibus, nihil prorsus immutatum esse, cunctaque satius integro robore vigere, pronum est intelligere. Non enim deceret Apostolicae Sedis sapientiam a consiliis decedere, quae ita omni maturitate cepit et continenti studio inculcavit, ut Ei, si quis aliter sentiret, iniuriam haud exiguam temere irrogare existimaretur.

Haec, Venerabilis Frater, ex caritate, qua gentem vestram complectimur, rursus significanda censuimus, atque iterum

Gallarum catholicos hortamur summopere, ut quae ad communem utilitatem consilia ac monita et saepius dedimus et nunc instaurare vel maxime optamus, ea faciant oppido, eisque, animo et factis in unum concordēs, libenter regi, moveri et inter se coalescere nullo non tempore adlaborent.

Quod ut e votis cedat, benevolentiae Nostrae testem et munerum divinatorum auspicem, Apostolicam Benedictionem tibi ac Dioecesi tuae peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xxv. maii MDCCCXCIX., Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo secundo.

LEO PP. XIII.

LEO XIII. ON THE REVIEW 'EPHEMERIDES LITURGICAE'

LEO XIII. LAUDAT OPERAM MODERATORIS "EPHEMERIDUM LITURGICARUM"

Dilecto filio Chalcedonio Mancini e Congreg. Vincentiana Romam.

Dilecte Fili, salutem et Apost. Benedictionem.

Diligentiam tuam, qua annos iam amplius decem rei liturgicae illustrandae das operam, novimus plane magnique facimus. Tanti enim refert ut quae Ecclesia de sacra Liturgia decernit probe cognoscantur et observentur, quanti ut sancta sancte tractentur et fidelium pietas sacrorum maiestate augeatur. Tuos igitur labores, quorum testes sunt *Ephemeridum Liturgicarum* oblata volumina, laude Nostra exornamus optamusque ut homines sacri cleri tibi opere ac voluntate faveant. Addimus vero, benevolentiae Nostrae pignus, Apostolicam Benedictionem, quam tibi peramanter in Domino impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die X. Maii MDCCCXCIX, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo secundo.

LEO PP. XIII.

RENEWAL OF MATRIMONIAL CONSENT

E. S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

CIRCA RENOVATIONEM CONSENSUS, AD HOC UT, SUBLATO IMPEDIMENTO, MATRIMONIUM CONVALIDETUR

BRATISSIME PATER,

Amalia protestans non baptizata, nupsit Joanni protestanti baptizato : durante matrimonio, Amalia baptizata fuit in Protes-

tantismo et vixit cum marito per aliquod tempus. Decursu temporis ipsa certior facta est illicitos foveri amores Joannem inter et certam mulierem. Quapropter ipsi valedixit, et brevi post, a Tribunali civili obtinuit divortium ex *capite adulterii* ex parte mariti. Nunc autem Amalia postulat licentiam contrahendi secundas nuptias cum viro catholico.

Notandum quod protestantes non recognoscunt matrimonium inter baptizatum et non baptizatum et non baptizatum, esse nullum.

Quibus positis, Archiep. N. N. ad pedes S. V. provolutus humiliter quaerit :

Posita ignorantia nullitatis matrimonii *ex capite disparitatis cultus*, conversatio maritalis Amaliae cum Joanne revalidavitne matrimonium post baptismum Amaliae ?

(*Versio Direct.*)

Fer. IV., die 8 Maii, 1899.

In Congregatione Generali coram EE. mis ac RR. mis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, proposito suprascripto dubio, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Praevio iuramento ab Amalia in Curia N. N. praestando, quo declaret matrimonium contractum cum Ioanne post baptismum ipsius Amaliae, ab iisdem, scientibus illius nullitatem, ratificatum non fuisse in loco ubi matrimonia clandestina vel mixta valida habentur, et dummodo R. P. D. Archiepiscopus moraliter certus sit de asserta ignorantia sponsorum circa impedimentum disparitatis cultus, detur mulieri documentum libertatis ex capite ipsius disparitatis cultus.

Sequenti vero *Fer. V., die 9 eiusdem mensis et anni SS. mus D. N. Leo Pp. XIII.* per facultates Emo Cardinali huius Supremae Congregationis Secretario impertitas, resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobare dignatus est.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.*

THE PAULINE PRIVILEGE

UTRUM PARS FIDELIS UTI POSSIT PRIVILEGIO PUALINO SI POST
CONVERSIONEM COMMISERIT ALIQUOD DELICTUM
BEATISSIME PATER,

Aemillus van Henexthoven, Superior missionis Kwangensis in Africa Societatis Iesu Patribus demandatae, and S. V. pedes provolutus humiliter exponit quae sequuntur :

Non semel S. Sedes declaravit adulterium et alia delicta ante baptismum commissa, ita per baptismum condonari, ut pars infidelis, quae ideo declinaret cohabitationem, permetteret alteri parti baptizatae usum privilegii Paulini.

Quid autem si post baptismum adulterium vel delictum fuerit iteratum, ita tamen, ut moraliter constet, quia v. g. iam magnis spatiis separati erant coniuges, haec facta posteriora nullatenus causam esse discessus partis infidelis, quae nec de baptismo nec de moribus post baptismum inductis sollicita aequae etiam secuta emendatione detrectasset cohabitationem.

Quo casu posito supradictus Orator enixe supplicat S. V. pro responsione ad haec duo dubia :

I. An delicta, quae post baptismum sunt commissa, sed nullatenus attenduntur a parte infideli, vel etiam quandoque penitus ignorantur, obstant, quominus pars baptizata uti possit privilegio Apostoli ?

II. An illo casu licitus sit usus facultatis Apostolicae, vi cuius in dicta missione dispensari potest a faciendis interpellationibus requisitis ?

Feria IV. die Aprilis, 1869.

In congregatione Generali S. Romanae Universalis Inquisitionis ab EEmis ac RRmis DD. de Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, propositis suprascriptis dubiis, rite perpensis omnibus tum iuris tum facti rationum momentis, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

‘Dentur Oratori Decretum S. Officii 5 Augusti, 1759, et Instructio S. C. de Propaganda Fide, 16 Ianuarii, 1797; et ad mentem. Mens est ut in dubiis iudicium sit semper in fidei favorem.’

‘Porro Decretum S. Officii 5 Augusti, 1759, ad *Episcopum Coccinensem*, in resp. ad II. sic se habet’ :

‘Cum militet ex parte coniugis conversi favor fidei, eo (privilegio) potest uti quaecumque ex causa, dummodo iusta sit, nimirum si non dederit iustum ac rationabile motivum alteri coniugi discedendi, ita tamen ut tunc solum intelligatur solutum iugum vinculi matrimonialis cum infideli, quando coniux conversus (renuente altero post interpellationem converti) transit ad alia vota cum fideli.’

‘Instructio vero S. C. de Propaganda Fide 16 Ianuarii 1797, pro *Sinis* est prout sequitur’ :

‘In casu matrimonii dissolvendi ex privilegio in favorem fidei promulgato ab Apostolo duo haec tantum spectanda, de quibus fieri debet interpellatio : 1. Utrum pars infidelis velit converti. 2. Utrum saltem velit cohabitare sine contumelia Creatoris, nulla praeterea habita ratione, utrum nec ne praecesserit sive adulterium, sive repudium.’

Sequenti vero feria VI., die 21 eiusdem mensis et anni, in audientia a SS. D. N. Leone Pp. XIII. R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, SS. D. N. resolutionem EE, ac RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.*

REQUIEM MASSES FOR THE POOR

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM DECRETUM

CIRCA MISSAM EXEQUIALEM LECTAM, LOCO CANTATAE

Instantibus aliquibus Parochis, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi sequens dubium propositum fuit : ‘An pro paupere defuncto cuius Familia impar est solvendi expensae Missae exequialis cum cantu, haec Missa legi possit sub iisdem clausulis et conditionibus quibus praefata Missa cum cantu conceditur.

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque rite expensis, rescribendum censuit : Affirmative seu permitti posse in casu Missam exequialem lectam, loco Missae cum cantu, dummodo in dominicis aliisque Festis de praecepto non omittatur Missa officio diei currentis respondens.

Die 9 Maii, 1899.

Quibus omnibus Ssmo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatis, Sanctitas Sua rescriptum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratum habuit et confirmavit, die 12 Iunii eodem anno.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, *S. R. C. Secr.*

THE ERECTION OF THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE ROSARY

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM¹
ORDINIS PRAEDICATORUM

CIRCA DELEGATIONEM SACERDOTIS PRO ERIGENDA CONFRATERNI-
TATE SS. ROSARII

BEATISSIME PATER,

Iuxta Decretum Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiarum datum die 20 Maii, 1896, ad VI. Magister Generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum pro erigenda Confraternitate SS. Rosarii *certum Sacerdotem* delegare debet. Cum autem haud raro accidat Sacerdotem ita delegatum ex improvise impediri, quominus die statuto mandatum exequi possit, quin recursus opportunus pro nova delegatione obtinenda possibilis sit, hinc Magister Generalis, ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae humiliter provolutus, postulat ut praeter Religiosum vel Sacerdotem sibi nominatim propositum, delegare possit alium Sacerdotem, Episcopo acceptum, quem ille in tali casu sibi substituatur, hoc fere modo: 'tenore praesentium Rdm Patrem N. N. vel illum Sacerdotem, Episcopo acceptum, quem hic, ipso forsitan impedito, sibi substituerit, delegamus.'

Et Deus, etc.

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo PP. XIII. in audientia habita die 8 Februarii, 1899, ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae benigne annui iuxta preces. Praesenti in perpetuum valituro. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis die 8 Februarii, 1899.

Fr. HERONYMUS M. Card. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

Ant. Archiepiscopus ANTINOEN., *Secretarius*.

THE BISHOP'S THRONE

EPISCOPUS CEDERE POTEST THRONUM SUUM ALTERI EPISCOPO
INVITATO, ETC.

Quum tanta commeandi itinerum suscipiendorum et perficiendorum facilitas illud etiam commodi attulerit ut Episcopi diversarum Dioecesium saepius conveniant sive ad festum aliquod

¹ In praeterito *fasciculo* p. 205, Col. B. initio, loco 100 *dierum*; versus finem, tollenda est paragr. incipiens verbis *Ex Aud. SS. die 6 Maii, 1899 . . .* usque ad subscriptionem *L. M. Card. Vicarius Firmis remanentibus caeteris*.

solemnius agendum, sive ad coetus episcopales celebrandos, quaesitum est: utrum liceat Episcopo Dioecetano thronum suum alteri Episcopo cedere. Hinc Sacra Rituum Congregatio quaestionem super hac throni cessione sibi pluries delatam, studiose pertractare opportunum duxit. Quare ab Emo. ac Rmo. Domino Cardinali Andrea Steinhuber Relatore, in Ordinariis comitiis subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis, propositum fuit. dubium: An Episcopus Dioecetanus gaudeat iure cedendi thronum suum alteri Episcopo cum Rmorum Canonicorum adistentia sibi debita?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate discussis atque perpensis rescribendum censuit: *Affirmative*, dummodo Episcopus invitatus non sit ipsius Dioecetani Coadiutor aut Auxiliarius aut Vicarius Generalis, aut etiam dignitas seu Canonicus in illius Ecclesiis. Sicut autem Cardinales Episcopi Suburbicarii alique Titulares Ecclesiarum Urbis, tantum purpuratis Patribus thronum cedere possunt, ita Praesules Cardinales aliarum dioecesium decet ut suum thronum nonnisi aliis eadem Cardinalitia dignitate ornatis cedant. Die 9 Maii, 1899.

Facta postmodum de his Ssmo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII. per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatione, Sanctitas Sua rescriptum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratum habuit et confirmavit, die 12 Iunii eodem anno.

C. Ep. Praenest. Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C. Praef.

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C. Secret.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

L'APOTRE SAINT PAUL. Par l'Abbé S. E. Fretté. Paris :
Lethielleux. f. 6'00.

THE work before us is the outcome of much labour and research in a field of sacred science, cultivated with laudable assiduity, and no small fruit by the clergy of France. The personality of St. Paul has ever exercised an irresistible fascination over all who confess to an admiration of strength and nobility of character, while the important *rôle* he played in the spread of the Gospel invests the story of his life with a special interest for those who wish to study the history of the foundation of the Church. It is natural, then, that we should have had many studies and monographs upon St. Paul before M. Fretté undertook to give us the result of his reading of the Acts and the Pauline Epistles. All of them have their own special standpoints, features, and excellencies. M. Fretté, in his turn, may be said to strike the keynote in his declaration, 'Nous offrons notre travail à ceux qui veulent s' instruire.'

Thoroughly conversant with the Acts and the Epistles, well-informed upon Jewish and rabbinical customs, M. Fretté, in addition, draws largely from the rich quarry of tradition and legend bearing upon the period. He is thus in a position to fill up many of the lacunæ existing in the biblical account of the Apostle of the Gentiles. But what will win for him the favour of those of a critical turn is his intimate acquaintance with the conditions and manners of the age and of the peoples with whom the Apostle came in contact, with the topography of the Acts as illustrated by the most recent discoveries, and consequently with the most probable appearance, physical and moral, presented by each of the towns St. Paul visited. His descriptions and reconstructions recurring at intervals through the work, proof of his patient research and accurate scholarship, place at the reader's disposal much valuable information otherwise difficult of access. By this means he endeavours, with a large measure of success, to make the old world live again before our eyes, assisting our imaginations to see it as it must have appeared in St. Paul's day, clearing up many passages of doubtful meaning, and giving

point to many allusions which would else be bereft of their due import. In his use of tradition he is reverent without being uncritical, neither unduly credulous nor hastily sceptical, invariably citing his authorities. On points of dispute his views are those more usually accepted, and we have seldom felt obliged to disagree with any of his conclusions. This is especially so of those questions of theological bearing which, from time to time, come up for treatment. The concluding years of St. Paul's life, upon which the Acts are silent, he illustrates from the Epistles and from trustworthy tradition. M. Fretté regards as a certain fact of history St. Paul's missionary journey to Spain, and with pardonable eagerness claims a share of the Apostle's labour on this occasion for the favoured land of Gaul.

From what has been said it will be apparent that we regard this work as an extremely able and learned study of the life and labours of St. Paul. But the title of the work led us to expect a biography of the Apostle, and approaching its perusal as we did with certain preconceptions on the subject of biography in general, and with an exalted idea of French biographers, we experienced at times a feeling akin to disappointment. We conceive it to be the duty of a biographer to make his hero move and act again before our gaze, standing out from his pages a living personality, enchaining our engrossed attention. To this standard, whatever be its truth, M. Fretté's work did not at all times rise. His introduction seems at first sight so irrelevant that it might introduce the life of anyone from Abel the just—Adam is given a few pages of it—down to the latest servant of God. His undeniably learned dissertations might have been served up in a less raw condition, more in touch with, and giving a more living interest to his subject. There is enough background, but we should like more picture proper. We are, however, well prepared to waive this objection on the author's assurance that his aim is to instruct. But are we to glean instruction merely from the outward facts of St. Paul's life? It is quite true that St. Paul's undying zeal, his invincible courage, his magnetic attractiveness, his contagious enthusiasm, and his human tenderness and amiability appear on every stage, and in every act of his life. Still, if a biographer is to be a guide, it should be part of his duty to point to those various traits as they appear. The dulness of those who cannot see, or will not see, should be reckoned with, and catered for accordingly. Yet

M. Fretté dismisses the many-sided character of St. Paul in a few words, nor is attention called to its striking traits as often as we would wish, in the course of the work. The elaboration of several contrasts proves M. Fretté's ability in such writing, and whets our appetite for more of it. And who could pass such touching scenes as the parting of St. Paul from the Ephesian elders at Miletus, from the Tyrians by the sea shore, from his spiritual children on his departure to stand before Nero, with the bare narration of the fact of parting? M. Fretté's capable treatment of these scenes makes us desire from his hands a more detailed study of the Apostle's character, a history of his interior life, and of his victories in the bitter struggles that rent his mighty soul.

On the sufficiently important question of chronology we cannot fall in with our author's new dating our Lord's death A.D. 33, and the Council of Jerusalem A.D. 51. We are of opinion, and for grave reasons, that the Council was held as early as A.D. 47, a view which has also the advantage of leaving more time for the journeys in Spain and the east after St. Paul's first imprisonment. We should have welcomed from the author a short statement of his grounds for accepting the view of Baronius, and preferably in an appendix. Indeed it strikes us, that it might have relegated several discussions to appendices, as is done in many kindred works. He would thus have the results of his sifting ready for expedite use, so as not to interfere with the easy flow of the narrative.

The publishers have done their part in a manner worthy of their high reputation. Two of the maps inserted would be the more useful for having traced upon them the routes of St. Paul's apostolic journeys.

There is a class of readers to whom a work of this kind will be its own recommendation; but to all students of the New Testament, to all lovers and would-be imitators of this great imitator of Jesus Christ, we cordially recommend this work on its own intrinsic merits as a valuable addition to any average library of biblical literature.

P. L.

NATURAL LAW AND LEGAL PRACTICE. By René J. Holland,
S.J. New York: Benziger Bros. Price \$1.75.

FATHER HOLLAND'S aim in publishing these lectures is worthy of all praise. He wishes to impress upon the minds of all law

students, the principles and ordinances 'written on the fleshy tables of the heart,' without which no human legislation can maintain stable equilibrium. The work is done with professional precision and accuracy, and nothing, certainly, is 'given away.' In a series of twelve lectures the author treats of the nature and existence of the natural law, the essential characteristics of man, the basis of morality, the various kinds of 'justice' (taking the term in its theological sense), the mutual relations of the individual, the family and the state, the rights and duties of property, the war between capital and labour, the obligations of judges, jurors, lawyers, and legislators. These lectures are valuable in themselves; but expanded and illuminated by 'the living voice' of the professor, they cannot fail to have produced a lasting impression on Father Holland's pupils. E.B.

A FULL COURSE OF INSTRUCTION IN EXPLANATION OF THE CATECHISM. By Rev. J. PERRY. St. Louis: B. Herder.

THE great sale this manual has commanded proves that it is above the average catechism companion. Indeed it is a veritable *summa* of Christian doctrine. To be sure, one would like to see a fuller explanation of some points, and a more popular exposition of many, but one cannot have everything. Father Perry is above all things a practical theologian, and his editor belongs to a congregation—the Vincentian—whose characteristic aim is the spiritual utility of its efforts. Most cordially, then, do we wish the thirteenth edition of Father Perry's Instructions a ready and rapid sale. E. N.

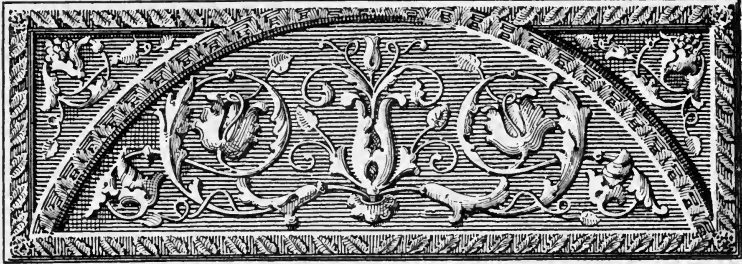
EXPOSITION OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. Part II.—Moral.
By J. J. McVey. Philadelphia.

'THE *Exposition of Christian Moral*,' says the Bishop of Tarentaise, 'is a worthy sequel to the *Exposition of Christian Dogma*, which has already met with the most flattering approval.' In these words the venerable prelate has given this substantial volume a hearty God-speed. We beg to endorse his Lordship's approval. For treatment so exhaustive, explanation so lucid, order so perfect, we have nothing but words of praise. This work is none of your mere dry-as-dust compilations. It is thoroughly up to date (in the orthodox sense), embodying the

teaching of the latest Papal Encyclicals and the latest American Synods. We are especially gratified to find the now famous *Rerum Novarum* done justice to in its pages. The paper, printing, and binding are excellent, and the price, \$2.25, under the circumstances, moderate. E. N.

THE SCIENCE OF THE BIBLE. By Rev. M. S. Brennan, A.M. Freiburg: Herder; St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder, 17, South Broadway.

WE cannot say that we are impressed very favourably by the result of Father Bennan's well-meant efforts. To our mind it is absolutely impossible to give in one small book 'an honest presentation of the branches of science touched upon in the Sacred Scriptures as compared with the same branches studied from a purely natural or secular standpoint.' The idea that the bearings of astronomy, optics, geology, biology, and anthropology upon the inspired word could be adequately or fairly dealt with in the course of three hundred and ninety small pages, is shortsighted and unwise. A great deal of matter is touched on, undoubtedly, and a great many authorities quoted; but the depths are sounded seldom, and the impression left on the mind is confused and vague. We believe, however, that the work will prove to many the inadequacy of the ordinary theological treatises on matters biblical. E. N.



POSSESSION IN MORAL THEOLOGY AND ANGLO-AMERICAN LAW.

POSSESSION is a notion of great importance in law and in morals. It is the subject of several titles and of many a chapter in the Roman Civil Law; a large portion of a whole title is given to it in the Canon Law. In Anglo-American Law the importance of possession is not less but greater. 'Possession is a conception which is only less important than contract,' says Mr. Justice Holmes.¹

What is it to possess? [asked Bentham]. This appears a very simple question:—there is none more difficult of resolution. . . . It is not, however, a vain speculation of metaphysics. Everything which is most precious to a man may depend upon this question:—his property, his liberty, his honour, and even his life. Indeed, in defence of my possession, I may lawfully strike, wound, and even kill if necessary. But was the thing in my possession?²

In morals possession is a notion of scarcely less importance than in law. It is a condition of title to property by prescription and by occupation. A finder of lost goods acquires rights and incurs obligations by assuming possession of the things found. Much is said in our text-books of morals concerning the duties and rights of possessors in good faith, in bad faith, and in dubious faith. A rule of law concerning possession: In doubt the position of the

¹ *The Common Law*, p. 206.

² *Works*, iii., p. 188; quoted by Sir F. Pollock, *Possession in the Common Law*, p. 6.

possessor is the better,—is by one school of theologians made a principal foundation of their system of moral theology.

A part, at any rate, of the significance of possession is due to positive law. Professor Lega of the Apollinare in Rome teaches this,¹ not less than English lawyers:—

It [possession] is a notion of particular or municipal law; for these modes, events, and incidents may vary in different systems of law, and they have even in this country varied at different times.²

Molina³ ascribes the great difficulty which divines and jurists have always experienced in defining possession to the fact that it is a creature of the positive law, and so has no certain and invariable meaning.

But if possession is a notion of such importance, and at the same time a creature of positive law, it is worth while to inquire what it implies in Anglo-American law. Those who have hitherto written on Catholic moral questions have almost exclusively had in mind the rules of Roman Law as modified by the Canon Law, or, some system of law based on the Roman Law, if we take account of more modern authors. It was natural that while treating of possession, the older moralists should expound the dicta of the Roman and Canon Law, the common law of Christendom. That several of the privileges which, according to them, attach to possession were simply the prescriptions of the positive common law of Christendom, is evident to anyone who will consult such representative moralists as Laymann and Lacroix. English law, however, is not based on Roman law, though directly or indirectly it has borrowed largely from it, and according to English and American writers, the Anglo-American theory or doctrine of possession differs in several important details from the doctrine of the Roman and Canon Law.⁴

It is an interesting and important question whether these

¹ *Prælectiones jur. can.*, lib. i., vol. i., n. 194. Cf. Lessius, *De Just.*, lib. ii., c. iii., Dub. II.

² Pollock and Wright, *Possession in the Common Law*, p. 119.

³ *De just. et jure*, tract. ii., disp. 12.

⁴ O. W. Holmes, *The Common Law*, p. 210; Pollock and Wright, p. 9.

differences affect any of the principles or rules concerning possession which are usually laid down in our text-books of moral theology.

Before trying to answer this question let us endeavour to get as clear an idea as may be as to what possession is. A vast amount has been written about it by jurists, philosophers, and divines from different points of view. We shall discuss the matter from the standpoint of moral theology, and we shall by preference use the terminology familiar to students of moral theology, and only lay stress on what is of practical importance for our own science. It may well be that much may depend in law on some difference between the Roman and the English concept of possession, which difference may, nevertheless, be of slight import for the theologian. Thus in Roman law a depositary was said not to have possession of the deposit, while in English law he has; but however important in law this difference may be, in morals it would seem that we may almost disregard it; for whether the depositary be said to have possession of what is bailed to him or not, his duties and rights *in foro conscientiae* are much the same. About such questions as this, therefore, we shall have little or nothing to say; we shall confine ourselves to questions which interest the moral theologian.

Possession, then, must be carefully distinguished from the right to possess. The owner of a watch has the right to possess it, unless he has transferred his right to another. For ownership implies the right to use the thing owned; and in order to use it, to exercise one's activity over it, one must possess it. The right to possession, then, usually follows ownership; but the right to possession is not possession itself. A man who has lost his watch retains the right to possession, but he has lost the possession itself. Possession expresses not a right, but a fact. A man is in possession of his watch if he has it in his pocket, if it is lying on the table before him, if he has it in such a way that he can exercise control over it, and exclude others from its control. If a thief snatches it from his waistcoat pocket, but the guard still remains firmly attached to the watch and

to its owner, the latter still retains possession ; if, however, the guard breaks, the thief gains possession of the watch, and the owner loses it.

The meaning of possession is best seen by taking an instance of how it may be acquired. A fisherman sees a fine salmon in the river ; he would like to reduce it into possession ; but seeing it is not possessing it. He throws his fly, and the fish takes it, but it is not in his possession yet. As yet he has not got it under his control. After skilfully playing it for some time, he nets it and lands it ; he now has it safe, he has it in his possession. Now, let us suppose that instead of the salmon rising to the fly, this was taken by a miserable smelt, which came swinging through the air, dangling on the line towards the fisherman. It is worth nothing, and had better be thrown back. The fisherman, with the intention of throwing it far away into the river again, seizes it impatiently. He has no intention of keeping it, or making it his own ; he merely detains it in his hand long enough to detach it from the hook, and then casts it from him. He never possesses it in any true sense ; he had no intention of reducing it into possession ; he only wished to remove it from the hook, which he intended for nobler prey. So that possession implies physical control of the thing possessed, and a certain intention in the possessor ; it is a fact implying custody and control of a thing, with the intention of having it and of excluding others, at any rate to the extent of one's own interest.

This definition would seem to express with tolerable accuracy what theologians and canonists mean by *possessio naturalis*, and which English lawyers call *physical* or *de facto* possession. Theologians and canonists, it is true, following the Roman law, require for *possessio naturalis* the *animus domini* ; a man, according to them, has not natural possession of a thing unless he holds it as his own ; he must hold the thing *corpore et animo*, with the intention of having it as his own, of exercising dominion over it. The intention of exercising dominion or the rights of ownership over the object, is not necessary for possession in Anglo-American

law; it would seem to be sufficient if there be the intention to exclude others.

If what the law does [says Mr. Justice Holmes ¹] is to exclude others from interfering with the object, it would seem that the intent which the law should require is an intent to exclude others. I believe that such an intent is all that the common law deems needful, and that on principle no more should be required. . . . The intent to appropriate or deal with a thing as owner can hardly exist without an intent to exclude others, and something more; but the latter may very well be where there is no intent to hold as owner. A tenant for years intends to exclude all persons, including the owner, until the end of his term; yet he has not the *animus domini* in the sense explained. Still less has a bailee with a lien, who does not even mean to use, but only to detain, the thing for payment. But, further, the common law protects a bailee against strangers, when it would not protect him against the owner, as in the case of a deposit or other bailment terminable at pleasure; and we may, therefore, say that the intent even to exclude need not be so extensive as would be implied in the *animus domini*.²

Although English law does not require for possession the intention to hold the thing as one's own absolutely, yet it does require something more than holding in the name of another. A servant who carries his master's bag has only the custody of the bag; he has not possession of it in English law any more than in Roman or Canon law; so that the intention to have the thing to the extent of one's interest, and to exclude all others from it—at any rate to that extent—would seem to be required by English law. And many theologians required nothing more for natural possession. Thus Molina³ allows that the feudatory and the tenant for a long period have the natural possession of their fief and tenancy. So that I think we may say that the definition of the *naturalis possessio* of canonists and theologians is substantially rendered by the definition given above.⁴

Such natural or physical possession is a fact which must

¹ *The Common Law*, p. 220.

² Cf. Pollock and Wright, *Possession*, pp. 13, 131.

³ *De just. et jure*, tract. ii., disp. 12.

⁴ Cf. Sir T. E. Holland, *Jurisprudence*, p. 160.

be very carefully distinguished from the right to possess and from the right of ownership. A thief has the physical possession of the watch which he has stolen; he has not the right to possess it, nor the right of ownership over it. Possession may be just or unjust, with title or without, implying ownership or not. It is a fact, and abstracts from rights and justice. Bare possession of itself gives no right of ownership; possession and ownership have nothing in common, as the Roman law expressly declares.

However, although possession is not ownership, law protects possession, and invests it with certain consequences and legal effects. The possessor must not be disturbed in his possession by private violence any more than the proprietor in the enjoyment of his property. There has been much discussion, since Savigny wrote, about the reason why the law throws the ægis of its protection around possession. Some would have it that the law does this in the interests of peace and public security. Public order requires that self-help should not be permitted indiscriminately. Another may unjustly have possession of what belongs to me; but the law cannot allow me to oust him *vi et armis*. If such proceedings were permitted, there would be an end of public order; and so the law protects possession in the interests of peace, forbidding possessors to be disturbed, even by rightful owners, except by process of law. Others prefer to derive the protection accorded to possession from the protection which the law gives to persons. An attack on possession would ordinarily involve an injury to the person, and so protection of the person necessitates protection of possession. Others, again, say that possession must be protected, because property must be secure. To prove ownership is frequently difficult, if not impossible; and it would be intolerable if proprietors were to be constantly liable to be compelled to show their title-deeds to what they hold. And so the law looks upon possession, which is a more evident fact, as giving a presumption of ownership, and, therefore, defends the possessor. Real owners may, perhaps, sometimes be the sufferers from such a rule; but it is better for the common good that a few should be kept from their own rather than

that the general rights of property should be unstable and insecure. Other writers rest the protection accorded to possession on the merits of possession itself. By the very fact of a man being in possession, he has more right than anyone who has not a better title; and so, as the law should protect all rights, it is its duty to protect possession.

Sir Frederick Pollock and Professor Maitland in their *History of English Law*,¹ tell us that all these reasons have had their influence on English Law; and it is not unlikely that the same may be said of other systems of law. Whatever the cause or causes may be, positive law has extended the meaning of possession, and invested it with legal effects of no slight importance. For a man retains legal possession of his property though here and now it is not under his physical control. A man leaves his dwelling in the morning, and goes to his business into town; throughout the day he retains possession of his house and all that it contains; when he leaves it, so that he no longer can exert his physical control over it, he loses indeed the natural or physical possession of it, but he still has what canonists and theologians call *possessio civilis*, and what English writers call constructive possession or simply possession. Much in the same way the owner retains possession of a watch which he hands to his servant to take to the watchmaker for repairs. The servant has the bare custody of it; he merely carries it for his master. All this is quite in keeping with the natural law; the positive law protects the right to possess, and regards it much in the same light as possession itself. The master can maintain trespass committed against his property while in the custody of his servant. Positive law further enlarged the meaning of possession so as to comprehend certain incorporeal rights, such as *servitudes* or profits, and easements, advowsons, services. These are said by the canonists *quasi-possideri*, for they cannot be grasped or detained corporally. Possession was further extended by operation of law to certain cases where there was neither the physical control nor the intention required

¹ Vol. ii., p. 43.

by natural and civil possession. Thus by operation of law,¹ the heir has possession of the property of one who dies intestate, the executor of the property of the testator, the property of the bankrupt vests in the trustee in bankruptcy on his appointment, and the heir apparent possesses the crown on the death of the sovereign. This is called by the canonists *possessio civilissima*.

Finally, moralists have enlarged the meaning of the term possession so as to embrace not only the subject-matter of the virtue of justice, but that of all the other virtues as well. Thus with regard to the most general of all virtues—obedience, human liberty is said to be in possession if there is no law that restricts it; in other words, we are at liberty to do what is not forbidden by any law or command of any lawful superior. On the contrary, the law is in possession if it once existed, and there is no reason to think that it has ceased to exist. In this case the law must be obeyed, for, in doubt the position of the possessor is the better. This is quite a legitimate use of the term and principle of possession; it is in keeping with natural reason and sound morality. And indeed the subject matter of law and liberty is not so remote from that of justice as at first sight it may appear. For have I not a right to the use of my liberty if it is not restricted by any law? and rights come under the protection of justice. So that if it is right and proper that the possession of corporal things should be protected, is it not just that liberty should also be safeguarded? It is true that the use of the principle of possession in this connection has its limits, but to attempt to assign these limits would lead us into controverted questions, and too far afield for our present purpose.

In substance, then, English law attributes the same meaning to possession as Roman and Canon Law. But there are certain advantages or effects ascribed to possession by jurists and moralists, and these were so ample and important that *Beati possidentes*, 'Blessed are they who are in

¹ Pollock and Wright, *Possession*, p. 127.

possession' became a common saying among lawyers. Some of these effects flow from the natural law, from the very nature of possession; others are due to positive law, and it is a question of some moment for English and American moralists whether and how far the effects ascribed to possession in the ordinary text-books of moral theology are modified by Anglo-American law. I will take the chief advantages ascribed to possession by Laymann, and briefly comment on them from the standpoint of natural and English law.

1. Possession has nothing in common with ownership. This dictum is sufficiently clear from what has already been said on the nature of possession.

2. Possession continued in good faith for the length of time required by law gives ownership by prescription. Possession is also a root of title by prescription in English law, but it is less extended in its application than in Roman and Canon law, and the conditions are somewhat different.

According to the strict use of the term, prescription in English Law is acquisitive only, not extinctive; it applies to incorporeal hereditaments, such as advowsons, profits à *prendre*, and easements, not to land or movables; and the length of time required to prescribe differs much from that laid down by Roman and Canon law, and moreover, varies with different rights and circumstances. However, although prescription is not admitted as a title to land by English law, yet title to land may be extinguished by the Statutes of Limitation, which to this extent may be looked upon as extinctive prescription acts by the moral theologian. Property in movables cannot be acquired by prescription or Limitation Acts, according to English law. The laws of the United States, with the exception of Louisiana, which follows the Roman law, concerning prescription are based on those of England, but the terms of years vary somewhat in the different States.

English law does not seem strictly to require good faith in one who claims by prescription; it is sufficient if he is in possession for the required time peaceably, openly, and not with licence; but good faith is needful in conscience, for

one who knows that he is in possession of another's property against his will must surrender it to the rightful owner. As prescription is a title to property by positive law, it is obvious in this matter the moralist must follow the laws of his country, where these do not conflict with conscience.

3. If a person in good faith begins to doubt whether he is the owner of the thing in question or not, he should use moral diligence in making inquiry; and if after this the doubt remains, he may retain and use the thing.

This rule seems to follow from the nature of possession begun in good faith, for it would be unreasonable to expect a man to deprive himself of what in good faith he had possessed as his own, unless he is morally certain that it belongs to someone else. Such a one, therefore, might elect to go before the courts, prepared to take his chance, and to abide by the result.

4. If a possessor in good faith consume a thing, or the profits arising from it, or alienate it, and afterwards discover that it belonged to someone else, he is only bound to restore that by which he is the richer.

Laymann gives the Roman law as authority for this rule, but it seems also to rest on reason. Such a possessor of another's property is only bound to restore to the rightful owner what he has of his property, not what he consumed in good faith; for there was no theological fault in using and consuming what he sincerely thought belonged to himself, and so he was not the guilty cause of any unjust damage to the true owner. However, according to English law, the owner in such cases would frequently have a right of action for the profits accruing during the last six years, and moreover:—

Whenever it should appear in any ejectment between landlord and tenant, that such tenant, or his solicitor, had been served with due notice of trial, the judge before whom this cause was tried, whether the defendant should appear on the trial or not, should permit the claimant, after proof of his right, to go into evidence of the *mesne* profits thereof which had accrued from the time when the defendant's interest determined, down to the time of the trial; and the jury, finding for the claimant, were to give their verdict on the whole matter, both as to the recovery of possession, and as to the amount of damages to be paid for such

mesne profits; and this procedure would still be applicable in such a case.¹

Such laws are not unjust, and oblige after the sentence of the judge; so that, although as has been said, the *bona fide* possessor of another's property would not be obliged to account for what he had already consumed, unless condemned to do so by the court, after the sentence of the court he would be obliged in conscience to submit to it.

5. Possession throws the burden of proof on the plaintiff.

This seems to be a rule of natural law, for a peaceable possessor should be defended against all who cannot show a better title. But will it be sufficient for the plaintiff to show a *better* title? Or must he furnish full proof that he is the rightful owner of what is in the defendant's possession, in order to gain his cause? The common opinion of canonists and moralists seems to be, that it is not sufficient for the plaintiff to prove a better title; he must prove clearly that he is the absolute owner.²

However, the view that proof of better right would prevail against possession was maintained by some theologians, and it seems to be the opinion adopted by our law.

Thus our law of the thirteenth century [write Sir F. Pollock and Professor Maitland]³ seems to recognise in its practical working the relativity of ownership. One story is good until another is told. One ownership is valid until an older is proved. No one is ever called upon to demonstrate an ownership good against all men; he does enough even in a proprietary action if he proves an older right than that of the person whom he attacks.

And this appears to be the law still:—

We have seen that possession confers more than a personal right to be protected against wrongdoers; it confers a qualified right to possess, a right in the nature of property which is valid against everyone who cannot show a prior and a better right.⁴

6. One may use force in defence of possession, *cum moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ*, as the canonists say, and in

¹ Stephen's *Commentaries*, iii., p. 428.

² *St. Alphonsus*, i., n. 36.

³ *Hist. of English Law*, ii., p. 76.

⁴ Sir F. Pollock and R. S. Wright, *Possession*, p. 93.

retaking a thing possessed from a flying thief. The same principle holds good in our law.

A person is justified in forcibly defending the possession of his land against anyone who attempts to take it.¹

And

Self-defence is a natural act open to every man, and if a person has actual possession of goods or other personal property, and another wrongfully attempts to take the same from him against his will, he is perfectly justified in using all force necessary for the purpose of defending his own possession and preventing the act of trespass or conversion ; he must, however, use no more force than is, under the circumstances of the case, necessary.²

With regard to the recaption of goods that have been wrongfully taken, Sir F. Pollock³ says :—

The true owner may retake the goods if he can, even from an innocent third person into whose hands they have come ; and, as there is nothing in this case answering to the statutes of forcible entry, he may use whatever force is reasonably necessary for the recaption.

7. The acquiring possession of things without an owner gives property in the things by the law of nature, and by our law.⁴ Analogous to this is the qualified property which the finder acquires in a thing found, defeasible on the appearance of the rightful owner, but valid against the rest of the world.⁵

These are the chief advantages or emoluments of possession mentioned by moralists, and of interest to the moral theologian. It will be evident from our brief treatment of them that they remain substantially unaffected by the differences between the Roman theory of possession and that of Anglo-American law. However, we shall have gained something by our examination of the question if this fact has been made clear, and if we have succeeded in throwing any new light on the difficult subject of possession.

T. SLATER, S.J.

¹ Indermaur, *Principles of the Common Law*, p. 312.

² *Ibid.*, p. 337.

³ *The Law of Torts*, p. 313

⁴ Sir F. Pollock and R. S. Wright, p. 124.

⁵ Stephen's *Commentaries*, ii., p. 9.

THE MANNA

THE following study is an expansion of what in its original form was a draft of remarks to a class of Biblical exegesis in the monastery of which the writer is a professed monk. Its object is tentatively to determine whether, or in what degree, the gift of the manna was miraculous. Obviously, any such dissertation would be waste of time and paper were it directed to meet a criticism whose postulates are either the impossibility of divine communication and interference with the natural order, or the fact that miracles, though involving no contradiction, do as a fact not happen. We suppose, therefore, readers, Catholic or otherwise, who believe in the government of nature, not by inexorable forces, but by intelligent laws, subject in the wisdom of their Originator, not to repeal after a stability constituted commensurate in duration with the conditions whence their *ratio essendi*, but to derogation for ends regarding whose worthiness He, not we, must be competent to arbitrate.

It is hardly necessary to point out in this introductory section, that the assumption so far implied does not, apart from revelation, determine the character of the event we are to consider in these pages. The theistic reader as above described, if he be a believer in the Bible as historically trustworthy, still more if he regard it as an inspired book, no doubt approaches the subject with a leaning to the traditional view, biased by accepted interpretation or reverent associations. If he be a Catholic, he may further feel himself supported independently of critical examination, by the common persuasion of the faithful, in which from its having never been ecclesiastically corrected, he fancies himself secure, thanks to the passive infallibility of the *ecclesia discens* in its relation to the *magisterium* of the *ecclesia docens*. His frame of mind may be laudable; and that the use of Scripture in a spirit of uncritical devotion will in

many cases, perhaps in the majority, be more advantageous than the reading accompanied by scientific gloss, who will deny? The lines, however, have fallen to us in surroundings, with regard to which a reader of this last class must live in retirement more than monastic if his received and cherished notions never meet with the shock of critical objections. The present is, therefore, a time when he will do well to examine how far his traditional views can be sustained. He must be prepared to surrender belief in what may be shown to have been not really, but only seemingly, part of Catholic tradition. He need not be startled by the proposition that improved methods of dealing with the Scriptural text, and recent application of subsidiary knowledge may have taught us, not certainly any doctrine varying from the old as regards the essence of Holy Scripture, but a more enlightened mode of reading it, thanks to which he will be less likely to waste effort in defending what is untenable, or to risk quoting as certain what is only put forth as commonly circulated.¹ Scripture consists of two elements: the divine, which is not here our subject, and the human. The human being dependent for the clothing of its ideas on language, its means shares the imperfection of all language, viz., its inadequacy, or more precisely a degree more or less of obscurity. Hence the art of interpretation, which is but one in its devices for all and every expression of thought. Thus taking the human element of Scripture, subjecting it hermeneutically to critical canons the same for it as for work uninfluenced by inspiration, and now better defined and systematized than of old, he should even be ready for the possibility of what has so far passed for narration of the supernatural proving to be after all a record of the natural only, coloured by contemporary delusions of progressive humanity, which have practically, though not of necessity, obscured its truth. An instance of this is, perhaps, to be found in the fate of Lot's wife,¹ if we compare the idea of

¹ Cf. Newman, *Idea of a University*, Part II., Lectures vii., viii. Longmans, 1885.

² Gen. xix. 26; Wisd. x. 7.

Josephus as to the fact¹ with that of modern commentators. He should further be prepared to find that just as the miracle of Josue, for example, must not now be misunderstood according to its statement in ante-Copernican language; so possibly ideas of other facts may have to be similarly corrected by the discovery that the form in which their record is set has been misunderstood, either, let us say, by the figurative being taken as the literal, or by current terms passing for scientific. Nor, again, will it appear less possible that primitive ignorance, greater or less, of natural forces, or of secondary causes, may have occasioned writers in Scripture to believe a particular miracle to have been, in terms of scholastic classification, one *quoad substantiam*, when the accurate description would be *quoad subjectum*, or *quoad modum*, in which case the language will seem to fit only the first supposition; and it may involve some reconsideration of Scriptural phraseology to understand how compatibly with divine assistance the writer is not committed to it.

The writer of these pages wishes to state his conviction, that even lay Catholics will be immensely the gainers by adding to their devout reading of Holy Scripture a minute and intelligent analysis of its historical narratives, aided by those appliances of natural knowledge popularly but erroneously reputed to be in the long run subversive of childlike faith in, and veneration of, the written Word. This may read as a truism, but having in view the timidity with which such a line is approached in pious circles, we venture to think the remark timely. The result augured is the possession in Catholic society of more reasoned and intelligent Scriptural apologetics than are, unfortunately, at present common; with the further beneficial consequence that the often shallow but generally verbose critic, who meets us less in literature than at unexpected turns in everyday life, will be not unfrequently disappointed of what would pose as a display of critical acumen on being met by such concessions as candid examination authorizes us to make,

¹ *Antiquities of the Jews*, i., xi.

particularly when they appear perfectly consistent with Catholic definition ; and as often, let us hope, startled when, concession being out of question, a Catholic returns not a bare or timid contradiction, or, by way of evasion, an expression of his implicit trust in his Church, but a defence of his view that will be a credit to the religion and the body, lay or ecclesiastic, which he represents.

Not further to detain the reader 'per ambages et longa exorsa,' our plan is this:—I. We analyze and compare the accounts of the manna in the historical books, and examine what light may be thrown on them by references in books didactic or sapiential. II. We classify the conceivable interpretations, and attempt an estimate of their respective value in dealing with the matter under consideration.

I.

Our main reference in this section is Exod. xvi., *passim*, supplemented by particulars in Num. xi. 7-9 ; Deut. viii. 3 ; Jos. v. 12 ; from which we gather the nature, sequence, and harmony of the facts. Other references are more of the nature of allusions, valuable as external testimony of the highest authority to the traditional impression and interpretation of the Pentateuchal history on the point, down to the Christian era. From these sources we collect as matter of debate between views to be enumerated below, data, which for convenience of later reference it is convenient to class as—(a) historical ; (β) physical ; and (γ) traditional.

(a) Among the *historical* data, we are first introduced to a period of the wanderings, when all enthusiasm on the subject of racial emancipation, and prospects of mastery in an ideal land had evaporated in presence of the hard and unromantic realities of a journey through the desert, and the discipline imperative in this trying period of national life. In every case of national hardship, disaffection and revolt are incidents safely to be predicted *a priori*, irrespective of the justice or otherwise of complaints. In the case before us the unreasonableness seems sufficiently clear. But its cause, if our comparison of data be correct, would seem to have been not a prospect of starvation, at least

proximately, but a regulation of daily rations by economical enactment. In support, reference is invited to Exod. x. 26, xii. 38, xix. 13; Num. xi. 22, xxxii. 1, 4; which if read in their order seem to testify to live stock in continuously sufficient quantity. The sacrificial offerings in Num. vii. also imply the possession of herds, and stores of flour. Provisions even seem to have been procurable by purchase from native tribes; see Deut. ii. 6, 28. Any subvenience from heaven would be, under such a supposition, a solace, not a salvation; a mercy proportionate to the evil results of fancied grievances rather than a deliverance from famine.

It may be noticed that disgust with even a plentiful diet would be sufficient to provoke discontent in formidable proportions which would be productive of rebellion, or possible return to Egypt with its 'flesh pots,' and food without stint. Such a state of things was no unworthy occasion of divine interposition in furtherance of the destiny of a chosen nation.

The distress is met¹ by a promise of divine succour, and its fulfilment. Food from heaven is to come like rain, *i.e.*, figuratively in abundance;² and, probably, literally, from the sequel. It is to be gathered in sufficient quantity for the current day;³ on the sixth day alone is provision to be made for two days.⁴

Next,⁵ the nature of the subvenience is declared; a new variety of flesh is to be procurable in the evening, and 'bread' on the following morning: the prediction being confirmed by the words of God Himself to Moses from the cloud. In the evening, accordingly, a flock of quails in immense numbers is driven by a special providence across the track,⁶ so fatigued, as is common, by having been long on the wing that they were easily captured, their flight being low, 'two cubits above the ground,' as is stated in

¹ Exod. xvi. 4.

² Cf. Deut. xxxii. 2; Ecclus. xxxix. 9.

³ Exod. xvi. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4, 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 6-12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 13; Ps. civ. 40.

connection with their second appearance.¹ The quails, be it observed, would not have been slaughtered for immediate consumption alone, for in the account of their provision a second time, just referred to, we find that the people 'dried them about the camp,' and reserved them in quantities of at least ten 'cores'; *i.e.*, they were acquainted with the Egyptian method and appliances for preserving the meat;² and, if the countless numbers in which these gregarious birds have been observed be taken into account, we may be sure that a store was secured sufficient to render the danger of famine fairly remote, independently of any other succour.

In the morning a dew fell around the camp, and with it, while distinct from it,³ a substance with which neither knowledge of Egyptian products, or experience of the Sinaitic peninsula had familiarized the Israelities; the surprise born of their ignorance giving it its name. 'They said to one another: *Man hu,*' which signifieth: 'What is this?' and hence, 'man' or 'manna.' The Hebrew, however, may also read: 'This is man;' either in allusion to some substance locally so named, as I understand is the case in Arabia; or meaning: 'This is a portion,' or 'gift'; deriving the word from the root *manan*, classed in Hebrew lexicons as Arabic.

The new article of food was eagerly gathered, each securing as much as he could carry away, and rations were dealt out from the common stock at the rate of a gomor for every head.⁴ This detail is accounted miraculous by Josephus;⁵ among fathers by St. Chrysostom and Theodoret, each commenting on 2 Cor. viii. 15; and among commentators by Corn. a Lapide. Yet the text scarcely warrants our taking it otherwise than we do here, with Calmet.

The manna fell regularly on six days of the week. On the seventh it was sought in vain by any improvident Israelite who, perchance, had not heeded the injunction to lay in a double supply on the sixth day.⁶ Some, too, who

¹ Num. xi. 31. See Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible*, pp. 231-233.

² Cf. Herod., ii. 77.

³ Num. xi. 9.

⁴ Exod. xvi. 16-18.

⁵ *Antiquities of the Jews*, iii. 2.

⁶ Exod. xvi. 27.

had neglected the order: 'Let no man leave thereof till the morning,' found whatever amount they had reserved in a state of putrefaction. Only from Friday, when according to the command a double quantity was to be gathered, till Saturday morning, did it undergo no change.¹ On Friday other culinary preparations were to be made for the Sabbath,² with which the manna could be mixed. So we infer from the Vulgate; while the Hebrew reads like direction for preparing the manna in various ways, as in Num. xi. 8.

The supply lasted for forty years; that is, until the Israelities were able to subsist on the harvests of the Promised Land,³ and required no special provision from Divine Providence.

(β) To turn to facts of the *physical* order.

From Exod. xvi. 21 we infer the manna to have been of a gum-like or resinous nature, exposure to the rays of the hot sun causing liquefaction; while under the influence of the cold morning dew, or removed into the shade, it remained solid or congealed, just as do exudations from trees.⁴ From our historical data it would seem that, probably, in the course of nature, it putrefied in twenty-four hours. Some appliance may have been known to counteract putrefaction, as the reservation of a portion is ordered 'ad perpetuam rei memoriam.' Of this observance the only further notice is Heb. ix. 4, which supplies no additional information. In appearance the manna is described as a pounded white substance, resembling the globular seed corns of the coriander,⁵ which there seems no hesitation in identifying with the *Coriandrum sativum*, indigenous to Egypt, where the Israelites would have been familiar with its existence, and, probably, its popular employment as a condiment to bread or other food.⁶ It is needless to point out that comparison to the coriander implies, not identity, but distinction.

¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

² *Ibid.*, 23.

³ Exod. xvi. 35; Jos. v. 12; Judith v. 15.

⁴ Cf. Exod. xvi. 4, 16, 21; Num. xi. 9.

⁵ Exod. xvi. 14; Num. xi. 7.

⁶ Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible*, under 'Coriander.'

A further idea of consistency—perhaps also of size—is given by comparison with hoar-frost,¹ while the colour alone is likened to the bdellium.² The latter (*bdôlah*) is mentioned among the specialities of the land of Hevilath, in Gen. ii. 12, whence, from its apparent classification with onyx, has originated the suggestion that it is a mineral. Genesius, however, is of opinion that it is an animal production, probably a pearl. On the whole, we incline to the view of Josephus³ that it stands for a vegetable substance of resinous nature. A Bactrian species is mentioned by Pliny,⁴ but can hardly be identical with that here referred to, as its colour is stated to be, sometimes, at least, black; and, whatever its shade, to be *spotted* only with white. The reference is most likely designed to furnish a more specific description of the white, of which it may indicate some particular shade, as greyish or yellowish.

We have next an account of the taste. Baked⁵ or ground fine and boiled, it was made into cakes of sweet flavour, resembling bread with honey.⁶ In Wisdom xvi. 20, 21, we read of it 'having in it all that is delicious, and the sweetness of every taste, for Thy sustenance showed Thy sweetness to Thy children, and, serving every man's will, it was turned to what every man liked.' If this is to be understood literally, the manna, besides being sustaining, had the property of serving at will for any physical disposition. To the passage we shall have to return.

Another particular is, that daily use engendered disgust, partly from home sickness in the 'mixed multitude' that accompanied the tribes, and partly through the disposition of the tribes themselves, corrupted by these hangers on.⁷ A second supply of quails was given as a corrective to disaffection.

(γ) Next, to take the evidence of *tradition*, which we can follow down to the time of the New Testament, and comment on the passages that concern us in their order.

¹ Exod. xvi. 14.

² Num. xi. 17.

³ *Antiquities of the Jews*, iii. 1, 6.

⁴ *Nat. Hist.*, xii. 19.

⁵ Ex. xvi. 23, Hebr.

⁶ Num. xi. 8.

⁷ Num. xi. 4, 6.

The first allusion to the manna as an event of past history occurs in Deuteronomy. The latest date assigned to this book need not detract from the value of its text as an early witness to the point. In the references that follow we must suppose the redactor either to give a report of a public utterance of the Mosaic period, or to put a speech in the mouth of Moses, the statements of which must agree with what he would have believed to be the truth on the subject, either supposition being consistent with, and one or other necessary for, the veracity of the book, if we are partisans of the late authorship.

In Deuteronomy viii., then, we have:—‘He afflicted thee with want (Hebr. caused thee to hunger), and gave thee manna for food, which neither thou nor thy fathers knew: to show that not in bread alone doth man live, but in every word (or *thing*, *al-kāl motsāh*) that proceedeth from the mouth of God.’¹ And further: ‘[He] fed thee in the wilderness with manna, which thy fathers knew not.’² From these passages two things are beyond question; viz., first, that the manna was, at least, no substance so far known to the Israelites; and, secondly, that it was regarded either as a special creation or as a substance indigenous to the country they had reached, but endowed (in virtue of the *potentia obedientialis*) with præternatural properties of nutrition, or, at least, provided not by the ordinary course of nature. Short of one of these ideas, the lesson that God is not limited to ordinary means would not be objectively taught as claimed.

In considering the Psalms as carrying on tradition, it is no easy matter to know with what period we have to deal. Of the two psalms that are to our purpose, the first, Ps. lxxvii. (lxxviii.), supposes the Temple already built (v. 69), which makes it safe to associate it with the post-Davidic period; while its reproving tone, as regards the tribe of Ephraim, has been thought reason sufficient for assigning it to a time later than that of the secession of Israel from Juda. The second, Ps. civ. (v.), may be thought

¹ Verse 3,

² Verse 16,

Davidic from its citation, with selections from Pss. xcvi. and cv., in 1 Paralip. xvi. But if internal evidence of subject, style, and diction consign it to *post-exilic* times, its incorporation into 1 Paralip. xvi. cannot mean that it was sung in connection with the event there related. And be it observed that nothing of the kind is historically there claimed. Reference to the chapter will show that, though the psalm editorially follows v. 7, it is not joined to it by any connection, logical or grammatical. The allusions, therefore, to the manna in the Psalter may be fairly cited as the tradition of the two periods of the division and the return from captivity.

The verses to our purpose are Ps. lxxvii. 18-29; civ. 40, 41. If these passages be examined, it will be observed that the manna is compared with two other providential supplies meeting want, viz., the quails, and the water out of the rock. Nothing in the language about the quails leads one to suppose anything beyond common providential assistance. The quails were supplied just as suitable weather might be sent in answer to prayer, or a plague in punishment to wrong-doing. It is otherwise with reference to the water from the rock. It is attributed to direct divine agency, without reference to any secondary cause (Renan's supposition of a divining-rod is scarcely worth discussion). And St. Paul's allusion in 1 Cor. x. 4, shows how much higher this subvenience was esteemed than that of the quails, and how easily it was understood to be full of mystical significance in the divine intention. Yet the language in description of the manna is more exalted still. The idea seems to have surpassed credibility: 'Can He also give bread?'¹ For it the 'doors of heaven are opened,' the 'clouds commanded from above.' Above all, it is 'bread' or 'corn (*dāgān*) of heaven,' the *lehem abbīrīm*, or 'food of the strong,' or 'of the nobles,' *i.e.* more dainty food; so St. Jerome translates; the reading of our Psalter, 'bread of angels,' being from the LXX. The Psalms being poetry, we may make large allowance for figurative language: *e.g.*, 'rained from heaven,'

¹ lxxvii. 20.

prædicated of the manna in v. 24, need not mean more than it certainly does mean in v. 27 of the quails, *i.e.* either provided in abundance, or caused to descend through the air. None of these expressions will prove a difficulty when we try by their force the view that will appear most plausible in the following section.

Proceeding with the historical books, we meet in Judith with a testimony of what the gentile world had learnt on our subject. The report of Achior to his master, on the origin and historical vicissitudes of the children of Israel, is coupled with a warning to think twice before interfering with a nation so favoured by their God (as long as they remained faithful to their monotheism), that when in any difficulty they had only to trust in Him to obtain a derogation from ordinary providential courses in their favour; a notable instance being the forty years' supply of 'food from heaven.'¹ The fact would scarcely have been so classed, or so solemnly mentioned had Achior's impression been that it was wholly removed from the præternatural.

For undoubted post-exilic tradition we may refer to 2 Esdras ix. 20 : 'Thou gavest them Thy good Spirit to teach them, Thy manna Thou didst not withhold from their mouth, and Thou gavest them water for their thirst.' From the association of the manna with the supernatural gift of the Spirit, and with the præternatural supply of water from the rock, the inference seems clear that it is esteemed a benefit of an order far above the common, and exceeding anything like a merely abnormal supply of food.

The continuity of Old Testament tradition is kept up to a later age, that is, to from 120-30 B.C.; the following testimony being from Wisdom, a book venerated even where it is not accounted canonical. Its author in ch. xvi. 20, 21, contrasts the destructive dealings of heaven for the correction of the Egyptians with its saving measures in favour of the chosen people. The verses we must examine are the twentieth and twenty-first: 'Thou didst feed Thy people with the food of angels, and gavest them bread from

¹ Verse 15.

heaven prepared without labour; having in it all that is delicious, and the sweetness of every taste. For Thy sustenance (*substantia ὑπόστασις*) showed Thy sweetness to Thy children, and serving every man's will, it was turned to what every man liked.'¹ The expressions borrowed from the Psalms having been weighed in a preceding paragraph, we have only the latter part of the passage to analyze. 'Prepared without labour' would be true of either a natural product, the work of angels, or a new creation. The literal sense of the nutritive properties that follow can, on the whole, hardly be intended. There exists an intrinsic reason against it in the loathing for the heavenly food which succeeded its appreciation. The LXX. has instead of 'serving every man's will,' the words 'obedient to the will of Him that bestowed it' (*τῇ δὲ τοῦ προσφερουμένου ἐπιθυμίᾳ ὑπηρετῶν*). More plausible seems the meaning that conditionally on the good dispositions of the receiver the food had its desired effect.

Passing on at length to the New Testament, the allusion that interests us above others is that in John vi., too well known to require transcription. How far it may prove the manna to have had a mystical signification is, be it remembered, no part of our subject. Our only concern is to examine what light it may throw on accepted and contemporary Jewish intelligence of Exod. xvi.; and whether the received idea receives or not confirmation from the words of our Lord following its expression in verse 31. Following, then, the dialogue beginning at verse 26, we shall notice the allusion to the manna to be occasioned by the claim on the part of our Lord to a divine mission absolutely, advancing so far to justify it neither argument, credentials, or proof. Not unfairly the audience proposes the test of a 'sign,' reminding that the Moses in whom they were believers had for his part so established an analogous claim; and it is not a little remarkable that, citing Scripture in support, they do not choose the more drastic miracles of the plagues of Egypt, or of the Red Sea, which one might have expected would carry most conviction to the popular mind, but prefer the remem-

¹ Wisdom xvi. 21, 22.

brance of the 'bread from heaven,' which they consider convincing, and the like of which they will expect from any one of Messianic pretensions. We could scarcely find, it would seem, more unequivocal testimony to the belief of the times that the manna was no phenomenon explicable by natural science alone. In order, however, to weaken this contention, it has been the writer's fortune to hear it urged that it is corrected by the words of our Lord in following verse:—'Moses gave you not the (*sic* Gr.) bread from heaven.' The objection took no account of the original: for, if the passage be there studied, we venture to think two things will appear that traverse it. First, taking the collocation logically (as rendered in the English, Catholic and Protestant alike), the antithesis is between 'bread from heaven' in a wide, and the same in a stricter sense. That Moses gave bread from heaven is not denied; on the contrary, it is admitted. If conviction be needed, let the passages be referred to in which an apparently prohibitive 'not' is followed by 'but' in the apodosis; see, for instance, Luke x. 20; xxiii. 28; where the sense of the negative is permissive, while yet something higher is in the speaker's doctrine to be preferred. Secondly, if we examine the collocation in the Greek strictly, the grammatical position of the negative before 'Moses' (thus, 'Not Moses,' &c.) seems to establish an antithesis between 'Moses' and 'My Father, with the sense that the 'bread from heaven' in the lower sense as in the higher was the gift not of Moses, but of the same Divine Father from whom the mission now claimed has originated. It is quite possible that] both antitheses are intended under an elliptic form of expression. But either takes the force out of the objection. The further mention of the manna in vv. 49, 59 of the same chapter only brings out for its purpose that manna, like ordinary food, could do no more than sustain life during its allotted span.

Coming to the Apostolic period, we meet first with: '[They] did all eat the same spiritual food;' which might settle the question of the nature of the gift in the wilderness,

were it not that the word 'spiritual' (*πνευματικός*) is capable of two interpretations; viz., of *miraculous* (so *e.g.* Estius), and of *mystical* (so Lyranus). The latter quality may, of course, pertain to what is purely of the natural order.

The passage already alluded to, 2 Cor. viii. 15, is surely no more than an accommodation: and, in any case, adds nothing to what has been discussed above, on Exod. xvi. 18. Heb. ix. 4, is merely historic, and has been sufficiently noticed, where we enumerated historical data. The only remaining allusion to the manna in the New Testament is in Apoc. ii. 17, where it stands figuratively for consolation of whatever nature, with probable reference to those effects of 'sweetness, &c.,' of which in Wisd. xvi. 21, already considered.

II.

Having so far set before the reader every passage of Scripture bearing on our subject, with its literal interpretation gathered as well as we have been able, we may proceed to the principal part of our undertaking, as promised in our opening paragraph. Our task, then, here is to weigh how far we feel bound, on fair principles of exegesis to the view on the subject reputed traditional wherever the Bible is read devotionally alone, and where criticism is believed to border on irreverence; or whether, in formulating a restatement of the case adapted to meet criticism backed by knowledge statistical, geographical, botanical, &c., we shall feel obliged to modify it so far as to admit as at least tenable interpretations paring down, or even denying the miraculous altogether.

The views advanced on the nature of the manna are three, and may be termed, according to their respective characters, the *supernatural*, the *natural*, and the *mixed*.

According to the *supernatural* view, the manna was a special creation to meet a special difficulty, and no supply even in abnormal quantity of any natural product. To ascertain, therefore, as modern commentators seem fond of doing, the existence of Asiatic, or specially Sinaitic vegetation, the fruit of which resembles in whatever variety the 'bread from heaven;' or to collect known instances of any extraordinary 'rain' of such substances as gums or lichens,

is, as far as apologetics are concerned, mere 'vexation of spirit,' resulting in statistics scientifically interesting, but hermeneutically irrelevant.

Of this view let us say at once that no theistic reader, in the sense given in our introductory section, can oppose it conclusively on intrinsic grounds. To urge antecedent improbability would amount virtually to the denial of the postulate that, as governed by a loving Providence, we are not only subject to, but even the likely objects of, supernatural interposition,¹ the opportuneness of which, however, we are unable to determine. Nor can it be denied that, extrinsic objections apart, the view meets with no objection from our data historical, physical, or traditional, and even seems to find support in both the spirit and the letter of the various passages of Scripture quoted as witnesses to the traditional impression through age after age. Extrinsic objections, in default of anything demonstrative, amount, at most, to probabilities; and if to many these seem outweighed by what seems unequivocal textual evidence, the older traditional view may retain its possession.

This holds good if we read Scripture explained by itself alone. But if we care to read it, availing ourselves of the sidelights of scientific knowledge, and illustrated by the *communiter contingentia* of ordinary and ascertainable dispensations of Providence, these may suggest a wider and, as it will then appear, a more natural sense of Scriptural narratives than that which is drawn by mere grammatical and logical sequence. Thus, using our observations as a hermeneutical factor, we may reason thus: What God can do is one thing; what He is likely to do another. Now, if anything seems, by induction from observable facts, to be fairly established, it is that the divine power of interposition in the course of nature is never exercised needlessly: *miracula non sunt multiplicanda*. Accordingly, in the explanation of the abnormal, the presumption is always for the natural as far as it will go. To apply the reasoning to our subject. Should we find natural phenomena, ordinary or exceptional,

¹ Cf. Newman, *Essays on Miracles*, i., sect. 2.

that cover all or any of the particulars so minutely reported concerning the manna—even should they necessitate the language of the sacred writer himself, or of those he cites, being understood in a less literal or less elevated sense than seems at first sight intended—such phenomena, so far as they lead us, will afford the most probable explanation of the occurrence. And, according as they cover all or only a part of the narrative, we are justified in accepting an explanation wholly or partially natural. So stands the case for the natural or the mixed view, according as our data, historical, physical, and traditional may be fairly read by the light of certain natural facts now to be considered.

From botanical statistics, and from the reports of Eastern travellers, it seems safe to say that there exist three species of natural products that may fairly claim identity with the manna of Exodus. To describe them:—

1. The first is a resinous exudation from the branches of the tamarisk, a shrub or tree growing formerly in abundance, and not rare at the present day, in the Sinaitic peninsula; the local variety being termed *Tamarix gallica* or *mannifera*. Its flow is occasioned by the puncture of a tiny insect, the *Coccus manniparus*, which settles on the plants in great numbers during the seasons of spring or summer. The resin is observed to congeal with exposure to the air, but to return to a state of liquefaction under the rays of the sun. In its congealed state it is found on the ground in the form of white globules, which are eagerly collected by the Arabs, and preserved in the shade, to serve, after some preparation, as a condiment to more substantial food. This is the product exhibited, and, perhaps, sold by the present monks of Sinai as identical with the Scriptural manna; and support they may find in Josephus,¹ who certainly believes its fall, though now in due season only, to have begun from and lasted since its special creation during the wanderings. The taste is not unlike honey. Unless boiled it will not keep beyond about twenty-four hours, but breeds vermin.

¹ *Antiquities of the Jews*, iii. ii. 6.

2. The second so-termed manna, likewise an exudation, is gathered from a thorny shrub popularly known as the camel's-thorn, and technically called *Alhagi maurorum*. The exudation, in this case from the leaves, congeals into spherical droppings of the size about of the coriander seed, and of honey-like taste. This species, like the last, is collected and used for food, and is relished not only by man, but also by beast—camels, sheep, and goats. No particulars are forthcoming as to its duration, or its varying consistency when influenced by heat or cold.

3. The third product is a cryptogam of the lichen order, undoubtedly edible and nourishing, the *Lecanora esculenta* common throughout the regions of the Steppes, Armenia, Asia Minor, South Western Asia, and the north of Africa. Its external colour is a greyish yellow, but when bruised it appears purely white. When detached from its substratum, it is known to shrivel into small spherical bodies with a central cavity, in which state it is carried by the wind, and is known sometimes to drift in such quantities as to cover the ground to the depth of several inches. Collected it is reduced to flour, and made into a bread variously reported relishable or insipid. More than once has a 'rain' of this manna lichen afforded timely relief from the horrors of famine; as in 1829, during the war between Russia and Persia, in the district south-west of the Caspian; and in 1846, during a scarcity in the country around Jenischehir, in the east of Asia Minor. Remarkable falls are also chronicled in Persia, in 1828, and about Lake Van, in the east of Asia Minor, in 1841. The African specimen (differing, if at all, but slightly) was mentioned in a report by General Jussuf to the Governor of Algiers, in 1847, as having been thankfully received, and used as an article of food by the troops in the campaign of 1847.

It has already been remarked that the view we have termed the *supernatural* meets with absolutely no objection from textual spirit, phrase, or expression; at least, if we prefer a reading unmodified by the conclusions of studies not in themselves Biblical. Before estimating, as it only remains to do, whether as good a case of conformity to

Scriptural data can be made out for either the *natural* or the *mixed* view, it will be well to insist that although in certain items of our *traditional* data the spirit and licence of poetry authorises a wide or figurative sense (no vain observation, as will presently appear), the same does not hold good with regard to the data we have classified as *historical* and *physical*. If we are asked by advocates of theories now well known how in the case before us we distinguish history from myth, we answer, by the minuteness of the narrative. It is the genius of a myth to teach some truth under a beautiful presentment of striking imagery. Its strength lies not in statistics, which rob the image of its charm. It overlooks, accordingly, such minutiae as precise hours, exact shade of colour, approximate size, &c. These find no place in the fancy of a composer, but unmistakably reveal the work of the conscientious reporter. Presuming that few will care to discuss this further, we proceed on our inquiry.

The first product suggested as identical with the manna, *i.e.* the gum of the tamarix, has in common with it—(1) its resinous nature, inferred from its property of liquefaction in the heat of the sun;¹ (2) its form of small white globules, which scattered over the ground would give the appearance of hoar-frost;² (3) its honey-like taste;³ its corruption in about twenty-four hours,⁴ though this can be prevented by boiling, a fact which might account for the incorruption of whatever quantity of the manna was reserved to be laid up 'before the Lord';⁵ (4) and its fitness as an article of food. Against it, on the other hand, it is urged that if edible and palatable, it is, to say the least, most unsubstantial. To this one would, it seems, have no objection. It might be precisely at this point that the miraculous begins. It is a notable fact, by way of illustration, in the history of Elias, not that he was supported without food, but that the nourishment of one meal was rendered by

¹ Ex. xvi. 21.

² Ex. xvi. 14; Num. xi. 7.

³ Ex. xvi. 23; Num. xi. 6; Wisd. xvi. 20.

⁴ Ex. xvi. 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xvi. 33.

divine power of sufficient efficacy to sustain him for forty days. The *potentia obedientialis* which was in the prophet's hearth-cake is similarly in gums, lichens, or any other edible matter, enabling them at the divine pleasure to work effects to which by ordinary dispensation they are not ordered. If we are disposed by what has been noted in favour of the *mixed* view, this satisfactorily meets the objection. But it may be questioned how far we are in need of the solution. Nothing, so far as we can see, seems to prevent the admission that the nourishment of the manna was in reality very slight. Earlier in these pages we have suggested that while the manna met a want it was not designed to save from starvation, that eventuality being averted by more substantial succour or stores. The suggestion even seems to find confirmation in the complaint of those who were dissatisfied with the heavenly food, at a later stage of their wanderings: viz., that it was 'very light' (LXX. *δίακενος*) or 'despicable' (Heb. *klokel*).¹

Of the so-called camel's-thorn, reference to what we have written will show that very much the same may be asserted of its similarity to the manna up to a certain point. Particulars, however, are less complete, particularly as to its duration.

In favour of the *lecanora* lichen, we have the clear evidence of its colour and size, and the certain fact of its suitability for food, and of its occasional abundance sufficient to allay hunger in whole districts. But of its capability of keeping incorrupt no particulars seem forthcoming. If it be as durable as the lichens more familiar to us in the West, then the miraculous alone can account for the point of the twenty-four hours keeping.]

Such facts as we have collected being duly examined and compared with Scripture, it will strike any reader that any or conceivably a combination, of these products lead us no little way in explanation of the particulars *historical* furnished by Exodus or Numbers. It will, however, be no less obvious that certain notable items of the narrative are not

¹ Num. xxi. 5.

covered by *botanical* statistics ; to wit—(1) the supply every day of the week, the seventh excepted ; (2) in a quantity sufficient continuously for so large a multitude ; and (3) the preservation from corruption regularly from the sixth day to the seventh inclusive. From the acceptance of these facts as miraculous, try as we will, there is no possible evasion, except by those whose estimate of Scriptural authority is formed to be on all fours with an *à priori* cosmology Deistic, or if termed Theistic to be so represented ‘with a difference,’ *i.e.* a voluntary but irrevocable resignation of power so far as interference with a constituted order is concerned. M. Renan is an example of how a predetermined cosmology of this kind is forced to treat Scriptural records. He tells us in a chapter of his *History of Israel* that in regions where manna was not known save by report, the wildest legends have been combined with the original history ; one of them in particular representing that for a time the sons of Israel had been sustained by the food of immortals, similar, we suppose, to the ambrosia of celestial banquets in Greek mythology. This, suiting his purpose, entails a stricter literal exegesis than it has ever been our lot to hear recommended to the Catholic student, be he ever so orthodox ; for in reading such expressions as ‘bread of heaven’ or ‘food of angels,’ he scruples apparently to make allowance for any turn of speech figurative or poetical. About such expressions we need not repeat what we have said above.

As regards the *physical* data, we see, so far as the resinous productions are concerned nothing that cannot square with a natural explanation ; but failing certain returns of the resistance of the *lecanora* to corruption, it may be necessary to admit ‘the finger of God is there.’

We fail even to find any but apparent difficulty as regards the exalted traditional language of the later books. Should it be insisted that, as we have already remarked, the spirit and form of these passages seems at first sight altogether in favour of the *supernatural* view, it is equally worth consideration whether the facts taken account of and enumerated under the *mixed* view, facts of which no natural

explanation seems to us honest, would not in themselves warrant all that is said in the spirit of praise and thanksgiving. We may even further observe that, saving truth, the language may have seemed to the various writers to fit their possible, or even probable belief in a miracle *quoad substantiam*, as we should term it, and been at the same time overruled by the Holy Spirit to be not contradictory to an explanation to be in course of time proved to be the true one ; that, namely, of a miracle *quoad modum* only. This postulates no dictation of precise terms, but only that assistance and protection concomitant to substantial inspiration which ensures the 'omnia et sola quae ipsa juberet,' as says the Encyclical *Providentissimus*.

To form at length our conclusions, we submit that :

I. The *natural* view, if reconcilable with the *physical* data, is hopelessly at variance with important *historical* facts, and with the tone and terms of traditional evidence.

II. The *supernatural* is far from being discredited ; certainly not as a possibility, and not even as a probability ; and is further what one would most naturally gather from the unillustrated text of Scripture ; but that

III. A fair case can be made for the *mixed* view ; and all the above details considered, and especially the improbability of any waste of edible product being allowed, we may on the whole, and pending any decision on the part of the Church, adopt it as the most eligible.

JEROME POLLARD-URQUHART, O.S.B.

SOCIALISM, AND THE TITLE OF PRODUCTION

WERE a socialistic congress held to-morrow, with a view to presenting a united front against capitalism, and putting into a concise form the ethics of the new gospel, we feel confident that one of the principal, if not the chief, commandment of the future decalogue would run :—‘ Render unto every man that which he has produced, and to none that which is not the fruit of his own labour.’ Doubtless, some leading apostles of the young evangel would question the propriety of introducing the first portion of the commandment, on the score that the main factor in production is not the individual but environment and inheritance. Doubtless, too, other socialists who sit in high places, and perhaps all, would quarrel for a time with the latter portion of the law, as all socialistic schemes proclaim that many who are incapable of labour must needs be supported by the toilers. However, were it understood that the law in the form proposed at once clearly forbids the sin of accumulation of capital by individuals, and commands that he whom socialists dignify with the title of the labourer should receive as his own the full value of his work ; and were it also pointed out that the law, being of necessity in a condensed form, would be capable of receiving the required limitations by interpretation, we are justified, we believe, in supposing that it would meet with universal acceptance. Let us examine to what conclusions the precept leads.

It is confessed on all sides that the strength of socialism lies in the principle that the producer has a strict, inviolable, claim to the thing produced. We are well aware that the majority, at least, of socialists understand the formula in the exclusive sense that production is the only valid title to property, and that, as a consequence, their position may be attacked by proving the existence of other titles. At present, however, we prefer to meet them on their own ground, to grant for the moment that production is the only valid title of property, and to demonstrate the inconsistency

of the socialistic theory by answering the question, who has produced and is daily producing the wealth of the nations, and to whom as a consequence that wealth should, on socialistic principles, belong.

Before proceeding to do so directly we would ask the prophets of the social millenium whether or not their theory, as a speculative theory, is a thing of value, and whether or not they would regard its promulgation among the masses as an addition to the wealth of the world. Of course we receive in answer an emphatic affirmative. Bearing this confession in mind, we would ask them to consider the socialistic body, both preachers and sympathetic audience, and see whether or not they recognise between the members any difference whose basis is the fact that some, a minority, have formulated and promulgated the theory; while others, the vast majority, have merely received it, and been set in motion by it to attain its ends? The answer to this question is not so prompt in coming. For many socialistic leaders, especially among the more modern schools, have committed themselves to the doctrine that though 'in the human species, as in every other species that has ever existed, no two individuals of a generation are alike in all respects,' and though 'there is infinite variety,' still this variation is confined to 'certain narrow limits.' They have, however, so far introduced the principles of advanced evolution into the sociology of to-day as to maintain that the results produced by those possessed of faculties slightly above the average are to be attributed rather to environment and inheritance than to the slight advantageous variations of the individual, so much so that the individual can claim as the fruit of his own faculties only 'one part in a thousand.' Reserving the consideration of this position for the sequel we shall at present take it that the division mentioned among socialists and its marked extent are evident to the most casual observer. We believe, and shall endeavour to prove, that a similar division runs through the ranks of wealth-producers in the ordinary sense of the term; and, finally, we maintain that, as a consequence, on socialistic principles the increase of wealth belongs to a minority inasmuch as they are the main producers.

Before stating our proof we would remark, that for the present we lay aside the question as to how far land produces wealth, and place the issue between human producers thereof. Furthermore, we would draw attention to this—that to prove our position it is necessary to show, firstly, that the principal wealth-producers are a minority blessed with faculties superior to those of their fellows; and, secondly, that they owe these faculties not to society, neither solely nor chiefly, nor yet to inheritance mainly, nor again to education principally, but that they have them congenitally.

To proceed, then, to proof. It must, we think, be granted, that if a number of causes working together for a given time produce a certain result—the maximum for them—and if when another cause is brought to concur with them the result is thereby increased, to the added cause is to be attributed the gain in result. Thus if twelve reapers reap a certain number of acres of wheat in a given time, and if when a machine is brought to work with them three times the area is reaped in the same time, the work done by the reaping machine in the time under consideration is represented by the reaping of an area double that reaped when the reapers were working alone. Let us apply this reasoning to wealth-production generally.

It is an historical fact, that the present century has witnessed a vast increase in the output of labour in these countries. It is also historically true, that in so far as labour is unaided by ability of a markedly superior kind, its results have been so fixed in quality for many centuries as to enable one to mark their limits with sufficient accuracy. Thus, the brick-makers of ancient Chaldæa could compete with the potter of to-day who would work without complex machinery. The stone-cutters of Greece and Rome have not been surpassed in their own line by their nineteenth century brethren. The ship-carpenters of Marco Polo's day did their work, as far as it was ship-carpentry, and not designing, as well as those of Belfast or Glasgow could to-day without our modern mechanical appliances. We might prolong the list almost indefinitely; but prolong it never so

far, the fact comes out only the more clearly, that the limits of the power of manual labour in respect of quality are fixed and so determined that no development of ordinary faculties could account for the rapid strides made by industry during the present century.

Nor can increase in the number of workmen serve as a *Deus ex machina*. For if, as is actually the case, a population of ten millions at the beginning of the present century could produce an annual income of one hundred and forty million pounds,¹ a population of thirty millions to-day, unaided by improvements, could produce merely some four hundred and twenty millions per annum. Still our present yearly income is thirteen hundred millions! What, then, has wrought the change? Without doubt, the change is due to those men, who, endowed with faculties beyond the ordinary, stood apart for a while from manual labour, and set their minds to devise some means of increasing the limited powers of the hewers of wood and drawers of water; and who, finally, succeeded in discovering these means in improved mechanical appliances, in more perfect plans of subdividing and controlling labour, or in new methods of employing, land, minerals, and the other materials given in the raw state by nature into their hands. This has been the real cause of the vast increase of wealth-production during the present century; and, therefore, to its credit is to be placed the increase in our national income. The work of such men, and the increase in the number of workmen, are the only varying causes of wealth-production that have been at work during the time under consideration. We have seen that the latter cause can account for, at most, one-third of our present income. Consequently, the main portion of our income to-day belongs, on socialistic principles, to a privileged minority.

Before passing on to discuss the objections against this argument it is well to draw attention here to the fact that

¹The principal figures occurring throughout we take from Mallock's *Labour and the Popular Welfare*, and *Aristocracy and Evolution*, works frequently consulted in preparing the paper. Some of our mathematical deductions from these figures differ from his, but in so slight a degree as not to materially affect the argument.

while the argument comes out most clearly when applied to the increase of wealth caused by mechanical inventions, such as looms, saws, &c., and also to new methods of using the helps given by nature, such as the smelting of iron by coal instead of by wood, it applies with equal force to such parts of our enterprise as the subdivision of labour, the watching of markets, the legislation on trade and the foreign policy of the country generally. Steps in advance in these quarters have their effect for good on the wealth of the country as much as, if not more than, inventions and such like. They, too, as is evident on the most superficial examination are, due not to the manual labourer, but to that small minority who in these departments possess powers above the rest of men, and by whom, consequently, may be appropriated the increase of wealth due to the improvements which result from their work. Doubtless, companies may be floated and corners formed in our markets for unjust ends to be attained by unjust means; but these abuses, not uses, of the powers of the minority are capable of being checked by less sweeping and not less effective means than those of the latter-day socialist.

The first difficulty we shall consider is embodied in the principle 'every man is as good as his neighbour.' It has crept into the laws regulating franchise where it is *per se* calculated to produce results not beyond suspicion. It is often heard repeated by the rank and file of socialists. It has even been heard preached by leading socialists, and there is reason for believing that it is not proclaimed for the mere purpose of catching the ear of the crowd. It denies the supposition on which our argument rests, viz., that there is a minority of men superior to their fellows.

In answer, we reply that the denial is gratuitous; that it runs counter to the witness of history, to the common-sense of mankind from the birth of time, and to the immediate evidence of every-day experience. Taking our experience of socialists themselves, we believe that no one can fail to see among socialists the division caused by such superiority. The voices of men like Marx and Lasalle and Shaw are not voices in a crowd, nor are the men themselves mere

drummers beating time for the movements of their fellows. They are men whose words and works prove them to be possessed of intellectual power in an uncommon degree. True it is that these powers are frequently so misdirected as to oppose the dictates of common sense, and even the very principles they are employed to maintain. But, even when abused, their titanic strength is apparent, and places between them and the many-headed multitude who follow them a chasm which cannot be blinked.

The weakness of this argument socialists endeavour to strengthen by invoking the aid of environment and inheritance; in other words, society past and present, with all its aids and opportunities. When men grow to maturity, say they, there may, indeed, be great differences among them, but at the beginning of life it was not so. At birth all men are equal. Geniuses do not drop from the sky. It is the age that makes the man.

In answer, we object, in the first place, that all those who make a step forward as inventors, controllers of labour, and the like, are not to be denominated geniuses. Among all such men there are grades¹ varying from that of the controller of the smallest butter factory to that of the largest brewer or mill-owner; and, consequently, to state the doctrine here put forward as one which claims that advance in wealth and civilization is due to one or two men in a century is to utterly misrepresent our position. Putting aside, then, socialistic eloquence, we preface our reply by granting that a certain grade of civilization is indeed required for a successful effort of genius worthy of the name. A Verdi cannot arise at once among Hottentots, nor a Raphael among Afridis. But this is by no means a guarantee that, given the degree of civilization, the sublime effort will follow. If it were so, the fact that among the thousands who lived in precisely the same circumstances of time, place, education, and the rest, only one Shakespeare arose, were a miracle of miracles. What is true of a Shakespeare is true of a Watt and a Stephenson. Again,

¹ Cf. Mallock, *Aristocracy and Evolution*, Book II., ch. i.

let us appeal to recent events. If the age makes the man, how comes it that from so many possessing equal advantages some from the start outstrip their fellows? How comes it that so few Gladstones come forth from our public schools? Out of thousands who were similarly situated we have had but one Edison. One Pasteur is sent us in a century from hundreds who have succeeded in becoming village practitioners. One Arkwright we have seen, one Dudley, one Bessemer. Once more, if there is any fact proved by the history of invention and discovery up to the time when men were taught to submit themselves to master-minds in science and commerce, it is that, so far from being assisted by the age in giving to the world the fruits of their genius, our great inventors and discoverers have had to fight their battle against the powers of the masses and the jealousy of their compeers. Let the wrecking of Arkwright's power-looms, at the end of the last century, be one witness out of many. Finally, it is a notorious fact that many of those to whom we owe the greatest of our modern advances in industrial output have not had even equal opportunities with those from whom we should naturally expect such results. The inventors of the reaping machine, of the hydraulic press, of the steam engine, and of countless other modern machines, received no education as engineers. Hence, if facts are proofs, one thing is certain, viz., that the age does not make the man, but rather the man the age.¹

Denied of help by society contemporary with the agents of progress, socialists seek refuge in the past. Even though it be a fact, they say, that it requires a superior man to raise himself above the rest of men, still, when first he puts his hand to the work, he finds it already half completed. None of our inventions has sprung in full completion, as did Minerva, from the brain of an individual. During the years preceding the invention others were gradually developing the germs of the new birth. Stephenson himself has said that the steam engine is not the result of one man, but of a race of engineers in years preceding. This developing, and

¹ Cf. Smiles' *Self-Help*, *passim*; Mallock, *Aristocracy and Evolution*, *l.c.*

the machine being developed, were the property of society before the last inventor came. Hence he is not the sole cause, nor even the main cause, but at most one of a series of causes, whose work, compared with his, is as a mountain to a mole-hill.¹

Here, again, we recognise the principles of evolution ; but once again they are at fault. Each invention, it is true, is linked with the past ; but it could never have been made and joined to its predecessors except some man, or some few men, were able to assimilate the work of their fathers, to see what was wanting for perfection, and how that want could be supplied, by grouping existing inventions or adding to the ancient stock. Such men were needed, and such men arose. But they were a minority who required and possessed faculties for performing a gigantic work. By their fruits we know them ; and who will maintain that the work was within the powers of ordinary mortals ?

Printing is generally said to have been discovered in the fifteenth century, and so it was for all practical purposes ; but, in fact, printing was known long before. The Romans used stamps ; on the monuments of the Assyrian kings the name of the reigning monarch may be found duly printed. What, then, is the difference ? One little but all-important step. The real inventor of printing was the man into whose mind flashed the fruitful idea of having separate stamps for each letter instead of for separate words. How slight seems the difference ! And yet for three thousand years the thought occurred to no one.²

Men had for forty years to tolerate the single-fluid batteries, with all their inconvenience, until Daniell solved the problem. Similar facts are in evidence in the case of the steam engine, the telescope, and the rest. Hence, bearing in mind the fact that what is true in mechanical industry holds true also in commerce and legislature, we conclude that advancement is due to a minority. On socialistic grounds they are worthy of their hire—and socialists are honourable men.

¹ See Spencer, Kidd, and Bellamy, as quoted by Mallock, *Aristoc. and Evolution*, Book I., ch. iii.

² Sir John Lubbock, *Pleasures of Life*.

Nor will it avail to appeal to the fact that the same discovery has been made by different men in different countries at the same time; which fact proves, say the socialists, that progress is upwards evenly through all society. For this merely proves that 'two or three men, instead of one man, are greater than their fellow workers.'¹

We have already noted that labour unassisted by ability of a superior stamp is fixed in its power of producing wealth. We have shown, too, that the increase in wealth noticeable during the present century must be due to one cause only—the powers of a minority. Hence, it would follow that labour is to be rewarded at a practically fixed rate for all time, while ability causing the increase in wealth is to go on for ever increasing its share in the profits. This appears to us to follow without question from the strict socialistic principles, and we congratulate the socialistic labourer on adopting principles that ward off so well the dangers of avarice. Should he regret the conclusions to which his first commandment leads, and desire a less stringent code, we would invite his attention once more to the industrial history of the century. It is a fact borne witness to by history, and even by the testimony of those who have watched the social question for even twenty years past, that the social condition of the labourer has during recent years been improved exceedingly. The cause of this advance has been that, instead of all increase of wealth due to industrial progress passing into the hands of those who invent, discover, and control, a great portion of it has found its way into the pockets of the labourer. So much is this the case, that if the general distribution of wealth clamoured for by some socialists had taken place at the beginning of the century, the labourer would not now find himself in as good a position as he actually is in to day. Indeed, if that distribution took place at the present time, the position of the average labourer would be seriously injured. Full proof of this fact, startling as it is to Socialists, would involve long quotations from statistics which would be somewhat out of place here. The

¹Mallock, *Aristocracy and Evolution*, Book I., ch. iii.

following will serve the purpose of the present paper. The yearly income of the United Kingdom is estimated at practically twelve hundred million pounds. The population is a little over thirty eight millions. Hence, at equal distribution the share of each individual would be about thirty two pounds a year. This, however, puts man, woman, and child on an equal footing—a proceeding which the most levelling socialist would scorn. If, to give each man, woman, and child proportionate shares, the amount of food required by each for a given period were taken as a standard of division, the results would be that each man would receive (taxes paid at present rate) seventeen shillings a week, and each woman not quite thirteen :—¹

Could such a condition of well-being be made universal, many of the darkest evils of civilization would, no doubt, disappear ; but it is well for a man who imagines that the masses of this country are kept by unjust laws out of the possession of some enormous heritage, to see how limited would be the result, if laws were to give them everything ; and to reflect that the largest income that would thus be assigned to any woman, would be less than the income enjoyed at the present moment by multitudes of unmarried girls who work in our midland mills—girls whose wages amount to seventeen shillings a week, who pay their parents a shilling a day for board, and who spend the remainder, with a most charming taste, on dress.²

This result is also put forward to show that it is the labourer's interest to maintain, in a modified form, perhaps, an existing order of things which has improved his condition in a manner undreamt of in any socialistic philosophy. By so doing he will go on increasing, as he has done in the past, his share in the enormous increase of national income.

It appears to us that the labourer, though his work considered in itself and apart from accidental circumstances is of a fixed value, can justly demand a higher wage in proportion to the increase of income of those who employ

¹ Mallock's figures are triflingly higher.

² Mallock, *Labour and the Popular Welfare*. Book I., ch. iv.

the kind of labour he is willing to offer. This action of the labourer can, to our thinking, be justified on two scores. Firstly, employers, though when compared with employees they are in a minority, are still many among themselves. Hence the gain each may acquire from labour is open to many competitors, and thereby the value of labour in the market rises in the common estimation of employers. Consequently a *pretium vulgare* is created which increases with the gain accruing to the employer, and which may, being *vulgare pretium*, be justly demanded by the labourer.

The other score on which the labourer has a right to the share in the increasing wealth is one which socialism, in spite of itself, suggests. Perhaps the greatest sin of socialism is the destruction of the family. It might, indeed, be said with a good show of truth, that the true foe of socialism is not the capitalist, but the family. Hence, to defend the family, to extend our defence of it beyond the hearth, to regard the employer and the employed as forming one great family—as on Christian principles we are warranted, if not bound, to do—is at once to put an end to the existing evils among the working-classes, to advance their welfare on the highest principles, and to guard against the curses which socialism brings in its train. This is no new teaching. It dates, at least, from the day when the Apostle of the Gentiles taught masters to remember that their servants were to them as they were to their Master in heaven. It is an old-world doctrine, but one which is so strange to the ears of men to-day that he who advocates it thereby defends himself from the charge of favouring *laissez-faire* principles.

Again, if it be the end of civil government to advance the greatest temporal good of the greatest number, it is within the scope of legislation not only to eradicate the evils at present in our midst, but also to assist the labourer to acquire the market value for his work. With these aids to acquire what he may justly receive, the working classes may combine co-operation to secure their share of our national income. However, it must be remembered always, and

especially by those of socialistic leanings, that the labourer's share in our growing income cannot be so far increased as to deter men of ability from developing their faculties as they have been doing in the past. For, no matter how eloquently socialists may proclaim that it is a noble thing to work for humanity, and that our models should be these many wealthy men who find their pleasure in disbursing thousands for the welfare of the poor, there will always remain embedded in human nature a disinclination to work to the best of one's power, except there be held out to the worker a reward far greater than that which socialists will allow, though, perhaps, not quite so great as might be justly claimed by our workers *par excellence* if the socialistic theory regarding the title of production were carried to its ultimate conclusions.

THOMAS WILSON.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF ST. PATRICK

IN the August number of the I. E. RECORD several statements which I did not make are attributed to me. The following are some of them :—

1. It is said that I rely on the *Confessio* for the mention of Emporia. I did not; and I did not draw any argument whatever from the mention of Emporia in the *Confessio*.

2. It is said that I suggest the biographers of Patrick mistook Bretonia for Great Britain. I did not; on the contrary, I suggested that the biographers never heard of Bretonia.

3. It is said that I derive the word *Taberniae* from the Irish. I did not; I stated that I did not know what *Taberniae* meant, and I suggested a resemblance between it and two Irish words.

4. It is said that I admit Patrick always expresses Ireland by Hiberio. I did not; on the contrary, I showed that he always expresses Ireland by Hiberione.

5. It is said that I quote Probus for saying that Patrick was born near the Western Sea, and conclude the Western Sea means the Tuscan Sea. I certainly did not draw that conclusion from Probus; but I did draw from Probus *and* Eleran, that when Probus mentioned the Western Sea, he *probably* meant the Tuscan Sea.

Probus says that when Patrick was in his own country, in their city, Armuric, King Rathmit, from Britain, laid waste Armuric, murdered Calpurnius and Concessa, and led off captive their sons, Patrick and Ruchti. Therefore, Probus says Armuric was Patrick's city. The *Vita Quarta* (Eleran) says that the territory known as Armorica was near the Tyrrhene Sea. Assuming the Armuric of Probus to be the same as the Armorica of Eleran, the sea which Probus speaks of would be the Tuscan Sea. Why, then, does he call it *occidentalis*? I suggested that, as *iartar* may mean *Inferum*,¹ and as *iartar* also means Western,² Probus might have interchanged *mare Inferum* (the Tyrrhene Sea) for *mare occidentali*.

6. It is said that I adduce certain passages from the *Confessio*, the passages quoted,³ to prove that Patrick says Britain was not his country. I did not. I adduced these passages to show that Patrick does not say Britain was his country.

7. It is stated that I said it is dishonest to translate the word *presbyter* by priest. I did not say any such thing; I did say it is dishonest to translate it in the *Confessio* by priest.

8. It is stated that I said the year 404 was the year of Patrick's captivity. I did not say any such thing: I said:⁴ '388. It is this year that Patrick is brought to Ireland; in 394 he makes his escape.'

The purpose of what I have written about Patrick's birthplace is to show that all the places mentioned in the

¹ O'Reilly's *Dictionary*, p. 394, says it signifies the end or hindmost part of anything.

² O'Reilly's *Dictionary*, p. 300.

³ I. E. RECORD, June, 1899, pp. 502, 503.

⁴ Page 492.

Confessio as connected with his birthplace, and all the places mentioned in antiquity as connected with it are (with the exception of *Taberniae*), to be found in the North East of Spain and in the territory of the Indigites, or in due relation to it; Vicus, Empor, Cluaid (Clodianus), Bann (Alba), Aven, Fluvia, Rosas, Torrian Sea, Letha, Canigou (Cannacuc), Cruit Occident (Cap Creuz), Mons Jovis.

While, on the other hand, no one presumes to say that even one of all the names can be found elsewhere (if we except Clyde), either in history or geography, either in Itinerary or Peutingerian table; the utmost that anyone undertakes to show—whether Lanigan or Moran—is, that places can be found so shaped and situated that they might have been called by those names or by something like them.

There is one important passage which up to the present I did not advert to. I take it from the *Dublin Review*, 1887, and the I. E. RECORD, December, 1893:—

Documenta de S. Patricio, edited by Rev. E. Hogan.

Patricius qui et Sochet vocabatur Brito natione in Britanniiis natus Cualiforni diaconi ortus ut ipse ait Potiti presbyteri qui fuit vico Ban navem Thabur indecha ut procul a mare nostro quem vicum constanter indubitanterque comperimus esse ventre.

To this must be joined the version of this text, which Probus gives as follows:—

Sanctus Patricius qui et Sochet vocabatur Brito fuit natione. Hic in Britanniiis natus est a patre Calpurneo diacono qui fuit filius Potiti presbyteri . . . de vico Bannave Tiburniae regionis haud procul a mare occidentali quem vicum indubitanter comperimus esse nentriae provinciae, in qua olim gigantes habitasse dicuntur.

This passage of Mactheni contains some ancient tradition, and gives us over again the country of the Indigetes and the Tyrrhene Sea.

In the map of France, lat. 42.29, long. 35, you will find Vendre. It is there called Port Vendre. Rousillon, the province in which it is belongs to France since the peace of the Pyrenees, 1659; but before that belonged to Spain, and

formed part of Catalonia. At the extreme north of the coast-line of Rousillon we find Cette, on the Bay of Vendre; at the extreme south of the same coast-line we have the Port of Vendre. There is no landing-place for traffic between those two points. Ampurias and Rousillon formed one county (provincia: The Counts go back very far, even the recorded ones. There is a record of Suner II., Count of Rousillon and Ampurias, in the time of Charles the Bald; of Suner I., Count of Rousillon and Ampurias in the time of Louis le Debonnaire; of Armingol, Count of Rousillon and Ampurias, in the time of Charlemagne.

Here now we have a province in which we have Vendre giving its name to the whole coast-line from Port Vendre to the Bay of Vendre, one on the extreme south of Rousillon, the other on the extreme north; we have therein Vicus, we have Bann (Alba) aven (fluvia), and we have Indecha. Listen to Strabo speaking of this country: 'Empor has for its inhabitants some of the original people, the Indeketai.' Listen to Ptolemy, speaking of this country: 'Dekiana and Iungaria are inland cities of the Endigetou.' Take up any ancient atlas of Spain, and see between the Pyrenees and the river that flows out at Empor, the Indigetou (Indeke-tae). The termination tes or tae is not given, but the identification is not weakened thereby. Compare the names in Nennius, Claud, Theothas, and Cirine. The statement Probus makes that it was where giants were said in days gone by to have dwelt, is in complete accord with his having this place in his mind, for the Indigetou were deified men gods, such as Hercules. The report that in ancient times giants dwelt there, is exactly what is to be expected as a popular version that heroes, indigetou, lived there.

Mactheni says that Vicus Ban Navem Indecha was not far from Mari Nostro. It is assumed that nostro is a pronoun, and that, of course, to find out what sea is meant, we should first find out who the *we* are, the *we* whose sea it is. I think that is a somewhat unusual form of designating a sea.

The word *nostro* is not a pronoun here, it is a part of a proper name. Mare Nostrum is by the *usus loquelae*, the

established and fully recognised name of the Mediterranean sea. Classical writers never called it the Mediterranean, but either Mare Internum or Mare Nostrum.

Cardinal Moran says the Life ascribed to Probus is only an amended text of the Life by Mactheni. It may be that the coincidence between Probus and Mactheni arises not from Probus copying Mactheni, but from them both copying a more original text, so that it may not be known who is the author of the Life ascribed to Mactheni; but no matter who he is, or where he wrote, a person writing at that early period could not use the words Mare Nostrum to express anything but the Mediterranean Sea. See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, 'Internum Mare'; and Bunbury's *History of Ancient Geography*, vol. ii., p. 679, where it is shown that Isidore, a writer of the seventh century (the same period as Mactheni), was the first to use Mediterranean as a proper name: Mare Internum and Mare Nostrum being the recognised proper names for the Mediterranean up to that time, and, of course, for many centuries after.

A writer in the I. E. RECORD, December, 1893, points out that Thabur may mean river, and quotes O'Reilly's *Dictionary* to the effect that Thabur Seaghsa means the River Boyne. If that was accepted, then Mactheni's text would run who was of Vicus of Alba Fluvia, 'a river of the Indigetes not far from the Mediterranean Sea.' It is of importance to observe that in those foregoing passages Mactheni and Probus do not say that Patrick himself was from Vicus Ban-navem, but that his grandfather Potitus was. Eleran, who as well as Probus, mentions Armuric as the original residence of Patrick's parents, carefully points out that Armuric, the original residence of Patrick's father, was not the place of Patrick's birth. Much less would the original residence of Patrick's grandfather be the place of Patrick's birth. Eleran says: 'In that dispersion his parents proceeded to the district of Strath Clyde, in which territory Patrick was born.' Seeing that Eleran's statement, that Patrick was born in Britain, is in no way inconsistent with his statement that his father belonged to a distant district ;

neither is Maetheni's statement that Patrick was born in Britain, in any way inconsistent with the text he quotes, that Patrick's grandfather was from ' Vicus not far from the Mediterranean Sea.'

EDWARD O'BRIEN.

THE NEW LEGISLATION ON THE INDEX

CAP. IX.—*De facultate legendi et retinendi libros prohibitos.*

REG. XXIII.—Libros sive specialibus, sive hisce Generalibus Decretis proscriptos, ii tantum legere et retinere poterunt, qui a Sede Apostolica, aut ab illis, quibus vices suas delegavit, opportunas fuerit consecuti facultates.

IN the foregoing chapters of the present constitution, the legislator has laid down some general rules, by which certain classes of books shall be forbidden to the entire body of the faithful. He has also stated that when occasion should require it, the Congregation would proscribe by special decrees books submitted to its judgment. But, there was something else needed. It will happen that some of the faithful will require to read and keep in their possession certain proscribed books; it will also happen that certain members of the faithful, and especially ecclesiastical superiors, will be obliged to denounce bad and dangerous books. Now to those two points the legislator devotes the two remaining chapters of Title I. In Chapter IX. he explains how we are to obtain permission to read proscribed books; and in Chapter X. he states who are bound to denounce bad and dangerous books to ecclesiastical authority.

In Rule 23 the legislator prescribes, that no one is to read or retain books proscribed by special decrees, or by the general rules of the present Constitution, unless he have obtained permission from the Apostolic See, or from those who have delegated power to grant such permission.

In this rule, the legislator mentions two kinds of proscription—proscription by special decrees, and proscription by the present general rules. A word in explanation: we have already explained in tracing the gradual development of the legislation on the Index, how it became necessary for the Church to condemn bad books in categories or classes. In the early ages of the Church bad books were very few, and those worthy of proscription extremely rare. Individual proscription was, therefore, quite easy and practicable. With the advance of ages, however, the flood of bad literature widened and deepened, as a river proceeding from its source; when the art of printing was introduced everybody began to write, and the tiny stream became a mighty deluge. Thenceforth, individual proscription was quite impracticable. Accordingly, the fathers of the Council of Trent threw the bad books into categories, and summarily condemned them. Now, the present rules do what the rules of the Council of Trent did: they proscribe in *classes*.

Individual proscription will, however, be sometimes made. It will generally be made by the Congregation of the Index; but the Supreme Pontiff may in exceptional circumstances take the case out of the hands of the Congregation, and pronounce proscription himself in person. All the books individually proscribed are collected and published in a list; and this is the list or index of proscribed books.

By the present rule, then, we are forbidden to read the books proscribed in a class, as well as those individually proscribed, unless we have obtained permission from competent ecclesiastical authority.

REG. XXIV.—Concedendis licentiis legendi et retinendi libros quoscumque prohibitos Romani Pontifices Sacram Indicis Congregationem praeponere. Eadem nihilominus potestate gaudent, tum suprema S. Officii Congregatio, tum Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, pro regionibus regimini suo subjectis. Pro urbe tantum, haec facultas competit etiam Sacri Palatii Apostolici Magistro.

In Rule 24, the legislator states who have power to

grant permission to read and retain proscribed books. The Congregation of the Index can grant permission for the entire Church; the Congregation of the Propaganda for the countries under its jurisdiction; the Master of the Sacred Palace for the City of Rome. Hence a permission from the Congregation of the Index holds good anywhere; permission from the Propaganda within the countries subject to it; and permission obtained from the Master of the Sacred Palace can be used only within the City of Rome.

REG. XXV.—*Episcopi alique prelati jurisdictione quasi episcopali pollentes, pro singularibus libris, atque in casibus tantum urgentibus, licentiam concedere valeant. Quod si iidem generalem a Sede Apostolica impetraverint facultatem, ut fidelibus libros proscriptos legendi retinendique licentiam impertiri valeant, eam nonnisi cum delectu et ex justa et rationabili causa concedant.*

1. In the foregoing rule it has been stated that the Master of the Sacred Palace, the Congregation of the Propaganda, and the Congregation of the Index, have all of them power to grant permission, to a certain extent, to read and retain proscribed books; hence, arises the question—have bishops power to grant a similar permission? This question is answered by Rule 25: bishops and other prelates having quasi-episcopal jurisdiction have power to grant the said permission only in particular cases and in urgent circumstances; if any bishops should have obtained from the Holy See *general faculties* to grant the aforesaid permission to their flocks, they are to be careful to grant it with choice and discretion, and only from a just and reasonable cause.

Eam nonnisi cum delectu . . . concedant.—What are bishops to consider before granting to persons permission to read and keep proscribed books? About what are they to use their *choice* and *discretion*? The answer to this question is supplied us partly from an *Instruction* of Clement VIII., and partly from a document published by the Congregation

of the Index subsequent to the publication of the present Leonine Constitution:—

CLEMENTINE INSTRUCTION.

Qui ¹ quidem gratis eam ² et scripto manu sua subsignato tribuent de triennio in triennium renovandam; ea in primis adhibita consideratione *ut nonnisi viris dignis, ac pietate et doctrina conspicuis cum delectu* ejusmodi licentiam concedant; iis autem in primis quorum studia utilitati publicae et Sanctae Catholicae Ecclesiae usui esse compertum habuerint.

CONGREGATION OF THE INDEX.

Quamobrem concedere possis *viris dumtaxat probis eruditisque* licentiam legendi retinendique libros a Sancta Sede Apostolica prohibitos quoscumque (et ephemerides), *iis exceptis qui haeresim vel schisma propugnent, aut ipsa religionis fundamenta evertunt*, quorum lectionem iis tantum permittere valeas quos *doctrina, pietate, fideique zelo praestantiores esse perspectum habeas; librorum vero de obscenis ex professo tractantium lectionem nemini permittas.*³

We have already stated, in the introduction, that should we meet with any word or phrase in the present Constitution of doubtful meaning, we were to refer to former legislation on the same subject wherein the same words occurred, and endeavour to discover therefrom the meaning of the words in the present legislation. We now apply that principle to the words *nonnisi cum delectu . . . concedant*. Those words occur in the Instruction of Clement VIII. Although Leo XIII. has annulled and abrogated this Clementine Instruction, yet he has not changed the natural meaning of the words employed therein. Hence we can determine almost to a certainty the object of the choice (*delectus*) spoken of in the present rule from this Clementine Instruction. Now, Clement VIII. almost defines the object of the choice: 'viri digni ac pietate et doctrina conspicui.'

Turning now to the publication of the Congregation of the Index, we find a still more definite answer to our ques-

¹ Qui = Episcopi et Magister S. Palatii.

² Eam = licentiam legendi ac retinendi libros juxta Regulas Tridentinas proscriptos.

³ P. Pennachi, p. 174.

tion. We see that books proscribed by the present Leonine Constitution are therein divided into three classes—1. Those proscribed under Rule 9 : ‘ Qui res lascivas seu obscenas ex professo tractant.’ 2. Those proscribed under Rule 2 : ‘ Libri qui haeresim vel schisma propugnent aut ipsa religionis fundamenta evertunt.’ 3. Those proscribed by the remaining rules. The Sacred Congregation specifies the qualities to be required in the persons seeking permission to read or keep books belonging to any of those classes. With regard to books treating *ex professo* of licentious things, bishops are to grant permission to no person. With regard to books condemned under Rule 2, they are to grant permission to those only who are remarkable for their *learning*, their *piety*, and their *zeal for the faith*. Persons requesting permission to read or keep in their possession books condemned under the remaining rules must, at least, be *learned* and of *good character*.

Since the power of bishops to grant permission to read and keep proscribed books is *delegated*, and not *ordinary*, the conditions to which it is subject must be carefully observed.

REG. XXVI.—Omnes qui facultatem apostolicam consecuti sunt legendi et retinendi libros prohibitos, nequeunt ideo legere et retinere libros quoslibet, aut ephemerides ab Ordinariis locorum proscriptas, nisi eis in apostolico Indulto expressa facta fuerit potestas legendi et retinendi libros a quibuscumque damnatos. Meminerint insuper qui licentiam legendi libros prohibitos obtinuerint, gravi se praecepto teneri hujusmodi libros ita custodire, ut ad aliorum manus non perveneant.

Rule 26 states that should anyone have obtained permission from the Apostolic See to read and keep proscribed books, he is not thereby entitled to read and keep proscribed books or newspapers proscribed by his own bishop—unless there have been granted in the Apostolic Indult permission to read and keep books no matter by whom proscribed. Persons, moreover, who have obtained such a universal permission are carefully to bear in mind that they are bound *sub grave* to so keep such books that they cannot fall into the hands of others.

The latter part of this rule may be said to refer in a certain way to the management of libraries. It would be well to have a section of the library set apart for proscribed books, and to give no one access to it, who had not the required permission.

In our remarks on Rule 1, we stated that the present Leonine Constitution interferes in no way with diocesan proscription made before its publication. We now present the present rule in confirmation of that statement.

CAP. X.—*De denunciatione pravorum librorum.*

REG. XXVII.—*Quamvis catholicorum omnium sit, maxime eorum qui doctrina praevalent, perniciosos libros Episcopis aut Sedi Apostolicae denunciare; id tamen speciali titulo pertinet ad Nuncios, Delegatos, Apostolicos, locorum Ordinarios, atque Rectores Universitatum doctrinae laude florentium.*

1. After having treated in the foregoing chapter of faculties to grant permission to read and retain proscribed books, the legislator now turns his attention to the *denunciation* of bad and dangerous ones. With regard to the denunciation of them he does three things: 1°. He states *who* are to denounce them. 2°. He explains *how* they are to be denounced. 3°. He indicates in general terms what books bishops are to proscribe themselves, and what ones they are to forward to the Congregation of the Index for examination. To each of those three points he devotes a rule.

2. In Rule 27, he states that although all Catholics, and especially those who excel in learning are expected to denounce bad and dangerous books to their bishops, or to the Apostolic See; yet papal nuncios, apostolic delegates, bishops, and rectors of universities, are under a special obligation to do so. It is to be remarked that the terms *Apostolic See* imply—the Congregation of the Supreme Inquisition, the Congregation of the Index, and the Congregation of the Propaganda.

The legislator says that it is the part of *all* Catholics to denounce bad books; all, however, are not *equally* bound. Catholics in general are bound to denounce bad books only by the virtue of charity; and hence they are bound only *sub lege*—except in very exceptional circumstances. Papal

nuncios, apostolic delegates, and rectors of universities, are, moreover, bound by the virtue of justice; and hence they are usually bound *sub grave* to denounce bad books.

By reason of having used the adjectival phrase *doctrinae laude florentium*, we are not to suppose that the legislator has cast a slur on *some* universities. Adjectives generally, indeed, restrict the extension of their subject, but sometimes they merely define or explain its meaning. And it is in this latter way that the legislator has used the said phrase in the present context; all universities are supposed to be focuses of talent and learning.

3. In our remarks on Rule 10 we enumerated certain classes of persons who are permitted by the general legislation, by reason of their office, to read classic works treating of immoral subjects. We now present the present rule in confirmation of that enumeration.

REG. XXVIII.—*Expedit ut in pravorum librorum denunciatione non solum libri titulus indicetur, sed etiam quoad fieri potest, causae exponantur ob quas liber censura dignus existimatur. Iis autem ad quos denunciatio defertur, sanctum erit denunciantium nomina secreta servare.*

1. Rule 27 determines *who* are to denounce bad books.

Rule 28 determines *how* denunciation is to be made. It states that in denouncing bad books it will be useful to indicate not only the title of the book, but also the reasons why the book is considered worthy of proscription. Those to whom the denunciation is made are strictly bound to keep the names of the denouncers secret.

The present rule is nothing more than a repetition of some of the instructions given by Benedict XIV. in his Bull *Sollicita et Provida*, already explained by us. It imposes no obligation; it merely states what would be useful and convenient for the expedite transaction of business.

Any person at all, then, may denounce a bad book. The denunciation is made either to one's own bishop or to Rome. If to Rome, it is directed generally to the Prefect of the Congregation of the Index or to his Secretary. It may, however, be made to the Prefect of the Congregation

of the supreme Inquisition; or, if the denouncer belong to a country under the administration of the Propaganda, it may be made to the Prefect of that Congregation. Under extraordinary circumstances it may be addressed even to the Supreme Pontiff himself.

In denouncing a book it will be useful both to the denouncer himself, and to the *consultores* of the Congregation, to state the reasons why it is deemed worthy of proscription. It will be useful to the denouncer: because he will thus show the members of the Congregation that he has been led to make the denunciation neither from personal motives nor from flimsy reasons. It would, indeed, be a strange thing for anyone to denounce a book unless he were able to show that he was committing no calumny against the author by doing so. It will also be useful to the *consultores* of the Congregation: for it will make known to them the general tone of the book, and, perhaps, unfold to them the character and history of the author, which will be of the greatest assistance to them in passing a just criticism on the work.

Authors, however, are not to be uneasy because their books must stand solitary and alone on their own merits before the bar of the Congregation—with no one to befriend them or plead their cause. Benedict XIV. would, indeed, allow a Catholic author of good repute to choose a champion to plead the cause of his book; but even though he should not choose one, he is not to be afraid of unjust treatment. The report forwarded by the denouncer will go very short in securing the proscription of the book. When the book is received, the Secretary of the Congregation selects two *consultores*, and with them he carefully examines the book, to see if there be any foundation for the charges alleged against it. If they discover that there is really foundation for the charges, the book is given for examination and criticism to a *consultor* skilled in the matter of which it treats. The book is not allowed to pass the preparatory Congregation until two adverse decisions have been pronounced against it by two different sets of *consultores*.¹

¹ Cf. *Sollicita et Provida*, § 5.

Every precaution, therefore, is taken in order to arrive at a correct and impartial judgment.

Finally: the denouncers are not to be afraid that their names will be devulged; for the members of the Congregation are strictly bound to keep them a dead secret.

REG. XXIX.—Ordinarii etiam tamquam Delegati Sedis Apostolicae, libros, aliaque scripta noxia in sua Dioecesi edita vel diffusa proscribere, et e manibus fidelium auferre studeant. Ad Apostolicum iudicium ea deferant opera vel scripta quae subtilius examen exigunt, vel in quibus ad salutarem effectum consequendum, supremæ auctoritatis sententia requiri videatur.

Rule 29. is one of the key-stones of the present Leonine Constitution, for it applies to the government of each diocese the entire legislation on the Index. It prescribes that bishops—not only as ordinaries, but also as delegates of the Apostolic See, are to be careful to proscribere and to remove from the hands of the faithful bad books and other dangerous kinds of literature published or circulated through their dioceses. They are, however, to remit to the judgment of the Holy See, works and writings that require a more than usually careful examination, as well as those that require the declaration of supreme authority in order that salutary effects ensue.

The present rule, it will be remarked, brings home to each diocese the entire Leonine Constitution. It applies general laws to the government of limited areas; the laws made for the universal Church are brought to bear on the internal management of each diocese. Now, circumstances will differ widely in the various dioceses throughout the Catholic world; hence the application of the present constitution to the affairs of each diocese will demand the exercise of consummate prudence.

'*Prudentia*,' says St. Augustine, 'est cognitio rerum appetendarum et fugiendarum';¹ we must know what we are to seek, and what we are to avoid, before we can be said to be prudent. The present rule, then, which is intended to be, as it were, a rule of prudence to the bishops, does two things:—It tells them what they are to aim at, and what

¹ Apud S. Thomas, ii.-ii., 47, i.

they are to avoid. It is, accordingly, composed of two main parts; and the second part is again subdivided into two minor parts. Its division may be thus graphically shown:—

PART I.—Ordinarii etiam tamquam Delegati Sedis Apostolicæ libros, aliaque scripta noxia in sua Dioecesi edita vel diffusa proscribere et e manibus fidelium auferre studeant.

PART II.—(a) Ad Apostolicum iudicium ea deferant opera vel scripta quæ subtilius examen exigunt.

(b) *Ea quoque deferant*, in quibus ad salutarem effectum consequendum, supremæ auctoritatis sententia requiri videatur.

We shall, therefore, first treat of the exercise of episcopal proscription; and, secondly, of the cases which must be submitted to the judgment of the Apostolic See.

§ 1.

Bishops, it would appear have always had power to examine and condemn bad books within the boundaries of their dioceses. This is evident in the first place from the history of the Index, and from the constant exercise of this power in every country, and in every age of the Church. We read, for instance, that Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, condemned the works of Origen in 385, and did so even against the will of his suffragan bishops. In 1121, the bishops assembled at the Synod of Suesson, condemned the works of Abelard, before they were condemned by the universal voice of the Church; in 1204, the Synod of Paris condemned the works of David a Dinando; in 1382 the heretical works of Wicliffe were condemned by the English bishops; and, omitting all further instances, have not bishops, even since the publication of the present Leonine Constitution, more than once condemned bad books without having had recourse to the Holy See?

But, apart from the history of the Index, it is manifest that bishops possess this power, from several declarations of the Supreme Pontiffs. In 1825, Leo XII. admonished all patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops throughout the entire Church, that since it was quite impossible for the Congregation of the Index to examine and proscribe *individually* all bad and dangerous books, they should, on their own

authority (*propria auctoritate*), take such books out of the hands of the faithful.¹ In 1864, Pius IX. directed through the medium of the Congregation of the Index, a letter to the bishops of the universal Church, in which he gives them the most explicit instructions with regard to the condemnation and proscription of bad books :—

The lawful pastors [he says] who watch over the flock of Christ, in order to avert this baneful pest (*i.e.*, bad publications) from those committed to their charge, are accustomed in their zeal to send bad books to the Sacred Congregation of the Index, that they may deter the faithful from reading such productions by reason of having obtained the judgment of the Roman See. Nor has the Sacred Congregation, whose sole aim and desire is to fulfil the duty assigned to it by the Supreme Pontiffs been ever slow to lend assistance. However, as it is overburdened from the increasing number of denunciations that pour in from the whole Christian world, it is not always able to pronounce a prompt decision on every case submitted to its judgment; and hence it is that occasionally the provision is too late, and that the remedy is thereby inefficacious, as enormous damage has in the meantime been caused by the reading of such works.

To remove this inconvenience, steps have been more than once taken by the Roman Pontiffs. Omitting instances which occurred in other ages, Leo XII. in our own times issued a mandate on 24th March, 1825, . . . by which bishops were ordered to proscribe, on their own authority (*propria auctoritate*), all bad books published or circulated within their dioceses, and to remove them from the hands of the faithful.

Lest, however [the letter continues] anyone should rashly dare to despise, and set at nought the judgment and proscription of bishops, on the ground that they have not the requisite jurisdiction, or on any other ground, his Holiness (Pius IX.) hereby grants bishops powers to proceed in this matter also as delegates of the Apostolic See.²

2. Now, what is the *nature* of this power possessed by bishops? Is it ordinary or delegated? We are of opinion that bishops have both ordinary and delegated power to condemn and proscribe bad books within their dioceses. That they have *delegated* power to do so, is manifest from the letters of Leo XII. and Pius IX., already cited, as well as from the present Rule of the Index; and unless they had *ordinary* power to do so, why would Leo XII. have told

¹ Cf. Pennacchi, p. 186.

² Cf. Pennacchi, p. 187.

them to proscribe bad and dangerous publications *on their own authority*? How can we regard bishops—who are placed as scouts (ἐπίσκοπος) on the watch-towers of the Church—as supplied with suitable weapons to repel the foe, unless they have power of their own to safeguard the minds of the faithful from being corrupted and led astray by dangerous literature? Bishops, then, have both ordinary and delegated powers to condemn and proscribe bad and dangerous publications; and, hence, the legislator in the present rule joins *ordinarii* and *Delegati Sedis Apostolicae* with a *cumulative* conjunction: ‘*Ordinarii etiam tamquam Delegati Sedis Apostolicae.*’

3. Now, what is the *specific object* of this episcopal power? Or, in other words, what kinds of books or writings can bishops proscribe? It would appear that bishops have not, by reason of their office, power to judge and proscribe every class of bad literature. P. Arndt, S.J., thus writes on the ordinary power of bishops to proscribe bad books:—

Attamen non tanta episcopo competit potestas ut quasi locum Concilii universalis, vel Romani Pontificis in iudicando doctrinas obtineat. Non potest ergo ipse librum prohibere *ob propositiones, quas Ecclesia non damnavit, nec rejecit. Dubiae proinde propositiones quae tamen ab Ecclesia tolerantur non possunt prohibitionem justificare.* Verum cum propositiones dubiae proponuntur, quae quam proxime ad damnatas sententias accedunt, *Episcopo fas est librum in sua diocesi vetare.*¹

There is a limit, then, to the ordinary power of bishops to proscribe bad books: their power does not extend to all classes of such books. Bishops are as stewards placed over a department of the king’s household;² or as sentinels placed on high to watch and guard a portion of the flock of Christ. As subordinate stewards, they cannot speak for the management of the entire household; nor, as merely sentinels, can they issue orders in the name of the supreme leader. They can, however, announce to those subject to them the wishes and the mandates of him who holds supreme power, and enforce obedience thereunto.

¹ P. Arndt: *De libris prohibitis*, p. 213.

² Cf. Matt. xxiv.: ‘Fidelis Servus et prudens quem constituit Dominus super familiam suam.’

Accordingly, as bishops cannot speak for the universal Church, nor issue commands in the name of the Supreme Pontiff, so they cannot proscribe a book for propositions that have never been condemned by the Church, nor for those that have been tolerated by her. As, however, they can repeat the decisions of the universal Church, or of the Supreme Pontiff, and force their subjects to obey them, so they may condemn a book for propositions that have already received the condemnation of the Church, or that are very closely connected with such.

The *delegated* power of bishops to proscribe bad books seems to be co-extensive with their ordinary power. This is evident from a letter of Pius IX., addressed to the bishops of the entire Church through the medium of the Congregation of the Index in 1873:—

Quod si omnis ab Episcopis est adhibenda cura ut docti probatique utriusque cleri viri, verbis ac scriptis sana doctrina refertis, errores publice grassantes impugnent atque confodiant, pariter ab iisdem non est praetereundum examen operum videlicet et ephemeridum *quae fidem moresque directe impetunt*.¹

4. With what *dispositions* are bishops to enter on an examination of books subjected to their judgment? Benedict XIV. gave the four following rules of guidance to the consultores of the Congregation of the Index:—

1. That they were to bear in mind that their duty was—not to strive by every means to procure the proscription of the books submitted to them for examination—but to give the Sacred Congregation a faithful account of their contents after a careful reading thereof.

2. That care should be taken that the book be given to a consultor skilled in the matter of which the book treats. If anyone should discover that from the peculiar nature of the book, he is unable to pass a just criticism on it, he is to bear in mind that he is not free from sin if he does not make this known at once to the Sacred Congregation.

3. In passing judgment on the book, the mind must be free from every prejudice. The consultores are to bear in mind that they are to drive far off the sympathies of their country, of their race, of the schools wherein they were trained, and of the institute to which they belong. They are to be guided by the dogmas of the Church, and by the common teaching of Catholics, as

¹ Cf. Pennacchi, p. 189.

contained in the decrees of the general councils, the Constitutions of the Roman Pontiffs, and in the traditions of the fathers.

4. They are to remember that a proper judgment cannot be formed as to the mind and meaning of the author, unless the book is read through; for it often happens that different parts of a book throw light on one another, and that an author expresses himself more clearly in one place than in another.

5. If one wishes to judge a book as Benedict XIV. would have him do it, it is not enough for him to have good and impartial dispositions: he must also have correct premises to work on. The judgment passed on a book, or on a writing of any kind, is, as it were, a conclusion drawn from the two premises of a syllogism. In order to make up this syllogism we take in one hand the *Sollicita et Provida* of Benedict XIV., together with the present Leonine Constitution: and from them we get our major premise; we take the book in the other hand: and from it we get our minor premise; we ourselves are to be accountable for the conclusion deduced therefrom.

6. Having now treated of the *existence*, the *nature*, and the *object* of episcopal power to judge and condemn bad books, a question of the utmost importance, presents itself for solution, with regard to the *extent* of the binding force of episcopal proscription. Are regulars bound by episcopal proscription? or, have bishops power to enforce diocesan proscription in the monasteries and convents that may exist within their dioceses?

This question is nothing else than a particular phase of the general question regarding the relations between regulars and episcopal jurisdiction. Those two questions are related to one another in much the same way as the major and minor premises of a syllogism: one cannot be well solved without the other. With regard to the relations existing between regulars and episcopal jurisdiction, especially where there is mention of censures, long and intricate controversies have existed amongst canonists. Even St. Alphonsus, it would appear, notwithstanding his extensive knowledge of Canon and Civil Law, and his remarkable power of collating different laws and bringing them to bear on a particular point, was unable to extricate

himself from the puzzling mazes of this question; and P. Ballerini, S.J., does not hesitate to say that the Holy Doctor has not been quite consistent with himself in the different places through his writings in which he treats of this general question.¹ Since the whole field, then, has been the scene of such a hot and complicated contest amongst canonists, little wonder that there should be a difference of opinion when any particular case turns up, like the present one. Accordingly, amongst the commentators who have heretofore written on the Rules of the Index, there are two opinions on the present question:—

1. P. Vermeersch, S.J., and l'Abbé Pèries, hold that regulars are exempt from diocesan proscription, and accordingly that bishops cannot enforce their proscription within the religious houses that may exist in their dioceses. P. Vermeersch, S.J., thus writes:—

Habent enim regulares proprie dicti (et etiam quarumdam Congregationum alumni, v.g., C. S. S. Redemptoris) generale privilegium exemptionis. Inter exceptiones autem factas huic privilegio, quas tamen diligentissima cura collegerunt auctores, nullibi indicatur praesens casus. Nec materiam istam praetermiserunt, cum disserte doceant regulares quoad praevidiam censuram subdi episcopis.²

P. Vermeersch, S.J., would, therefore, argue thus:—If regulars enjoy general exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, we are not to suppose them subject to episcopal jurisdiction in any particular case that may turn up, unless we have positive proof to that effect; but in the present case we have no such positive proof: because, although canonists enumerate a great many points in which regulars are subject to episcopal jurisdiction, yet they omit the present point. According to P. Vermeersch, then, the original jurisdiction over religious orders, has been completely emptied from the hands of bishops into the Holy See, by the privilege of general exemption, and we are not to suppose that any has been poured back again, except what we have positive proof for.

¹ Cf. Guri-Ballerini, vol. ii., p. 955.

² Page 30.

And l'Abbé Pèries writes to the same effect :—

Les Reguliers exempts ne sont pas obligés, de tenir compte des condamnations des livres ou des journaux faites par l'evêque du diocèse, où ils resident puisqu' ils ne sont pas ses sujets.¹

2. P. Pennacchi, however, strenuously maintains that regulars are bound by diocesan proscription just as seculars. He looks at *exemption* from another side, and says, that *originally* religious orders were all subject to episcopal jurisdiction, and that it was only gradually that they were released therefrom.² Accordingly, he finds a major premise the direct contradictory of that of P. Vermeersch, and l'Abbé Pèries—that when any particular case turns up, we are to suppose regulars *subject* to episcopal jurisdiction, unless we have positive proof to the contrary; but in the present case we have no such proof; therefore, it would appear that regulars are bound by diocesan proscription. P. Pennacchi sustains his opinion with arguments founded on decrees passed at the Council of Trent, on the Bull of Pius IX., *Inter Multiplices*, and on the present Leonine Constitution; he, moreover, alleges that before coming to a final decision on this question he consulted several canonists, and some religious superiors in Rome, and that it was the belief of all, that regulars were not exempt from episcopal proscription.³ On the whole, we must say, that we prefer the opinion of P. Pennacchi.

¹ Page 155.

² Cf. P. Pennacchi, p. 193.

³ The opinion of P. Pennacchi is supported by P. Franciscus Saverius Wernz, S.J., in his *Institutiones Canonicae*, at present in process of being printed. With kind permission, and assistance we have been enabled to employ the following note in confirmation of the opinion of P. Pennacchi. In treating of episcopal jurisdiction this Jesuit canonist writes of Rule 29 of the present Leonine Constitution, to the following effect (page 130, note 82) :—

‘ Cf. Mandatum Leonis XII. 26 Martii, 1825, Pii IX. litteras Apostolicas *Inter Multiplices*, 24 Aug., 1864, ex quibus Reg. xxix hujus Constitutionis desumpta est. Episcopi igitur praeter propriam sive ordinariam auctoritatem habent etiam jurisdictionem a Sede Apostolica delegatam ad proscriptionem librorum in suis diocesis. Quae jurisdictione delegata secundum formulam Concilii Tridentini Concessa, nequaquam restringenda est ad potestatem cumulativam in suis subditis, sed juxta meliorem interpretationem a Fagano, Palmiéri, aliisque probatam sese extendit etiam in exemptos. Inde consequitur regulares quoque exemptos obligari prohibitionibus librorum Episcopi Diocesani. Tunc obligatio regularium jam est indubitata propter argumentum indirectum; nam practice vix fieri potest ut regulares exempti absque scandalo hujusmodi prohibitiones negligant (cf. Suarez; *De Legib.*; lib. iv. Cap. xx.; n. 10). Porro

In explanation, then, we should say that there are three questions that must carefully be distinguished one from the other—1. The present question of the extent of the binding force of diocesan proscription. 2. The general relations existing between regulars properly so called, and episcopal jurisdiction. 3. The nature of general exemption. The solutions of these questions depend one from the other. We cannot well solve the present question of diocesan proscription, without determining in some way the general relations between regulars and episcopal jurisdiction; and we cannot know what those relations are unless we know the nature of exemption.

All who follow a religious life must be subject, in one way or another, to a religious superior; for religion implies the severance of the bonds that might keep us separated from God—wealth, carnal pleasure, and self-will.¹ Be he, therefore, a general of a religious order, a provincial, a lay-brother, or a hermit in the desert, he cannot be said to belong to the religious state, unless he is subject to some religious superior.

Religious orders grow up, like tender plants, in the midst of some diocese. By the bishop they are nursed, and fostered, and sheltered from attack, until they are strong enough to withstand resistance. Accordingly, to the bishop they become subject by reason of their origin. This subjection may be

exemptio alligari nequit; nam regulares exempti, licet ipsorum conventus quasi avulsi a diocesi dicantur, tamen non sunt vere avulsi, sive separati, sed potius intra diocesan siti, nisi agatur de monasteriis nullius. Insuper in casu hoc particulari, Episcopi gaudent jurisdictione in exemptos suae diocesis; ergo frustra invocatur generale privilegium exemptionis, cum generi per speciem fuerit derogatum.

The Canonist refers to a species of Exemption, which it may be well to explain. Stretching out a bishop's diocese as a sheet before us, we perceive that it is composed of two main elements—the area, and the population. If any portion of the area be removed, or torn away (*avulsus*) from the diocese, it cannot be said to belong to the diocese; and if a monastery be built thereon, that monastery may be said to be a *Monasterium nullius diocesis*. The Benedictine monastery of *Monte Cassino* was exempt in this way.

Nearly always, however, exemption touches not a portion of the area, but a portion of the population; and if that portion of the population have a monastery within the diocese, although it be exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, yet it is not torn away from the diocese; or, as P. Franciscus Wernz would put it, *etsi sit quasi avulsus, tamen non est vere avulsus.*

¹ Cf. St. Thomas, ii. ii. 186, 5.

of different kinds. Sometimes the bishop may not only be patron, but also religious superior; and while this state of things lasts the members of the community are subject to the bishop by a double bond—by the vow of obedience and by ecclesiastical law. Sometimes the bishop will be patron, but not religious superior; and then the members are bound under his jurisdiction only by ecclesiastical law. Lastly, sometimes the rules of the community rest on nothing higher than episcopal sanction: the bishop may alter or add to them as he deems fit. Now, while such is the state of the religious congregation, there can be no doubt with regard to diocesan proscription. As the whole institute is under episcopal supervision, so all the members are bound by episcopal proscription.

Matters, however, do not always remain that way. As the religious congregation grows in strength and size, the Holy See begins to cast its eyes on it. The rules of the institute are taken and examined, and after a time, perhaps, solemnly approved of. Episcopal jurisdiction over the congregation is thereby considerably restricted. Bishops are, in a certain way, the lieutenants of the Supreme Pontiff: they hold his place within limited areas. As long as the religious congregation rested merely on episcopal approbation, its management lay in the hands of the bishop. When there acceded the approbation of the Holy See, its management fell from his hands into the hands of the Supreme Pontiff. As much as the Holy See sets its seal on, it takes to itself. Before the approbation of the Holy See, bishops might have altered the rules of the institute as they thought prudent; after the approbation of the Holy See, they can no more interfere with them than an inferior officer can countermand the orders of the supreme commander. As officers, however, they can make the rounds, and see that the rules approved of by the Holy See are faithfully observed.

Although religious congregations are released from episcopal jurisdiction by reason of the approbation of the Holy See, yet they are not thereby completely released; the amount of release will be measured by the nature of the approbation and the amount of special privileges. At

present it would appear that there is no religious congregation entirely released from episcopal jurisdiction; for in the 4th, 24th, and 25th Sessions of the Council of Trent we read several cases in which regulars are bound under episcopal jurisdiction, and canonists have collected many more such cases from particular declarations of the Holy See. For instance, one author, Chockier, enumerates as many as one hundred and sixteen cases; and Barbosa, a canonist of well-known moderation, cites no less than fifty-two such cases, *and amongst them that regarding the publication and use of books.*¹

Now, to what shall we liken all this? The Church is as a mighty tree that has spread its branches far and wide. Rome is the core of this mighty tree, and from the Bishop of Rome all other bishops in the Church derive the plenitude of their jurisdiction, as the branches of a tree derive their life and nutriment from the trunk thereof. Religious congregations do not grow up as independent parts of the Church, nor do they spring from the heart of the tree; they spring from the boughs or the branches. Accordingly, under the jurisdiction of the bishop they exist at the outstart, and they are gradually released therefrom by the Holy See, in order to give scope and liberty to the development of the vital force within them.

Summing up, then, it would appear that all religious congregations are, by reason of their origin, subject to episcopal jurisdiction, except in so far as they have been expressly released therefrom by the Holy See; but they have not been expressly released as regards the publication and use of books. Therefore, it would seem that they are subject to diocesan proscription.

Apart, however, from considerations founded on the nature of general *exemption*, the opinion of P. Pennacchi is supported by positive legislation on the use and publication of books. The legislation we refer to is found in the 4th Session of the Council of Trent and in the present

¹ Cf. Ballerini, S.J., *Opus Magnum*, vol. vii., p. 29.

Leonine Constitution. We here place the different laws side by side :—

CON. TRID. : SESS. 4.

Sancta Synodus : decernit et statuit, ut posthac Sacra Scriptura, potissimum vero haec ipsa et vetus Vulgata editio, quam emendatissime imprimitur : nullique liceat imprimere, vel imprimi facere, quosvis libros de rebus Sacris, sine nomine auctoris : neque illos in futurum vendere, aut *apud se retinere nisi primum examinati probatique fuerint ab Ordinario.*

Et si Regulares fuerint, ultra examinationem et probationem hujusmodi licentiam quoque a suis superioribus impetrare teneantur.

LEONINE RULES.

Rule 26 : omnes qui facultatem apostolicam consecuti sunt legendi et retinendi libros prohibitos, nequeunt ideo legere et retinere libros quoslibet, aut ephemerides, ab ordinariis locorum proscriptas, nisi eis in Apostolico Indulto facta fuerit potestas legendi et retinendi libros a quibuscumque damnatus.

Rule 36 : Regulares praeter Episcopi licentiam, meminerint teneri se Sacri Tridentini decreto, operis in lucem edendi, facultatem a Praelato cui subjacent obtinere.

From a survey of those laws the strength of the case against the opinion of P. Vermeersch and l'Abbé Pèries, becomes at once apparent. Let us examine them one by one. The Council of Trent states that no one is to retain a book that has not been examined and approved of by the bishop ; and it expressly includes regulars. If, then, regulars are forbidden to read and retain books that have not the sanction and approval of a bishop, how can they be excused when there accedes his positive condemnation? Is not condemnation more than non-approval? If, therefore, non-approval can prevent regulars from reading and keeping certain books and newspapers, much more so proscription.

Again : in Rule 26 of the present Leonine Constitution, it is very clearly implied, that no one is to read books or newspapers proscribed by the local bishop, unless he has express permission to do so. Now, how can regulars be excluded from the universal term 'omnes'? And if they be included, where is their express permission?

Lastly : in Rule 36, it is stated that regulars are required to respect and seek episcopal approbation for any work they publish. Now, if they are required to seek his

approbation, they are at least expected to observe his proscription.

How, now, are we to solve the argument of P. Vermeersch and l'Abbé Pèries? *General exemption* may be viewed from two different standpoints. Viewed from one side, it appears to be a *positive entity*: a completely new state of things, arising from the fact, that jurisdiction over regulars has been poured completely from the hands of the bishops into the Holy See, just as if we emptied one vessel of water into another. This view of general exemption would seem to be justified by the tendency of canonists, to cite the cases in which regulars are subject to episcopal jurisdiction, and not the cases in which they are released, as well as by the *modus agendi* of the fathers of the Council of Trent. For if the jurisdiction of the bishops with regard to regulars was not at one time or another poured completely into the Holy See, would it not have been more natural and expedite for canonists to measure the amount that was poured out, rather than to go to such trouble in measuring the amount that has been allowed to remain? And if religious congregations are naturally subject to episcopal jurisdiction, would it not have been more scientific for the Holy Council to state the cases in which they are exempt therefrom than cite the cases in which they are subject thereunto? If we view general exemption from this side, it would appear that the opinion of P. Vermeersch, S.J., and l'Abbé Pèries, has, at least, some foundation to rest on.

General exemption, however, when viewed from another side, appears to be a *negative entity*. This view is justified:

1. By the form of the word itself. If the thing be not negative, why have got a negative term to express it?
2. By the simplicity of this view: for religious congregations were originally subject to episcopal jurisdiction. Would it not appear, then, that every degree of withdrawal therefrom is a subtraction from the original quantity of jurisdiction? Moreover, total withdrawal is an *historical fact*; historical facts are not to be admitted till proven with documentary evidence; and P. Vermeersch and l'Abbé Pèries will not be able to produce documentary evidence to prove that regulars

have been totally withdrawn from episcopal jurisdiction? 3. This view is tested and corroborated by the strong argument founded on the decree of the Council of Trent, and the Leonine Rules; for how can a correct conclusion be deduced from a premise, unless that premise itself be true?

Viewing *general exemption*, then, from this latter standpoint we may thus solve the argument of the Belgian and French commentators. In solving questions in moral theology—and indeed generally in judging any penal case—we are in justice bound to suppose at the outstart the penitent free; and we are to bind him, step by step, only as evidence is forthcoming; and the reason of this is, because his first state was immunity from sin, his second subjection to it. In the present question, however, the process is quite the reverse. Religious congregations were first subject to episcopal jurisdiction, and afterwards they were partially liberated. Accordingly, when any particular question arises, we are to suppose them subject to episcopal jurisdiction, unless there is positive proof to the contrary. That there is no such proof with regard to diocesan proscription, is manifest from the evidence of the Council of Trent, of the present rules of the Index, and of the canonist Barbosa.

7. Can religious superiors proscribe books on the members of their communities? P. Vermeersch, S.J., is of opinion that they can; for, speaking of the power of bishops to proscribe books and newspapers on their subjects, he writes:¹ 'Eadem facultas ut patet, competit Praelato regulari quoad suos subditos.' P. Pennacchi, however, deems it well to make a distinction. If there be question of proscription based on the rules of the Institute, and enforced through the vow of obedience, then it would appear that religious superiors have the said power. If, however, there be question of proscription based on the legislation of the Index, it would appear that they have no such power; because neither in the present Leonine Constitution, nor in the *Sollicita et Provida* of Benedict XIV., do we find the slightest trace of it.

¹ Page 29.

§ II.

In the second part of the present rule two cases are stated wherein the bishop is to refrain from proscription,—when the book requires a more than usually careful examination, and when the judgment of supreme authority is required in order that salutary effects may ensue. Attention, therefore, is called to the *examination* of the book, and to the *execution* of proscription. Sometimes it will be very difficult for a bishop to know whether a book really deserves proscription or not; and sometimes, although it be as clear as noon-day that the book deserves condemnation, yet it may be doubtful whether good results could ensue from episcopal proscription or not; in such cases the book is to be remitted to the judgment of the Holy See.

1. Many things may render it difficult to know whether a book is worthy of proscription or not. The proscription of a book or of a newspaper is, as it were, a practical conclusion deduced from the two premises of a syllogism. The major is obtained from the present legislation on the Index; the book itself is to yield the minor; we, ourselves, are to draw the conclusion. About the major premise there will generally be very little difficulty; we can locate at once the rules and clauses under which the work falls, and make out their meaning. The minor, however, will not always be so easy; a good deal of experience and of positive particular knowledge will be required, and a great many circumstances will have to be weighed and considered.

The judgment of a literary work may be compared to the solution of a moral question. Every question in moral theology is a deduction from a syllogism, the major of which is a speculative proposition, and the minor a practical one; the conclusion, in consequence, will be practical, since:—*Pejorem sequitur semper conclusio partem*. The major lays down the end to be attained; the minor specifies the means thereunto. The major is always founded on some dogmatic principle; the minor on some moral precept, or on some positive legislation. Hence we may know the major premise with certainty; about the minor there will occasionally be some doubts, because different minds will view particular

things in different ways, just as persons with different ranges of vision will see distant objects with greater or less distinctness. Furthermore: in moral theology we are not to exact that certainty which is required in dogma; we are men, and we must live and act as men. As we are not expected to see distant objects with the naked eye as clearly as with a telescope; nor to perceive tiny things as distinctly as with a microscope, so we are not expected by Almighty God to discern between good and evil in particular things, with the delicacy and precision of pure spirits, but only in accordance with the moral perception with which He has endowed us; and thus it is that in morals probability becomes the rule of life.

Now: as no one can solve a moral question who is not acquainted in some way with the *ends* of human actions, so no one may justly pronounce a literary work worthy of proscription, who is not in some way acquainted with the legislation on the Index.

Again: just as an easy question in moral theology may be solved by anyone acquainted with the general principles of dogma, so some books may at once be perceived worthy of proscription even from a superficial knowledge of the present legislation on the Index. Finally, as a difficult question in moral theology will require for solution a great deal of positive information, and a great deal of experience; so the examination of a book will occasionally demand a great deal of experience in the management of the Index, and a great deal of positive knowledge about the matters treated in the book, and of the manner of treatment. In order to obviate the danger of unjust condemnation, the book in such a case is to be forwarded to the Holy See, *quia nimirum subtilius examen exigit*.

Even after having come to a decision regarding the bad character of the literary work, the *execution* of the proscription is to be furthermore considered. It may sometimes happen, that proscription would bring no good fruits, although it be as clear as noon-day that the work deserves proscription. Recurring to our former simile for illustration: it is not enough for the moral theologian to have arrived at

a correct conclusion as to the goodness or the badness of a certain mode of action : he must, furthermore, determine the means of making his conclusion practical, and suitable to the circumstances of daily life. In order to do this he must be both *cautious* and *circumspect* : he must be circumspect in making his conclusion square with all the surrounding circumstances ; and he must be cautious, lest more harm than good result from the application of his conclusion. If he be not circumspect, he may be like the painter that would paint a palm-tree in the midst of the waves, or the poet that would describe a shoal of dolphins as playing among the green groves ; and if he be not cautious, he may be like the husbandman that would go forth to weed the cornfield, and tear up the good wheat with the cockle.

Now, although it be quite clear that a book be deserving of proscription, yet in executing that proscription one would require to be both cautious and circumspect ; he would require to be cautious lest more harm than good result from his proscription ; and he would require to be circumspect in taking account of all the surrounding circumstances. If he be in doubt that happy results may not follow his proscription, he is to remit the work to the Holy See, in order that it be condemned by the voice of the Supreme Pontiff, and happy results thereby ensue.

This ends the rules of Title I.

To be continued.

T. HURLEY.

THE MASONIC PERSECUTION IN MEXICO

IN the paper on 'Freemasonry and the Church in Latin America'¹ there was room for only a passing allusion to Mexico, and yet the trials of the Church in that country form one of the most eventful pages of contemporary history. In 1821, under its last Viceroy, Don Juan O'Donoju, Mexico revolted from Spain, and has never since long enjoyed the blessings of just and stable government. From the first, two parties were formed, the Conservative and the Liberal; the leaders of the latter, though always influenced by Masonic ideas, never felt strong enough to declare themselves openly until about forty years ago, when President Comonfort, in 1857, proclaimed a thoroughly Masonic constitution. He fell in 1858, and was succeeded after a year's anarchy by Jaurez, a pure Indian, who fought his way, as usual, to the seat of power. As Chief Justice under Comonfort he had co-operated in the work of the new constitution, and resolved now, at all hazards, to enforce it to the letter. Wherever the Liberals prevailed church property was seized, religious communities were dispersed, nuns were expelled from their convents, and this often at dead of night; priests were held to ransom, or placed in the front ranks in red shirts armed with muskets, or burned alive. English writers on modern Mexico hardly allude to these doings of the 'brethren,' or if they do so at all it is only to palliate them, as we see in the volume, *Mexico of the 'Story of the Nations.'* In this volume (2nd edition, 1897), otherwise so moderate and free from offensive bigotry, the only blame administered is reserved for the bishops for their unwillingness to be plundered. There is not a word of blame for those who had driven hundreds of cloistered nuns from their convents, and cast them on the world to beg their bread.

¹ I. E. RECORD, July, 1899.

Men capable of such deeds were not likely to respect even private property. In 1862, France, Spain, and England, demanded in vain compensation for their subjects, and had at last to send a combined armed force. The empire lasted from 1863 to 1867, when Juarez resumed the presidency; and from this date the persecution has never ceased. He died of apoplexy, in 1872. He had banished all the bishops, suppressed all the religious orders, closed all the seminaries, expelled all the nuns, hunted the priests like wild beasts, and confiscated every atom of church property on which he could lay his hands; this amounted, according to the new *Encyclopedia Britannica*, to £75,000,000, and a third of the land of the country.¹ The *Encyclopedia* has not a word of blame for all this savagery, and the English press never said much about it: another instance of the benevolent silence extended to foreign Masonry.

It will be asked, if the Mexicans be true Catholics, how did they permit all this? Well, the Conservatives did their best to prevent it, but failed, as we did against Cromwell. And good reason they had; for, apart from all religious interests, confiscation, exile, and even death itself awaited the best families in the country. But the population, even in 1893, was only 12,000,000, dispersed over a territory equal to more than one-half of Europe. It is easy to see how a dictator can tyrannize over such a country if he can only manage to seize the helm of the state. We must also remember that the population is not homogeneous; whites, 19 per cent.; Mestizos, 43 per cent.; Indians, 38 per cent. There are only 10,000 negroes, as slavery did not exist in this country. The Aztecs were a superior race, and were treated like the serfs and vassals of Europe at the same period; they are now in every way the peers of their old

¹ The State gained very little by all this: it was squandered in the execution, seized by the 'brethren' and their followers, as in Italy, and paid to England and the United States for loans advanced to the various revolutionary governments. The United States lent 25,000,000 dollars to Juarez, in 1863. All these loans, up to 1868, were unproductive. Since then English and American money has built railways, &c., which the Church property was to do. Deputies get 3,000 dollars each.

masters, and have given Presidents to the Republic. When shall we see an Indian President at Washington?

Juarez left the Church of Mexico as prostrate and desolate as Cromwell had left our own; but Masonry was not satisfied, the lodges began at once to call for a penal code. The 'brethren' had shared largely in the plunder, and dreaded above all things a religious revival. This agitation went on for two years in the Masonic press, until at last, in 1874, a penal code elaborated in the lodges, was presented to congress. The debates began in November, and lasted to the 8th of December, for there were even Masons who questioned the prudence of some of its forty articles. The twentieth, which aimed at the only communities—the hospital sisters—still remaining after the general wreck, was hotly debated in several sittings, and from words the legislators came to blows. The people filled the galleries day after day in a menacing attitude, for these sisters were extremely popular. When a deputy protested his honourable motives, and appealed to those who knew him, the gallery answered, 'Yes, we know you for a drunkard.' When a moderate deputy pleaded for the twelve thousand children in the schools of these sisters, a fanatic shouted, 'Yes, this is their chief crime.' And so it really was in the eyes of these impious men whose hatred of Christian education was intensified by the consciousness that it might imperil their title to confiscated property. One of them exclaimed, 'If we permit this, all our work will be undone before ten years.' On the 3rd of December, a deputy named Don Juan Baz made a furious speech against the poor sisters, and next day a caricature appeared in which he was photographed to the life with his musket pointed at two sisters, one of whom was caring a patient, the other teaching a child to read. Angry protests arrived from every city in the Republic, deputies were accused of treason to their constituents, the crowds about the chambers became every day more menacing, until at last these apostles of liberty turned out the people on the 8th of December, filled the streets with soldiers, closed their doors, and in the dead of night voted an infamous penal code which still disgraces the statue-book of Catholic Mexico.

It is a unique specimen of hypocrisy and tyranny, as the reader can easily see from a few of its enactments :—

The liberty of worship is hereby ratified, but it can be exercised only within the temples, and under the inspection of the police. An agent of the government shall specially superintend the services of every kind. His jurisdiction shall give him the right to silence the preacher if he remarks anything deserving censure.

It is prohibited to exhibit in public any symbol of religion.

The prohibitions against all religious communities are hereby renewed ; whether their vows be solemn or simple, perpetual or temporary ; and no matter what may be the end of their institute, or whether they are subject to one superior or to more than one, for all this is contrary to personal liberty. No religious costume shall be tolerated, for it wounds liberty of conscience.

Should anyone bound by vow obey a superior, even though they do not live in community, that superior shall incur the penalty which his crime deserves.

The right of association is hereby renewed and ensured to all the citizens of the Republic.

It is easy to imagine the feelings of indignation and shame which this infamous code aroused in the minds of all true Mexicans ; the following protest will give some idea of it. It appeared immediately in all the papers, and received daily, whole columns of adhesions.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE REPUBLIC

Gentlemen, the Catholic women of your nation venture to address your august assembly, making use of the privilege graciously accorded by your predecessors who, however, reserved to themselves the right to disregard the complaints of the oppressed should they happen to be expressed too strongly or with too much truth. We know that we shall not be heard, for party spirit sees nothing, hears nothing but the Masonic watchword which must be obeyed, were it even to consume the world. We shall, however, raise our voices to make known the true sentiments of the people. We do not want the whole world to attribute to our good and persecuted nation the infamies of representatives who have betrayed it. We want also to confess our faith and assuage our indignation. By what right do you seize our churches, despoil our priests, and demolish our holiest institutions ? Even that collection of trash which you call a *constitution* does not authorise this. You proclaim liberty, and

hunt down the ministers of God ; you preach independence, and enslave the Church ; you give liberty of association, and banish four hundred Mexican ladies guilty of the unpardonable crime of associating for the care of the afflicted.

Gentlemen, you are worthy of the Masonry to which you have sworn obedience, and it may be proud of you ; but the anathemas of the Church overwhelm you, the people curse you, and every decent member of society abhors you. For you have left many a family without bread, thousands of orphans without mothers, whole populations without teachers, hundreds of sick without care, and an immense number of unfortunates without consolation or resource. You have saddened the hearts of all honest people, spread grief and desolation in the bosom of families, and caused them to shed bitter tears, equal to the libations of your ignoble feasts. You have insulted the public opinion of which you pretend to be the organs, and excited the indignation of the people by turning against them your cannons ; and on coming out from your brutal session you have gone to wallow in beastly orgies to celebrate your infamous triumph, like Nero at the burning of Rome. We declare, in the face of the whole world, that the man who thus abuses his mission is a traitor ; that he who thus outrages and insults our sex is a vile and impudent wretch ; and that he who votes such laws against the religion of his fathers may be the deputy of the lodges, but not of the Mexican people. As we see that men who still call themselves Christians tremble before you, we women bind ourselves by a solemn vow to resist to the death the impious laws of our modern Julians, and to obey our pastors, whether they address us from the pulpit, the land of exile, or the scaffold. We promise never more to recognise as spouses, sons, or brothers the men who have taken part in this iniquitous business, and we are ready to suffer with joy every persecution which this protest may bring upon us. We request the Catholic journals to publish our protest, with the names of all the Mexican ladies who may send in their adhesions. We shall be only too glad if the organs of impiety reproduce it, even in mockery, in order that the whole world may learn how the tyranny which sets itself up for law earns the reprobation of all honest people.

The treason here so often alluded to is the plague of all those countries. Freemasons get elected under false pretences, and then, without shame or scruple, betray their constituents. In this way a civil marriage law was recently enacted in Peru, in spite of the protests of the whole country and of the Prime Minister, Alejandro Romana, who resigned his office rather than sign this Masonic law.

And yet, according to the latest statistics in the *Masonic Token*, there are only twenty-six lodges in Peru, against two hundred and forty-five in Mexico, one hundred and eleven in Brazil, and four hundred and seventy-six in France. It is a singular fact that the power of Masonry, where the lodges are select and few, is greater than where they are more numerous in proportion to population. There are one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four lodges in England, and three hundred and ninety-six in Ireland, against twenty in Belgium, and seventy in Portugal.

As the English press seldom gives any Mexican news but what relates to the rise or fall of its stocks and shares, some readers who have heard of this terrible persecution may ask whether the Church still survives in the country. Well, I shall merely offer in reply a few authentic facts. Before this terrible persecution the hierarchy consisted of one archbishop and twelve bishops; it consists at present of five archbishops, and twenty-two bishops, thirteen of whom assisted at the Latin American council, opened at Rome, on the 28th of May. There was no provincial council held in Mexico since 1771; there have been five since 1894. To ensure the gradual extinction of the ministry, Juarez not only banished all the bishops, but confiscated the diocesan seminaries. Visitors to the city of Mexico will remember the splendid Hotel Gillow. Its history is connected with the seminaries. It was built for the archdiocese by Mr. Gillow, a Lancashire gentleman who had married a Mexican heiress; and was ready to be presented to the Archbishop when the confiscations began; seeing no chance of its being used for the purpose intended, Mr. Gillow sold it for an immense sum which, as we shall see, went to found a seminary for another archdiocese later on. His only son, heir to his immense fortune, is now Archbishop of Oaxaca (Antiquera) where he has built a seminary, a college, an hospital, and numerous schools. All the bishops have reopened or founded seminaries. To give an idea of the difficulties they had to overcome, one instance will suffice. The Bishop of Merida had a fine seminary, which the Government turned into municipal offices; he transferred

the students to a private house ; but in 1877, at midnight, they were turned into the street by the police, and the house was closed up. This was an act of illegal violence, but there was no use in appealing to a Masonic court which had been installed in his own seminary. Still, he did not give up ; he lodged the students in private families, and brought them daily to class in the cathedral ; after a time he took another house, and from that day to this his seminary has continued its work. I may remark, that the exiled bishops had returned under the empire, and for some reason or other were not again banished on its fall.

A special feature in Mexican piety is their extraordinary veneration for the Mother of God. Missionaries and dollars were poured into the country from the United States, and got churches, schools, and every kind of encouragement from the Masonic Government. They began by denouncing 'Mariolatry,' but soon found that they had begun at the wrong end. In their annual reports, not content with denouncing 'Mexican bigotry,' they complain, that only for the protection of the police their lives would be in danger, especially in the Indian villages. In their very last reports they confess that the Mexican mission is a complete failure. Even the very Masons who patronize them will not profess themselves converts to Protestantism.¹

The one thing on which Masonry relies for permanent results is godless education ; it is in such full operation in Mexico that no one can open even a private school without using the Government class books. They have endeavoured to make Catholic schools and colleges impossible by the law against religious communities ; and yet their godless education is everywhere confronted by Catholic schools and colleges. The laity, so long accustomed to have everything done for them out of the wealth of the Church, have nobly done their duty in this most vital emergency.

¹ The *Story of the Nations* is very reticent on this point ; it merely says (p. 414) : 'Since 1868 a movement in favour of the Protestant Episcopal Church has increased to one of importance. Other Protestant denominations maintain missions in different parts of the country. There is still a wide field open in Mexico for teaching the natives of Anahuac the simple tenets of the religion of Christ.'

Missions were, in the best of times, absolutely necessary in Mexico ; and this was thoroughly understood in the lodges. Scattered over immense areas, the villagers were often whole years without seeing a priest. But they were full of faith, and came immense distances to hear the word of God and receive the sacraments when the missionaries came among them. All this was gall and wormwood to the Masons, who often endeavoured to put a stop to it by fanatical harangues and open violence. They at last thought to dry up the source by completely dispersing the religious. But here again their malice was defeated. The dispersed religious,¹ and even secular priests, continued the missions even at the risk of their lives, and the faith of the people rose to the occasion. There was no law against these individual missions, but the 'brethren' found means to make up for this. Bandits, calling themselves Liberals, got a free hand ; not daring to attack the *Padres* during the missions, they lay in wait for them, brought them off to their lairs, held them to *plagiar* (ransom), and subjected them to every species of indignity and hardship until the stipulated sum was paid. When the reader learns that the missions were continued in face of this satanic violence, he can form some idea of the temper of the clergy and people in Mexico. For the past twenty years this Masonic violence has ceased, and these missions are more flourishing than ever.

Masonry established the liberty of the press chiefly to calumniate the Church and corrupt public morals ; well, in 1870, two Catholic associations—one of ladies, the other of gentlemen—arose as if by magic, and had at once thousands of members ; their object is to combat impiety, and sustain the Church by means of the press and every other legal

¹ *The Story of the Nations* tells us, (page 413), that, with the exception of the Jesuits, they were allowed to remain in the country as individuals. In justice to Juarez, we must observe that he had recourse to no Tudor hypocrisy of 'correcting abuses' ; it was all a pure stand-and-deliver business from first to last. It was not a mere *disestablishment* such as we have seen in our own time in Ireland. The exception against the Jesuits is another instance of Masonic unity of principle and conduct all the world over. And yet English Masonry pretends to have no responsibility for the fanatical, or even the atheistical doings of its foreign brethren.

weapon. It is to the Catholic press worked by these associations we owe our knowledge of the savage deeds of Masonry in those days.

I have now before me a letter written by a priest who saw Mexico from end to end in 1880. He says :—

I arrived under the full conviction that piety had been extinguished, and the work of the Church made impossible. But I soon found out my mistake. To my astonishment I found an extraordinary spirit of religion and piety in all classes of society. All external manifestations are prohibited, and the Church is no longer able to give the old *eclat* to her solemnities ; but this has only served to develop interior piety more and more. One sees every day religious festivals at which the faithful assist in great numbers and with evident fervour. In the capital the Forty Hours are kept during the whole year ; retreats for men and women are frequent and attended by immense numbers. Many fervent Christians discipline themselves even unto blood to appease the wrath of God. The priests diligently and courageously preach the word of God ; numerous members are enrolled in the various confraternities ; the conferences of St. Vincent de Paul, and the Ladies of Charity, labour with boundless zeal to multiply the Catholic schools. The Children of Mary abound, constantly wearing their blue ribbon, and exercise immense influence.¹ The attendance at daily Mass, the anxiety to hear the word of God, and the number of daily communicants, are striking features in this great capital. On the feast of the Assumption, without any special invitation, there were more than twelve thousand communions at the cathedral, and, at least, fifty thousand in the city. And who furnishes on great feasts those rich ornaments, those tapestries of silk velvet with gold lace, which cover the walls, those countless wax lights, this exquisite music ? The faithful people for whom the Church used to provide all this before the Masonic spoliations. I heard of one sacristan who had for such purposes received donations to the amount of two thousand pounds.

These facts bring us down to 1880. Since then, for one reason or another, moderate counsels have prevailed ; stable government and some sort of legality have continued. The Church, though crippled in every way, has made good use of

¹ After the enactment of the penal code in 1874, the authorities made war upon this blue ribbon, but it is quite clear that the ladies soon defeated them, for in 1880 they gloried in wearing their ribbon everywhere and at all times.

the little liberty left to her.¹ By the merciless suppression of all her religious communities and the strict prohibition of new ones, Masonry has tied up her right arm. Who is to conduct the seminaries and colleges? Who is to continue the missions? Who is to conduct the Catholic primary schools? Who is to give a Christian education to the girls of the middle and upper classes? Who is to manage in a Christian spirit the orphanages, industrial schools, reformatories, &c.

But why do not these earnest Catholics strive to repeal this Masonic code? Alas! it is much easier to enact such laws than to repeal them. Proud men do not like going to Canossa. The Centre is the strongest party in the German Reichsrath, and now occupies the presidency, and yet it has not repealed the May laws; it could easily do so by blocking necessary legislation; but it is too patriotic for this; they prefer to practise a little patience and bide their time. This is exactly the attitude of Mexican Catholics. The country is slowly recovering from nearly a century of revolutions, the latest in 1877; Masonry has no patriotism, and would require only a slight pretext to disturb this much-needed peace—the longest which the Republic has ever known. Rather than furnish them with a pretext the Catholics prefer to bide their time, using meanwhile the liberty allowed them. The President, Porfirio Diaz, now in his fourth term, is a moderate man; the Vatican is represented by an Apostolic Delegate; and there is no disposition to strain the law, as was done in 1874, against the ribbons of the Children of Mary. The greatest injury inflicted at present by this penal code is the impossibility of employing communities of any kind; they could do nothing with such a code hanging over them. The President's fourth term expires in 1901; he will

¹ *The Story of the Nations* (p. 413) says: 'In any of the smaller cities and towns the parish priest, almost without exception, is a worthy and faithful *cura*, of devout and godly reputation and leading among his flock a simple life, wholly occupied in ministering to his charge according to the best of his abilities. Since the enactment of the laws of the reform there is nothing to tempt men to adopt their calling, but their love of God and genuine interest in the welfare of their parish, often composed for the most part of ignorant Indians.'

then be in his seventy-first year, and who or what his successor may be no one could safely predict for such a country. As a Liberal he took part in every revolution of his time, and this is his chief claim to popularity with his party. Though Republican in theory, the Government is very personal in practice. Juarez and Diaz, of the same race, differed much in their ideas of government, as we have seen.

The writer on Mexico, in the *Story of the Nations* tells us,¹

The general testimony of such observers as civil engineers, telegraph men, and others who in the development of the resources of the country have penetrated remote parts of it, is that the native Mexican is peaceful and quiet in disposition, leading a domestic life with his faithful wife, fond of his children, and diligently toiling to support his family.

We may be sure that such people are the victims, not the authors, of revolutions. The same writer tells us,² 'that in 1880, for the second time in the history of the Republic the retiring President gave over his office to his legally elected successor.' Porfirio Diaz has been thrice peacefully installed since then; should a new revolution break out in 1901, the reader will know where to locate the blame: it will be the work of some ambitious soldier of fortune trained in the Masonic lodges.

P. BURTON.

DOCUMENTS

MAY A BISHOP YIELD HIS THRONE TO ANOTHER

DECRETUM QUOAD DUBIUM AN EPISCOPUS DIOECESANUS IURE
FRUATUR CEDENDI THRONUM SUUM ALTERI EPISCOPO ETC.

Quum tanta commeandi ac itinerum suscipiendorum et perficiendorum facilitas illud etiam commodi attulerit, ut Episcopi diversarum Dioecesium saepius conveniant, sive ad festum aliquod solemnus agendum, sive ad coetus episcopales celebrandos, quaesitum est : utrum liceat Episcopo Dioecesano thronum suum alteri Episcopo cedere. Hinc Sacra Rituum Congregatio quaestionem super hac throni cessione sibi pluries delatam, studiose pertractare opportunum duxit. Quare ab Eño ac Rño Dño Cardinali Andrea Steinhuber Relatore, in Ordinariis comitiis subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis, propositum fuit dubium : ' An Episcopus Dioecesanus gaudeat iure cedendi thronum suum alteri Episcopo cum Rñorum Canonicorum adsistentia sibi debita ? '

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate discussis atque perpensis, rescribendum censuit : *Affirmative*, dummodo Episcopus invitatus non sit ipsius Dioecesani Coadjutor, aut Auxiliaris aut Vicarius Generalis, aut etiam Dignitas seu Canonicus in illius Ecclesiis. Sicut autem Cardinales Episcopi Suburbicarii aliique Titulares Ecclesiarum Urbis tantum Purpuratis Patribus thronum cedere possunt, ita Praesules Cardinales aliarum dioecesium decet ut suum thronum nonnisi aliis eadem Cardinalitia dignitate ornatis cedant. Die 9 Maii, 1899.

Facta postmodum de his Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni l'apae XIII. per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatione, Sanctitas Sua Rescriptum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratum habuit et confirmavit, die 12 Iunii, eodem anno.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C. Praef.

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, S. R. C. Secret.

REQUIEM MASS WITH CHANT, ETC.

DECRETUM: DUBIUM QUOAD MISSAM EXEQUIALEM CUM CANTU ETC.

Instantibus aliquibus Parochis, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi sequens dubium propositum fuit: 'An pro paupere defuncto, cuius familia impar est solvendi expensas Missae exequialis cum cantu, conceditur. Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque rite expensis, rescribendum censuit: *Affirmative*, seu permitti posse in casu Missam exequialem lectam, loco Missae cum cantu, dummodo in dominicis aliisque festis de praecepto non omittatur Missa officio diei currentis respondens. Die 9 Maii, 1899.

Quibus omnibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Pp. XIII. per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatis, Sanctitas Sua Rescriptum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratum habuit et confirmavit. Die 12 Junii, eodem anno.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C., *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C. *Secretarius*.

OCCURRENCE OF FEASTS

ROMANA DUBIUM QUOAD PRAECEDENTIAM IN OCCURRENTIA DUORUM FESTORUM ETC.

Hodiernus Parochus Ecclesiae S. Catharinae a Rota de Urbe a Sacra Rituum Congregatione sequentis dubii solutionem humillime flagitavit, nimirum: An festum fixum prae mobili et magis proprium prae minus proprio, quae duo festa in occurrentia, ceteris paribus, praecedentia pollent iuxta Rubricas generales Breviarii Tit. X. n. 6, eadem gaudeant praecedentia etiam in concurrentia?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, audito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate expensis, respondendum censuit:

Negative.

Atque ita rescripsit die 19 Maii, 1899.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C., *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C., *Secret.*

VESPERS OF THE CHAPTER

CAURIEN. DUBIA QUOAD CONSUETUDINEM PERSOLVENDI VESPERAS
A CANONICIS

R. D. Vincentius Cosme, Sacerdos et Caeremoniarum Magister Ecclesiae Cathedralis Caurien. de consensu sui Rñi Ordinarii sequentium dubiorum solutionem a Sacra Rituum Congregatione humillime expostulavit, nimirum :

In Ecclesia Cathedrali Caurien, viget consuetudo persolvendi vespervas a Canonicis, cum cantu, etiam in duplicibus minoribus, semiduplicibus, simplicibus et feriis ; quam consuetudinem, iuxta Decretum in *Derthonen.* d.d. 22 Maii, 1841, ipsi servare tenentur ; sed cum in praedictis vesperis Celebrans est paratus, altare thurificatur et per statutum speciale eiusdem Ecclesiae assistunt due Beneficiati pluvialibus parati. Quaeritur :

I. An in Vesperis, ita persolvendis, servandum sit Caeremoniale Episcoporum ?

II. An attenta consuetudine, Celebrans possit manere in habitu choralis usque ad Capitulum, et tunc tantum assumere pluviale ?

III. An praedicti pluvialistae assistere debeant Celebranti thurificationem altaris facienti ?

IV. An si faciendae sunt commemorationes, persolvendae sint cum cantu propter uniformitatem ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque perpensis, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. *Affirmative.*

Ad II. *Negative.*

Ad III. et IV. *Affirmative.*

Atque ita rescripsit die 19 Maii, 1899.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C., *Praefectus.*

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C., *Secretarius.*

FUNERAL OF CANONS

DUBIA QUAE OCCURRUNT SAEPE IN EXEQUIIS

R. D. Emmanuel Martinez Garcia Caeremoniarum Magister Cathedralis Ecclesiae Gaditanae, de consensu sui Revñi Episcopi, sequentia dubia quae frequentur occurrunt in exequiis, Sacrae

Rituum Congregationi pro opportuna solutione humillime exposuit, nimirum :

I. Cum sepeliendum est cadaver alicuius Canonici seu Beneficiati huius Cathedralis Ecclesiae Gaditanae, iuxta consuetudinem duae cruces praeferuntur in processione; una processionalis Ecclesiae Cathedralis, altera quae dicitur Capitularis. Quum autem Rituale Romanum tit. 6, cap. 3, n. 1. dicat: 'clerico praeferente crucem,' quaeritur: Utrum tolerari possit haec consuetudo? et quatenus negative, quoniam ex dictis crucibus praeferenda sit?

II. Circa modum quo cadaver componendum est, inter alia praecipit Rituale tit. 5. cap. 8, n. 4: 'ac parva crux super pectus inter manus defuncti ponatur, aut ubi crux desit, manus in modum crucis componantur.' Quum autem in Dioecesi Gaditana et in aliis eiusdem regionis adsit consuetudo ponendi inter manus defuncti (si fuerit sacerdos) non parvam crucem, sed potius calicem, qui aliquando solet esse argenteus, et ad Missae celebrationem assignatus, quaeritur: Permitti potest haec praxis?

III. Circa translationem cadaveris e domo in coemeterium omnes docent deferendum esse pedibus versus ulterius, si laicus fuerit defunctus; sin autem clericus, non omnes conveniunt. Aliqui auctores docent in hoc postremo casu cadaver esse deferendum pedibus retro, et huic opinioni favet praxis, in aliquibus locis servata, deferendi clericorum cadavera capite versus ulterius. Etiam textus Ritualis congruere videtur huic sententiae dum asserit: 'presbyteri vero habeant caput versus altare:' tit. 6, cap. 1, n. 17. Quaeritur ergo, utrum tenenda sit haec sententia et praxis?

IV. In Rituali tit. 6, cap. 3, n. 1 legitur: 'parcho praecedente feretrum': hoc non obstante, in civitate Gaditanao viget consuetudo, qua defunctus, si e clero cathedrali sit, defertur praecedens eum, qui officium sepulturae peragit, id est in medio eorum qui assistunt processioni. Estne toleranda haec consuetudo?

V. Quum Rituale dicat tit. 6, cap. 4, n. 4: 'lectiones leguntur tolerari potest consuetudo eas decantandi, praecipue vero si ita fiat a musicorum coetu, prout fit in Cathedrali Ecclesia Gaditana quoad primam et secundam lectionem?'

Et sacra eadem Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, attentis expositis, respondendum censuit:

Ad. I. quoad primam quaestionem: *Negative*; et quoad

alteram : *Crux Capitularis*, quae est etiam *Crux Ecclesiae Cathedralis*.

Ad II. *Affirmative*, dummodo calix adhibeatur que Missae non inserviat.

Ad III. *Negative*, et cadaver cuiuscumque defuncti pedibus per viam deferatur : in Ecclesia autem quoad Sacerdotes servetur *Rituale Romanum*.

Ad IV. *Servetur Rituale Romanum*.

Ad V. *Affirmative*.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 8 Iunii 1899.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, *S. R. C. Secr.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGIAE MORALIS. Auctore Bernard Tepe, S.J. Paris : Lethielleux.

THE student of moral theology generally finds in ordinary text-books two things unavoidably wanting. The one is a clear and reasoned statement of the general principles which the treatise applies to particular cases. It is impossible, with the mass of details which have to be discussed, to do more than lay down very briefly the principles which underlie the conclusions arrived at. To explain their ultimate reason, and the foundations on which they are based, is impossible, except in the most cursory fashion. The result of this is, that the student has constantly to be satisfied with a decision based simply on authority, without being able to see the process by which it is reached. The second deficiency of which he is conscious, as he pursues his study of moral theology, is the absence of a sufficient discussion of what we may call the positive side of the subject. The one idea which seems to run through every text-book is that of telling him all about the sins he is to avoid, without any exposition of the virtues that he is to practise. He is tempted to think that perhaps there is some sort of foundation for the charges brought by Protestants against Catholic text-books, that they dwell almost exclusively on the 'seamy' side of human nature, and appear to be looking out for every possible sin that a man may possibly commit, instead of bracing him up to virtue, and inculcating moral virtues, the presence of which necessarily exclude the sins against which he is so elaborately warned. The utter falsity of such a notion is indeed clear enough to everyone who has had sad experience of human frailty; and most priests will accuse their books of moral theology of giving them too little rather than too much instruction, in the almost innumerable varieties of sin to which poor human nature is exposed. But, at the same time, everyone must desiderate sometimes a book which will not make sins to be avoided its main subject, but which will dwell more largely on the pleasant prospect of virtues to be acquired, and points of perfection to be aimed at, and that may help the confessor in the more congenial task of leading on his penitents to the practice of those sweet

works of supererogation which those outside the Church so strangely misunderstand.

These two wants are admirably supplied by the book lately published by F. Tepe, whose many years of teaching at St. Beuno's College, N. Wales, have given him a grasp of theological principles of which he makes good use in the present volumes for the benefit of the student of moral theology. He makes no attempt to discuss any moral details, or to supply rules for the immediate solution of cases of casuistry ; but in his first volume he treats of the various aspects of human acts, the binding force of conscience, probabilism, and the ultimate sanction of laws, human and divine, ecclesiastical and civil, as well as the amount and character of the obligation they impose on conscience. It is easy to see how many interesting and important questions present themselves under these various heads, and what an excellent propaedeutic they form for one who is commencing the study of the details of moral theology.

In his second volume, after a preliminary discussion of the general nature of sin, and the distinction between mortal and venial sin, F. Tepe passes on to the loftier regions of the infused virtues, in general and in detail ; to the gifts and fruits of the Holy Spirit, and to the perfection aimed at in religious life. This volume is not merely a basis for moral action considered in detail. It is also a treatise of high spirituality, and suggests ideas and principles of a most practical nature. It supplies sound material for a series of meditations, and the preacher will find in it a treasure-house of valuable matter for sermons. We take by way of instance, the very first passage we light upon. It is a Scholion respecting the gift of Wisdom, and runs thus :—

Wisdom, as a gift of the Holy Spirit, is not only speculative, but also practical. The reason is that it does not rest on God merely as the object of our intellect. but considers Him also, as being infinitely good, infinitely beautiful, infinitely worthy of our love ; and thus it is of its own nature a means of attaining to true sanctity and to an intimate union with God. Hence, although it is essentially in the understanding, yet it has joined to it of necessity an act of the will, so that by this gift God is not only intimately known but also ardently loved. The contemplative life, says St. Thomas, although it essentially consists in an act of the intellect, yet has its source in the will, inasmuch as it is by charity that a man is led on to the contemplation of God. And since the end corresponds to the source, it follows that the end and object of the contemplative life has its being in the will,

when anyone takes delight in beholding the object of his love, and this delight intensifies his love of the object he beholds. Hence, Gregory says : that when anyone beholds one whom he loves, his love is kindled more towards the object he beholds. This is the perfection of the contemplative life, that the Divine Truth be not only seen, but also loved. (pages 296, 297.)

We recommend this book to all priests and students of theology, as one that will not only be a useful accompaniment of their theological studies, but most useful for spiritual reading, and for enabling them to make solid progress in the spiritual life.

THE KING'S MOTHER. By Lady Margaret Domville.
London : Burns and Oates, Ltd. 3s. 6d.

MRS. MARKHAM'S NIECES. By Francis Kershaw. London :
Burns and Oates, Ltd. 3s. 6d.

THE CHILD OF GOD. By Mother Mary Loyola London :
Burns and Oates, Ltd. 3s. 6d.

THE first volume at the head of this list is an appreciative and graceful sketch of a very interesting and very worthy Englishwoman. Henry VII. was a really great king, though his name is eclipsed by that of his saintly son, and it is no exaggeration to say that his mother, the Countess of Richmond, contributed largely to the formation of his character and the achievement of his successes. A loyal daughter of the Church, a generous benefactress of the poor, a munificent patroness of religion and of letters, 'her death,' in the words of Bishop Fisher, 'gave all England cause for weeping.' Cardinal Newman once intended to write her life, but the project was abandoned for reasons that have become historic. An essay by Miss Halsted and a memoir by Charles H. Cooper were the only attempts made hitherto in that direction. Lady Margaret Domville has at length done full justice to her memory. The mother of the first Tudor king could not have found a more sympathetic biographer.

Miss Kershaw's devotion to the cause of Catholic literature needs no proof to-day. To be sure her *Baby*, her *Little Snow-white*, and *Mrs. Markham's Nieces* have no pretence to any kind of greatness ; but they are pleasant, harmless reading, excellent in tone and aim, and they may be the forerunners of something destined to survive herself.

Mother Mary Loyola is already favourably known to readers of her *First Communion*. *The Child of God* is another children's book, characterized by the same liveliness of treatment and wealth of familiar illustration as its predecessor. A thoughtful preface from the pen of Fr. Thurston, S.J., graces the elegant volume. We believe there can scarcely be any need to recommend it to the favourable notice of Mother M. Loyola's sisters in religion; there could not be many books found more suitable for a convent library. It tells in a homely way what comes of our baptism; it interests the reader by dialogues, short stories, and interrogations; it develops the Catholic doctrine on the effects of baptism in a manner that renders its explanation to children an easy matter, and yet a befitting dignity of style is maintained throughout. It is altogether a useful and beautiful book, and will suit many 'children' who are no longer young in years.

E. N.

A DEAD MAN'S DIARY. By Coulson Kernahan. London :
Ward, Locke & Co. Price 6d.

WE confess to a feeling of sadness on laying down this six-penny booklet. It is so surpassingly beautiful in language; it bespeaks an imagination of so high an order; its moral tone is so high; its ideals so lofty; its religious sincerity so unmistakable, that one grieves to find them misspent in the cause of a Christianity that is fragmentary and inadequate. A Protestantism akin to Dean Farrar's runs through the book; and surely such a system can never generate what the author evidently yearns for—purity of life. May the kindly light of the true faith burst in mid-day effulgence on his soul, and secure his services for the dissemination of Catholic truth!

DIRECTOIRE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT RELIGIEUX. Par l'Abbé
Dementhon. Librairie Delhomme et Brigueot. Paris.
Prix 3 fr. 50 c.

IN the introduction to this work the rev. author points out the inadequacy of the religious instruction given to the Catholic youth of France, and its consequent baneful and only too plainly visible effect on the French Church. In the work itself he explains his views with regard to the system of religious education that should be followed, and the organization that should be carried out. He insists on the fact that the knowledge of revealed truth that

would suffice for the labouring class, will not do for the educated ; the latter will necessarily come into contact with those who regard religion as the offspring of ignorance or deceit, or at best as a matter of perfect indifference. Finally, he points out the obligation of those responsible for the training of young people to have them so grounded in the principles of religion that they shall be able to answer current objections, and give a reason for the faith that is in them.

We think that, unfortunately, there are good grounds for believing that things are not much better here amongst us ; that those leaving our schools and colleges are not sufficiently trained to fight the battles that will have to be fought if their faith is to be kept bright and unsullied. On this account, as well as on account of the intrinsic good qualities of the book, we have great pleasure in recommending the Abbé Dementhon's work.

J. J. H.

THE HISTORY OF ENNISCORTHY. By H. H. Grattan Flood.

The History of Enniscorthy is an octavo volume of close on two hundred and fifty pages, and may be procured for the modest sum of three shillings and sixpence. Its author expresses a hope in his preface that his work will supply a long-felt want. Well, we think his hopes run a far better chance of being realized than those of many who use that time-worn expression. His history will be welcomed by those who take an interest in the fine old town of which he writes, or in the gallant stand in defence of their homesteads, the virtue of their women, and the free exercise of their religion made by the brave but ill-starred followers of the Fathers Murphy. He deserves to be congratulated on his painstaking research and strict impartiality. His style, though somewhat bald, is clear and strong.

J. J. H.

SAGESSE PRATIQUE. Par l'Abbé Collin. Libraire Delhomme et Brigueot, Paris. Prix 3 fr. 50 c.

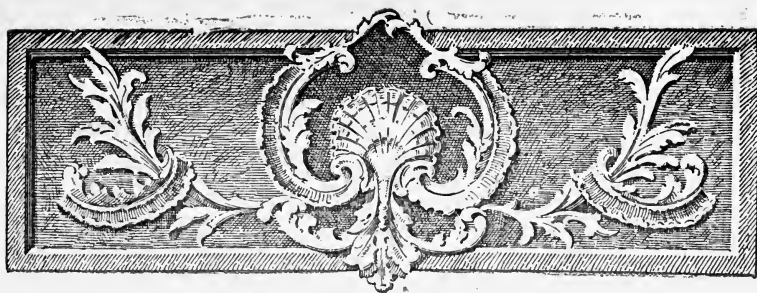
Sagesse Pratique is a translation of a German work written by R. P. Weiss, of the Order of St. Dominic. Though we have not seen the original, we venture to pronounce the translation a success, otherwise the language and idiom could not be so thoroughly French.

Sagesse Pratique is intended for the use of students in univer-

sities and colleges. It is a collection of essays written at different times, many of them in the sick-room. The essays may be divided into three groups. Those of the first group treat of the dogmas of the Catholic religion ; education under its many-sided aspects is discussed in the second ; in the third batch the author gives practical advice, and undertakes to teach the readers of his book 'how to get on.' The book is written in a quaint, old-world style. Though it contains nothing new, it puts things in a striking way.

We think it a pity that the publishers compressed the work into five hundred pages ; the print is trying on the eyes, and is not as good as is generally found in the publications of Messrs. Delhomme and Briguet.

J. J. H.



THE EXISTENCE OF EVIL

‘In Dei administratione, multa a nobis nisi in obscuris ænigmatis perspicere nequeunt; sive hac ratione arrogantiam nostram coercere velit; sive nos ad æterna revocare.’—*Greg. Nazianz. Orat 17 post. reconcil.*

PART I.—PHYSICAL EVIL

AMONG the various problems that come before us from time to time, to disturb and trouble our equanimity, one of the most formidable is, perhaps, the existence of evil. Generation after generation has to face this difficulty in turn, and it is very important that sound Catholic ideas should be formed on the subject, and that the faithful should not be led away by the false and dangerous theories of certain worldly-minded men.

Evil undoubtedly exists. It is all around us. Why does it exist? Why does not God exercise His omnipotence to stamp it out? Why does He not interfere when things are going wrong, and the innocent suffer even more than the guilty? Such questions are ever in men's minds, and any particularly sad and distressing event, such as an earthquake, an inundation, a war, or a pestilence, or even a serious conflagration, such as that of the bazaar at Paris a year or two ago, is enough to bring them to the surface. This difficulty forms one of the favourite topics of the atheist and the unbeliever. He will select some individual case that has especially struck him, and then proceed to enlarge upon it, and to weave together his poor but mischievous human theories. ‘Look,’ he will cry out, ‘just look

at you unfortunate cripple. See; he was born into this world a mass of deformity. Never will he be able to walk, or run. His whole career is blighted. His life must ever be a miserable one, and devoid of all pleasure and enjoyment. Contemplate his state, and then tell me: why did God allow such a monstrosity to be created? Do you say that God is good? Will you seek to excuse Him? If you urge that God *could* not prevent it, then I reply, He is not almighty; and if not almighty, then not God at all. Or do you prefer to say that He might have prevented it, and could have arranged things differently, but would not? Well, then I declare, if God could easily have prevented it, and He nevertheless refused to do so, He is neither good nor merciful, nor even just; and if not good nor just—then not God at all; and I, for one, will not believe in Him.'

Some little time ago chance brought me into contact with a young lady whose mother was lying seriously ill. The daughter was naturally in the deepest grief. She had no brothers or sisters. Her father died when she was a child, and her mother was, to use her own words, 'the only true friend she had in the world.' The poor girl felt she could not live without her. Accordingly, she prayed, and prayed, and prayed that God would spare the life she held so dear. But, in spite of all her entreaties, the disease ran its ordinary course; and, finally, the mother breathed out her last. Then the girl arose from her knees, and, in a fit of passionate vexation and disappointment, declared with many a bitter oath, that she neither would nor could believe any longer in the existence of a good and merciful God.

This attitude of mind is not only very awful and very sinful, but it is also most foolish and unreasonable, and indicative of excessive pride and presumption; yet similar expressions may be heard, again and again, from the lips not only of unbelievers, but even of some unthinking and foolish Christians. It may be well to make some considerations on this subject without further preamble. We will begin, then, by observing that—

1. It is the acme of conceit and stupidity for ignorance

to attempt to sit in judgment on the acts and decisions of Infinite Wisdom.

2. When reason itself supplied us with innumerable and irrefragable proofs of God's goodness and love, it is absurd to set aside and to ignore all these proofs on the very first difficulty that presents itself.

3. We look over the earth, and we behold many things which strike us as cruel, wrong, inconsiderate, and unjust, and we may, in our folly, dare to blame and censure the great Ruler of the universe; yet this can be ascribed solely to our imperfect and partial knowledge. It is absolutely certain that could we see the *whole* of God's plan, and could we read, as God reads not merely the immediate, but also the ultimate consequences of things, our difficulties would disappear. Yes, were it possible for us to gaze, as He gazes, into the infinite future, and to tell, as He can tell, precisely how the present will affect that future, and how every individual event and circumstance works out and fits in with every other, according to one great symmetrical plan, we should at once realize and perceive that whatever God does is good; that whatsoever He permits is permitted for some wise, beneficent, and loving purpose; and that often His highest and greatest favours come to us in disguise; yea, that not unfrequently He is most kind and most considerate precisely in those things in which He appears to be the harshest and the most cruel. When Joseph was sold into Egypt by his own brethren, who would have imagined that that was in reality the first step in the process of his exaltation as ruler of Egypt and chief magistrate and official of the king?

But from these general considerations we will pass to a more detailed exposition of our subject. Evil. What is evil? In its widest sense I take it to be whatever hinders or interferes with justice, truth, order, comfort, happiness, and the general harmony and perfection of existence.

From this definition, it is clear that there are two distinct kinds of evil, viz, physical and moral. By physical evil we mean all that interferes with our physical and material well-being, such as poverty, sickness, disease, hunger, thirst,

hard and painful work, the loss of friends, of property, of reputation, old age, and, of course, death. In this paper we will confine ourselves to the consideration of physical evil. The question of moral evil we will, with the editor's permission, deal with at a future time.

The question, then, before us is: Does the presence of physical evil in the world really indicate any want of perfect goodness on the part of the Supreme Being who rules our destinies? To answer this query, we must begin by striving to see things from God's point of view, and in so far as it is possible, with God's own eyes. We must set clearly before us the divine purpose and intention. If this world were the only world, and if this life were the only life, we might find some difficulty in joining issue with the atheist and the scoffer. But so soon as we realize that this present and momentary existence is but a prelude to, and a preparation for another, and an eternal one, and that the whole purpose of God's Providence is to fit and dispose us for that other, our difficulties lose their force, and grow weaker and weaker, until, at last, what we call physical evil is found to be, in sober truth, no evil at all. It is admitted by every theologian, that moral excellence and moral worth, or, in other words, the existence, expansion, and promulgation of supernatural virtue, is of immeasurably greater importance than mere mental and bodily comfort, and physical perfection, whether of the individual or of the race. To grow rich in grace, in sanctity, and in merit, is infinitely preferable to any advance in material wealth. Consequently, God by reason of His very goodness, will often sacrifice a man's physical interests for the sake of his spiritual interests. To preserve what is higher and better, He will lovingly allow him to be deprived of what is lower and of less value. That is to say, God permits physical evil, in order that He may promote and increase the sum of moral good. Hence, so far from being shocked at the sight of physical evil around us, we should be filled with admiration at the thought that God can, and actually does, draw so much good of a higher and more permanent kind out of evil itself.

Let me state the case thus:—(1) God is infinitely good.

(2) Because of His goodness He sincerely desires for His creatures the highest good of which they are capable. (3) Consequently, He will desire both their physical and their moral good, in so far, be it always understood, as the one is compatible with the other. (4) Where they conflict He will obviously prefer the higher to the lower. Hence, since their moral good is as much above their purely physical good as eternity is above time, and as heaven is above earth, He will in thousands of instances manifest, by external acts, His preference for the former over the latter. In fact, where He foresees that their moral good may be increased and advanced by the whole or partial withdrawal of their worldly prosperity or bodily health, it would be but in accordance with His known goodness and love were He to deprive them of the lesser for the sake of the greater. Perhaps my meaning may be best illustrated by means of the following touching incident which came to my knowledge a few years ago.

An Australian gold digger, after years of successful digging in the goldfields, was returning home with his prize when a terrific storm arose. After some hours the ship foundered, and he found himself amid the waves struggling for dear life. Around his waste was a belt full of golden nuggets, the hard-earned fruit of years of toil. He soon became convinced that he could never hold out, nor reach the shore with this dead weight clinging to him and dragging him down. The gold was indeed precious—yes, most precious. But his life? Ah! That was immeasurably more precious still. Well he understood, in that extreme moment, the wisdom of sacrificing the less for the sake of the greater. In an agony of regret he loosened the leather belt, and let it sink to lie with rock and shell, and, utterly ruined and penniless, reached a place of safety. It was not that he prized the nuggets less; it was simply that he prized his life far more.

In a similar manner, temporal blessings may often imperil our spiritual life; and in a similar loving regard for our safety, God may do for us what we have not the courage to do for ourselves, and deprive us of temporal gifts or the

sake of the eternal. Who shall say how many souls have been rendered capable of reaching the bright and glorious shores of heaven solely because God has caused them to be deprived of certain temporal and worldly goods, which, clinging to them and filling their hearts, would have dragged them down to hell.

Such a Providence is, surely, no mark of severity or cruelty, but rather of fatherly kindness and solicitude. Yet it goes far to answer the objections we are now occupied with. Instead of dealing with the matter in the abstract, we will select a specific example from the inspired pages of Holy Scripture, and then the unassailable nature of God's position may, perhaps, be more readily grasped. 'There was a certain man,' the Bible informs us, 'in the land of Huss, whose name was Job. He was simple and upright, and fearing God, and avoiding evil.'¹ Now let us here pause to put to ourselves the question: How should we be inclined to treat such a person, if we had the disposal of his fortune? An ordinary man of the world would, probably, argue somewhat after this fashion: Here is a truly good and holy man; one distinctly above the average; a man of God, remarkable for his piety, uprightness, and sanctity of life. Surely we must reward such fidelity by protecting him from evil, preserving his herds and flocks, giving him health and happiness, and making him secure in his possessions. Yes, that is the view of the ordinary critic of Divine Providence. But it was not God's view. In fact, God's view was diametrically opposite. And how comes it that God's plans and purposes are often so opposite to ours, and so unintelligible to us? Is it because we are wiser, or holier, or more generous and loving? No, just the reverse. God acts so differently, because He is what He is, that is to say, the infinitely holy, the infinitely wise, and the infinitely loving.

No mother ever looked down upon her only child with half the tenderness and love with which God looked down upon Job. He contemplated his virtue, and rejoiced at it. He

¹ Job i.

saw within him the makings of a great saint. And, if we may express ourselves in a human way, God mused within Himself: 'I will reward this man. He is holy now, but I will raise him up to a yet higher degree of holiness; I will so chasten his virtue in the furnace of affliction, that it will glow with a splendour and a beauty all its own.' Patience and conformity to God's will are always good. But patience under trial and misfortune, and bitter temptation is a very different thing to patience when all is done according to our desires, and when the world smiles and blesses us. Conformity to God's will is, in very truth, the essence of perfection, and the very root and foundation of all sanctity. But, again, let me point out, conformity to God's will in seasons of pain, and humiliation, and poverty, and disease is one thing, and conformity when all is favouring and flattering us is quite another.

Hence God, out of His very love for Job, and because He wished to place him for ever in the very front rank of His chosen servants, and to make him one of the princes of His people, allowed the severest trials and sufferings to come upon him, according to the principle laid down by St. Paul: 'Whom the Lord loveth, He chastiseth.'¹ His servants were put to the sword; his children were slain, his sheep and oxen were destroyed, his barns and houses were burned down, and he was, in an incredibly short time reduced to a state of abject poverty and misery. Nor was this all. His own body became the seat of disease and loathsome sores. Ulcers and pustules and boils were formed upon his flesh, and covered him from the top of his head to the soles of his feet; so that, at last he sat on the top of a dung-hill, the picture of sadness and desolation, like one abandoned by God and man; while with a potsherd he scraped the corrupted matter from his gaping sores.

In this figure of misery and misfortune the sapient fault-finders of to-day would probably discern nothing but another startling example of evil, and of cruelty and injustice on the

¹ Heb. xii. 6.

part of Almighty God, for they are spiritually blind, and cannot read God's thoughts. Yet, they would be altogether mistaken.

The virtue of Job, under such difficulties increased and developed, and rose far above the level of common virtue, into the regions of the sublime. Who indeed can measure the moral attitude in which *he* lives, who amid extreme suffering and humiliation, is able to reproach the scoffers of God's providence, and to justify God's action, saying: 'If we have received good things at the hand of God, why should we not receive evil?'¹ Yea, who can even bless and praise God while His hand is actually laid heavy upon him? 'The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord.'²

Who, contemplating this picture, can refuse to acknowledge the exalted nature of Job's sanctity? Who can doubt of the splendour of the reward he is now enjoying? But to what is it owing? To what circumstances are we to ascribe it? Surely, to the very fact, of which men are so ready to complain, that God allows physical evil and disaster to come upon even those who are most near and dear to Him.

And God's goodness, which is abundantly vindicated and evident in this case, is equally certain in cases where the proofs of it are not so manifest and conspicuous. Men may, of course, frustrate the designs of God by the evil exercise of their free will, and may allow misfortunes to harden and embitter them—that is their own fault; but if they choose to make a proper use of such opportunities of grace, their's will be all the gain, their's all the merit.

Before concluding, it may be well to take a somewhat different instance. Go, then, into some great hospital where suffering and disease are so rife. Look at the gentle Sister of Charity, or of Mercy, as she flits about so softly and so unobtrusively among the sick and the dying. Observe how attentive she is to her charges, and how sweet-tempered and patient. See with what loving-kindness and solicitude she waits upon the poor sufferers, as though in each she

¹ Job ii. 10.

² Job i. 21.

recognised the person of Christ Himself. She has renounced the world, and turned her back upon its joys, amusements, and delights. She has spurned its favours, honours, and dignities, and consecrated herself for life, by a solemn vow, to the service of the poor, and the suffering. Her time, her talents, her thoughts, her energies are all directed to this noble task. And she finds strength and courage in the thought of and in the love of Him, who said: 'When you have done it to the least, you have done it to Me.'

Such generous-hearted souls ennoble our nature besides giving glory to God. Such lives are purer, holier, more self-sacrificing and in every way sublimer than the lives of others. They are a credit to our religion and a glory to our race. Now, to what do we owe them? Is it not to the very presence of physical evil in our midst? Most undoubtedly. Were there no poor, no orphans, no sick and diseased, no men nor women needing help, instruction, nursing, and sisterly care and attention, why the very *raison d'être* of the Sister of Charity would be gone. The urgent needs which gave birth to this beautiful religious Order not existing, the Order itself would never have come into being. The 'Sister Teresa' or the 'Sister Clare' who now moves about the fever or small-pox ward as an angel of light and consolation, clad in her rough habit, and administering to Christ's afflicted members, might, under other circumstances, have been the 'Hon. Mrs. Smith,' or 'Lady Timkins of Timkins Hall,' and have been following her own sweet will in the fashionable world. She might have been a very amiable person indeed, and have won heaven at last; but the higher and sublimer paths of charity, chastity, and self-denial would scarcely have been trodden by her.

It is to the fact that pain and temporal calamities and misfortunes are permitted, that we must ascribe the sheer existence of this sisterhood, and all the glory to God of which it is the source and the mainspring. And the same may be said of countless other orders and religious societies of various kinds, both of men and of women. If God were to do away with every bodily ailment and every earthly

calamity, He would at the same time do away with innumerable opportunities of exercising virtue; while the splendid examples of heroism and devotion which now so often startle us and fill us with wonder, would have no place on earth.

In the vast majority of cases, we can (with a little goodwill) actually see how God draws good out of evil. We realize for ourselves, for instance, how suffering produces admirable patience, as in the case of holy Job; how poverty and want beget the most consummate resignation, as in St. Benedict l'Abré; and how opposition and persecution awaken the most unheard-of charity, as in the case of St. Stephen, who prayed for those who were stoning him to death. And where the good results are not so evident and unmistakable, we can surely attribute that to our own limited range of intellect, and fall back upon the general principle that God is the infinite and uncreated Goodness, who disposes all things lovingly, whether we can recognise His love in every particular case or no. 'Omnia in mensura, et numero et pondere disposuit.'¹

Even in the natural order, we often fail to discern the reason and the use of things. Take the human body, which is such a living miracle of wisdom and divine adaptations of means to ends, and in which every part is so marvellously disposed, and so exquisitely arranged and contrived. Do we not even here, sometimes come across an organ or a substance, whose precise use and purpose we are unable to determine? What is the use of the spleen? What end does it serve? I know not if doctors have *now* discovered a use for it, but certainly thousands of learned medical men have lived and died without being able to solve the problem. Yet no one doubts but that it fulfils some useful purpose.

So will it often be in regard to the existence of evil. There may, and do, arise special and particular instances which we find it difficult to reconcile with our notions of

¹ Wisdom.

perfect goodness and infinite love. But, dear reader, are we justified in such cases in doubting the goodness of God? Is our confidence in the Infinitely Holy so flimsy and unstable that it melts away at the first appearance of difficulty? Are we going to trust His mercy and His tenderness only so far as we can actually test them for ourselves? Ah! So to trust, is not to trust at all.

Shall we make our limited powers the supreme measure of all right and wrong, of all good and evil? Or does God really cease to be good, just when His goodness becomes too deep and wide and unfathomable for our puny minds to sound its hidden and mysterious depths? As well say the sea is bottomless because we cannot actually touch the bottom with the end of our umbrellas. Our general knowledge of God's goodness more than warrants our trusting Him, even where appearances are dead against Him.

Take the case of a maimed and suffering child—a child as yet incapable of actual sin. I grant it is a difficulty, but yet, we may be absolutely certain, that did God reveal His whole mind and purpose to us, the difficulty would vanish, and the wisdom and justice of God would be vindicated even here. Then why, someone may ask, does He not make it clear? May it not be because He wishes to bring good even out of this very evil of ignorance, from which we are suffering? To trust God with the difficulty still unsolved; to trust Him when we cannot see nor even imagine its solution; to trust Him when every circumstance seems to condemn Him, that surely, is trust, indeed. Yes; trust under such conditions honours God in an immeasurably higher degree, than if we could penetrate His motives, and read His secrets, and see as He sees. 'You believe,' said our Lord to St. Thomas, 'because you have seen: blessed are they who have believed and have not seen.'

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

IDEALISM AND REALISM IN ART¹

DISTINCT altogether from the several arts, there is a study known as the Science of the Arts, which, unlike the arts themselves, is critical and speculative, or, at least, only indirectly practical. It embraces such questions as the proper sphere and purpose of art, its legitimate methods, its various departments, and their relations one to another. Two schools or styles of art, in particular, generally known as idealism and realism, have been made the pivot on which most of the controversies raised by these questions mainly turn—controversies that have had a marked effect on the views of artists, their methods and technique, and on the general character of the art of this century. I purpose, therefore, to examine these two schools of art, idealism and realism, and to state very briefly what we may hold about their respective merits. To treat of them, however, in relation to every variety of art would carry me far beyond my purpose, so I shall confine myself merely to painting; and, when I speak of art, I wish it to be understood that it is only to painting I am referring.

Let us begin with idealism. It makes very little difference by what name we call it—style, school, or theory; and, therefore, I may define it as a theory which maintains that the highest and truest function of art is to represent nature at her best, without any of her defects, and with whatever of her beauties may be brought together without incongruity. What constitutes a defect, and what a perfection, or how they are to be discovered in nature, it is not my province now to determine. I take it for granted that there is in man a faculty called 'taste,' whose function it is to reveal defects and discover beauties, which acts spontaneously, and on principles of its own,

¹ A lecture delivered in Dublin, in April, 1899. Some apology is due to the reader for the summary references here made to certain works of art. In the lecture these references were illustrated by the aid of lime-light views.

and with marked uniformity in its decisions. This faculty testifies to innumerable blemishes, both in form and colour, all through nature, and supplies at the same time the principles on which these faults may be corrected. Positive defects are possible, only in organic natures, such as trees, animals, and men; where individuals, on account of their structural uniformity, are seen to approach to, and deviate from a type. By a type, I mean a faultless instance of any species of organism, either constructed by the mind or exhibited ready-made in nature. In inanimate nature, where there is no unity of structure, as is the case with lakes, mountains, stretches of country, positive defects are out of the question; but there is even here a scale of perfection, a more and less of the elements of beauty, such as the majestic, the striking, the harmonious, the delicate, and of what are known as suggested attributes, the gentle, the lively, the quaint, the reposeful. It is therefore the aim of idealistic art, to remedy defects on the lines of these types, supplying shortcomings, softening, harmonizing, eliminating, and intensifying, according as the faculty of taste suggests.

Idealistic art interprets nature from many points of view: literally, if nature can be so reproduced; figuratively, if the limitations of art so require. Of these two styles of reproduction, figurative art is the more prolific in artistic subjects, for by the use of imagery which is its proper instrument, it can colour nature very highly as well as interpret her very variously. The dawn, for instance, literally represented, is always the same: one can vary it, of course, by altering the landscape, or the colours in the sky; but, in general, the sunrise is one and unchangeable. Its interpretation, on the other hand, in figurative art admits of numberless new creations—the varied expression of all that a cultured and artistic mind sees in the sunrise over and above mere lines and colours. Every image used in 'Prometheus Unbound' to express sunrise could be turned into a complete picture of the dawn—the car, the steeds on the gold dust floor, the singing spirits, &c: whilst of Guido Reni's 'Aurora' at least four perfect 'Auroras' could be made—the steeds, the

cupid with the torch, the laughing goddesses, and the girl scattering roses from her cloak.

With these two styles of reproduction at its disposal, the literal and the figurative, idealism is not content until it has eliminated from nature all her defects, and intensified her perfections. Not that it claims in the re-arrangement of nature to take liberties with, and ignore her laws. There are, of course, artistic licences which a painter may use as well as a poet. It was by licence that Raphael felt himself dispensed from attempting an impossible perspective between the two parts of the Transfiguration—the figures on the mountain and the possessed boy beneath. Licences, however, are not principles of art, but exceptions to them: and idealism in its principles is altogether on the side of nature, following her closely where nature has only one course at her disposal, as in the general formation of the human figure or the general structure of trees; but giving scope to the artist to let out freely wherever a multiplicity of forms is possible, as in the features of the face, the portrayal of passion, the play of impulse in look and on limb, and in everything that appertains to the general setting of a subject, like architecture, grouping, drapery, &c. In these things there is room for the artist's best and most sweeping conceptions; for where nature follows no definite system, the artist is confined by no definite formulæ. Infinitely wide, therefore, is his field of subjects, full and varied as nature herself, for the only restrictions to an artist's conception are the laws of nature, and the canons of taste. These canons, I admit, are numerous enough. They are much more subtle than the laws of nature; and whilst few great artists have violated the latter, only the greatest succeed in observing the former. One error in taste can vitiate an otherwise perfect painting. Let me take, as one instance of it, Claude Lorraine. Claude was an untiring student of nature. At Rome he used to sit out all day, and sometimes all night, watching the colours come into the heavens, and transferring them to his scrap-book. It is said he was acquainted with all the tints of the sky and all the humours of the sea. Yet Claude has spoiled

more than one of his pictures by crowding his canvasses to overflowing, forcing into them everything that could bring out an effect in colour—trees, mountains, cattle, lakes, dancing peasants, temples set in the middle of woods, churches, aqueducts, mills, &c. This sense of surfeit, prominent in the greater part of his work, is a permanent drawback to what would otherwise (so critics tell us) be perfect art.

The function, then, of idealistic art is to perfect nature, in the way I have described, and as nature seldom reaches her best, that best must be created by the artist himself. This is what is known as the creative element in art, and it is just this element that gives art a place above colour-photography. It opens out broad and fruitful fields of artistic subjects, co-extensive with the artist's own conceptions, which are practically infinite, there being no end even in a single species to the number of perfect forms it may contain. This is a proposition that needs explanation, and I am glad of the opportunity of enlarging on it, because critics have questioned it. In his *Discourse on Painting*, Sir Joshua Reynolds says that in every species there is only one type, one perfect form, which nature is always trying to approach, from which, therefore, an artist should never deviate without necessity. If this be true, see how we have limited the range of art subjects. Idealism is supposed to pursue the perfect; but according to this theory, the perfect human face is one; there cannot be two; the human figure has one type only; each species of animal one perfect instance; and at the representation of these types, and these types only, all art should aim. I said above, in opposition to this view, and admittedly in the interests of idealism, that in any species the number of perfect forms may be infinite. I see no reason—Reynolds gives none—for departing from this view. And I say, moreover, that the theory expressed in the *Discourse on Painting* is not borne out by Reynolds himself. In his beautiful 'Group of Angels' Heads' every face is formed on a distinct model, and approaches a wholly distinct type. And if we take the faces that remain to us

from Grecian art, and compare them with those, for instance, of Rossetti, we shall have no doubt, I think, that a perfect is possible in each of the styles, though differing from each other *toto cælo*. And does not all this only stand to reason? For what is beauty but perfect harmony in form and colour? Let an artist draw one curve of one feature, and a perfect face may start out from that. Change that curve, and a face may be drawn perfect in symmetry, but different in type. He might not be able to go on *in infinitum*, but who shall say where the limits are?

Idealism, therefore, with its creative element, opens out a very wide field of subjects, limiting art to no definite or inferior phases of nature, and calling on artists for the exercise of their highest and most varied conceptions. Its principle is this—art has its rough materials in nature; but the refining touches may come from the mind, must come from it, in fact, since art looks out for what is best in nature, and nature is seldom at her best.

It may be asked: Is it certain that art can improve on nature? It is suggested that we cannot paint the lily, nor gild refined gold, and that the artist is altogether at his best when he holds the mirror up to nature merely to reflect her. Or it may be said, that ivied ruins which nature plans are more beautiful than any of the temples of art; that there is more beauty in the bark of fallen trees covered with green mould, than in the living trunk; much more grandeur in clumps of trees thrown up confusedly from among rocks and ferns, than in stately avenues laid out artificially like cathedral pillars; more beauty in a sunlit patch of green bank, or a field of after-grass, than in any of the creations of Claude Lorraine. I have even heard it asked—What has nature to learn from art on the forms of animals? If you want to see a war-horse chafing, do not look for it in oils or water-colours, but in nature herself, out on the battlefield, smarting with bayonet points, held up to the fire of a line of muskets. What, therefore, is left for art to create? In fact, one might deny my whole contention, that the end of art is the pursuit of the perfect. For beauty, even as sought by art, is

often found in the lowest and weakest, the maimed parts of nature. Cheeks are beautiful in consumptive beggar-boys, and art has been at prison gates even, painting wan faces, under old worn cloaks. And what common things are the children in Millais' 'Autumn Leaves,' or Le Page's 'Flower Girl!' We meet them a hundred times daily. Yet which of the creations of mediæval art is more beautiful than they are, in their own way?

All these things have been urged at times against idealism as a theory of art. The only answer I can return is this:—Idealism, as I have already insinuated, improves on nature when it ought, and where it ought, and allows for the fact that deformity may have a beauty of its own, that there are beauties in neglected faces and in common-place scenes. All these things, therefore, it will take into its canvasses, at their very best; not as realism would, bringing out every line and shadow, but in broad outline and rough, round reality, as Millet paints. There are few deformities that may not be allied to some perfection. Weakness suggests gentleness; rudeness, strength; villainy, ability; passion, power. Gentleness, strength, ability, and power become the theme of the artist. Mere weak ugliness, mere rude effrontery, are left to the caricaturist. Caricature and art differ as widely as art and photography. All three are representative. Each has its special province to depict—photography, fact; art, the ideal; caricature, the grotesque. The caricaturists of the beginning of this century, in France and England, are known in the history of modern painting as 'the school of the draughtsmen,' not as artists. Crime, cruelty, and cunning, therefore, have their legitimate hold on the artist's attention; but grossness and vulgarity in the mode of representing them are precluded by the conditions under which art receives them. Even therefore in defects, art may still be dealing with the perfect; and that is one way in which classic art differs from idealism; classicism also pursues the perfect, but only amongst the very highest forms of imagination or of history, such as the pagan divinities, or the Christian saints. But idealism finds it in the furrowed fields, and is interested in ordinary

sowers and gleaners—not for their plainness, but principally because of the beautiful conceptions it can make them embody. The portrayal of these conceptions, hidden beneath mere line and colour, is what is known as the *mind* element in idealism. Let us see how Millet contrived his subjects, for Millet had all a poet's nature and a poet's conceptions: he was a dreamer, in fact. Early in the morning he went out into the forest. If the sun was shining, and the silence was unbroken, he was able to work. If the clouds gathered or voices approached, he could work no more. 'Chut! papa travaille,' his eldest daughter used constantly to whisper to her brothers playing outside their cottage. Now Millet has painted only sowers and gleaners. On what, therefore, was all his poetry expended? or how have his pictures set the world dreaming of furrows and the scent of clay? The charm of his pictures is the conceptions he has made them all embody. His own estimate of the 'Angelus' was, that we should 'hear those bells stealing over the furrows.' That was the conception hidden beneath mere line and colour, that he would embody in his picture, and suggest to the spectator in a hundred trifles. And, surely, if we miss that thought we have missed all that he meant, for there is very little in the picture but the sound of bells; stillness in the fields broken by the quiet music of bells; the long day's labour ended by bells summoning to prayer; bells marking the monotonous history of peasants, day after day, until their old hands drop from plough and harrow, and they are taken to their rest. Millet's thought was always with the commonplace, and therefore he has sometimes been called a realist. But he read things in the commonplace which the eye could not discern; and these things are the sermons we all feel him preaching in his sowers and gleaners, and wood-cutters, and ploughed fields.

Unconsciously I must confess, I have begun to advocate the principles of idealism, though in starting out I only undertook to explain them. But it is a mystery to me how anyone can refuse to grant to painting the privileges so generously conceded to poetry. A poet can chasten and colour

nature, and express her in symbols, and clothe her in imagery, and select just that in which she shows most richly, neglecting the rest. Why may not the painter do all that too? There is, I grant, an art of the commonplace. The *genre* paintings or pictures of common ordinary life, have their own place in art. But there is certainly higher art than this, an art that can transcend the common present, and reveal the finer efforts of nature, exhibited in fact, or built out of the richness of an artist's imagination.

I am quite aware that in recent years idealism has fallen into great disfavour. But I do not think that that disfavour should alter our estimate of the principles I have been advocating. The disrepute into which idealism has fallen was not reached by inference from artistic principles. It is only the result of the rough-and-ready stand that has been made in modern times against the maintenance in our schools of classical art, an art in which idealism was an important element. 'Return to nature,' became the cry of the modern artistic world; and it is only natural to expect, that the movement that ensued should not be over-refined in its courses or sensitively just. That is how idealism has become unpopular. It was associated with classicism. In the main, we can sympathise with the anti-classicists, though we cannot shut our eyes to their follies. Everybody was weary of those old Greek plasters, repeated in all the studios of Paris, and turning up monotonously year after year at the art exhibitions. And we know that at the Revolution France had seen a new life generated—a highly-coloured life and manner which, certainly, had enough in it to interest art. The French imagination was scarcely one to keep looking into the dead past for all that could interest the eye and heart, and aspirations of an age, in comparison with which it deemed all old-world institutions puerile. France was awakened to the idea of revolution in everything as well as in art, and when a young Norman painter, called Gericault, gave the signal for action by telling his master in the presence of the students, to open the shutters and let in the light from the living day, I scarcely exaggerate when I say, that classicism began to

drop down from the walls, and a great deal of cobweb and conventionality after it. It was then that artists began to pour out from the lanes and top garrets of Paris, with their easels on their backs, towards the Forest of Fontainebleau; for thither this new pulsation led them, where wild birds lived, and sunbeams could be caught pure out of the heavens. That, briefly, is the history of the anti-classical movement. It was during that movement that popular prejudice ran down idealism, and it will take some years to effect its revival.

It may be well before passing to the consideration of realism to say a word on the new idealism, a school of art recently introduced by Rossetti into England. Dante Gabriel Rossetti was by nature an idealist. He was a dreamer like Millet, and seemed to live unconscious, almost, that there were things around him to be touched with real hands, or to be looked on with real eyes. He lived in the midst of mysterious beings, with lustrous bodies. He paints them languid and melancholic, with a consumptive atmosphere all about them, and a depressing mysteriousness like the air of the death chamber. What are we to think of it? We can only say, that it is a beautiful but a very unhealthy art. But it paves the way for the revival of the old Renaissance idealism, which must certainly reappear, strengthened and enriched with the great and vigorous harvest of ideas reaped in three centuries.

In a future number I shall speak of realism, with the two great schools of the pre-Raphaelites and the Impressionists.

M. CRONIN, M.A., D.D.

To be continued.

CATHOLICS AND FREEMASONRY

IT is universally admitted that one of the best organized and most influential societies in existence is Freemasonry. Throughout the world its members, differing in nationality, in religion, in social status, extend to one another the hand of fellowship.

It is natural that Catholics, prohibited as they are by the Church from becoming members, should, as a rule, have but very vague ideas about it. They are aware that Freemasons help one another in business, in professional life, and the like. They may have found by experience that in the employment of certain firms and companies there is no chance of promotion for those who are not Freemasons. However, in these countries especially, they cannot fail to observe that the *personnel* of the society includes numbers of men of the highest standing; and, moreover, perhaps they have met Freemasons socially, and found them upright and honourable men. Many Catholics, then, may be puzzled to know why Freemasonry is condemned by the Church, and why they are excluded from its benefits. That some Catholics, too, while they obey, feel sore about the matter, is evident from letters which appeared recently in the *Catholic Times*. Some information on the point may be welcome and useful. I shall draw it principally from within; that is, from Masonic rituals, papers, speeches, and the like from which it can be made quite clear that the Church is justified in her condemnation of Freemasonry. It may be well at the outset to state the extent and force of this condemnation.

The first Papal condemnation of the society was issued in 1738, by Clement XII. in the Bull *In eminenti*. His words are:—

Wherefore to each and all of the faithful in Christ, of whatever state, grade, condition, or order, we ordain stringently and in virtue of holy obedience, that they shall not under any pretext

or pretence, enter, propagate, or support the aforesaid societies known as Freemasons, or otherwise named; that they shall not be enrolled in them, affiliated to them, or take part in their proceedings, assist them or afford them in any way counsel, aid, or favour, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, by themselves or others, in any way whatever, under pain of excommunication to be incurred by the very act; from which absolution shall not be obtainable, except through ourselves or our successors, the Roman Pontiff for the time being, unless in the article of death.

This condemnation was renewed by Benedict XIV. in 1751; Pius VII., in 1814; Leo XII., in 1825; and by Pius IX., in 1864. In his Encyclical *Qui pluribus*, confirming the condemnation of his predecessors, Pius IX. says:—

We declare that those by the very act incur excommunication reserved to the Roman Pontiffs, who join the Society of Masons, or of Carbonari, or other similar societies . . . and they also who show these societies any countenance whatever (*favorem qualemcumque praestantes*).

The present venerable Pontiff Leo XIII. is not content with condemning Freemasonry, but he even charges the craft with crimes of murder. His words in the Bull *Humanum genus*, are:—

Under deceitful appearances, and adopting dissimulation as a rule of conduct, the Freemasons, like the Manicheans of old, spare no effort to conceal their proceedings. As it is their great concern to appear widely different from what they are in reality, they assume the character of friends of letters, or of philosophers combined for the cultivation of the sciences. They speak only of their zeal of the progress of civilization, and of their love for the poor. If we believe their assurances, their one object is to improve the condition of the masses, and to extend as widely as possible the benefits of civilized life. But even granting that they pursue purposes of this kind, these are far from being the whole of their projects. Those who are admitted to the order must promise to obey, blindly and without examination, the commands of their chiefs, to hold themselves ready at the least sign to execute the task assigned to them, pledging themselves beforehand to accept the most rigorous punishments—even death itself—in case of disobedience. As a matter of fact, it is not a rare thing that the punishment of death is inflicted upon those who are found guilty of having betrayed the secrets of the society, or of having disobeyed the orders of its chiefs. But to keep a

course of dissimulation, and to remain hidden, to place men like mere bond-slaves under strict obligations, the nature of which is not properly explained to them, to use them at the discretion of others for all manner of crime, to arm their right hand for slaughter, securing them immunity from punishment of their crime—those are enormities condemned by nature itself . . . Reason and truth are enough to prove that Freemasonry is opposed to natural justice and morality.

This condemnation is emphatic almost beyond precedent, and so explicit as to leave no room for evasion. Freemasons grow wrathful at it; Catholics know there must be very grave reasons for it, and would naturally be anxious to learn them. In the constitutions of Pius VII. and Leo XII. we find the following reasons alleged:—(1) the furious and satanic hatred of its members for the Vicar of Christ; (2) their league of secret murder; (3) their avowed atheism; (4) their conspiracy against all legitimate authority in the State as well as in the Church. The constitutions add that the sources of information are the most authentic. Benedict XIV. affirms that 'the union of men of every or of any sect or religious persuasion and of men indifferent to all religion—heretics, deists, atheists—is manifestly highly dangerous to Catholic faith and morals.'

Again, Leo XIII. gives his reasons for condemning Freemasonry:—(1) it is a system of pure naturalism in religion; (2) it reduces matrimony to a mere contract, revocable at will; (3) it proclaims the right to affirm that there is no God; (4) it corrupts the masses to advance the interests of the sect; (5) it labours to overturn that discipline and social order which Christianity has founded, and erect on its ruins a system after its own principles and foundations of disorder.

To give an appearance of antiquity to Freemasonry, some of its members endeavour to trace its origin to the Tower of Babel, others to the Pyramids of Egypt, others again to Solomon's Temple; while not a few astutely trace it to the ages of faith when Catholicity held sway all over Europe, and thence argue that it was once a Catholic association. Most Masonic writers of note admit, however, that the connection between Freemasonry and the above-

mentioned buildings is a conventional fiction, and we shall presently see that modern Freemasonry is quite a different organization from the Freemasonry of the Middle Ages. At that time, just as in our day, it was customary for the members of the various trades to form guilds or societies for the furtherance of their craft. As it was at that period that the great cathedrals of Europe were being built, the societies of stonemasons were very numerous and influential. As necessity required, the members went from city to city, and, to insure being treated with kindness and hospitality, they invented certain secret signs and symbols whereby they might be recognised by the members of the trade. The epithet of Freemasons was originally used as an abbreviation of 'freemen masons,' men who elected to work at their trade independently of any guild. In course of time, in order to secure patrons and friends, the societies of stonemasons admitted as associates individuals totally unacquainted with architecture, and by degrees other objects besides the trade began to engage the attention of the members. As time went on the transformation continued; until, in the eighteenth century, the societies became purely social and political organizations, having no connection whatever with architecture.

Freemasonry, as at present constituted, may be defined as a secret society which professes to lay down a code of morality based on the brotherhood of mankind. It was in England that the transformation in Freemasonry just referred to took place, and all Masonic lodges throughout the world owe their origin to those of Great Britain. In Mackey's *Lexicon of Freemasonry* we find the following account of the spread of Freemasonry:—

France.—The first Grand Provincial Lodge of France was established in 1743 by a warrant from the Grand Lodge of England.¹

Germany.—In 1773 the Grand Lodge of England granted a charter to eleven German Masons in Hamburg to establish a

¹ Several writers state that the first Masonic Lodge in France was established in 1725 by Lord Darwentwater.

lodge. In 1738 another lodge was established in Brunswick by a charter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Belgium.—In 1721 the grand lodges of England constituted the lodge of 'Perfect Union' at Mons, and in 1730 another at Ghent.

Holland.—The first lodge established in Holland was in 1731, under a warrant from the Grand Lodge of England.

Denmark.—The Grand Lodge of Denmark was instituted in 1743. It derived its existence from the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Sweden.—Freemasonry arose in Sweden in 1754, under the charter of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Russia.—An English lodge was established in St. Petersburg in 1740, under warrant from the Grand Lodge of England.

Bohemia.—Freemasonry was established in this country in 1749, by the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Switzerland.—In 1737 the Grand Lodge of England granted a patent to Sir George Hamilton, by authority of which he instituted a provincial grand lodge.

Italy.—The first lodge in this country was established in Florence in 1733, by Lord Charles Sackville, son of the Duke of Dorset.

Asia.—Freemasonry was introduced into India in 1728, by Sir George Pomfret, who established a lodge in Calcutta.

Africa.—England has established lodges in many towns and islands in and about Africa.

Oceanica.—From 1828 England has established lodges in Sydney, Paramatta, and many other English colonies.

America.—The first account we have of Freemasonry in the United States dates from the year 1729, and it tells us of the grand mastership of the Duke of Norfolk.

Thus America, as well as Europe, Asia, and Oceanica, owes its Freemasonry to England.

Let us now examine the rites and ceremonies of Freemasonry as given in Masonic manuals. There are three principal degrees in Freemasonry—apprentice, fellow-craftsman, and master-mason. A lodge consists of a master, styled worshipful, a senior and junior warden, a senior and junior deacon, two tilers or door-keepers, both armed with swords to keep off all *cowans*, eavesdroppers, and persons unqualified to pass. When a lodge assembles, the master, thus assured, gives the order for the lodge to be clothed, and all officers put on their aprons and jewels and take their seats. The worshipful master raps with his gavel, and all

the subordinate officers stand up, and recite in turn their various duties. If there is anyone to be initiated he is taken charge of by two deacons. The junior deacon presents him as a 'poor candidate, in a state of darkness, who now comes of his own free will and accord, properly prepared, humbly soliciting to be admitted to the mysteries and privileges of Freemasonry.' Then after various interrogations and ceremonies the candidate kneels on his left knee, keeping his right foot 'in the form of a square,' with his hand upon the Bible, and repeats the following terrible oath:—

I, A.B., do hereby and hereon solemnly promise, and swear, that I will always hail, conceal, and never reveal any part or parts, point or points, of the secrets or mysteries of, or belonging to free and accepted Masons in Masonry, which may heretofore have been known to me, unless it be to a lawful brother or brothers. I further solemnly promise that I will not write these secrets; print, carve, engrave, or otherwise delineate, or cause, or suffer them to be done by others, on any thing movable or immovable, under the canopy of heaven, whereby or whereon, the least trace of a letter, character, or figure, may become legible or intelligible to myself or to anyone in the world, so that our secrets, arts, and hidden mysteries may improperly become known through my unworthiness. These several points I solemnly swear to observe, without evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation of any kind under no less penalty of the violation of any of them, than to have my throat cut across, my tongue torn out by the root, and my body buried in the sand of the sea at low-water mark, or a cable's length from the shore where the tide regularly flows twice in twenty-four hours. So help me God, and keep me steadfast in my great and solemn obligation of an entered Freemason.¹

At the initiation of the fellow-craftsmen the following oath is administered:—

I . . . will never reveal to him who is but an apprentice mason, the mysteries belonging to the second degree of the fellow-craft, no more than I would to the popular world who are not Masons. All these points I solemnly swear to obey under no less a penalty than to have my left breast cut open, my heart torn therefrom and given to the ravenous birds of the air, or the devouring beasts of the field. So help me God.²

¹ See *Perfect Ceremonies of Craft Masonry*, p. 49; also *Carlile's Manual of Freemasonry*, p. 8.

² *Carlile*, pp. 43 and 49.

Then follows the explanation by the Master :—

You are to supply the wants and relieve the necessities of your brethren and fellows to the utmost of your power, and to apprise them of approaching danger, and to view their interest as inseparable from your own. Such is the nature of your engagements as a craftsman.

In the ceremony of initiation of a Master Mason the tie of brotherly love is growing stronger. The oath taken is :—

I solemnly vow and declare that I will not defraud a brother Master Mason, or see him defrauded of the most trifling amount, without giving him due and timely notice thereof; that I will prefer a brother Mason in all my dealings and recommend him to others as much as lies in my power. All these points I promise to observe under no less a penalty than of having my body severed in two, my bowels torn therefrom and burned to ashes, and these ashes scattered before the four winds of heaven. So help me God.¹

Besides these three ordinary degrees there are a great number of others bearing extraordinary, high-sounding titles, that are conferred on those who are ambitious enough to aim at the zenith of Masonic virtue. The ceremonies are fantastic and ludicrous, and the oaths administered are even more awful than those already quoted. Take, for instance, what is called—

THE ROYAL ARCH DEGREE

The masters of this degree when assembled are called a chapter. They are so arranged as to form the figure of an arch. There are nine officers, Zerubbabel as prince, Haggai as prophet, Joshue as high priest, &c. In the front stands an altar on which are the initials of Solomon, King of Israel; Hiram, King of Tyre, and Hiram Abiff. When convenient, the chapter room should contain an organ. A chapter is considered as a type of the Sanhedrim of the Jews.

If a candidate is to be initiated, he is blindfolded, his knees bared, a cable tow around his waist. He is conducted around part of the room, while the high priest reads the third chapter of Exodus. The bandage is taken from the candidate's eyes, and he sees a bush on fire; then his shoes are taken off, and a rod is placed on the floor which he is

¹ Carlile, p. 69.

directed to pick up. He is then shown the Ark of the Covenant, the pot of manna, &c. After a prolonged ceremony he is given the five Royal Arch signs, invested with the apron, and the sash of purple and crimson. The oath administered is :—

I . . . of my own free will and accord, in the presence of this chapter of Royal Arch Masons, do hereby swear, in addition to my former obligations, that I will never reveal the secrets of this degree to any of an inferior degree, under the penalty of having my crown struck off, in addition to all my former penalties. So help me God.¹

DEGREE OF KNIGHT TEMPLA

The candidate for installation is dressed as a pilgrim, with sandals, mantle, staff and cross, scrip and wallet, with bread and water, a belt or cord round his waist, which is made to fall off at the sign of the cross. After a while the staff and cross are taken away, and a sword is placed in his hand; this is afterwards taken away and a skull substituted. Then he is divested of the pilgrim's dress, and invested with the Masonic apron, sash, &c. Then, with the skull in his hand, he swears :—

I will never shed the blood of a brother knight. Even when princes are engaged in war, I will never forget the duty that I owe him as a brother. If I violate this contract may my skull be sawn around with a rough saw, and my brains taken out and exposed to the scorching sun, and may the soul which inhabited this skull appear against me on the Judgment Day. So help me God.¹

Then bread and wine are given in commemoration of the Last Supper, the whole of the Sir Knights drinking from the cup of brotherly love.

ARCHITECT'S DEGREE

In the ceremony for this degree the hall is hung in black, and lighted with twenty-one lamps. A throne is elevated in the east, a table is placed in the centre, on which is a Bible, a pair of compasses, a square, and a trowel in an urn. The contents of the latter are a mixture of milk, oil, flour,

¹ Carlile, p. 116.

² Carlile's *Manual of Masonry*, p. 157.

and wine, which is supposed to be the heart of a worthy brother. When the candidate is being received he is blindfolded, and is thrown on the floor, so that his mouth covers a blazing star; then the bandage is taken off his eyes, he sees the star, and its symbolic meaning is explained to him, and after a long ceremony he takes the oath, and receives the insignia of his degree.

THE ROSICRUCIAN DEGREE

This is the highest or *ne plus ultra* degree. The lodge is decorated with a triangular altar, to which seven steps lead. Behind appears a cross and a rose planted on it, and over it the letters I.N.R.I. Broken columns are visible on the one side, and a tomb on the other on the east, and three large lights on the west. The Most Wise is seated on the third step of the altar, his head supported on his hand. The room is darkened, and the candidate is led in. Chains are rattled to intimidate him. After some ceremonies are gone through, a sideboard is prepared; it is covered with a cloth, and on it are placed as many pieces of bread as there are knights, and a goblet of wine. Every knight has a white wand in his hand. The Most Wise strikes his twice on the ground, and declares that the chapter is resumed. Then he proceeds seven times around the apartment, and is followed by all present, each stopping in front of the altar to make a sign. At the last round each partakes of the bread; then the Most Wise partakes of the goblet and passes it round, the knights give each other the grip, the Most Wise says: '*Consummatum est,*' and all depart.¹

What Catholic could read such ceremonies and oaths without a thrill of horror? The Bible, the inspired word of God, made a toy of; the holy name of God profaned by blasphemous oaths; the most sacred mysteries of religion—the Last Supper, the crucifixion of the Son of God—parodied in the most contemptuous manner! For what purpose, if not to degrade and dishonour Christianity? 'Freemasonry,'

¹ The *Encyclopædia Britannica* states that an item in the ceremonial of the Rosicrucian degree is the drinking of porter out of a human skull.

says O'Connell, 'if for nothing else, should be condemned for its irreligious use of holy things as symbols, and for its frequent and blasphemous oaths.'

Let us next examine whether Freemasonry is merely what it professes to be, a grand mutual aid society. That at one time it went beyond its philanthropic purpose is patent from the following.

In the year 1735 the States-General of Holland proscribed the Secret Masonic League, and the French Government followed the example in 1737. In 1757 the Synod of Stirling in Scotland adopted a resolution debarring all Freemasons from the ordinances of religion. The Council of Berne proscribed Freemasonry in 1748. Bavaria followed in 1799. The Regency of Milan and the Governor of Venice acted in a similar way in 1814. John VI. of Portugal prohibited Freemasonry in the strictest manner, in 1816; and in 1820 several lodges were closed in Prussia for political intrigues. In the same year Alexander VI. banished the order from the whole Russian empire. A similar occurrence took place four years later in Modena, and in Spain. But let us hear the opinions of Masons and ex-Masons as to whether Freemasonry is a mutual aid society or not. In the *Freemason*, February 23rd, and May 27th, 1884, we find the following statements. In a certain lodge a Mr. Whytehead says:—

It was once said to me by a brother well known in the craft, and who had been a successful worker in the noble cause of our charities: 'If it were not for charities Freemasonry would not be worth ten minutes of attention from any intelligent man.' Now, brethren, I venture to say, that the brother who made that observation, with all his virtues, and in spite of all his good works, had never mastered the true object of Freemasonry; he was entirely ignorant of the *raison d'être* of the craft. In opposition to the idea enunciated in his sentiments, I contend that Freemasonry is not a charitable society, except in the very highest sense of the word; and that if there is nothing else in it but the maintenance of our splendid institutions, it is not only not worth the attention of an intelligent man, but that we are a parcel of utter fools, wasting our time and a large part of our means upon childish follies. I should be very sorry that there is a semblance of truth in the remark of the brother just quoted. We need not pay fees of many guineas, or deck ourselves in gold lace in order to secure

the privilege of subscribing our means for kindly or charitable purposes. Freemasonry in its present and speculative form was constituted for the purpose of kindling and keeping alive human and divine sympathies, to preserve a solid platform whence the barriers of class jealousies should be for the time removed, to teach society that in the eye of the great Architect, and under the hand of the King of Terrors the peasant is the peer of the prince, and to keep before the view of the salt of the earth the advantage to be derived from the exercise of that charity, which, indeed, does include the giving of alms, but in itself is far superior to such detail—the charity that never faileth. Our charities were quite an afterthought.

The Rev. C. W. Arnold says :—

It is natural for us to ask the question : What is it that makes Freemasonry so attractive ? It cannot be charity alone, although we Masons maintain such magnificent institutions, that a man might well be proud of supporting them, for charity may just as well be practised without our rites and without our clothing. It cannot be morality, however beautiful the system is which is found in our Masonic charges, for all that we teach may be found in the Sacred Volume, and might easily be studied without Freemasonry. It cannot be only the pleasure of the social meetings which take place after the lodges are closed, for social intercourse of the pleasantest kind may be easily enjoyed without Masonic work. But there must be something beyond, something higher than mere brotherly love and relief, great principles though they may be, there must be something far deeper than this which recommends Freemasonry to men of intellectual culture. Freemasonry is but a casket which contains a priceless jewel, and that jewel is Truth, and all our rights and ceremonies, our signs and passwords, have been designed for the purpose of guarding this precious jewel.

It is easy enough to follow Mr. Arnold when he says that a man need not be a Freemason to enjoy a good dinner or a pleasant evening with some friends, or even to distribute a little charity ; but when he speaks of the priceless jewel of truth, enshrined in the casket of Freemasonry, and protected by squares, compasses, grips, skulls, and so forth, he gives the benighted non-mason something to think about.

Louis Blanc, in the history of his ten years' experience as a Freemason, speaks as follows :—

Thanks to its clever system of mechanism, Freemasonry found in princes and autocrats patrons rather than enemies. It

pleased certain sovereigns, the great Frederick amongst the rest, to take the trowel and gird themselves with the apron. Why not? The existence of the higher grades being carefully concealed from them, they knew of Masonry only what could be revealed without danger . . . They had no need to trouble themselves about it, kept down as they were in the lower grades, where they saw but an opportunity of amusement and banqueting. But in these matters comedy borders closely on tragedy, and princes and nobles were brought to sanction with their names, and blindly to serve with their influence, the hidden enterprises directed against themselves.

Freemasons boast :—

We wander amidst our adversaries shrouded in a threefold darkness. Their passions serve as wires whereby unknown to themselves we set them in motion, and compel them unwittingly to work in union with us. Under the very shadow of authority Masonry carries on the great work entrusted to her.¹

All governments [says the revolutionary Mason Gregoire] are our enemies, all nations our friends; either we shall be destroyed or they emancipated, and emancipated they shall be. When the axe of freedom has struck down the throne, that throne will fall upon the head of anyone who strives to gather its fragments.

To whatever government [writes Master-Mason Barruel], to whatever class of society you belong, as soon as the plans and sworn designs of Freemasonry come into operation, there is an end to your clergy, your government and your laws, your property and your authority. All your possessions, your lands and your houses, your families, your friends, and your firesides: all those from that day forward you can no longer call your own.²

The following extract from a document drawn up by one hundred and three seceding Masons at Le Roy, U.S.A., on the 4th July, 1828, will throw some further light on the inner working of Freemasonry :—

The Masonic Society has been silently growing amongst us, whose principles and operations are calculated to subvert and to destroy the great and important principles of the Commonwealth. That it is opposed to the genius and the design of this Government, the spirit and precept of our holy religion, and the welfare of society generally, will appear from the following considerations: it exercises jurisdiction over the persons and lives of the

¹ Vienna Freemason's Journal, No. i., p. 66.

² *Memoires pour servir a l'histoire du Jacobinisme*, vol. i., p. 20; Hamburg, 1803.

citizens of the Republic. It arrogates to itself the right of punishing its members for offences unknown to the laws of this or any other nation. It affords opportunities for the corrupt and the designing to form plans against the government and the lives and characters of individuals. It blasphemes the name, and attempts a personification of the great Jehovah. It prostitutes the Sacred Scriptures to unholy purposes, to subserve its own secular and trifling ends. It weakens the sanction of morality and religion by the multiplication of profane oaths and immoral familiarity with religious forms and ceremonies. It substitutes the self-righteousness of the ceremonies of Masonry for the vital religion of the Gospel. It contracts the sympathies of the human heart for all the unfortunate, by confining its charities to its own members, and promotes the interest of the few at the expense of the many.

Even the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says:—

There is something in the fundamental principles [of Freemasons], the fraternity of men and their indifference to all theological belief, and also in their recent movements, which, perhaps, justifies the suspicion, and even the hatred, with which they are regarded by the Ultramontane party.

These statements would not strengthen our belief that Freemasonry is a harmless mutual aid society; still less will the following historical incidents. Barruel, an eye-witness, tells us that on the 12th of August, 1792, the day on which the unfortunate Louis XVI. was dethroned and led captive to the Temple, the Masonic brethren, thinking the time had come when they were free to publish their secret, exclaimed in the public streets:—

At last our goal is reached. From this day France will be one great lodge, and all Frenchmen Freemasons. The rest of the world will soon follow our example.

In the first days of the Revolution of 1848, three hundred Freemasons, with their masonic banner floating above them, marched to the Hotel-de-ville, and offered their banner to the provisional Government, proclaiming aloud the part they had taken in the glorious Revolution. M. de Lamartine made them the following reply, which was received with enthusiasm by the Masonic lodges:—

It is from the depths of your lodges that the ideas have emanated, first in the dark, then in the twilight, now in the fu l

light of day, which have laid the foundation of the Revolutions of 1789, 1830, and 1848.

Fourteen days later, a new deputation of the Grand Orient, adorned with their masonic scarfs and jewels repaired to the Hotel-de-ville, Paris. To the members of the Government who received them, the Grand Master spoke thus :—

French Freemasonry cannot contain her universal burst of sympathy with the great social and national movement which has just been effected. The Freemasons hail with joy the triumph of their principles, and boast of being able to say that the whole country has received through you a Masonic consecration. Forty thousand Freemasons, in five hundred workshops (lodges), cheer you on with one heart and soul.

One of the Government representatives replied :—

Citizens and brothers of the Grand Orient, the provisional government accepts with pleasure your useful and complete adhesion to the Republic which exists in Freemasonry. If the Republic do as Freemasons have done, it will become the glowing pledge of union with all men, in all parts of the globe, and in all sides of the triangle.

It was the revolutionary designs of Freemasonry that induced its provincial Grand Master, the Prussian minister, Count Von Haugwitz, to leave the order. In the memorial presented by him to the Congress of Monarchs at Verona, in 1830, he bids the rulers of Europe be on their guard against Masonry :—

I feel at this moment [he writes] that the French Revolution, which had its first beginning in 1788, and broke out soon after, attended with all the horrors of regicide, existed heaven knows how long before, having been planned, and having had the way prepared for it by associations and secret oaths.

I think I have produced sufficient evidence to show that Freemasonry has not been a model mutual aid society in the past; in fact, that it has turned aside to engage itself in such occupations as the overturning of thrones and altars. I shall now show that even still it has that old failing of going outside the province of a mutual aid society.

In a circular issued by Masonic authorities early in

1890, and published in the *Gazette du Midi*, we find the following :—

1. Masonry . . . aims at the rescuing of men's minds from the slavery to which the dogmas and prescriptions of the Catholic Church reduce them.

2. To this end teaching and the education in schools should especially engage the attention of the brethren.

3. If all means suggested be carried out, they will hasten the arrival of the day when, from the ruins of religion and revelation, rationalism will entone the canticle of liberation . . . Then man and humanity . . . will no longer busy itself about anything save securing to itself here below that happiness which some dreamers promise themselves in another life. We recommend in an especial manner to the brethren never to lose sight of the orders of Freemasonry in regard—(a) to securing the cremation of bodies ; (b) civil marriages and funerals ; (c) to prevent as far as possible the baptism of infants : (d) to disparage all that has a religious character, but particularly the Catholic press.

At the Annual Convention of the Freemasons of the Grand Orient, held at Paris, 10th September, 1888, it was proposed : ' That the Chapel of Expiation be demolished, and commemorative slabs be erected.'¹ Also proposed : ' That the state have a monopoly in the matter of education.'

At the International Congress of Masons held at Paris, 1889, it was resolved :—

To establish national holidays commemorative of the French Revolution, to strengthen fraternity among the citizens, and to make them more attached to their country and its laws.²

It was also resolved :—

That the Chapel of Expiation be demolished. It was built by a law of January, 1816, and it cannot be demolished except by another law. It belongs to Masons as citizens to present a petition for that purpose to Parliament.

At the International Congress of Masons, held at Paris in 1891, it was resolved : ' That the Masonic members of Parliament endeavour to secure a law for the abolition of the religious oath ;' also, ' that the law of 1872, whereby all religious congregations of men and women were suppressed, be put in force.'

¹ *Maçonnerie*, par G. Bois, Avocat. Paris, 1892.

² Bois, p. 187.

In the *Revue Maçonique* (organe de la Franc-Maçonnerie Française et Étrangère), Paris, June, 1898, we find the following :—

In Catholic countries the Church and Freemasonry are two rivals. Protestant Churches are not hostile to Freemasonry, even their ministers become members. . . . The Catholic religion is a collection of gross superstitions.

In the December issue of the same *Revue*, we find the climax of Masonic impudence :—

Measures should be taken to organize next year a festival on the 25th December in honour of Humanity, to rival the existing one in honour of the birth of Christ.

Such, in conclusion, is Freemasonry, made in England, patented in France, patronized by royalty, and to be had everywhere. Clad in the resplendent but deceptive garb of benevolence it has for a time deceived mankind; but at length the fierce searchlight of inquiry has pierced that veil, and exhibited a monster bent on the destruction of Christianity, social law and order, and especially the Catholic religion.

It has been condemned by the Church, because it compels its members to resign their liberty into the hands of an unknown and irresponsible authority, a thing which is intrinsically wrong; because of the danger of unsound doctrine and immoral practices creeping into secret oath-bound societies which exclude the supervision of Church and state; but especially because it has proved itself to be—what the Roman Pontiffs do not hesitate to call it—an atheistic, lawless, murderous society.

Having failed to conceal its revolutionary designs, it has been proscribed by most European Governments as dangerous to the state.

At present it confines itself solely (at least on the Continent) to persecuting the Catholic Church. There it has brought about laws prohibiting any external manifestation of religion, secularizing education, legalizing divorce, compelling religious communities to give to the state portion of the alms that they receive from the people; and, more

diabolical still, compelling priests to serve in the army often in most unsuitable company, leaving their flocks to die without the help and consolations of religion.

It would appear, however, that Freemasonry has reached its zenith of success, and that it is at present on the wane. In a recent issue of the *Echo de Paris*, M. Jules le Maitre, a member of the French Academy, and by no means a friend of the Catholic Church, is reported to have made a violent attack on Freemasonry, denouncing its destructive interference with the social welfare of the Republic. Again, in the *Civiltà Cattolica* for May, 1899, it is stated that the robberies from Italian banks, to the extent of one hundred and forty million lire, have compromised the leading lights of the fraternity. The same journal adds that very many persons who ten years ago boasted of being Freemasons are anxious at the present moment to conceal the fact.

English and Irish Freemasons will, I know, repudiate the idea that Freemasonry is in these countries in any way opposed to Christianity; but so long as its members contemptuously interweave the most sacred mysteries of Christianity with an absurd galimatias about compasses, squares, and triangles, we can hardly believe that they are in earnest. They may attempt to dissociate themselves from the nefarious doings of continental Masons; but as long as they hold out the hand of fellowship to them; as long as they have representatives in foreign lodges, and foreign lodges have representatives with them; as long as there is but one system of Freemasonry, their logic will fail to convince. They may laugh at the idea that the organization is opposed to the social welfare of mankind; but as long as they swear away their liberty, and bind themselves in business and professional life to 'prefer' a Mason—no matter how competent a non-mason may be—merit is disregarded and fair play ceases; as long as they swear that they will 'apprise a brother of approaching danger,' although, for example, as detectives, sheriffs' officers, or the like, they may be officially bound not to do so, there is an end to public integrity; as long as they swear 'always

to help a brother in distress,' even though he be a prisoner in the dock, and they be judges or jurymen—bound to strict impartiality—so long will justice be trampled on, and the very existence of society imperilled.

C. M. O'BRIEN.

NOTE.—*The Masonic Token* gives an estimate 'corrected up to date as far as possible' of the Masons of the world, which may not be uninteresting to the reader:—

	Lodges.	Members.
Argentine Republic	60	3,000
Brazil	111	3,300
Belgium	20	1,550
Chili	8	240
Cuba	37	1,200
Costa Rica	7	350
Denmark	19	3,634
Dominica	15	750
Egypt	11	500
England	1,874	91,000
France	476	23,800
Germany	364	18,000
Greece	6	250
Holland	86	4,398
Hungary	40	2,781
Ireland	396	20,000
Italy	174	5,250
Japan	3	250
Luxemburg	1	61
Mexico	245	22,492
New Zealand	148	7,700
Norway	16	2,021
Peru	26	541
Porto Rico	20	1,100
Portugal	70	2,850
Roumania and Bulgaria	24	1,200
Scotland	540	27,000
Spain	208	6,000
Sweden	33	4,000
Switzerland	31	2,774
Turkey	5	250
Uruguay	33	1,650
Venezuela	40	2,060
Victoria	177	8,500
United States and Canada	11,943	783,644
Total ..	17,262	1,054,036

DR. HORTON AND THE POPE

DR. HORTON has written a pamphlet which bears the startling title of *Our Lord God the Pope*. It purports to be an answer to Mr. James Britten, who questioned an assertion made in *Romanism and Natural Decay*, that 'Rome has presented to the world men claiming to be God. For you must remember that one of the forms of address to the Pope in Roman Catholic literature is "our Lord God the Pope."' Dr. Horton has managed to find one passage in which the words, offensive to all, whether Catholic or Protestant, occur; and he seems to have found it, not by reason of any wider knowledge of 'Roman Catholic literature' than the ordinary Nonconformist minister possesses, but through the kindness of the Secretary of the Catholic Truth Society. Mr. Britten sent him Father Sydney Smith's little book, *Does the Pope claim to be God?* It is needless to say that the circumstances under which the word 'God' found its way into the passage have been explained by the Jesuit father to everyone's satisfaction, excepting, perhaps, Dr. Horton's, who, doubtless, suspects everything Catholic of being jesuitical, and any paper written by one with the letters S.J. after his name of being indescribably so.

But the writer is not content with insinuating that Catholics are seriously responsible for the words which form the title of his little tract. He will have it that the Popes claim to be God; that they have been called God by those who acknowledge their authority, and that 'the attributes and prerogatives of God were ascribed to them and admitted by them.'¹ He tells us, moreover, that the thought he had in his mind when he first made this accusation against the Popes was 'that when veneration due to the Creator is given to the creature, it is small wonder that the favour of God should be withdrawn from countries which countenance

¹ Tract, p. 9.

such an error.' Catholics have committed this enormity by giving the title God to the Supreme Pontiff.

There is another divine appellation, apparently overlooked by our writer, which, to most biblical students, if not to others, is as sublime in signification as is the word *God*. The name *Lord* is the constant and invariable translation in Greek, in Latin, and in English for the unspeakable term Jehovah. It comes nearer to the Hebrew meaning than any other word.¹ It is, moreover, the highest title we make use of in speaking of the Son of God. Whether Catholics are more to be reprehended than any other people for applying the name *God* to creatures, or not, remains to be seen; but there can be no doubt at all that England, in spite of its Protestantism, has bestowed the divine title *Lord*, as a token of honour, upon mere humanity, very much more than other countries. This land which, according to Dr. Horton, enjoys the protection of an admiring Providence, *because it has protested against the blasphemous use of words associated with the Deity, seems to make a parade of the iniquity it condemns in others as something to be gloried in.* It has a whole *House of Lords!* Some thirty Anglican bishops, too, who are supposed to be to the rest of us examples and models of true religion, bear with serene countenances, the 'blasphemous' name of *Lord*; and are so steeped in moral obliquity as to expect to be addressed as *My Lord*—the very words which the devout Englishman uses to his Saviour—and are regarded as suffering an injury if that expression is omitted! Nor does the wickedness end here. Not content with the sad spectacle of about one thousand persons calmly using, and of the whole country bestowing upon them, this solemn name *Lord*, this land, so favoured by God for its service to Him alone has without the least scruple, agreed to address each male member of its population by yet another divine title! 'You call me *Master*, and you say well, for so I am'² said Jesus Christ on one occasion. *Master* is a name ascribed to Him frequently in the Gospels; and it is most commonly used of Him, and

¹ Sir W. Martin, *Semitic Languages*, p. 67.

² John xiii. 13.

addressed to Him, at the present time. But even Mr. Horton seems to 'blasphemously' use the term without remorse. He is not in the least disturbed when employing it in speaking to others. He does not appear to be afraid lest his arm might be withered like Jeroboam's, as he puts the obnoxious word upon his letters, nor expect every morning to see the postman succumb to the fate of Gehazi because he co-operates in this nefarious business! No one needs to be reminded that Mr. is master written shortly. Yet, what an incorrigible sinner our country seems to be in the adoption and the use of this divine title! If Dr. Horton's theory is true—if national decay must ensue so soon as names and attributes used of the Creator are applied to the creature—most of us will wonder why England has not long ago found its cities utterly demolished, and the ground they stood upon turned with the ploughshare and sowed with salt. He cannot, surely, need to be told that 'whosoever shall offend in one point is guilty of all.'¹ The words *lord* and *master*, according to him should be sufficient, when used as they are in this Protestant land, to make our fate as hard as was that of Sodom and Gomorrah. Yet, strange to say, we still live and flourish.

But it is with the special word *God* that the writer of *Our Lord God the Pope* is busied. He suggests, to speak as mildly as possible, that in the four centuries before the Reformation, *God* was a common name for the Pope. 'Impartial men will form their opinion on this matter by inquiring whether in the four centuries preceding the Reformation it was common to apply the term *Deus* to the Pope. Now, beyond all question, the Pope was called God.' Three out of the four centuries are dismissed with a 'cloud of witnesses' the number of which does not appear, after all, so very enormous. They amount to exactly one. Dr. Horton resolutely locks up in his breast his vast knowledge of 'Roman Catholic literature.' The whole Christian world is, for the space of three hundred years to be charged with

¹ James ii. 10.

idolatry on the strength of one witness. And that one witness he has hired into his service from the pages of Father Smith's pamphlet, *Does the Pope Claim to be God?*¹ There Dr. Horton appears to have first fallen in with his solitary bit of Canon Law; there, too, he must have seen how utterly worthless it is as testimony against the Popes; there, at least, he must have noticed that, if the explanation was to him not convincing, yet the one quotation was now rendered so doubtful that sensible men would hardly dare to put a fly to death with only a similar weight of evidence, to say nothing of condemning a whole religion of blasphemy. Nevertheless, Dr. Horton seems to be quite happy with his one extract. It is difficult to imagine the storm of abuse and the vials of wrath which would fall and be poured upon the head of a Catholic priest were he to assert that, for three centuries, the Protestant bishops have been commonly divorced from their wives, and that the English clergy have generally put theirs up for auction. He need not rely upon a quotation of doubtful meaning as the author of *Our Lord God the Pope* is compelled to do, for *his* three hundred years. It cannot be denied that Bishop Ponet of Winchester, 'was divorced from the butcher's wife with shame enough,'² nor that the Vicar of St. Nicolas, Cole Abbey, 'sold his wife to a butcher.'³ This is Dr. Horton's way of arguing. But if a whole religion is to be condemned of blasphemy, and that for the space of three centuries, because of one extract, whose bearing upon the subject most will assert to be absolutely nothing, and all will acknowledge to be doubtful, what are we to conclude as to the state of morals among the Protestant clergy after Machyn's testimony, the truth of which is certain? No one, we suspect, will conclude anything excepting that Bishop Ponet and the Vicar of St. Nicolas, Cole Abbey, were very disreputable persons. Then why is a solitary extract, which Dr. Horton must confess to be at least very doubtful in meaning, to be used, *not* to condemn the individual who wrote it, but to charge with

¹ Tract, p. 7.

² Machyn's *Diary*, p. 8, year 1551.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 48, year 1553.

blasphemy three centuries of God-fearing and Christian people?

Nor can the author of *Our Lord God the Pope* be said to shine at a greater advantage in his references for the remaining one hundred years. The period from the year 1423, the first date he gives, until 1523, the last, was that during which the Renaissance in Italy reached its crowning point. The Renaissance, so far as letters are concerned, meant not only the writing of a more classic style of Latin, not only the study of, and a perfect acquaintance with Greek as Plato and Aristotle wrote it; it meant also the adoption of pagan forms of expressions and the use, in literature, of an almost anti-Christian terminology. The men of the new learning started from the principle that a Christian term could not be considered good classic Latin, seeing that the pagan writers, whose style they so closely imitated, were either antecedent to Christianity, or, if contemporaries with it, knew nothing of that religion. What did the word *God* mean when they used it? They would have answered that, as they found in classic Latin both a higher and a lower meaning for the term, the first for God Almighty, and the second for whomsoever they choose to address by it, they felt justified in employing the word with a similar distinction in their writings. They would have referred us to a passage in a work of their great master, Cicero, which even Dr. Horton might find it difficult to condemn:—

Hold fast to this : not thou but this body is mortal. For thou art not he whom this form declares thee to be. The mind of each one, that each one is; not that shape which can be pointed out by the finger. *Know, therefore, that thou art a God*; forasmuch as he is a God who lives, who feels, who remembers, who forsees, who so rules, and moderates, and moves that body over which he is placed, as does that principal God this world.¹

If each one of us, they would answer, might, in this lower sense, be called God, why should we be condemned if we use the term in the same way to princes and poets, and even Popes? Indeed, when Sigismond Malatesta could call a

¹ Cicero, *De Somnio Scipionis*.

worthless creature 'the goddess Isota,' and when Aretino, the poet, was styled 'divine,' and the 'Son of God,' we are surprised that Dr. Horton has succeeded in finding only two extracts in which, in anything like a serious manner the Pope is called a god. The remaining two in which the expression occurs are taken from poems, one of which our author finds in Addington Symonds' charming, if not altogether unbiassed book, the *Renaissance in Italy*, while the other is, apparently, borrowed from one of his Protestant friends. These two poetical quotations are placed before us with all the solemnity due to grave historical data. Dr. Horton seems to be in perfect ignorance that by means of poetry we could prove almost anything. We might prove that Milton, a Nonconformist like himself, was a pagan, because in *Lycidas* he invokes the goddesses of song; we might deny the Christianity of the most Christian Dante, because he personifies Fortune as a goddess, and gives her a kingdom, as he does also the other 'heavenly intelligences:'

Ella provvede guida e persequa
Suo regno come il loro *gli altri Dei*.¹

We might accuse Boileau, the author of a devout poem on the love of God, as being, after all, 'blasphemous,' because he says of the King of France: 'Thou alone, without help, after the manner of the gods, sustainest everything by thyself, and seest all things with thine eyes.'² Or, what is more to our purpose, we might hold up both Charles II. and Dryden, and, according to our writer, the whole English people as examples of idolatry, because the poet wrote of the king:—

Both Indies, rivals in your bed provide
With gold or jewels to adorn your bride
This to a mighty king presents rich ore
While that with *incense does a god implore*.³

It is the spirit of the Renaissance which Dr. Horton fails so completely to understand. Even Addington Symonds

¹ *Inferno*, Canto vii., l. 87.

² *Discours au roi*.

³ Dryden's Coronation Poem, 'To His Sacred Majesty.'

is quoted by him in proof of a theory the truth of which that writer would have been the first to deny. 'As Symonds says: "When the spiritual authority of the Popes came thus to be expressed in Latin verse, it was impossible not to treat them as deities."' But the author of the *Renaissance in Italy* does not mean that the people, or even the poets themselves, regarded the Pope as a deity. He is giving his readers some examples of what he calls 'Pagan flattery of the Popes;'¹ and in the passage following on immediately to the one given by Dr. Horton, he shows that the very principle from which the Renaissance men started, the principle that purely Christian expressions could not be considered scholarly Latin, made them careless about not seeming orthodox so long as they appeared, in what they said, to be scholars. For he continues:—'The temptation to apply to them (the Popes) the language of the Roman religion was too great; the double opportunity of flattering their vanity as Pontiffs and their ears as scholars, was too attractive to be missed.'² It is one thing to maintain, as Symonds does, that, when the Renaissance writers wished to express a distinctly Christian office, as the office of the Pope is, in a Pagan language, their flattery could not but 'treat him as a deity.' It is a very different matter to bring forward those same writers, as Symonds does not, to prove that they regarded the Pope as God, and that the people of their times were idolaters. It is to this very book, the *Renaissance in Italy*, we should refer had we to show that these men were the last to look upon the Pope as a deity. It is there we see, in colours sometimes all too vivid, that it was these writers of Italian history, these half Pagan, half Christian philosophers, these writers of love songs and composers of pasquinades, who blackened the reputation of some of the Popes in a very serious manner. If the Papacy favoured them, they flattered; if not, they blamed, as they alone knew how to blame. 'At one time,' says Symonds, 'he (Cellini) trembled before the awful majesty of Christ's vicar revealed in Paul III.; at another he reviled him as a

¹ Symonds' *Renaissance, Revival of Learning*, p. 362.

² *Ibidem*, p. 360.

man who neither believed in God, nor in any other article of religion.' Platina could call Paul II. divine so long as he cherished hopes of propitiating that Pontiff. He was deceived in his hope, with the result that he has given to posterity a Life of Paul which is the very opposite of divine. The men of the 'Renaissance' were not acceptable to Adrian VI., and in consequence he was called by Berni the dunce who could not comprehend his age, and, when he died, his doctor's door was ornamented with this inscription:—'The Roman Senate and people is grateful to the deliverer of the country.'¹ What is the value of evidence brought from the writings of such men in the matter of either praise or blame? To say nothing of more sincere, and we may add, more religious persons, not even the writers themselves could be proved upon such testimony to have *thought* that the Popes were gods. They flattered the popes as they flattered anyone to whom they looked for patronage or gain. No doubt, Dr. Horton has himself been treated to this kind of unreliable praise in his time. But it is sincerely to be hoped, for his own peace of mind, that he does not infer from the flattering sentiments expressed concerning himself, as he does from those addressed to Leo X. or to Julius III., that, therefore, he is, and thinks himself to be, and is regarded by the flatterer and by everyone else as being as perfect as those sentiments represent him.

A moment's reflection ought to have been sufficient to have convinced our writer that this precious argument of his must end in making our own country appear as blasphemous and idolatrous as he thinks it does the countries inhabited by Catholics. Indeed, nothing could have well been less fortunate for him than his assertion that our progress is the effect of our great care in giving divine titles and attributes to God alone. Says Lightfoot: 'Come hither stranger, and stand by me while I am sacrificing; and, when you hear me relating my own story, help my prayers with yours; assist me in this holy office, and

¹ Symonds' *Renaissance Age of the Despots*, p. 347.

worship the same *deities* with me.'¹ This famous Protestant clergyman tells us that his two deities are God and the king; and about the latter he continues: 'To the altar, therefore, of his mercy I humbly fly, in a lowly supplication begging and entreating him to consider my case.'

According to Dr. Horton, we must accuse this great biblical scholar of idolatry and, at the same time, of denying the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, the unity of the Divine Nature! The historian Camden, also a Protestant, addressed Queen Elizabeth as a goddess. He is dedicating his book upon Britain, 'To the most Serene and most Powerful Queen Elizabeth;' and, after the opening sentences he continues: 'For to whom ought it rather, or could it better, be offered and consecrated than to thee, most Serene Elizabeth, the goddess, the lady, and the most indulgent mother of Britain.'² Dr. Horton is shocked by an extract he gives purporting to come from a Croatian nobleman and spoken to Pope Adrian VI. The strongest portion of that extract is the following sentence:—'Suppliant and prostrate, I venerate and adore the immediate presence of God.' Perhaps the following from the above-mentioned preface of Camden to Elizabeth will appear at least equally shocking:—'Just as those who say their prayers to God moderate their voice, their words, and their countenance by a certain reverence, so ought I in consecrating this book at the altar of so great a goddess to adore rather with my mind than to praise with an oration.'³ Everything which Ranke, the non-Catholic historian of the Popes, says, concerning Adrian VI., whom the author of *Our Lord God the Pope* accuses of claiming to be God, leads us to suppose that he was the very last to love any kind of flattery. He was the humblest of men. But, we are not at all sure that 'Good Queen Bess' did not thoroughly relish the 'pretty conceit' with which, in addition to the foregoing passages the historian embellished his preface to her. He says:—'All do acknowledge that to be most true which Eumenius formerly exclaimed to Constantine

¹ Lightfoot, *Horae. Heb. et Tul.*, p. 369, vol. xi.

² Camden's *Britannia*, Latin Ed., 1600.

³ *Ibidem*.

the Great concerning this thy kingdom. Ye good gods! what is this that from the very ends of the earth new gods come down to be worshipped by the whole world!'¹

After this, it is with mingled feelings of surprise and amusement that we read in the tract: 'Our English Reformers like Jewell were profoundly impressed by what seemed to them names of blasphemy, attributed to a man.' Was it really 'the repudiation of this blasphemy,' as our writer puts it, 'which launched modern England upon her career of progress?' The term 'Vicar of God' is one of the blasphemies which devout England, according to him, repudiated. But Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, one of the leaders of the Reformation in England, used the very term to King Edward VI. 'Consider also,' he says, 'the presence of the king's majesty *God's high vicar in earth*, having a respect to his personage ye ought to have reverence to it.'² And Curio another Reformer, called the same unhappy lad, 'a king of clearly *divine* hope,' 'a divine boy.'³ Nor does Blackstone find any difficulty in approving Bracton's assertion about the king of England in general. 'The king is the vicar and minister of God on earth.'⁴ Again, the words 'most sacred and most blessed,' are objected to as being attributes and prerogatives of God. Did Protestant England repudiate these too? But the king is called 'Most High' and 'Most Sacred' in the ecclesiastical constitutions, 'treated upon by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, &c., in the year 1640. And the same canons inform us that if we 'only resist' the king by bearing 'defensive' arms we receive to ourselves damnation! While the Members of Parliament addressed King Charles I. as 'Sir, you are the breath of our nostrils, and the light of our eyes, and the religion we profess hath taught us whose image you are.'⁵ We wonder very much if the following extract, written by a Protestant to Thomas Cromwell, would commend itself to Dr. Horton as a repudiation. 'Most gracious lord and

¹ Camden, *ibidem*.

² Latimer's Sermons before King Edward VI.

³ Strype's *Annals*, vol. ii., p. 298. 9th. Ed. 1816.

⁴ Blackstone's, *Commentary*, vol. i., bk. i., c. 7, *The Rights of Persons*.

⁵ Rapin, *Hist. Eng.*, vol. x., p. 144. Ed. 1730.

most worthiest visitor that ever came amongst us, make me your servant, handmaid, and bedesman, *and save my soul, which should be lost if you help it not*; the which you may save with one word speaking, and make me, which am nought, come unto grace and goodness.'² These sentiments are certainly not less extraordinary than those expressed in a quotation given in the tract we are considering, in which the Pope is said as the Lamb of God to take away the sins of the world, and for which the writer gives no reference, excepting that Elliott, a Protestant like himself, says, that he has met with it! Or again, what are we to think of this: 'Such is the mercy and kindness of thy godhead,' writes a Protestant clergyman to 'my most Serene Lord. Lord Charles II.'—'Such is the mercy and kindness of thy godhead, that thy most holy and divine majesty will not despise this little literary work;'² and he continues: 'Nor do I think that this fact ought to be passed over in silence by me that, bound by a sense of worship as thy servant, and of thy kindness to me thy vassal, I lie at thy most sacred feet.' And he finishes by informing this most immoral monarch that he holds the place of God on earth—another blasphemy in Dr. Horton's eyes! And all of this we are gravely told, we as a nation repudiated! The truth is that Protestantism no more 'repudiated' these extraordinary expressions than did Catholicism embrace them. In both religions they are the words of an individual here and there, and as such, were those individuals to be taken seriously, cannot be brought forward to condemn a whole faith or an entire people. And no one does take them seriously, excepting the author of *Our Lord God the Pope*. He is so terribly in earnest himself as not to be able to comprehend how even Christians, of whose extreme goodness no one could doubt, have found no difficulty, on one occasion in their lives, in giving titles generally associated with the Supreme Being to a fellow-creature. Dr. Horton has much to learn. He has yet to learn that God and Christ Himself

¹ Maskell's *Ritualia Aug.*, vol. i, p. clxxxii.

² Preface to Dr. Littleton's *Latin Dictionary*.

fell into the error which he so sharply criticizes;¹ that St. John assures us we are 'the sons of God,'² and St. Peter that we are 'partakers of the divine nature.'³ He may yet read the Epistle of Diognetus of the second century, and ponder upon the assertion of that writer, that he who gives to the needy 'becomes a *god* to those who receive his alms.' He might yet derive some instruction from St. Gregory Nazianzen, who, although he addressed our Lord in the following beautiful lines:—

What can I, Lord, in this my evil hour,
Save look to Thee, despising things of earth;
Life of my life, Breath of my soul, my Power,
My guiding Light! O Saviour what thy worth!⁴

nevertheless feared no misconstruction with regard to his words concerning his friend, St. Basil:—

Dispenser of the mysteries of God, man of the desires of the Spirit. I do call thee the God of Pharaoh, that is of all the Egyptain power now opposing us. I call thee the column and strength of the Church, the Will of the Lord, the Bearer of Light in the world, the Holder of the word of Life, the Sustainer of the Faith, and the temple of the Spirit.⁴

Dr. Horton's ignorance will, we feel sure, appear to himself very great when he considers, that the blasphemy, as he calls it, of giving the honour due to the 'One God to another' has really been committed less often by Catholics with regard to the Pope, than by Christians who lived when, as we are always being told, there were no Papists, with regard to persons who were not the Pope. For St. Jerome called the Apostles Gods, and St. Gregory I. reminds the Emperor Mauritius that priests are called Gods in Sacred Writ. And he will wonder very much, doubtless, how it came about that he should not have known that modern Protestantism, of which he is so militant a member, is really as great a blasphemer as ever was early Christianity, or the more remote reformed writers to whom we have alluded. It is Symonds who assures us that, the sculptor by his art 'has

¹ St. John x. 34, 35.

² 1 John iii. 2.

³ 2 Peter i. 4.

⁴ St. Gregory, *De Vita Sua Carmen*.

⁵ St. Gregory, *Oratio* 19.

won for himself our worship.'¹ It is Ruskin who says, that some phases of nature 'cannot be heard without affection, nor contemplated without worship.'² It is Tennyson who ascribes to the departed a certain supernatural knowledge and mercy:—

Be near us when we climb or fall :
Ye watch like God the rolling hours,
With larger other eyes than ours,
To make allowance for us all.

It is a non-Catholic writer on education who says, that 'the teacher creates man a second time; but he who creates man is God, and therefore the teacher is God.'³ It is the marriage service in which most Englishmen promise to 'worship' their wives; and it is Carlyle who informs us, that they really do so, and that she is a 'divine presence.' 'Thy own amber locked, snow and rose bloom maiden—whom thou lovest, *worshippest as a* divine presence, which, indeed, symbolically taken, she is.'⁴ Perhaps those words 'symbolically taken' may help to explain to the writer of *Our Lord God the Pope* in what manner extravagant language is to be understood. Perhaps he may, some day, be converted to the sentiment which most thinking men and women have long ago held, that 'words like nature half reveal, and half conceal the soul within.' Or, at least, if he *cannot* learn the lesson that it is possible for a word to have two meanings, he will hesitate to charge Catholics with a blasphemy which their whole soul abominates by means of proofs which would condemn the All Holy Himself, the best of Christians, and his own Protestant 'progressive' country.

There are other parts of the tract which we pass by, content with simply mentioning them. There are four quotations with no reference save that they are to be found in the works of three Protestants as hostile to us as is Dr. Horton. They are particularly offensive. Until he can bring us better proofs than the unauthenticated assertions of our

¹ Symond's *Renaissance Fine Arts*, p. 120.

² *Modern Painters*, vol. ii., cap. xii.

³ *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, Sept. 1896, p. 257.

⁴ *Sartor Resartus* 23.

enemies, our writer must not be surprised to hear that he is considered wantonly to have outraged the feelings of people as religious, at least, as he is. He suggests that Catholics regard the Pope so highly, that to accuse him is to commit the sin against the Holy Ghost, and is therefore unpardonable; and that they have not hesitated to assert that, 'with his indulgence, as the Lamb of God, he, the Pope, took away the sins of the world.'¹ We are sorry that Dr. Horton thinks it so small a matter to wilfully hurt the religious sentiments of persons whose idea of the Supreme Godhead of the Lamb of God has not been surpassed by his own, and whose love for the Son of God, and gratitude to Him for His redemption, are much greater than he can lay claim to possessing. The Popes have been, and ever will be, very dear to us. We revere them as those to whom, through St. Peter, the divine words were said, 'To thee do I give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven,' and, 'whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven;' but the history of the Church is our witness, that never yet have Catholics placed him or the saints, much higher than he, before that Lord and God, who to them has ever been so precious. The successor of Peter, the Vicar of Christ, the Pastor of our Lord's flock, all these and many other titles do we give to the Pope; but Dr. Horton will have undertaken a thankless task if he endeavour to find one member of the Catholic Church, whose head on earth the Pope is, who does not also regard him as a man 'taken from among men and compassed with infirmity.'

JOHN FREELAND.

¹ *Tract*, pp. 10-12.

ST. PATRICK'S BIRTHPLACE: 'THE VOICE OF THE IRISH'

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

IT may be advisable to begin by giving the following short bibliography of the controversy:—

1. 'The Birthplace of St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland.' By the Bishop of Ossory (now Cardinal Moran). *Dublin Review*, April, 1880.

2. 'Where St. Patrick was born.' By the Rev. Colin Grant (afterwards Bishop of Aberdeen). *Dublin Review*, April, 1887. I put these two articles first, because they are written so systematically. They begin by clearly setting forth in chronological sequence the authorities appealed to. The texts and translations there given have now been before the world for many years, yet they have never been challenged as inaccurate. The renderings of Cardinal Moran and of Bishop Grant are, accordingly, those of which I shall make use in the following article.

3. 'St. Martin and St. Patrick.' By the Rev. W. B. Morris. *Dublin Review*, January, 1883. Cf. the same writer's *Life of St. Patrick*. Burns and Oates, 1888. Also his (unsigned) article in the *Dublin Review*, July, 1880: 'The Apostle of Ireland and his Modern Critics.'¹

4. 'Where was St. Patrick born?' By Very Rev. Sylvester Malone, M.R.I.A., &c., *Dublin Review*, October,

¹ Father Morris is not always quite serious in his discussion of St. Patrick's birthplace; and his ill-timed and sneering pleasantry is sometimes misleading. Thus, in the *Dublin Review*, January, 1888, p. 14, note, he makes merry over certain details which he is pleased to ascribe to the Kilpatrick tradition, although no responsible writer ever seriously thinks of urging them. It is easy to retort: one might make merry over Father Morris and his 'blackthorn,' (*loc. cit.*, p. 20.)

Then, what shall I say of his unscientific etymology?—a fault common to him with too many Irish writers, who are otherwise men of ability and learning. He derives *pecora* from the Greek 'to shear'! Only the dignity of the subject before me prevents me from characterising this as 'sheer nonsense;' one might as well say that the Greeks spoke of a sheep as *πρόβατον*, *probaiton*, because it was *proütum*, and found good!

1886. Another article with the same title,¹ and by the same writer, appeared in the *Dublin Review*, October, 1887. Cf. also his *Chapters towards a Life of St. Patrick* Dublin: Gill and Son, 1892.

5. 'Where St. Patrick was born: A Last Reply.' By Rev. Colin C. Grant. *Dublin Review*, January, 1888.

6. 'The Birthplace of St. Patrick.' By Rev. Albert Barry, C.S.S.R. *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, December, 1893.

7. 'The Birthplace of St. Patrick.' By Very Rev. Edward O'Brien, P.P., V.G. *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June-July, 1899.

8. *The Birthplace of St. Patrick*. By the Rev. Duncan Macnab. Dublin: James Duffy, 1866. In this work the original authorities will be found cited in the appendix. The learning and ability of the writer are remarkable, especially when we consider the time at which he wrote.

For the intelligent discussion of the subject, an acquaintance with the *Celtic Scotland* of Dr. W. F. Skene, late Historiographer-Royal for Scotland, is indispensable. His other works may also be consulted with advantage; and the same remark applies to the Scottish writers who have given an account of the Roman remains in Scotland. These remains are well described and illustrated in Stuart's *Caledonia Romana*. Of course, local histories of the Alclyde district must not be neglected. I may specially refer to the recent work of Mr. John Bruce, F.S.A. Scot., *History of the Parish of West or Old Kilpatrick*, where a good deal of information and many suggestive references may be found.²

¹ But not with the same view.

² I cannot here undertake to give a complete list of all the works which I have consulted; I content myself with mentioning a few writers, in whose pages the literature of the subject will be found copiously quoted and referred to. A great deal has, of course, been done since Stuart, or even since Skene wrote; and I have derived much information from recent monographs, lectures, and reports, such as, e.g., *The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. I speak, also, to some extent, from personal knowledge and observation. When about eight years ago excavations and sections were made along the line of the Antonine Wall, I was enabled to see and examine part of them. This may suffice for the present; if any of my statements are challenged, I shall know how to reply. Meantime, perhaps enough has been said to caution the reader against the assertions and views of dogmatic theorists, who know as much concerning

In spite of all that has been written on the subject of St. Patrick's birthplace, I trust that I may be permitted to offer a contribution to the discussion. As a member of the Irish race, I am bound to feel a profound interest in all that concerns the apostle of our country; as one dwelling within easy reach of the saint's traditional birthplace, I cannot ignore the claims of Kilpatrick, and cannot but wish that they should be kept before the minds of my countrymen.¹ Let us, therefore, inquire as to the character of these claims, and endeavour to ascertain how far they are supported by the most ancient traditions of those who were presumably best acquainted with the facts of the case. All must agree that the sources of information which have the best right to be considered as authentic are: (1) the people to whom St. Patrick preached the faith; (2) the fellow-countrymen of the saint. With regard to this latter source of information, however, it is obvious that we cannot consult the saint's (presumed) countrymen until we have previously determined, at least with a certain degree of probability, his birthplace or nationality. Let us, then, first question the voice of Irish tradition. After that we may proceed to question—whom? Well, let us not indulge in rash anticipations: the result of our first inquiry must determine the character and form of the second.

the district of Alclyde as I may know concerning the possible bodies that revolve round Sirius or Algol.

¹ St. Peter's College, the seminary of the archdiocese of Glasgow, stands about six miles from the centre of the city, and five miles from Kilpatrick, whose very name—seeing that no serious rival is known to exist—should constitute a claim to an impartial consideration of the right to indicate St. Patrick's birthplace. As one looks from the College windows he can perceive, about a quarter of a mile away, the line of the Antonine Wall, a work which was constructed A.D. 139, as the frontier of the Roman dominions, and traces of which can still be distinctly seen in the neighbourhood. Here, too, Roman remains of unquestioned authenticity have again and again been discovered. About a mile beyond the College grounds, on the main road to Kilpatrick and Dumbarton, there rises a remarkable eminence known as the 'Castle Hill.' This is the site of one of the *Castella*, or forts which defended the frontier wall. The hill still shows traces of Roman fortification; a Roman altar discovered there bears an inscription containing the name of the 'Fourth Cohort of the Gauls.'

The very ground on which the College is built originally formed part of the old Catholic Parish of Kilpatrick; and the neighbouring modern village, about a mile on the Glasgow side of the College gates, is named New Kilpatrick, to distinguish it from the more ancient town, six miles to the west.

I. THE VOICE OF IRISH TRADITION

In the course of this article I purpose to 'take for granted' as little as possible; and whatever assumptions I may make will, I trust, be of such a character that no reasonable person will be likely to dispute them. My first assumption is that the generations of Irishmen to whom St. Patrick actually preached must have been acquainted with the saint's birthplace. When the apostle of Ireland was, for the first time, brought face to face with the inhabitants of the different districts of the country, perhaps the first question that must have been asked of him was: 'Who are you, and whence do you come?' As he journeyed through the length and breadth of the land, this question, dictated both by prudence and by curiosity, must have been put innumerable times and in innumerable forms. And if frequently put, it must surely have been frequently and fully answered. Or are we to suppose that the saint continually refused to give a direct and clear answer to the direct and searching questions of those whom he was so anxious to conciliate?

And even if we choose to imagine that he observed, when dealing with the chiefs and with the mass of the people, some extraordinary and meaningless reticence on the subject of his birthplace, can we believe that he never revealed the 'dead secret' of his birth and nationality even to his closest and dearest friends, to such favourite disciples, for example, as the loving and lovable Benignus? Or did he only speak of his natal spot under some solemn promise that the awful secret should never be revealed to others? We know from the character of St. Patrick's own writings that he was a man of deep and warm feelings, and that his mind and heart turned naturally and lovingly to the recollection of home and kindred. He must, one would think, have had frequent occasion, in the course of his long apostolate, to refer naturally and movingly to the subjects which, humanly speaking, were nearest to his heart.

Again, even if we ignore what has just been urged, is there not another important consideration which we must take into our reckoning? Surely the men who took our

saint captive knew something of his antecedents. He was their property, and they would deem it their business and their right to know. They knew, at least, the place whence they had taken him; they could probably guess something more; they were certainly in a position to extort what information their coarse curiosity demanded. And when St. Patrick passed from the hands of his captors to the power of his masters, were no questions asked and answered? It is not thus that we find slaves being bought and sold, either in ancient or in more recent times. A slave's antecedents are always a subject of inquiry, and a new and untried slave's antecedents could hardly include more than his birth and nationality, and must have almost inevitably included these. And during all the time of his captivity, whilst he served various masters, and was brought into contact with various people did no one ever ask him about home and kindred, or did all who might ask fail to obtain a reply? And though we should suppose such failure on the part of the men of Erin, what about its women? There is no reason to think that they have ever shown themselves inferior to their foreign sisters in the qualities of kindness and compassion; and it might be rash to assume that they are notably deficient in feminine curiosity. Did no womanly Irish heart ever feel touched by even a transient sentiment of pity for the lonely young captive? Were no gentle words, or kindly inquiries ever addressed to him, such as might win the poor slave to speak of parents and country, and so move him to relieve his own sorrow, while he gratified the natural and not uncharitable curiosity of another? St. Vincent de Paul after his capture by the Barbary Corsairs, was in a situation very similar to that of St. Patrick: the story of St. Vincent and the infidel wife of his Mohammedan master may suggest an answer to the above questions. Only let us remember the difference of age; for Patrick was hardly more than a child at the time of which we speak.

Lastly, let us think of St. Patrick returning as a missionary and a bishop to the country, and even to the very scenes of his former slavery. Imagine the interest that must

have been excited by his reappearance ; consider the interchange of pieces of information and the comparing of notes that must have ensued. Numbers of those who had known him as a captive were still alive ; possibly some of his captors, and certainly some who were related to them, would still be surviving to answer questions about him. Was there no such thing as *gossip* in Ireland, or did it refuse to follow him wherever he went ? ' *Haud semper errat fama,*' says the historian ; and we know that, while it cannot always *err*, it *travels* far and wide.

If in spite of all these things, and in spite of human nature itself, St. Patrick's birthplace still remained a secret, then I can only say, in Kinglake's phrase, that our forefathers must have been ' a heap of originals.' Now, as we can hardly accept such a conclusion, we must assume that St. Patrick's birthplace could not have remained a secret to his contemporaries. During the long years of his ministry he and others must have had occasion often enough to say ' where St. Patrick was born ;' and every such mention of the place must have tended to originate an independent line of local tradition. As time went on, these various lines of tradition must have crossed and interlaced, mutually confirming and strengthening one another, until at last they formed a network of conviction in the Irish mind such as no hostile criticism can successfully assail, and none but the most arbitrary theorizing can ignore.

A matter once so well and widely known could never have been forgotten, so long as Irish learning preserved its continuity of life. See how Father Morris himself speaks of ' the unbroken tradition concerning St. Patrick which was handed down from generation to generation in the Irish monasteries.'¹ How is it, then, that in regard to the saint's birthplace, and in regard to that alone, the tradition is no longer ' unbroken,' but becomes fairly pulverized beneath the blows of hostile criticism ?

But, perhaps, the Irish were indifferent about the matter, and lost the recollection of what failed to interest them ?

¹ *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 49.

One of our critics actually asserts this; but the assertion is not only rash, it is opposed to all the evidence that we possess. Our earliest records show a lively interest in the subject, and the writers give us a multitude of names and indications by which the place might be identified. 'Emthur' (or Nemthur), 'Ailcluade,' 'Campus Taburne' (or Campus Tabern), 'the district of Strathclyde,' 'the valley of the Clyde,' 'Dun-Breton' (*i.e.*, the Rock of the Britons), 'the Strathclyde Britons,' 'the Strathclyde river'—these, and such as these, are the indications which our ancient writers afford. These authorities speak as men who took a *particular interest* in the question; and anyone who will turn to the *Dublin Review*, April, 1880, and April, 1887, will see that they also speak as men who profess to *know what they were talking about*. What arrant humbugs they must have been, if they did not know! And we must remember that their evidence reaches back certainly to the eighth, probably to the seventh century.¹

But does not another objector sneer at the indications referred to, and refuse to accept as evidence 'names which nobody ever heard of'? Unfortunately for the critic, these names and indications are too abundant to be all rejected as unknown quantities. Our ancient writers are simply and literally 'too many for him' in this matter. If anyone

¹ Father Sylvester Malone, in his *Chapters towards a Life of St. Patrick*, p. 49, says:—"The chief and sole (*sic!*) argument in favour of Scotland being the birthplace of St. Patrick is founded on a gloss at the close of the tenth century.' On the very next page the date of the gloss is moved forward a little to 'about the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century.' Of course, Father Malone does all that he can to make the gloss as late as possible, and he may be left to enjoy his own view. But when he talks of the gloss as 'the sole argument,' he calmly ignores all other concurrent evidence, whether derived from ancient records or from tradition; and that is a proceeding which I will leave to the judicious reader to characterise by appropriate epithets, but which certainly calls for energetic protest.

And here an important observation suggests itself. All who have any acquaintance with textual criticism know that, when we assign a certain writing to a particular date, we by no means suppose that *the evidence* afforded by the writing *originated* at the date in question. On the contrary, unless the reading presented by the MSS. can be shown to be a manifest corruption of some earlier document, we are bound to regard such a piece of evidence as proof of a *pre-existing tradition*. This observation must be carefully borne in mind, if we would rightly estimate the significance of the proofs derived from ancient records; yet it seems to be generally ignored by our 'Patrician' theorists.

can seriously say that he never heard of Dumbarton, of Strathclyde, or even of Alclyde, I am sorry for the objector. His want of knowledge is deplorable; but his want of discretion in thus publishing his want of knowledge is absolutely inexcusable. A name like *Campus Tabern* is sometimes objected to, on the ground that it is a 'general designation,' and not an individual appellation. But, if it is a general designation, then it cannot be opposed to the particular names with which we are furnished over and above; and even as a general designation it suits the topography and history of the locality to which it is applied. Again, are not all works on local etymology written on the supposition that local names were originally appellatives, and, therefore, of a more or less 'general' nature. Let our critics consult Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*, or Johnston's *Place-names of Scotland*. But, then, what about Emthur—a name whose very form varies, and whose explanation is difficult, because more than one etymology has been suggested? As to the variations of form, we are told that St. Jerome, an older contemporary of St. Patrick, was born at Strido, or Strigo. You see the form varies here again, yet no one doubts that one or other of the forms implies an underlying reality. As to the difficulty of etymological explanation, we do not know the precise meaning of Strido (or is it Strigo?). All etymologists seem to be in doubt as to the derivation of the familiar names, Clyde and Glasgow. Are we, therefore, to blot such names from our maps and histories?

But there is another 'difficulty.' Father Malone and other critics invoke distance to lend enchantment to their hostile views. They insist that different places are set down as St. Patrick's birthplace: he is said to have been born at Dumbarton, and again, at Old Kilpatrick. It is hard to believe that such objectors are sincere. The *Aberdeen Breviary* mentions Old Kilpatrick, because the work was compiled for natives of Scotland; the ancient Irish authorities give Alclyde, or Dumbarton, because they were not writing for Scotchmen, but for Irishmen. The latter would probably know something of the important British city and fortress, whose name was applied to the surrounding district, and

even to the Strathclyde kingdom, the capital of which was Alclyde; they might know nothing of particular local names like Kilpatrick. Indeed, to tell a person that 'Patrick was born at Patrick's Church,' would not seem to convey much information; it would be more like tautology than definition. We commonly say that 'St. Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome'; for the statement is intended to convey something like an intelligible idea to people who are mostly ignorant of Roman topography. The majority of men and women would be mystified, instead of being instructed, if you told them that St. Paul was martyred at *S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane*, even if you put the information into English. In Rome, however, the *Tre Fontane* would naturally be mentioned as the name of the place, because it is the name familiar to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Yet the *Tre Fontane* is about four miles from the nearest gate of the City, and that is just the distance from the Chapel Hill to the rock of Dumbarton.

The mention of the Chapel Hill at the western extremity of Kilpatrick once more reminds us of Emthur. If the proper form be *Nemthur*, and the meaning *Turris Coelestis*, the modern name of Chapel Hill suggests a strange and significant coincidence. Whether the name arose from the local devotion to St. Patrick in early days, or points to some pre-existing pagan *Sacellum* (possibly converted into a Christian Oratory by the Christians among whom St. Patrick was born), is quite a secondary matter. If, on the other hand, the proper form of the name be *Emthur*, or even the single element *Thur*, indicating a prominent or remarkable 'Tower,' such a designation would be singularly appropriate to the important fortress on the Chapel Hill, where stood the terminal fort of the great Antonine Wall. Again, the name may refer to the Dumbarton Rock itself. The whole question is not of any vital importance to those who believe in the testimony of ancient records and of ancient tradition; for neither records nor tradition enter into minute topographical particulars such as we could recognise at the present day. 'In Emthur' (or *Nemthur*), 'in Alclyde' (a district as well as a town), 'in Kilpatrick'—such is the

testimony of former ages : quarrel with these phrases as you will, they can never imply any greater opposition, or involve any greater difficulty than can be shown to exist in the phrases, 'At Rome,' 'At the Tre Fontane.' There are points about Emthur, and about one or two other names associated in ancient writers with St. Patrick's birthplace, concerning which we may not be quite certain ; but most of the testimony which exists on the subject is clear and decisive. We may acquiesce in the limitations of our knowledge ; for, in such matters, *inter virtutes habetur aliquid nescire*. Or we may attempt to explain what is obscure, but, while doing so, we must go on the principle that the *unknown* is to be elucidated in conformity with the *known*. To act on the opposite plan, or to explain away the certain, in order to accommodate the requirements of the uncertain and conjectural, would be to proclaim ourselves devoid of the powers of reason.

To sum up the case in favour of Irish tradition. A knowledge of human nature and a consideration of the circumstances of St. Patrick's life in Ireland indicate that the saint's birthplace could not have remained unknown to his contemporaries. Not he alone, but others besides, must have been led to give information upon the subject. Two classes of people there are, indeed, whose life can have no secret, and whose birth can be no mystery ; these are, the highest and the lowest, the despised slave and the honoured leader and inspirer of a nation's life. St. Patrick occupied both of these extreme positions ; he was the slave of Irish masters, and he was the Apostle of the Irish race.

And the knowledge once acquired was not likely to be lost by our ancestors. The terms originally employed by the saint himself or by other informants were certainly intelligible to those who heard them ; for, if not intelligible in themselves, they must have been rendered so by further explanation. And such terms would be faithfully transmitted from age to age, so long as they continued to be understood ; and once they tended to become obscure, they would be faithfully and accurately glossed and explained, or rendered

into more modern and more familiar equivalents.¹ We must therefore, believe that the ancient Irish knew and remembered where their national apostle was born; let us now see how that cherished knowledge and recollection was expressed.

II. EXPRESS TESTIMONY OF IRISH TRADITION

1. The Gloss on St. Fiacc's Hymn (before A.D. 700).

I put this first, because it is well known, and also because it calls for special notice, seeing that its true character and real importance are often systematically ignored or misrepresented.

St. Fiacc, who is represented as Bishop of Sletty, and one of the immediate disciples of St. Patrick, must have written before the year A.D. 540. His Hymn, which appeals to pre-existing records, tells us: 'Patrick was born in Nemthur; it is this that has been declared in histories.' An ancient gloss adds the information: 'Nemthur is a city in North Britain, namely, Ailcluade.'²

With regard to the above, the following points must be noted. (1) Date of the Gloss. Cardinal Moran says:—

His [St. Fiacc's] poem is preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum*, or ancient collection of *Hymns of the Early Irish Church*, which probably was compiled by Adamnan towards the close of the seventh century.³

Again, pp. 294-295, he says:—

The two MSS. of the Book of Hymns also dating from the tenth century, were copied from independent sources, as is manifest from the different hymns which they contain and the different texts which they present. Nevertheless, several of the glosses like that which we have cited are the same in both manuscripts, and are adjudged by the best Celtic scholars to belong to a very early age, dating probably from the first compilation of the hymns in the seventh century.³

¹ To realise the value and trustworthiness of ancient Irish glosses the reader has only to remember how largely Zeus's immortal work, the *Grammatica Celtica* is founded upon the annotations of Irish scribes.

² For proof of these statements and of those which follow, the reader is referred to Cardinal Moran's article in the *Dublin Review*. The article of Bishop Grant may also be consulted.

³ *L. c.*, p. 294.

(2) Authority of the Gloss. Cardinal Moran reminds us that, 'the authority of such glosses is very great,' and this applies with especial [force to the one now under consideration. Father Morris, in his *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 45, referring to the compilation of the *Book of Armagh* 'in the middle of the seventh century,' remarks:—'From that date to the death of St. Patrick leaves only a hundred and fifty years to be accounted for; a period which might have been bridged over by the memories of two generations.' Following this method of computation, we might say that the period, from the time when St. Patrick was still living down to the time of the first writing of the gloss, might be spanned by the memory of three generations. But, as already said, I wish to be cautious in making assumptions. Let us, therefore, assume six or seven generations to be necessary in the latter case. We then observe that a gloss, which does not depend for support upon one solitary MS., which, on the contrary, must have been *copied* and *recopied* by various hands, at various times, and in various places, which is witnessed to by *different but absolutely consentient lines of MS. transmission*, still presents the same unvarying testimony to the fact that St. Patrick was born at Ailcluade, *i. e.*, at Dumbarton.¹ And all this, not only without opposition from any rival testimony, but without our being furnished with the very slightest hint that any rival opinion existed during the early centuries that composed the interval in question.

Could such a thing be possible, unless the gloss represented the universal belief of the Irish people? Or are we to suppose that the real belief of Erin on the subject of St. Patrick's birthplace was swept into oblivion by the

¹ Will the reader please observe the true character of the evidence here presented? Father Malone delights to speak of the annotation as a 'tenth century gloss.' Such an expression is most misleading. The MS. *which contains the gloss* may be of the tenth century; but *the gloss itself*, from the considerations above advanced, as well as from those mentioned by Cardinal Moran, is obviously *earlier by a very considerable interval* of time. The oldest MS. of our Greek Gospels belong to the fourth century; but not even the most reckless rationalist would dare to deny that the evidence afforded by these MSS. would alone prove our Gospels to be of an earlier date. Any writer who ignores this consideration shows himself to be utterly incompetent to discuss critical and textual questions.

blundering or fraudulent action of any 'nameless scribe'?'¹ Must we believe that, in a country whose inhabitants have always been ready enough to express divergent views upon all subjects which conveniently admit of difference of opinion, no voice capable of securing a permanent hearing was raised against the presumed blunderer or forger; no pen fitted to attract lasting attention was found to advocate the cause of truth against the assumed error? Whoever can believe all this, and all else that is involved in the rejection of ancient testimony, may be left to enjoy his own opinion; for he is beyond the reach of argument; but we may well wonder how he can possibly find a basis on which to erect his own theory. If he rejects the venerable and clear statements of our existing records, what else has he upon which he can rely? He must fall back upon arbitrary theorizing; and his theory, however ingenious, can pretend to nothing like tangible proof. On the other hand, it must always have this against it, that its acceptance involves the discrediting, not only of Irish scribes and of Irish tradition, but of the Irish nation itself; for the people of Ireland are implicitly charged with want of the most ordinary intelligence and with an unaccountable lack of interest in the life of their greatest benefactor. To the proposer of any such theory every right-minded Irishman will reply: *Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi*. 'I will not purchase, or adopt your vain speculations at the expense of national honour.'

(3) Language of the Gloss.—Competent judges pronounce the language of the gloss to be of an archaic type, such as fully justifies its attribution to the remote period to which it has been assigned. But the name Ailcluade is worthy of special notice. Dr. Skene tells us:—

The capital of the kingdom (of the Strathclyde Britons) was the strongly fortified positions on the rock on the right bank of the Clyde, termed by the Britons Alcluith, and by the Gadhelic people Dunbreatan, or the fort of the Britons, now Dumbarton.²

Even without the authority of Dr. Skene, it is obvious that the Britons would naturally speak of their capital

¹ This is Father Malone's own epithet for the annotator.

² *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 236.

under the descriptive name derived from their own language, *i.e.*, Alcluith, rather than under the name of Dunbreatam, *i.e.*, the fort of the *Britons*; but this latter name would be the one most naturally employed by men of a different nationality. Similarly, *Mr. Smith* will naturally speak of his residence as 'Mount Pleasant': he will hardly call it *Smith's*; but this latter expression will be freely used by Brown, Jones, or Robinson. Now, the fact that the writer of the gloss speaks of Ailcluade, and not Dunbreatan, leads us to think that the tradition from which he derived his information must be ultimately traced to the mouth of one who was himself a Briton of Strathclyde. In answer to the question as to 'where St. Patrick was born,' the saint, or one of his companions who had learned the facts from him, would naturally reply, 'in Ailcluade;' while a person of Gadhelic race, whether belonging to the Irish or Scotch branch, would as naturally answer 'in Dunbreatan.' If the name Ailcluade were thus introduced either by St. Patrick, or by some other informant in reference to the saint, it would become consecrated by association, and would be handed down by tradition, otherwise its occurrence in the present instance is not so easy of explanation. We thus seem to have in the very wording of the gloss a new proof of the trustworthiness of Irish tradition; we see how the Irish scribes faithfully transmitted, not merely the substance of the information which they had derived from faithful witnesses, but even the very 'form of words' in which that substance was embodied.

If the gloss on St. Fiacc's hymn stood alone and unsupported, it would still be sufficient to establish the fact that St. Patrick was born near Dumbarton. The more closely this testimony is examined the more clearly does its value appear; and the evidence thus presented to us cannot be rejected without involving us in suppositions and forcing upon us alternatives which are entirely arbitrary, utterly unreasonable, and degradingly dishonourable to the Irish race. But the gloss does *not* stand alone and unsupported: there is other evidence which I now proceed to consider, and which it will be found equally hard to reject.

2. The *Tripartite Life* (embodying early materials of 500 to 700).

If the *Tripartite* be really in the main the work of St. Evin, to whom it is ascribed, it is from the pen of one concerning whom O'Curry says,¹ that this St. Eimhin was probably living in the year 504, 'so that he had very probably seen and conversed with St. Patrick, who had died only eleven years before this time, or in 493.' At all events, it is certain that the *Tripartite* embodies very early materials, as appears from the character of the idiom employed. The only objection admitted by O'Curry against the view that the work is of the sixth century, is drawn from the fact that certain seventh century compilers are mentioned in it, although our great Celtic scholar inclines to consider such passages as interpolations. But, even as a seventh century witness—nay, even as a witness of the succeeding centuries, it is surely entitled to considerable respect; its testimony is, at least, of incomparably greater value than the subjective statement of modern theorists, whose expressions of opinion are avowedly their own invention, and are certainly of much more recent date. Now, here is what the *Tripartite* tells us: I give the words of Hennessy's translation:—

Patrick, then, was of the Britons of Alcluaid by origin . . . In Nemtur (Emtur) moreover, the man, St. Patrick was born . . . A church was founded, moreover, over this well in which Patrick was baptized; and the well is at the altar, and it has the form of a cross, as the learned report.

The *Tripartite* adds that St. Patrick was taken captive in 'Amoric Letha.' With regard to this, it is beside the present purpose to enter into any discussion. The *Tripartite* distinctly confirms the evidence of the gloss on St. Fiacc's hymn, both authorities declare that St. Patrick's origin must be sought among the Britons of Strathclyde. As to where the saint was taken captive, 'das ist ganz was anders,' as the German fabulist has it, 'tis quite another story.' St. Vincent de Paul was born near Dax in the south-west of France, not fifty miles from the shores of the *Bay of*

¹ *MS. Material's*, p. 251.

² *Life of St. Patrick*, by Cusack, pp. 372-373.

Biscay, but he was captured by the Barbary Corsairs in the *Mediterranean*, while on a voyage from Marseilles to Narbonne. Julius Cæsar was captured by pirates in the neighbourhood of Miletus; but no one supposes that the great dictator was a Milesian.

3. The *Vita Quarta* (before A.D. 774).

Cardinal Moran informs us that the *Vita Quarta* 'is proved by intrinsic data to have been written before the year 774.' He thus translates:¹ 'Some affirm that St. Patrick was of Jewish descent.' (The reasoning of those who held this fanciful view is then given, and it is certainly worthy of some of our modern theorists. Those early anticipators of Lanigan and his imitators first pointed out that the saint says: 'We have been scattered unto the extremities of the earth for our sins;' they then remarked that the Jews, upon the fall of Jerusalem, 'were scattered over the whole world'! The compiler of the *Vita Quarta*, however, was not misled by such misapplied ingenuity, for he thus continues):—

But it is more true and correct that he (St. Patrick) here speaks of that dispersion which the Britons suffered at the hands of the Romans, when some of them settled in the district known as *Armorica*, near the *Tyrrhene* sea. In that dispersion, therefore, his parents proceeded to the district of *Strathclyde*, in which territory Patrick was conceived and born . . . The inhabitants of the place erected a church over the fountain in which he was baptized, and those acquainted with the place say that the fountain, which is beside the altar, is in the form of a cross.

The above passage not only distinctly confirms the tradition that St. Patrick was born in *Alclyde*, but it is highly instructive in another way. It shows that even in the eighth century there were a few subjective critics, who endeavoured to base their fanciful speculations on the wording of the saint's own writings; but it also shows that such vain speculations did not affect the Irish nation as a body, and could not obscure the Irish tradition on the one important point, the question of St. Patrick's birthplace.

As to the mention of 'Armorica near the Tyrrhene sea,'

¹ *Dublin Review*, l. c., p. 296.

all must admit that the phrase is obscure, too obscure, indeed, to afford a basis for anything but mere conjecture; but if it really refers to Armorica, as ordinarily understood, the statement presents no difficulty in the Scottish view. We know that there were Gauls in the neighbourhood of the modern site of Kilpartick centuries before St. Patrick's time;¹ and a certain amount of passing and repassing between the Gaulish settlers in the Dumbarton district and their kindred who remained in Gaul is natural enough. Impartially considered, the phrase in question may be taken as an 'undesigned coincidence' in favour of the traditional view, as it would help to explain the well-known assertion that St. Patrick was connected with St. Martin.

4. The *Vita Sexta* (written by Jocelyn before A.D. 1200).

Jocelyn, towards the close of the twelfth century, compiled a Life of St. Patrick, based upon pre-existing works. I believe that the only real objection ever urged against the testimony of Jocelyn is that he was 'uncritical' in the use of his authorities, *i.e.*, that he too faithfully reproduced the testimony of earlier writers upon whose works his own narrative is founded. Now, Jocelyn tells us:—

There was a certain man, Calphurnius by name, son of Potitus a priest, a Briton by birth, (or nation), dwelling . . . near the town, Empthor, bordering on the Irish sea . . . The place is famous, situated in the valley of the Clyde, and called in the language of that country Dunbreaton, *i.e.*, the Rock of the Britons.

So clear a testimony calls for little remark. It presents no difficulty, except to those who doggedly set themselves to raise difficulties against the traditional view, although they have no substitute for the latter except suppositions which involve, not merely difficulties, but absurdities. Captious exception has been taken to the statement that St. Patrick's birthplace is 'bordering on the Irish Sea.' Bishop Grant has well answered this objection, such as it is. But, surely, in any case, Jocelyn is a better witness than any modern objector, when it comes to a question as to how

¹ Cf. the mention of the 'fourth Cohort of the Gauls,' p. 341.

far the term 'Irish Sea' was extended by early Irish writers. Even if any doubt remained, we must here, as in similar cases, explain the uncertain in conformity with the requirements of the certain.¹ And here we are supplied with the clear and definite information that St. Patrick was born at a place that was 'famous, situated in the valley of the Clyde, and called in the language of that country Dunbreaton,' *i.e.*, the present Dumbarton.

Such, then, is the 'Voice of the Irish' and the testimony of Irish tradition as to the birthplace of St. Patrick; and this tradition has all the marks of trustworthiness: it is ancient, it is consistent, it is clear. No one is justified in questioning the fact that in this matter the voice of the Irish is the voice of truth.

It now remains that we should discover from what quarter an answering voice is heard, reinforcing and confirming the testimony of Erin. The consideration of this subject, as well as of some other interesting points, must be reserved for future discussion.

GERALD STACK.

¹ As a matter of fact, no doubt can remain in any reasonable and well-informed mind. Even as late as the middle of the seventeenth century, Roderic O'Flaherty wrote as follows: 'A very great bay of the *Irish* Western Ocean runs up the British country at a great distance from the west, which formerly divided the Britons from the Picts, and which was appointed as the ulterior Roman limits by Agricola. The celebrated fortress of Dunbriton stands on a very high and craggy cliff, and commands a prospect of this bay, &c.—*Ogygia*, Hely's translation, quoted by Cardinal Moran, *Irish Saints in Great Britain*, p. 132.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

USE OF THE SHORT FORM OF BAPTISM

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the admission of heretics into the Church is the express permission of the bishop required for the use of the *short form* ?

THEOLOGUS.

According to the common law of the Church the use of the long form is obligatory in the baptism of adults. The Irish bishops however, can, in virtue of special powers granted to them by the Holy See, use the short form ; they can also delegate this faculty to their priests—*sacerdotibus sibi subditis*. The faculty was not granted to the priests directly, but only through the bishops, nor is it lawful for a priest to use *merely presumed* delegation.

CAN A PRIEST WHO IS NOT FASTING CELEBRATE MASS IN ORDER TO PROCURE THE VIATICUM ?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Is it lawful for a priest who is not fasting to celebrate Mass in order to procure the Viaticum for a dying person ? The case is not a mere speculative one, and I am anxious to have a clear answer on the point.

HAESITANS.

The point raised has—as, no doubt, our correspondent is fully aware—given rise to a good deal of controversy. We think, however, that a priest would be fully justified in celebrating Mass in the circumstances named. St. Alphonsus looked upon the opinion permitting the celebration of Mass in these circumstances as *probable*. Lehmkuhl, Haine, and other modern theologians following Suarez, Laymann, Lacroix, Lugo, are of the same opinion. There cannot, then, remain for us any doubt as to the probability of an opinion supported by such a weight of

authority. Nor is there any intrinsic reason why the ecclesiastical law binding priests to celebrate fasting should prevail over the divine law obliging the dying person to receive the Viaticum. In our opinion, then, the following assertions may be safely made:—

1. If, as Haine remarks—though the case is not very practical—the priest (not fasting) were himself in danger of death, he certainly could in case of necessity celebrate in order to partake of the Viaticum.

2. A priest who is not fasting is not bound, in any ordinary case,¹ to celebrate in order to procure the Viaticum for a dying person; it is a *probable* and safe opinion, however, that he may lawfully celebrate, provided that there is no other way of procuring the Viaticum, and that scandal can be avoided.

D. MANNIX.

¹ Lehmkühl writes: 'Addam, si—quod practice vix juvabit notasse—ægrotus hujus sacramenti solius satis certo capax sit, eo quod S. oleum defecerit neque haberi tam cito possit, celebrare *debere* [sacerdos] etiam post meridiem.'

CORRESPONDENCE

ON HOMES FOR AGED AND INFIRM PRIESTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—You kindly published in a recent number of the I. E. RECORD a few remarks from me in reference to the substitution of eleven o'clock Mass on Sundays and holidays, for the already generally condemned hour of twelve o'clock.

Another important matter let me submit for the consideration of your readers. In England and other countries there are houses or institutions for aged and infirm priests. Many an old priest who is unfit for missionary duty would gladly retire to such an institution if such were established. How sad sometimes to hear of some old dignitary housed up for months, sometimes even for years, without one to visit him, without one to breathe to him a word of spiritual consolation! There he is, spending his last years, his last months, holding, if you will, the usual revenue of his parish; but alas! what good is revenue then to him? Better far if some home were established to which he could retire, and there receive those spiritual helps which priest as well as layman requires.

The same applies to the infirm or sick priest. There is no home for him. The charitably disposed have provided homes for the poor amongst them; but for the priest who is infirm no home is provided. He must retire to some farm-yard, perhaps in some remote part of the country; to some abode of some relative, where he in his illness cannot be attended to. But has he not his 'sick priests' fund' to maintain him? Yes, he has, a fund in some dioceses that would not maintain a school boy, some £40 or £50 a year. But what is to be done? I certainly say, and say boldly, that such neglect of the priesthood of Ireland is a shame and a disgrace. What, I ask again, is to be done? Are our Catholic people so devoid of charity, that they would neglect the aged, or invalid priest in the days of his sorrow? They helped him when he ministered to them; they assisted the priest whenever they knew he was in want; so too would they in the days of need.

Let them be informed that the aged and infirm priest wants a home to which he may peacefully retire when he is unfit for

missionary duty, and I greatly misunderstand the Irish people, if the need be not at once supplied. Inform them that the funds for the sustenance of infirm priests are very low, and I doubt not but that the secretaries of these funds in the dioceses that require it will receive many charitable bequests. It is hard to blame the people when these ecclesiastical matters are not brought before them. In the absence of a clerical organ, it may be done by one or two resolutions; it may be done by a few words in a Lenten Pastoral; it may be done at a general meeting of the bishops; it may be done at a synod of the clergy; it may be done, again, in the synod of 1900. At all events, some means ought to be devised by which it may be done. A few homes in each province would be sufficient; a few homes may easily be provided if our respected and revered bishops took the matter in hands. If their Lordships only hinted that such were needed, they would have scarcely spoken when these institutions would spring into existence. I wish that some more capable hand had written on these matters. I have again to thank you, Very Rev. Sir, for your kindness in opening your columns to matters of such vital importance to the Irish priesthood. I shall for the present subscribe myself

AN OLD READER.

DOCUMENTS

STATUTES OF THE SODALITY OF REPARATION

EX S. CONGREG. INDULGENTIARUM

STATUTA PII SODALITII SUB TITULO AB ADORATIONE REPARATRICE
GENTIUM CATHOLICARUM

I. Pium Sodalitium universale, quod ab Adoratione SSⁿⁱ Sacramenti Reparatrice gentium catholicarum titulum obtinet, iam canonice erectum, in Ecclesia Sancto Ioachimo in Urbe dicata, tanquam in sede principe, constitutum est.

II. Sicut administratio et rectio supradictae Ecclesiae, ita et pii Sodalitii ab Adoratione Reparatrice directio, cura atque procuratio commissae omnino sunt Sodalibus Congregationis a SS^{no} Redemptore, qui eximium catholicae Ecclesiae Doctorem Sanctum Alphonsum Mariam de Ligorio institutorem habent et patrem.

III. Sacerdos Congregationis a SS^{no} Redemptore, electus pro tempore a suo Superiore Generali ad regendam Ioachimianam Aedem in Urbe, fungetur etiam munere Directoris generalis pii Sodalitii ab Adoratione, cum iuribus et officiis adnexis, salva tamen in his omnibus subiectione ipsius Directoris Superioribus Congregationis suae, iuxta istius leges et statuta.

IV. Superior Generalis laudatae Congregationis deputare poterit, ad beneplacitum suum, duos Sacerdotes e Sodalibus sibi subditis, qui Directorem generalem adiuvent, eiusque vices gerant, in expediendis negotiis et in obeundis actibus pii Sodalitii ab Adoratione.

V. Ad Directorem generalem iure proprio pertinet constituere Directores dioecesanos, vel quasi-dioecesanos pii Sodalitii in totius Orbis Dioecesibus, et in terris Missionum: ipse electionis diplomata subscribit. Poterit autem ob iustas causas hoc subscribendi munus suis duobus coadiutoribus committere.

VI. Directores dioecesani vel quasi-dioecesani agunt cum Directore generali de negotiis quae utilitatem, incrementum rectamque procedendi rationem pii Sodalitii respiciunt. Mittent etiam ad eundem pias oblationes, quas tum Sodales tum alii Christifideles sponte conferre voluerint pro Ecclesia S. Ioachimi,

Sodalitii sede principe, ut in hac divini cultus, et praesertim Adorationis Reparatricis, actus congruenti decore persolvantur.

VII. Pio Sodalitio ab Adoratione Reparatrice nomen dare cupientes cum Directore generali agant, si Romae sunt; cum ipso vel cum Directore dioecesano, sive quasi-dioecesano, si extra Romam morantur.

VIII. In Ecclesia S. Ioachimi Romae, opus Adorationis Reparatricis universalis hac piarum exercitationum serie explicabitur :

1. Omnibus per annum diebus Dominicis et Festis de praecepto :—Mane, hora circiter octava, celebratio Missae cum expositione SS^mi Sacramenti; post Missam, litaniae lauretanae, *Tantum ergo*, etc.; benedictio cum SS^mo Sacramento. Vespere, expositio SS^mi Sacramenti tamdiu, dum recitatur tertia pars Rosarii et canuntur litaniae lauretanae, *Tantum ergo*, etc.; deinde benedictio cum SS^mo.

2. Omnibus per annum feriis quintis, excepta maiori hebdomada :—Mane, celebratio Missae cum expositione SS^mi Sacramenti et cum cantu Psalmi 50 *Miserere mei Deus*; benedictio cum SS^mo. Vespere, expositio SS^mi Sacramenti per tres horas ante occasum solis, tertia pars Rosarii, *Tantum ergo*, etc., et benedictio cum SS^mo.

3. In omnibus aliis feriis per annum, exceptis quatuor ultimis diebus maioris hebdomadae: Vespere, expositio SS^mi Sacramenti hora opportuna, preces expiationis, tertia pars Rosarii, litaniae lauretanae *Tantum ergo*, etc., benedictio cum SS^mo.

4. Tribus diebus ante feriam IV cinerum: Mane, Missa cum expositione SS^mi. Vespere, omnia ut in feriis quintis per annum. Expositio autem SS^mi fiat hora congruenti iuxta iudicium Superioris.

5. In prima feria sexta cuiusque mensis :—Mane, Missa cum expositione SS^mi Sacramenti et recitatio Coronulae SS^mi Cordis Iesu.

6. In singulis sextis feriis Quadragesimae: pium exercitium Viae Crucis.

7. In festo Corporis Christi, mane canitur Missa; vespere, ut in aliis feriis quintis per annum.

8. In Dominica infra octavam Corporis Christi, fit Processio.

9. Epiphania Domini habetur ut festum speciale pro Adoratione Reparatrice. Mane, canitur Missa. Vespere, ut in aliis festis per annum de praecepto.

10. In festo S. Ioachim titularis Ecclesiae. Mane canitur Missa. Vespere ut in aliis festis per annum diebus.

11. In festis solemnioribus, quae propria sunt Congregationis SSñi Redemptoris, omnia disponantur de iudicio et ad praescriptum Superioris ipsius Congregationis.

12. Si aliquando, datis per annum diebus, ob rerum peculiarium adiuncta, aliquid immutandum videbitur circa Adorationis Reparatricis actus supra enumeratos, Director generalis singulis vicibus providebit, de consensu tamen Superioris sui.

IX. Ordo dierum, diversis nationibus assignatorum pro Adoratione Reparatrice, in posterum statuitur ut infra :

Dies Dominica. Pro Italia, Gallia, Hispania, Portugallia, Belgio.

Feria secunda. Pro omnibus aliis regionibus Europae continentalis et insularis.

Feria tertia. Pro Asia.

Feria quarta. Pro Africa.

Feria quinta. Pro America septentrionali et centrali.

Feria sexta. Pro America meridionali.

Sabbato. Pro Oceania.

X. Qui pio Sodalitio nomen dant, ex quacumque gente, per dimidiam circiter horam orationi vacant coram SSño semel in hebdomada, in die suae cuiusque nationi assignata, ut in numero praecedenti ; vel alio hebdomadae die, si legitime impediti fuerint. Adscripti, in Urbe degentes, dimidiam horam, ut supra, in oratione insumunt in Ecclesia, in qua SSñum expositum est in forma Quadraginta Horarum ; qui extra Romam degunt, in qualibet Ecclesia in qua SSñum Sacramentum asservatur.

XI. SSñus Dñus Noster Leo PP. XIII. rata esse voluit quae iam decrevit, per litteras in forma Brevis datas die 6 Martii anni 1883, sacrarum Indulgentiarum munera iis omnibus qui ordini Sodalium ab Adoratione Reparatrice dederint nomen. Praeterea nonnullas alias, motu proprio, largitus est sub die 6 mensis Septembris anni 1898.

XII. Praedictarum omnium Indulgentiarum summarium hoc est :

1. Omnibus et singulis pio Sodalitio adscriptis extra Urbem degentibus, qui, iuxta ipsius Sodalitii instituta, in sua quisque regione, quamlibet Ecclesiam devote visitaverint, in qua Sacramentum Augustum asservatur, et coram Ipso per mediam

circiter horam oraverint, dummodo reliqua pietatis iniuncta opera praestiterint, consequuntur quotidie omnes et singulas Indulgentias, peccatorum remissiones et poenitentiary relaxationes, quas consequerentur si adessent Orationi Quadraginta Horarum iisdem diebus in Ecclesiis Urbis (Breve 6 Martii, 1883), idest: *Indulgentiam plenariam*, si vere poenitentes, confessi ac sacra communione refecti per dimidiam circiter horam, ut supra, coram SSiño Sacramento oraverint; *Indulgentiam decem annorum et totidem quadragenarum*, quotiescumque vere poenitentes, cum firmo proposito confitendi, aliquam Ecclesiam visitaverint et per aliquod tempus coram SSiño Sacramento pias preces effuderint (Breve ut supra).

2. Adscriptis pio Sodalitio in Urbe existentibus, qui vere poenitentes, confessi atque Sacra Communione refecti, qualibet hebdomada, die per praesentia Statuta ipsis designato, vel etiam alio die, quatenus legitime impediti fuerint, per dimidiam circiter horam SSiñum Sacramentum adoraverint in Urbis Ecclesiis, in quibus fit Quadraginta Horarum oratio, praeter Indulgentias Quadraginta Horarum, conceditur:

Indulgentia plenaria semel in singulis per annum mensibus, uno die cuiusque eorum arbitrio sibi eligendo (Breve 6 Martii, 1883).

Iisdem adscriptis pio Sodalitio Romae existentibus, qui singulis hebdomadis, statuta die, vel alia, quatenus impediti ut supra, dimidiam circiter horam adorationis peregerint in Ecclesia S. Ioachimi in Urbe coram SSiño exposito, SSiñus Dñus Noster Leo Papa XIII, motu proprio, sub die 6 mensis Septembris anni 1898, concessit omnes et singulas Indulgentias, quae consequerentur, si id praestarent in Ecclesiis Urbis, in quibus fit oratio Quadraginta Horarum.

3. Praeterea, sub eadem die 6 Septembris 1898, Sanctitas Sua concessit *Indulgentiam septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum* omnibus Christifidelibus quotiescumque devote adstiterint in eadem Ecclesia S. Ioachimi cuilibet ex piis actibus in num. VIII praesentium Statutorum expressis. Concessit denique idem SSiñus Dñus Noster Leo Papa XIII in perpetuum *Indulgentiam Plenariam* omnibus Christifidelibus in die festo S. Ioachimi, dummodo poenitentes, confessi et sacra Communione refecti, visitent ecclesiam S. Ioachimi in Urbe, ibique orent pro Ecclesiae catholicae exaltatione et ad mentem Summi Pontificis (6 Septembris 1898).

Omnes et singulae supramemoratae Indulgentiae sunt defunctis applicabiles.

SSm̄us Dñus Noster Leo PP. XIII, qui in suo Motu Proprio sub die 21 Iulii huius decurrentis anni iam edixerat se opportune perlatum leges, ad quarum normam regeretur pium Sodalitium sub titulo ab adoratione Reparatrice Gentium Catholicarum, in Ecclesia S. Ioachimi de Urbe canonice erectum, in Audientia habita die 6 Septembris 1898 ab infrascripto Card. Praefecto S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, audita relatione de Statutis pro memorata pio Sodalitio, ex iussu eiusdem Sanctitatis Suae elaboratis, mandavit, ut per Rescriptum praefatae S. Congregationis memorata Statuta approbarentur, una cum eisdem adnexo Summario omnium Indulgentiarum, quibus idem pium Sodalitium ab eadem Sanctitate Sua huc usque ditatum fuit. Quapropter eadem S. Congregatio, mandato SSm̄i obtemperans, per praesens Rescriptum Statuta dicti Sodalitii, uti prostant in superiore schemate, approbat et servanda praecipit ab universis eidem Sodalitio adscriptis et in posterum adscribendis: item et praedictum Summarium, nunc primum ex documentis excerptum, uti authenticum recognoscit simulque typis mandari permittit. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 19 Septembris 1898.

FR. HIERONYMUS M. Card. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ ANTONIUS ARCHIEP. ANTINOEN, *Secretarius*.
IOSEPHUS M^a. Can. COSELLI, *Substitutus*.

BLESSING OF THE BAPTISMAL FONT BY THE CHAPTER

DUBIUM QUOAD CONSUETUDINEM BENEDICENDI FONTEM BAPTISMALEM
A CAPITULO

Rñus Dñus Iosephus Maria Rancés et Villanueva Episcopus Gaditanus, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi, ea quae sequuntur pro opportuna declaratione reverenter exposuit, nimirum: Perantiqua est in civitate Gaditana Ecclesia, cui titulus Sanctae Crucis, quae dimidio decimitertii saeculi a catholico sapientissimoque rege Alphonso X, fundata, ad annum usque millesimum octingentesimum trigesimum octavum Cathedralis simul et

parochialis fuit, quo quidem tempore ad hodiernum et munificentissimum templum praedicto anno consecratum Capitulum translatum est, hoc tamen modo ut, licet antiquum templum septuaginta circiter passibus a novo distet, tamen ex tunc temporis tanquam huius Sacrarium habitum fuerit, ad quod idem Capitulum quotannis processionaliter convenire consuevit, tum in Sabbato Sancto tum in Vigilia Pentecostes, impertiendi ergo benedictionem fonti baptismali. Anno autem millesimo octingentesimo septuagesimo sexto Antistes Gaditanus Fr. Felix de Arriete et Slano, utriusque Ecclesiae bono valde interesse iudicans illas omnino disgregare, reapse eas seiunxit, variasque, quas maxime existimavit opportunas, tum Capitulo tum parochio condiciones imponens, praedictam consuetudinem fontem benedicendi baptismalem in Sabbato Sancto et Vigilia Pentecostes a Capitulo non modo non improbavit, quin potius tanquam laudabilem prosequendam statuit, prout usque nunc reipsa factum est.

Hinc Rñus Orator postulat :

‘Utrum, attentis circumstantiis supra expositis, talis consuetudo benedicendi fontem baptismalem a Capitulo servari possit?’

Et sacra eadem Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, omnibus in casu expensis, respondendum censuit: *Affirmative*, dummodo utriusque Ecclesiae unicus sit fons baptismalis.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 8 Iunii 1899.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, *S. R. C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, *S. R. C. Secretarius.*

**DECISION OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF BISHOPS
AND REGULARS REGARDING CONVENT SCHOOLS IN
FRANCE**

EX S. CONGREG. EPISC. ET REG.

AVENIONEN

SCHOLAE NORMALIS

Die 17 Martii, 1899.

Postremis hisce temporibus magna disceptatio exoriri coepit inter Galliae Praesules nec non in Congregationibus Mulierum religiosarum instructioni et educationi puellarum inservientium,

circa institutionem scholae vel scholarum normalium pro sororibus quae licentiam seu diploma ad docendum in cursibus superioribus consequi cuperent. Contentionis occasio fuit liber quidam, cui titulus *Religiosae docentes et Necessitas Apostolatus* in lucem editus a Sorore Maria S. Cordis e Congregatione Filiarum Nostrae Dominae; quo in libro plura referuntur circa inferioritatem scholarum virginum Deo sacrarum, sub duplici aspectu Instructionis et Pedagogiae prae scholis status; ad quod malum evitandum proponitur et propugnatur nova methodus et ratio studiorum per scholae normalis foundationem, quae ex una parte dum respondet desideriis familiarum tradentium sororibus puellas pro institutione, ex altera ponit religiosas docentes in conditione aemulandi scholas laicas. Ut in re tanti momenti quaedam certa norma haberi posset Archiepiscopus Avenionensis, sub finem elapsi anni per appositas literas censuit Apostolicam Sedem consulere. Sacra vero Congregatio Episcoporum et Regularium, ad quam etiam aliae reclamaciones circa eandem rem devenerant, *de mandato SSmi.* sequentes literas circulares dedit ad omnes Galliae Episcopos.

‘De mandato SSmi Dni Nostri Leonis Riv. Prov. PP. XIII precor Amplitudinem (pro Cardinali Eminentiam) Tuam, ut velit breviter significare huic S. Congregationi EE. et RR. quid ipsa Amplitudo Tua in Dno sentiat de quaestione nuper in Gallia excitata a quadam Sorore cognomento “Mariae de Sacré Cœur de la Congregation de Notre Dame” circa institutionem scholae, ut aiunt, Normalis ad altius erudiendas Virgines Deo sacras, quae ad magisterii munus in variis feminei sexus Institus destinantur. Mens siquidem est Sanctitatis Suae, perspecta prius super huiusmodi quaestione Sacrorum Antistitum sententia, diiudicare utrum et quomodo annuendum sit quorumdam votis qui expetunt rem Auctoritate Apostolica dirimi ac definiri. Interea tamen nihil profecto magis optandum quam ut silentiam hac de re fiat.’

‘Haec communicanda erant Amplitudini Tuae, cui fausta omnia a Dno adprecor (pro Cardinali, Eminentiae T. cuius manus humillime deosculor).’

Episcopi vero in suis literis responsivis ad S. Congregationem varii varia senserunt. Nonnulli etenim autumant revera methodum docendi, quam sequuntur sorores in Gallia, aliquantisper deficere, et hinc propositum factum a Sorore Maria a S. Corde sub aliquo respectu amplectendum esse, sed semper cum depen-

dentia a S. Sede. Alii e contra rentur rationem studiorum a Sororibus instauratam sufficientem esse et fini suo respondere, adeoque relatum librum esse reiiciendum. Ob prudentia leges et ob vetitum S. Congregationis ulteriora non referuntur.

Hisce acceptis literis et aliis de ritu peractis tam gravis quaestio proposita fuit solutioni in plenario Eñorum Patrum auditorio diei 17 Martii, 1899, qui, omnibus mature perpensis, decisionem emisero prout ex sequentibus literis ad Galliae Episcopus.

ILLUSTRISIME AC REVERENDISIME DOMINE

In plenario Conventu Eminentissimorum Patrum huius Sacrae Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium, habito in Aedibus Vaticanis die 17 Martii 1899, proposita fuit Causa Avenionen. Scholae Normalis, sub hisce quae sequuntur dubiorum for.nulis :

I. 'Se convenga approvare, il disegno della creazione di una grande Scuola normale per le Religiose insegnanti, quale è proposto nel libro di Suor Maria del Sacro Cuore.'

Et quatenus negative :

II. 'Se convenga adottare qualche misura per migliorare l'insegnamento femminile negli Istituti Religiosi.'

Universa rei ratione mature perpensa, Eñi Patres respondendum censuerunt.

Ad primum : negative et librum esse reprehensione dignum.

Ad secundum : non esse locum ordinationi generali : providebitur, quatenus opus fuerit, in casibus particularibus : interim vero per Galliarum Episcopos notum fiat Religiosis Mulierum Congregationibus, quibus ex apostolica approbatione munus commissum est erudiendi in pietate et scientia adolescentulas, sese bene admodum meruisse de christiana et civili puellarum institutione ; ac propterea Sacra haec Congregatio, dum debitas eis rependit laudes, spem firmam fovet eas etiam in posterum muneri suo non defuturas, atque, dirigentibus, ut par est, et coadiuvan tibus Episcopis, media idonea adhibituras, quibus valeant iustis christianarum familiarum desideriis cumulate respondere et alumnas sibi concreditae ad eam provehere culturam quae mulierem christianam deceat.

Et facta de praemissis relatione SSño D. N. Leoni Papae XIII in Audientia habita ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto die 24 Martii. Sanctitas Sua Eminentissimorum Patrum sententiam in omnibus ratam habere et confirmare dignata est.

Haec Sacrae Congregationis nomine significanda habui Amplitudini Tuae Revm̄ae, cui in testimonium observantiae meae fausta omnia a Deo adprecor.

Romae ex Secretaria S. C. Epp. et RR. die 27 Martii 1899.

RELIGIOUS LIFE OUTSIDE THE CLOISTER :

EX S. C. SUPER DISCIPLINA REGULARI
LITTERAE EMINENTISSIMI PRAEFECTI QUOAD RELIGIOSOS QUI
DEGERE CUPIUNT EXTRA CLAUSTRA
N. N. EPISCOPO N.

ILLME AC REVME DOMINE UTI FRATER,

Difficili Regularium hodiernae conditione occurrere satagens, S. Congregatio super Disciplina Regulari, pro illis Religiosis, qui gratia vocationis destituti, vel de alia rationabili causa muniti, extra claustra degere voluerunt, et tractu temporis vellent, auditis Superioribus generalibus Ordinis maturo consilio, statuit atque decrevit : ' ut ipsis facultas tribueretur manendi extra claustra habitu regulari dimisso, ad annum : quo tempore S. Patrimonium sibi constituerent ; Episcopum benevolum receptorem invenirent ; atque deinde, pro saecularizatione perpetua, iterum recurrerent, et interim Sacra facientes, verbum Domini praedicantes, fidelibus populis pia conversatione prodesse valerent.'

Quibus autem dispositionibus iurisdictio Episcopalis nulli subest detrimento : namque Ordinarius invitus non cogitur illos in suum Clerum cooptare, neque Beneficiis ecclesiasticis proponere : sed perdurante gratia concessionis, eiusdemque a Sede Apostolica consecuta prorogatione, ad sacra obeunda ministeria, pro lubitu in sua dioecesi habitare potest, si velit. Neque ullam huic agendi rationi dubitationem infert Decretum *Auctis admodum* 1892, quia hoc per regulam generalem afficit Instituta recentia votorum simplicium ; ac tantum per exceptionem respicit Ordines proprie dictos, in quibus vota solemnia Religiosi nuncupant. Quae tamen exceptio, si fieri contigerit, in singulari decreto adamussim notatur, ita ut speciale Rescriptum eiusque condiciones legem pro individuo constituunt : et solummodo ab eo Ordinarius sui agendi rationem quaerere debeat.

Iam vero litteris, quas die 4 Iulii currentis anni Amplitudo Tua ad hanc S. Congregationem mittere existimavit, relate ad

PP . . . Ordinis Sanctissimae Trinitatis, et pro quibus, ut ait : ' quin onera Episcopi benevoli receptoris in se suscipiat, aliquod levamen ipsis offerre desiderat ; ideoque licentiam exposcit, ut Ordinem exercere valeant ad suum beneplacitum etc. '

Hic S. Ordo respondit : ' Religiosos huiusmodi esse saecularizatos ad annum et interim etc. (ut supra), pertinere ad Ordines votorum solemnium ; proinde nisi sint aliqua speciali censura irretiti " nulla ipsi indigent nova facultate, ut Sacris ministeriis Episcopo auctorante, in respectiva dioecesi possint vacare. '

Et haec dicta sint, ut ius et regula agendi in re Tibi proponatur, cui a Deo Optimo Maximo cuncta felicia adprecamur.

Amplitudinis Tuae uti Frater Addictissimus.

S. Card. VANNUTELLI, *Praef.*

FACULTIES GRANTED TO THE MASTER-GENERAL OF THE DOMINICANS

DECRETUM, QUO INDULGETUR MAGISTRO ORDINIS PRAEDICATORUM
DISPENSARE CERTUM NUMERUM CONVERSORUM UT INTRA
CLAUSURAM RECIPIANTUR, QUANDO INCOEPERINT ANNUM
DECIMUM OCTAVUM

BEATISSIME PATER,

Fr. Hyacinthus Maria Cormier, Procurator Generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum, ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae humiliter provolutus, exponit quod decretum fel. record. Clementis X, 16 maii 1675, prohibentis Conversos habitu donari, imo intra clausuram admitti, antequam vigesimum aetatis suae annum compleverint, non levibus hodie obnoxium esse inconvenientibus. Nam iuvenes qui, afflante divina gratia, sacra claustra ingredi expetebant ad salutem aeternam tutius consequendam, has sanctas dispositiones crescentibus annis, saeculi fallacii decepti, saepe nimis amittunt, et, quando vigesimum annum attingunt, iam passionum illecebris falsaeque amore libertatis inveniuntur illaqueati. Quod si adhuc de sectanda religiosa perfectione familiae pulsant, audientes se debere sex menses postulatus peragere, posteaque per tres annos in qualitate Tertiariorum Religioni inservire, ut deinde ad novitiatum admittantur, post annum novitiatu vota simplicia et demum post tres alios annos vota solemnia andem emissuri, tot inducias formidantes haud raro recedunt. Inde necessitas servos saecu-

lares in Conventibus adhibendi cum dispendio non levi tam paupertatis quam vitae regularis. His perpensis et approbante Reverendissimo Ordinis Magistro P. Fr. Andrea Frühwirth, dictus Procurator suppliciter a Sanctitate Vestra petit, ut Ordinis Magister pro tempore certum numerum Postulantium Conversorum a Sanctitate Vestra determinandum, possit, quando annum decimum et octavum incoeperunt, intra clausuram recipere ut ibi seriem probationum prudentur in Ordine stabilitarum percurrant, suoque tempore ad professionem admittantur.

Sacra Congregatio super Disciplina Regulari, attentis expositis, benigne annuit pro petita facultate, sed per quindecim tantum Postulantes. Conversi saltem decimum octavum annum expleverint; et si aliquando ad formalem probationem fuerint admittendi, non prius admittantur nisi expleta aetate a Constitutionibus Apostolicis et Ordinis praefinita et in loco pro Novitiatu designato: servatis ceteris conditionibus, quae in decreto diei 10 iunii 1880 reperiuntur. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Romane, diei 23 Augusti, 1898.

S. Card. VANNUTELLI, *Praef.*

L. ❖ S.

A. TROMBETTA, *Secret.*

WATER USED IN BAPTISM

UTINEN. DUBIA QUOAD AQUAM BAPTISMALEM

Rñus Dominus Aegyptianus Canonicus Prugnetti Provicarius Generalis Archidioeceseos Utinensis a Sacra Rituum Congregatione sequentium dubiorum solutionem humillime postulavit, nimirum:

I. Utrum aqua baptismalis, Sabbato Sancto et Vigilia Pentecostes, benedicenda sit in ecclesiis tantum parochialibus, vel etiam in filialibus quae sacrum fontem legitime habent?

II. Et quatenus affirmative ad secundum partem, utrum sufficiat aquam benedicere, usque ad Ss. Oleorum infusionem exclusive in parochiali ecclesia, et inde aqua ad alias ecclesias delata, in singulis ecclesiis Ss. Oleorum infusionem peragere, vel debeat integra in singulis ecclesiis fieri benedictio?

III. Utrum deficiente clero in ecclesiis filialibus, vel eodem impedito mane Sabbati Sancti ob functiones parochiales, et

vespere ob domorum benedictionem, liceat renovationem fontis ad alium diem differre?

IV. Utrum Parochus in cuius paroecia plures sunt ecclesiae cum fonte baptismali, quique ius habet conficiendi in singulis renovationem sacri fontis, quam per se nequit perficere, debeat alium Sacerdotem delegare ad eam Sabbato Sancto et Vigilia Pentecostes peragendam?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae omnibusque expensis, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. et II. *Negative* ad primam partem, *Affirmative* ad secundum, iuxta Rubricas et Decreta.

Ad III. *Negative*, et in casu adhibeatur *Memoriale Rituum pro Ecclesiis minoribus* iussu Benedicti XIII. editum.

Ad IV. *Affirmative*.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 13 Ianuarii, 1899.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, *S. R. C. Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, *S. R. C. Secret.*

RULES OF THE SODALITY OF REPARATION

BEATISSIME PATER,

Aloisius Palliola Cong. SSmi Redemptoris Rector Ecclesiae S. Joachim de Urbe et Director Generalis Pii Sodalitii Universalis ab Adoratione Reparatrice Sactissimi Sacramenti Nationum Catholicarum ad pedes S. V. provolutus sequentia humillime exponit.

S. V. per decr. S. Conc. Indulg. et SS. Relig. d. d. 19 Septembris 1898 dignata est statuta de mandato suo composita praescribere pro moderatione praefati pii sodalitii et specialia quidem pro ipsa Ecclesia S. Joachim ubi sedes est primaria.

Iam vero plures directores dioecesani ad Directorem Generalem supplicantes ut quae sactitas vestra praescripsit statuta specialia pro Ecclesia S. Joachim de Urbe extendantur (mutatis mutandis pro arbitrio ordinariorum iusta adiuncta locorum) ad illas Ecclesias ubi Pium Sodalitium involuit. Quapropter orator instanter supplicat S. V. ut ad majus incrementum ac firmitatem necnon ad uberiores fructuum segetem Pii Sodalitii iuxta mentem S. V. huius operis auctoris praecibus praefatorum directorum benigne ammere dignetur Pro gratia.

SSmus Dominus Noster Leo Pp. XIII. benigne annuit in omnibus iuxta praeces ad praeterea extendit ad omnes Ecclesias de quibus in ipsis praecibus indulgentiam septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum quam concessit die 6 Septembris, 1898, pro Ecclesia S. Joachim Romae. Praesentibus in perpetuum volituris absque ulla brevis expeditione contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. Datum Romae ex Seceria S. Congnis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae die 18 Augusti, 1899.

Fr. HYERONIMUS M. Card. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

A. SABBATUCCI, Archiepus. ANTINOEN, *Secretarius*.

TRANSLATION OF CANDLEMAS

CIRCA TRANSLATIONEM BENEDICTIONIS SOLEMNIS CANDELARUM

Rmus Episcopus Aginnensis in Galliis Sacrae Rituum Congregationi humiliter exposuit quod in sua dioecesi praesertim ruricolae degunt et difficile ad Cereorum Benedictionem, die II Februarii ecclesiam frequentant ob festi Purificationis suppressionem.

Quapropter expostulavit ut in eadem Dioecesi benedictio solemnus Candelarum quae fit iuxta Rituum die 2^a Februarii, in dominicam sequentem transferretur.

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, exquisito etiam voto commissionis Liturgicae rescribendum censuit: 'Servetur Decretum in una *Rhemen*. 7 Februarii, 1874.' Atque ita rescripsit. Die 27 Ianuarii, 1899.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Secret.*

SOLUTION OF DOUBTS REGARDING THE DIVINE OFFICE

TRIA SOLVUNTUR DUBIA

Rmus Dnus Paulus Bruchesi Archiepiscopus Marianopolitanus, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi, sequentia dubia, pro opportuna solutione humiliter subiecit, nimirum:

I. Utrum preces quae flexis genibus, ad omnes horas in feriis poenitentialibus dicuntur, pariter in fine Matutini, quando separatur a Laudibus, sunt addendae?

II. Utrum antiphonae 'Ne reminiscaris' et 'Trium puerorum' quae privatim a Sacerdote recitantur ante et post Missam, duplicandae sunt vel non, iuxta ritum officii ab ipso recitati, vel iuxta ritum Missae quam celebrat?

III. An satisfacit obligationi suae clericus in ordinibus sacris constitutus, qui sponte vel invitatus se adiungit clero officium ab officio ipsius clerici diversum canenti vel recitanti?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio referente subscripto Secretario, audito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, re mature perpensa, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. Negative.

Ad II. Ad libitum in casu iuxta ritum Officii vel Missae.

Ad III. Negative, seculso privilegio.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 27 Ianuarii, 1899.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Secret.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

IDYLS OF KILLOWEN. A Soggarth's Secular Verses. By the Rev. Mathew Russell, S.J. London: Bowden, 1899.

THIS fresh volume of verses was laid on our library table during the summer holidays. Nearly two months ago we saw it reviewed in several English journals. The critics have said their word about it; the public have formed their judgment as to its merits. It is, therefore, rather late for us to come along and express our opinion. Fortunately, our readers need no spur to their admiration for Father Russell's work. They know the line he has chosen and the excellence he has attained. The verses before us, however, are secular, though not profane; and where they touch on sacred things they do so from a more or less secular point of view. They are uneven in merit. The exigencies of rhyme have sometimes forced the author's hand; although it is impossible not to admire the ingenuity of device by which even a forced rhyme is sometimes achieved. What, for instance, could be more brave than this?—

'Twere better if in graceful round
My thoughts could move—but, arrah!
What can a poet do who's bound
To close each verse with Yarra.

'Glenaveena' is a still greater triumph—rhyming as it does with Terracina, Bohernabreena, concertina, Wilhelmina, and scarlatina.

For a combination of the grave and gay, it is long since we have met anything to equal these verses. The poems are anything but worldly, dealing as most of them do with very solemn themes; but there is a vein of sly humour running through them that is really captivating. Take, for instance, 'The Irish Farmer's Sunday Morning.' Part of this poem would recall the ode of Pope Leo XIII. on 'Frugal Living,' or Ovid's description of the simplicity of the golden age. The Sunday breakfast and the Sunday preparation of the family for Mass are most happily touched off. The boys are first out with their father; for they like to talk and to look around them before Mass begins. The girls take longer to prepare, and can only do so

comfortably when they have seen the boys depart. Then 'herself' is ready :

At length the mother issues forth arrayed
 In all her splendour—for the sun shines bright—
 Grumbling benignly that she is delayed
 By her two youngest, not yet wholly 'right.'
 But now they beam before her, and, delight,
 The mother's heart with prettiness sedate.
 Off hand in hand they set, a touching sight;
 While she, half angry, cries, as clinks the gate,
 Mind, 'tis the curate's day. I'll lay my life, you're late.

There is also a sly thrust at certain weighty 'councils' in the following :—

The reverend patriarchs, throned on yonder wall,
 With ardour keen their last debate renew
 Upon the great world's politics, and all
 The current wars and markets; though 'tis true
 Their facts are stale, apocryphal and few,
 Their judgment wrong, predictions false, no doubt;
 And like to councils of more weight, which you
 And I could name, they'd make more modest rout
 Knew they a little more of what they talk about.

The 'In Memoriam' verses on Dr. Russell and Father Burke, O.P., and the 'Learics,' on various literary celebrities, have a personal interest for a very wide circle. We heartily recommend this handsome little volume; and though our recommendation comes late, we trust it will not prove less effective for its purpose than many of the earlier ones.

RELIGION OF SHAKESPEARE. Chiefly from the Writings of the late Mr. Richard Simpson, M.A. By Henry Sebastian Bowden, of the Oratory. London: Burns and Oates. New York: Benziger, Bros. Price 7s. 6d.

WE undertook the reviewing of the above work with prejudices decidedly in its disfavour. We had always regarded the writings of the great dramatist as a vast world wherein every religion, every philosophy, and every intellectual movement of the past or of the present found with more or less clearness its forecast or its reflection; and we had therefore, believed, to use his own words, that there was no 'fatal error but some sober brow would bless it; and approve it with a text'—a text from his own plays or poems. We must confess, however, that when we had laid Father Bowden's work aside, we found that our prejudices were in great part unwarranted, and found, moreover, that the light of

careful criticism had fallen on more than one passage hitherto dark to us.

When one takes up a work such as this, one naturally seeks to discover the precise terms of the proposition which the work is intended to prove. In the first chapter, page 55, we find the words: 'The greatest of English poets is not the product of the Tudor age, nor of any past mediæval system, but of that Catholicism revealed and divine which is in all time.' This statement, which is not free from vagueness, must evidently be read side by side with another put forward in page 122: 'We have neither regarded nor represented Shakespeare as a bold and fearless champion of the faith, but rather as one who, whatever his convictions, was desirous, as far as possible of avoiding any suspicion of recusancy.' The author's thesis, therefore, is—that Shakespeare was as much a Catholic as one dared be in those days without danger to one's personal safety. The task of proving more than this would be utterly hopeless, except, perhaps, to the discoverer of 'cryptograms.' The very position of a dramatist, strongly Catholic in his plays would in those days have been impossible. After the appearance of his first Catholic play, his fate would have been the fate of *Campion*. Further, although it is possible that Shakespeare could have been a good Catholic at heart without having been obviously Catholic in his dramas, it has to be remembered that he suffered his daughters to be reared Protestants, and besides left no reliable evidence of practical faith.

One of the principal arguments for the author's proposition lies in the use which Shakespeare makes of older plays. These plays came in some instances from the pens of rabid Reformers who never missed an opportunity of scurrilous attack on Catholicity. It is, therefore, more than significant that Shakespeare in his adaptations of the works of others carefully purges them of all that would be offensive to the Catholic. This is conspicuously so in *King John*. The original, *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, was expressly composed to glorify Protestantism and vilify the ancient faith. It is full of virulent bigotry and ribald stories of nuns and friars, all which Shakespeare had but to leave untouched to secure popularity. And yet all is as rigorously excluded as though he were some censor appointed by ecclesiastical authority. Possibly, there is one small point of the proof to which Father Bowden might have

attended. He ought, we think, to have shown by a word or two that Shakespeare was not impelled to these excisions by dramatic necessity.

The second class of proof which the author adduces is based on the Catholic tone of the dramas. He gives us instances without number in which Shakespeare reflects with perfect accuracy the teachings of the Catholic divines, the tenets of the schoolmen, and the directions of rubricists. Such subjects as divine love, obligation of an oath, theory of knowledge, service for the dying, and countless others attest the accuracy of Shakespeare's knowledge of all things Catholic; and the frequency with which they are introduced, shows his fondness for the old religion. We cannot praise sufficiently the clearness with which these reflections of Catholicity are brought under our notice. Not alone do the extracts form a delightful revision of the entire Shakespeare, but the brief explanations, theological and philosophical, which accompany them must enhance the value of the book in the eyes of the priest or the student. We must, however, in fairness say that Father Bowden appears in one or two instances to be guilty of special pleading; for instance, in his attempt to explain how a Catholic could, as in *Hamlet*, represent a blessed spirit inciting to revenge.

And, again, in his attempt to show, or rather in his suggestion that the compliment to Elizabeth, the 'imperial votaress,' who passes 'in maiden meditation, fancy free,' may be read in quite an opposite sense by omitting the comma after 'meditation.' Further, we must confess to a great distrust for any proofs drawn from the 'sonnets,' which may, indeed, be made to furnish many a telling quotation, but which examined as wholes, remain the mysteries they have always been. In addition, this is a very small matter; we think that in the side-reference to Boetius, Father Bowden should not have described him as a saint and martyr without adding a brief note to explain his reasons for departing from the common opinion that he was a pagan. But, enough of fault-finding. Father Bowden's book has effectually laid to rest the pretensions of Dowden, Kreysig, Knight, and others who have sought to prove that Shakespeare was a fatalist, a pantheist, an agnostic, a Protestant, or a Calvinist. That he has discovered the secret of his vitality we do not believe. He thinks Shakespeare was great because he was so Catholic; we think he was great because he was so human; and we believe that had he

been a pagan, he would scarcely have been less great. Difference of view, however, is not to be interpreted as condemnation of a work which we have found absorbing in its interest. Father Bowden tells us that with the exception of three chapters, the work is really that of Mr. Simpson ; but it is only fair to him to say, that these chapters are in every way fit companions for the rest. Also, the language throughout is evidently his own—language, terse and pointed, strong with the strength of his great master.

THE CATHOLIC VISITOR'S GUIDE TO ROME. By Rev. Wilfred Dallow. London : R. T. W. Washbourne, 18, Paternoster-row. Paper, 6d. ; cloth, 1s. 1899.

VISITORS to Rome will heartily thank Father Dallow for this most useful and convenient guide. Even those who by way of preparation for a visit to the Eternal City have perused the elaborate works of Eustace, Donovan, and Hare, will find this little work simply invaluable. The best preparation for a visit to Rome is, no doubt, a careful and systematic study of Roman history, both ancient and modern ; but when one is on the spot, and has only a limited time to visit the various places of interest, some such guide as Father Dallow has given us, is an absolute necessity. This one is less cumbersome than the ordinary guides and sufficiently full for practical purposes. It opens with some very useful hints to the traveller and to priests in particular. It gives a few paragraphs to each of the principal resting-places *en route*—Paris, Turin, Genoa, Pisa. It explains certain peculiarities regarding hotels, railway-porters, cabs, guides, and local customs, which it is the interest of the traveller to know. It takes the visitor by the hand and accompanies him for twelve days to all the hallowed spots in and around the city. It shows how time can be economized, and how the most may be made of it. It classifies and combines the objects of interest with skill and success. Finally, it leads the traveller home again through Orvieto, Florence, Bologna, Loretto, Venice, Milan, the St. Gothard, and lands him safely on British soil, after a most interesting and enjoyable excursion.

We heartily recommend this guide to Catholics who intend visiting Rome, and have but a short time to spend there. When such a cheap and excellent guide can be had there is no reason why Catholics should spend their money on guides that are full

of impudent and ignorant comments on things Catholic. It is really too much to expect Catholics to pay for such rubbish. It is high time for them to resent in the most practical way in their power the insults that are offered them at almost every page of the so-called 'popular' guides. There is nothing to oblige us to help non-Catholics to make a fortune by insulting what they have not the grace to understand nor the manners to respect.

THE SACRED CEREMONIES OF LOW MASS, ACCORDING TO THE ROMAN RITE. Edited by the Rev. M. O'Callaghan, C.M. 5th Edition. Sixth thousand. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd. 1899.

It is quite unnecessary to recommend Father O'Callaghan's *Ceremonies of Low Mass* to the readers of the I. E. RECORD. Most of them have seen one or other of the earlier editions, and the present edition does nothing more than present us with the changes demanded by recent legislation. These changes are, however, radical, in some instances, so that a copy of this new edition would be useful to most priests. Father O'Callaghan makes a statement on page 118 with regard to Private Requiem Masses which we are not prepared to adopt. He says that in certain circumstances *private* Requiem Masses may be celebrated on doubles of the *second class*, within the Octave of Christmas, the Epiphany, and Corpus Christi, and on the Vigil of the Epiphany. The decrees of June, 1896, and January, 1897, which the learned author appeals to in support of this statement, hardly bears it out. As a matter of fact, the recent decrees of the Congregation of Rites regarding Requiem Masses has raised a number of doubts which we should be glad to see discussed by competent writers. Needless to say, no one in Ireland is better qualified to discuss this subject than the distinguished author of the *Ceremonies of Low Mass*.

D. O'L,

MISSA XVI. IN HONOREM S. ANTONII DE PADUA, ad III. Voces Aequales. (Soprano, Mezzosoprano, Alto), organo comitante. Auctore Michaelae Haller, Op. 62°. Ratisbon: A. Coppenrath.

THIS is the third arrangement of a Mass first composed for two mixed voices, and then arranged for four mixed voices and organ. In this last arrangement, the author states in a prefatory

note, considerable liberty has been taken with the original in order to produce the best possible effects with three-part writing. The author also states that the accompaniment can, if necessary, be played without the use of the pedals, a possibility which will be appreciated where only a harmonium is available. Altogether this Mass can be well recommended. It may be described as fairly easy, like most of Haller's compositions, and, with the proper declamatory style of rendering, will prove effective. We would suggest to take the first Kyrie considerably quicker than indicated by the author. Being altogether in *Alla breve* movement, and almost completely without any figuration, it must, we are afraid, sound rather tedious at the pace marked. $\text{♩} = 52$ we should consider a suitable rate. The *Christe*, then, might be taken more slowly, so that the second *Kyrie*, at the pace marked, could appear accelerated, as intended.

H. B.

MISSA DE SS. VIRGINIBUS quam ad duas Voces Aequales concinente Organo vel Harmonio composuit Ign. Mitterer. Op. 79. Ratisbon : A. Coppenrath.

A SIMPLE Mass for two equal voices and organ and harmonium, distinguished by free flow of melody and great rhythmical life. The musical setting of the words must almost of necessity bring about a dramatic declamation, and the accompaniment with the phrasing carefully indicated in many places, does its part to throw the rhythmical divisions into relief. In a few places the harmonies are not in accordance with our ideal of Church music. But, on the whole, the Mass can unreservedly be recommended. There is nothing morbid about it, and though we sometimes feel a slight breath of sentimentality, still the expression always remains healthy.

H. B.

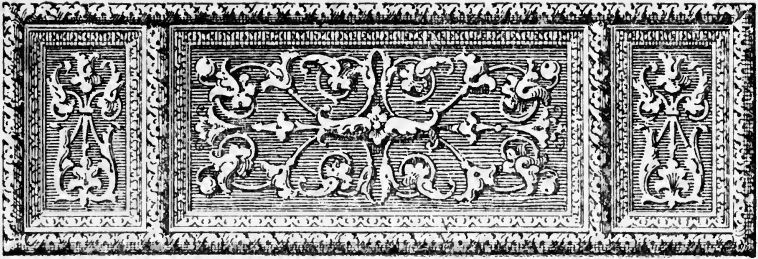
COMMENTARII DE DEO TRINO, DE VERBO INCARNATO, DE DEO CONSUMMATORE. Auctore Joanne MacGuinness, C.M., in Collegio Hibernorum Parisiensi Professore. Dublinii : Apud M. H. Gill & Son, O'Connell-street. 1889.

It has been our pleasing duty to say a few words on two previous volumes of theology, by Father MacGuinness. Now

the third volume has appeared. It contains the tracts:—*De Trinitate*, *De Incarnatione*, *De Novissimis*, and *De Cultu Sanctorum*. In this volume some of the most difficult mysteries of our faith are discussed. How well the learned author has done his work the reader can easily discover. As to the doctrines laid down we need say little. The necessary truths of our faith are explained and proved with unerring strength. Free doctrines are treated with that spirit of liberty which our Holy Church approves: yet no opinion is held without arguments of serious import. As to the manner of treatment, fewer words still are necessary. There is a clearness of expression joined with brevity which must ever be a welcome attribute of a work intended for weary students whose hours are full of labour.

Finally, it is our duty to say that Father MacGuinness possesses the inestimable gift of progress in such a degree that the marked improvement of successive volumes makes us hope that the present scholastic year will see a volume on *De Vera Religione* and *De Ecclesia* given to the world by the energetic author.

J. M. H.



SACRAMENTAL CAUSALITY

I.

CARDINAL MANNING, in the *Eternal Priesthood*, gives expression to some very striking thoughts on the connection which exists between the priestly character and grace. He considers that the priest, by reason of his ordination, has acquired a perennial source of divine grace. That source is the character by which his soul has been adorned. This doctrine, as the Cardinal points out, is the teaching of St. Thomas. In the present paper we mean to explain the theological aspect of this view. The question does not belong specially to the sacerdotal character, nor indeed to the characteristic sacraments. It has an intimate bearing on all the sacraments of the New Law. The question, taken in its general aspect, resolves itself into this: What place must be given in sacramental theology to the 'res simul et sacramentum'? We cannot give a satisfactory reply unless we first explain the meaning of the phrase: 'res simul et sacramentum,' and point out what it is in the particular sacraments of the New Law.

A sacrament is a practical sign of grace. Hence, a sacrament signifies, and, signifying, causes grace. In this sacramental signification and operation three things, distinct from one another, are known to exist, the 'sacramentum tantum,' the 'res simul et sacramentum,' and the

'res tantum.'¹ The first has often been called the 'external sacrament,' whilst the second has been styled the 'internal sacrament.' We shall henceforth use these titles though they do not carry with them the full force of the Latin phrases usually employed. The external sacrament is that portion of the sacramental action, which, while it is a sign of the sacramental effects, is not signified by any previous sacramental sign. Thus in baptism the ablution by water and the sacramental form are the external sacrament, for they signify the character and the sanctifying grace given by the sacrament; but, being the first portions of the sacramental action, they have no preceding sacramental sign. The internal sacrament is that part of the sacramental operation which is signified by something previous, and signifies some ulterior effect of the sacraments. Thus in baptism the internal sacrament is the character which is signified by the external sacrament, and signifies sanctifying grace. The 'res tantum' of a sacrament is the term of all the sacramental signification; for, while it is signified by the external and internal sacraments, it does not signify any further sacramental effect. Sanctifying grace is that term in all the sacraments of the New Law, for towards it all their agencies tend, and beyond it no new sacramental effect is wrought.

This general explanation of the three sacramental phrases will be made more clear by an examination of the individual sacraments of the New Law. As our purpose is principally concerned with the internal sacrament, a few words will suffice about the external sacrament and the 'res tantum.' The rule we must adopt in distinguishing these three things in particular sacraments is abundantly clear from what we have said. The internal sacrament is something that, in its signification, comes between the external sacrament and sanctifying grace, which is the 'res tantum' of the sacraments, so that the external sacrament immediately signifies the internal sacrament, which, in turn, signifies sanctifying grace.

¹ S. T., 3, q. 66, a 1,

The 'res tantum' of all the sacraments of the New Law is sanctifying grace, as we have already indicated. It is well to remember, however, that sanctifying grace is the 'res tantum' of different sacraments under different aspects. Each sacrament has an end which is proper to itself. For the purpose of gaining this end actual graces are required from time to time. These actual graces are given by God because of a right which each sacrament gives, and which is attached to sanctifying grace. This sanctifying grace, with this special claim, is called sacramental grace. Under this aspect sanctifying grace is the 'res tantum' of the sacraments; consequently, as sacramental grace is different for different sacraments, so also is sanctifying grace, under different aspects, the 'res tantum' of different sacraments of the New Law.

The external sacrament is the sensible rite, composed of matter and form. To this rite, by divine institution, a sacramental signification is given. This signification extends to all the effects of the sacrament. Moreover, it is the first action to which divine institution has attached any sacramental signification; consequently, it can have no previous sign. Hence it has the qualifications, positive and negative, which indicate the external sacrament. What that external rite is in the individual sacraments is easily seen. In Baptism it is the ablution by water, and the form 'Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.' In the Blessed Eucharist it is the species of bread and wine, with the forms 'Hoc est enim corpus meum,' and 'Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei.'

The internal sacrament, according to the majority of the older theologians, is some physical quality. In the characteristic sacraments it is the character. In the other sacraments it is some physical quality, which differs from the character at least in this, that the character has an indelible nature, while this 'ornatus' is transient, as in the Blessed Eucharist and Penance; or partially permanent, as in Extreme Unction and Matrimony. Since the doctrine of the non-physical causality of the sacraments has come into vogue a corresponding change is noticeable in indicating

the nature of the internal sacrament; so that now a moral entity is recognised, in some cases, as the internal sacrament. We do not intend to directly discuss this question. We shall, at most, indirectly do so by indicating what seems the most probable opinion about individual internal sacraments. All theologians agree that in the characteristic sacraments it is the character. The truth of this doctrine is evident in Confirmation and Holy Orders. Their external rites undoubtedly signify immediately the transferring of a power. The character is that power. Hence these sacraments immediately signify the character. The character, on its part, signifies sanctifying grace, without which it cannot worthily perform its sacramental operations. Consequently, the character is intermediate in signification between the external rite and sanctifying grace, and is, therefore, the internal sacrament. There is greater difficulty in explaining how the character holds that intermediate place in the Sacrament of Baptism, because the external ablution, made in the name of the Holy Trinity, seems to signify immediately the internal ablution from sin by sanctifying grace. Still a little consideration will show that sanctifying grace cannot be immediately signified by the external rite of Baptism. A sacrament, when valid, must have its immediate, and consequently essential, signification verified. Now, Baptism, though valid, does not always confer sanctifying grace. Hence it cannot be its immediate and essential signification. What, then, is? Clearly, it is the other effect of Baptism, which infallibly follows the external rite, viz., the character. But how is the meaning of 'I baptize thee,' verified in this? The character is the internal sacrament of ablution, and when the minister says 'I baptize thee,' he means, 'I give thee the internal sacrament of ablution,' just as the minister of penance, by 'I absolve thee,' means, 'I give thee the internal sacrament of absolution.' Hence the external rite signifies immediately the character. It, too, signifies the sanctifying grace which washes away original sin. Hence the baptismal character is intermediate in signification between the external rite and sanctifying grace, and is, in consequence, the internal Sacrament of Baptism.

Theologians also agree that in the Blessed Eucharist the internal sacrament is the Body and Blood of our Lord present under the sacred species. The species indefinitely signify that Real Presence, while the form 'Hoc est enim corpus meum' and 'Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei' more definitely is a sign of it. This Real Presence, on the other hand, is an indication of sanctifying grace. It, therefore, is signified and signifies, and is, consequently, the internal sacrament. There does not seem to be much difficulty either in finding out the internal Sacrament of Matrimony. It is the indissoluble bond which is immediately operated by the external contract, and so is signified by it. That bond, being, according to Rom. VI., a sign of the union between Christ and His Church, is also a sign of that union of sanctifying grace which exists between Christ and the souls of those members of the Church who have received the Sacrament of Matrimony.

It is not so easy to discover the internal Sacrament of Penance and Extreme Unction. Lugo¹ thinks that in penance it is the ease of conscience which usually follows the sacramental absolution, and which is a sign of reconciliation with God. St. Thomas² holds that it is the internal penance of the recipient, because this is signified by the external acts of the penitent which are an essential portion of the external rite, and signifies conciliation with God. Father Billot³ is of opinion that it is the right to freedom from sin which the priestly absolution gives. It is immediately signified by the external rite because the absolution of the priest follows the nature of every judicial sentence of freedom. But in ordinary mundane matters the sentence of a judge does not immediately signify actual freedom, but rather a right to freedom which follows if no obstacle intervene. Hence in the sacramental trial the absolution immediately signifies a right to freedom from sin, not actual freedom. This right, on its part, signifies sanctifying grace as is evident. So the internal Sacrament

¹ *De Sacr. in gen.*, Disp. ii., sect. viii.

² 3, q. 84, a. 1 ad 3.

³ *De Sacr.*, Th. vi.

of Penance is that right. Fr. Billot, however, subsequently¹ explains his view in such a way that it can be easily reconciled with the opinion of St. Thomas. He says that he regards that right as the official stamp of freedom impressed on the interior acts of the penitent. These acts thus judicially recognised are the internal sacrament. So also St. Thomas² explains that these acts as judicially received by the priestly judge and stamped by the seal of his reconciling authority are the internal Sacrament of Penance. Clearly these apparently different views are in reality only one. This view, which holds that the internal sacrament is the union of the internal dispositions and the right given by the sacramental absolution, seems to be the most probable opinion. Everything in the sacramental operation which is immediately signified by the external rite, and signifies grace is the internal sacrament. Now the external rite of penance immediately signifies not simply the internal dispositions of the recipient, nor merely the sacramental right given by absolution, but both united; because the external rite of penance consists of the extenuated dispositions of the recipient united with the form of absolution. The extenuated dispositions are a sign of internal dispositions, and the form indicates the right to freedom from sin. Hence the union of these is immediately signified by the external rite. In this union, of course, the right holds the determining place, and so to it is to be principally attributed the efficacy of the internal sacrament. This union, as is clear, signifies grace; so it holds the intermediate place required for the internal sacrament. It must not be objected that the internal dispositions of the penitent cannot, under any aspect, be the internal sacrament, inasmuch as they are not an effect of the external rite, but rather the cause of it. The reply is, that the dispositions under the aspect which we have indicated are an effect of the external rite; for the external rite causes that union between these

¹ *De Poen.*, Th. iv

² P 4 Sent., D. 22, Q. 2, a. 1, q. 2.

dispositions and the sacramental right to freedom from sin, which, in our opinion, is the internal Sacrament of Penance.

In Extreme Unction there is great difficulty also in determining the internal sacrament. According to many it is the health of body which is caused by the anointing and the form of Extreme Unction, and which signifies the spiritual health which sanctifying grace gives to the soul. The opinion of Father Billot seems more probable. He points out that the form of Extreme Unction is deprecatory. It is a prayer, not the prayer of the individual, but of Christ expressed in the form: 'Per istam Sanctam Unctionem et Suam piissimam misericordiam indulgeat tibi Dominus quidquid per visum redeliquisti.' The anointing and that form have for their immediate signification a prayerful handing over of the sick person to the mercy of God, in order that his sins may be forgiven. There is not a word in the form which indicates immediately the bodily health of the patient. But there is an immediate indication of that deprecatory consecration to God's mercy by the prayer of Christ. That consecration too gives the subject a claim to indulgence, and so it signifies the remission of sin. Hence, that sacramental consecration to God's mercy in signification intervenes between the external rite and grace. It is, consequently, the internal Sacrament of Extreme Unction.

II.

Having seen what, in general, is meant by the internal sacrament, and what it is in particular sacraments, we naturally ask the question: Is there any utility in discussing this subject? If we hold, with many modern theologians, that there is no utility, or, at least, very little utility, in raising this question, we have spent our time in vain; but then we condemn the collected wisdom of centuries which gave birth to the consecrated phrase: 'res simul et sacramentum;' and having produced it, passed it on from one generation of theologians to another. If this phrase be without utility, those generations of theologians must have acted in a very imprudent manner. We think, however,

that underlying it there is a doctrine which is of the utmost importance in sacramental theology. What, then, is its importance? What is its utility in the sacraments? It can be easily explained. Not only in signification, but also in operation does the internal sacrament intervene between the external rite and sanctifying grace. The external rite of a sacrament is a true cause of grace, whether physical or moral we do not mean to discuss here. The external rite in its causality may reach sanctifying grace immediately, or it may reach it only mediately, immediately producing the internal sacrament, which in turn causes grace. The doctrine that we wish to hold is that only mediately does the external rite operate grace. It immediately produces the internal sacrament. This is a disposition for grace. It is not a disposition in the sense that it removes obstacles to the infusion of grace, nor simply in the sense that it fits the subject for the reception of sanctification, but in the sense that it exacts grace from God. It is a supernatural disposition of such a nature that violence will be done to it by God if He does not give sanctifying grace when it is present. No doubt there may be obstacles to grace in the subject of the sacrament, which will prevent God from actually giving grace; but this defect is not to be attributed to God, who is ever ready to correspond with the exacting demands of the internal sacrament, but rather to the free will of man who has placed the obstacles, or, having placed, does not remove them. Our purpose, then, is to show that the sacraments of the New Law cause grace through the intervening causality of the internal sacrament. For this teaching there are arguments that may be taken from theological reason and from authority—arguments that refer to all the sacraments, to groups of sacraments, and to individual sacraments. It will be useful to first indicate some arguments that apply to individual sacraments; then to indicate some that apply to all or groups of sacraments; finally, to give an argument from the authority of St. Thomas, the great master of sacramental theology.

This teaching seems clear in reference to the Blessed

Eucharist. What in the Blessed Eucharist is the immediate cause of grace? Is it the external sacrament, the species of bread and wine determined by the sacramental form? Or is it rather the Body and Blood of our Lord which are really present under the species by the efficacy of the sacramental form? Not only reason, but also the Word of God seems to indicate that it is the Real Presence which is the immediate cause of grace. Reason says that when the author of all grace is Himself present, He gives to the soul to which He is united the nuptial dress of grace. St. John says: 'Then Jesus said to them: Amen, amen, I say unto you: Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, you shall not have life in you.' He that eateth My flesh, and drinketh My blood, hath everlasting life, and I will raise him up at the last day.'¹ We are here told negatively and positively that it is the flesh and blood of our Lord which give the life of grace which is a pledge of the life of glory to be enjoyed for ever in heaven. Consequently, it is not the external rite of the Blessed Eucharist, but its internal effect, the Real Presence, which is the immediate cause of grace.

If we examine the Sacrament of Penance, we cannot fail to see the same truth. Its internal sacrament is the right to grace which the priestly absolution has attached to the internal dispositions of the penitent. Is it this right to freedom, or the external sacramental sign of sorrow and absolution, that immediately causes grace? If we follow the analogy of all trials in which freedom is given to a prisoner by the sentence of a court, our course is clear. It is not that sentence which immediately liberates the prisoner; it gives a right to freedom because of which actual liberty is afterwards given if no obstacle intervene to prevent it. Another charge on which the judge has yet given no decision would be such an obstacle. Precisely the same happens in the supernatural trial which takes place in the Sacrament of Penance. The sentence of the judge does not give freedom from sin. There is immediately given a right to freedom from sin, because of which grace is infused into

¹ vi. 54, 55.

the soul for the remission of sin. Accordingly, the internal Sacrament of Penance interposes its operation between the external rite and sanctifying grace.

Let us turn for a moment to Extreme Unction, and the same teaching is evidently true. 'In Extreme Unction the internal sacrament is the deprecatory consecration of the sick man to God's mercy. Is it this consecration or the external rite which is the immediate principle of grace? Evidently, it is that consecration, for through it the claim to grace is given, and, consequently, through it grace flows from the sacramental fount. Hence, in Extreme Unction, as in the Blessed Eucharist and Penance, the sacrament produces grace through its internal sacrament.

Matrimony too affords us an argument in favour of our teaching. Without it we cannot explain how the already existing matrimonial bond of newly-baptized infidels becomes sacramental. According to Pius IX. every valid matrimonial contract of baptized persons is a sacrament. Hence we are bound to hold that when two married infidels are baptized, their marriage becomes a sacrament, and causes grace. But where is this causality of grace? Is it possessed by the external contract formerly placed? But that was only potentially sacramental when entered into, and now remains only in its effect, the matrimonial bond. Is it by a new consent which the parties now elicit? But no new consent is necessary; for *eo ipso* that both parties are baptized, the marriage becomes a sacrament. It remains for us to hold that grace is caused by the matrimonial bond which has been elevated into a sacramental sign. This bond is the internal Sacrament of Matrimony. Hence, matrimony causes grace through its internal sacrament. A difficulty of importance which presents itself in connection with this argument is derived from the dispensation known as 'sanatio in radice.' By its means a matrimonial consent, formerly elicited, but ineffective, owing to an ecclesiastical diriment impediment, now, at the removal of this impediment, without any renewal of consent, becomes a valid matrimonial contract. In this case an external consent, which was sacramental

only potentially when elicited, is quite sufficient to now cause the sacramental matrimonial bond. A similar contract of infidels, which was only potentially sacramental, ought be sufficient, at their baptism, to directly cause sacramental grace. For the present we waive a great disparity between the matrimonial bond and grace, which consists in this, that the external consent signifies directly only the internal matrimonial bond, and consequently though its virtue may remain to cause that matrimonial bond, it does not follow that it remains too for the purpose of directly giving grace. This argument we shall meet again. At present we reply, that in the case of a matrimonial consent given for the purpose of entering into marriage, that consent will virtually persevere, unless it be explicitly or implicitly withdrawn, until the marriage is contracted. If, however, the marriage be already validly contracted, the consent remains not in any suspended virtue as in the previous case, but in its effect, the matrimonial bond, which was caused by that consent. Hence in the case of the 'sanatio in radice,' the consent virtually remains 'ad matrimonium contrahendum,' but in the case of the baptized infidels the consent remains only in its effect, the matrimonial bond. Hence, just as in the former case that suspended virtue causes the matrimonial bond, so in the latter case the matrimonial bond, the internal sacrament, causes grace.

We now turn our attention to some arguments that are more general in their nature. We have already, in the last argument, slightly touched on one of these. The sacraments of the New Law are practical signs of grace, and as such, signify and, signifying, cause grace. This principle is laid down by St. Thomas, and seems to follow from the very nature of a sacrament of the Christian dispensation. St. Thomas says: 'Sacramentum secundum propriam formam significat vel natum est significare effectum illum ad quem divinitus ordinatur, et secundum hoc est convenienter instrumentum, quia sacramenta significando causant.'¹ Hence the sacraments of the New Law have a causality which is commensurate with their signification. But the sacraments,

¹ De Veritate, q. 27, a. 4, ad. 13.

as we have already seen, do not immediately signify grace; they signify it only through the internal sacrament which is the immediate term of their signification. Consequently, they produce grace not immediately, but mediately, through that same internal sacrament.

Again, it is the universal teaching of theologians that some sacraments can be valid without being fruitful, owing to an obstacle to grace in the recipient. Unless the internal sacrament intervene in its operation as well as in its signification between the external rite and sanctifying grace, this cannot be. Why? Because the operation of any sacrament must always reach the essential and immediate effect of that sacrament, else there will be no sacramental operation at all. Hence in the case we contemplate the essential and immediate effect of the sacramental operation is produced. But grace is not always produced. Consequently, grace is not the essential and immediate effect of the sacramental operation. What, then, is? That which is always present when the sacrament is valid, viz., the character in characteristic sacraments, and the corresponding quality in the others which generally is called the internal sacrament. It may be said, however, that though the internal sacrament be the immediate and essential effect of the sacrament, it does not follow that the sacrament produces grace through it, for grace may be produced by the rite immediately, concomitantly with the internal sacrament. We reply that in the sacramental external rite generally there is no indication of any other immediate causality than the one indicated. Take the Blessed Eucharist, as an example. The eucharistic form, 'Hoc est enim corpus meum,' indicates solely the causality by which the Real Presence is placed under the sacred species. There is not a word in the form which immediately indicates causality of grace. The same is true of matrimony. In the form there is an immediate indication of the matrimonial bond, but not a word to directly point out any simultaneous effect of grace. In truth, if it were there it is hard to see why it would not be infallible as well as immediate for any word that belongs to the form by the institution of Christ

must produce its effect infallibly, else the rite will not operate as the work of Christ. This argument is confirmed by what we shall now say about the revival of some sacraments.

It is the teaching of theologians that the sacraments of the New Law revive with one exception, viz., the Blessed Eucharist. By this they mean that, owing to an obstacle to grace in the recipient, a sacrament though valid does not produce grace. Yet afterwards, at the removal of the obstacle, such a sacrament sometimes gives sacramental grace. This causality is true sacramental causality. So when the sacrament revives it then just as truly causes grace as it would have caused it were it not unfruitful when received. Now, according to the doctrine of theologians the Blessed Eucharist does not revive in this way. Extreme Unction revives as long as the same illness lasts. Matrimony revives while the matrimonial bond remains unbroken. The other sacraments revive whenever the obstacle is removed. How can we explain this revival of some sacraments consistently with the non-revival or only partial revival of other sacraments? Were the external rite formerly placed the immediate cause of revival, the difference would arise from it. But, clearly, the difference cannot arise from the external rite, simply, for grace is demanded by one external rite as much as by another. If there be any difference at all in this it is against the teaching of theologians, for the Blessed Eucharist, being the most worthy of all the sacraments, ought to have a greater efficacy than the others, and, consequently, ought to be the first to revive. Consequently, the revival does not come from the external rite. If, then, the revival does not come from the external rite, from what does it come? Perchance, from the will of God alone, and not from any real causality on the part of the sacrament? This is directly opposed to the universal tradition of the Church, for that tradition tells us that it is the sacrament which revives and causes grace. Moreover, God has instituted the sacraments for giving grace. He uses them as instruments in His hands for pouring out on the souls He loves the abundance of His sanctification. Are we, then, to say, that in some cases in the sacramental operation, without

any instrumentality on the part of these sacraments, God gives grace? This would seem to be opposed to the will of God manifested in the institution of these sacraments. We cannot, accordingly, admit it as a possible explanation of the problem. Only one other way remains by which a satisfactory explanation can be given. That is the way of the internal sacrament. The Blessed Eucharist does not revive at all, because when the species are corrupted, the Real Presence, which is the internal sacrament, passes away too. There, consequently, now ceases irrevocably the immediate source of grace, and therefore there is no more hope that grace will be caused by any revival of the sacrament. In Extreme Unction there may be a revival of the sacrament, so long as the person anointed remains in the same sickness, because so long there remains the deprecatory consecration to God's mercy, which, being the internal sacrament, is the immediate fount of grace. The matrimonial bond, which is the internal sacrament of matrimony, remains until the death of one of the married parties, or a dispensation given by lawful authority in the case of marriage that is 'ratum sed non consummatum' dissolves it. Hence, so long the sacrament can revive, through this immediate source of grace. In the other sacraments the internal sacrament is absolutely permanent, as in the characteristic sacraments, or hypothetically permanent, as in the case of Penance. So in these there is no limit of time, at this side of the grave, to their revival. This doctrine, then, of the intermediate causality of the internal sacrament clearly explains the doctrine of reviviscence.

There is another doctrine, common in the schools, which can also be easily explained by this teaching. We know that when sanctifying grace is lost, the right to actual graces, necessary to obtain the special ends of the sacraments, is lost with it. When, however, sanctifying grace is regained the lost right is restored. What causes this revival? Being a sacramental right it does not revive without sacramental action. Hence the mere will of God will not explain it. Where, then, is the sacramental action which causes the revival? It is not necessary to appeal to the external rite, for there remains the internal sacrament which was immediately

caused by that past rite. Hence to this internal sacrament we ought attribute the revival of the lost right to grace.

The opinion which we have endeavoured to set before our readers receives a high degree of probability from the teaching of St. Thomas the great master of sacramental theology. That this was his opinion there can be no reasonable doubt. He expressed his view in words than which no clearer can be found. He says:—

*Dicendum est ergo, quod principale agens respectu justificationis Deus est, nec indiget ad hoc aliquibus instrumentis ex parte sua; sed propter congruitatem ex parte hominis justificandi ut supra dictum est, utitur sacramentis quasi quibusdam instrumentis justificationis. Hujusmodi autem materialibus instrumentis competit aliqua actio ex natura propria, sicut aquae abluere, et oleo facere nitidum corpus; sed ulterius inquantum sunt instrumenta divinae misericordiae justificantis pertingunt instrumentaliter ad aliquem effectum in ipsa anima, quod primo correspondet sacramentis, sicut est character, vel aliquid hujusmodi. Ad ultimum autem effectum, quod est gratia, non pertingunt etiam instrumentaliter, nisi dispositive, inquantum hoc ad quod instrumentaliter effective pertingunt est dispositio, quae est necessitas, quantum in se est, ad gratiae susceptionem.*¹

We fail to see how the opinion we advocate could be more clearly expressed. Not in this place alone does St. Thomas teach this doctrine. He frequently recurs to it. In 4 sent. D. 22, q. 2, a. 1, q. 2, he expressly states that the internal sacrament of Penance causes grace. Also in 4 sent., D. 4, a. 2, q. 3, he teaches that it is by the character Baptism revives. His words are:—

*Ad tertiam quaestionem dicendum quod in baptismo imprimitur character qui est immediata causa disponens ad gratiam; et ideo cum fictio non auferat characterem, recedente fictione quae effectum characteris impediabat, character qui est praesens in anima, incipit habere effectum suum, et ita baptismus, recedente fictione, effectum suum consequitur.*²

But perhaps in after life when he wrote his *Summa Theologica* he changed his views on this matter? When he expressly discusses in 3, q. 62, art. 1, the power of the sacraments to cause grace, he does not mention this

¹ 4 Sent. d. 1. q. 1, a. 4, q. 5.

² See also *De Veritate*, q. 27, a. 7, and q. 27, a. 4, ad 3; also *De Potentia*, q. 3, a. 4, ad 8.

intermediate efficacy of the internal sacrament; perhaps this is a withdrawal of his earlier view? By no means. In that article he wished simply to teach the Catholic doctrine that the sacraments of the New Law cause grace, without going into the manner of that production. That this is the case is evident from a perusal of the article itself, and from the fact that he afterwards in 3 q. 69, art. 10, expressly repeats his former view. His words are without equivocation:—

Respondeo dicendum, quod, sicut supra (q. 66, art. 9) dictum est baptismus est quaedam spiritualis regeneratio: cum autem aliquid generatur, simul cum forma recipit effectum formae, nisi sit aliquid impediens, quo remoto, forma rei generatae perficit suum effectum; sicut simul cum corpus grave generatur, movetur deorsum, nisi sit aliquid prohibens, quo remoto, statim incipit moveri deorsum. *Et similiter quando aliquis baptizatur accipit characterem, quasi formam, et consequitur proprium effectum, qui est gratia remittens omnia peccata; impeditur autem quandoque per fictionem; unde oportet, quod remota ea per poenitentiam, baptismus statim consequitur suum effectum.*

These quotations are sufficient to convince any unprejudiced reader that the unchanging opinion of St. Thomas was that the internal sacrament intervenes between the external rite and sanctifying grace, not only in signification, but also in causality.

In fine, we venture to express the hope that the revival, if we can call it a revival, of Thomistic Theology and Philosophy, which our present venerable Pontiff Leo XIII. has done so much to bring about, will lead to a revival of this particular opinion of St. Thomas. Indeed it is surprising that already it is not more widely taught in the schools. No doubt some theologians have not failed to see its importance. Amongst these we may mention Father Billot, S.J., the famous Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Gregorian College, Rome. His influence will, we hope, urge theologians throughout the world to devote deep consideration to his view. Such a kindly reception of the doctrine would carry its own reward, for this teaching would free its followers from many difficulties of sacramental theology which, without it, must ever remain to disturb their equanimity.

JOHN M. HARTY.

THE EXISTENCE OF EVIL

PART II.—MORAL EVIL

'Nihil in tota rerum natura, totoque universo fieri potest, quod Deus antea in luce infinita sapientiae suae exactissime non consideraverit, et quasi deliberarit, an conveniat illud velle ut fiat, aut saltem velle permittere, seu non impedire.'

'Etsi propter peccatum et arbitrii libertatem multam in rebus, praesertim humanis, videatur permittere *ataxiam*; nihil tamen permittit nisi summa ratione, et quasi praevia deliberatione.'—*De Nominibus Dei*, lib. ii., p. 163—L. Lessii.

WE dwelt at some length in a recent article,¹ on the existence of physical and material evil, and we there attempted to demonstrate the folly of those who make its presence an excuse for censuring and condemning God. In the present article we shall address ourselves to a yet more difficult task, and endeavour to show the wisdom and goodness of God in permitting not only physical evil, but what is in itself an immeasurably worse thing, namely, moral evil, or, in plain English—sin. Observe, we do not say 'in *causing* sin,' for that is inconceivable, and incompatible with infinite holiness, but 'in *permitting* sin.'

We will begin by calling attention to the undeniable fact that God, being infinite goodness, desires that man, 'made to His own image and likeness,'² should likewise exercise goodness, practise virtue, and fulfil all justice. He clearly signifies this desire in the well-known words: 'Be ye perfect, as your Heavenly Father is perfect.'³ A desire of which the inspired Apostle is careful to remind the Thessalonians, with even increased emphasis, when he writes: 'This is the will of God, your sanctification.'⁴

Now, to anyone who gives the matter a thought, it must be perfectly clear that, in order to exercise even the minimum of virtue, the agent must necessarily enjoy the privilege of liberty. That a person may merit, the first and most

¹ *Vide* I. E. RECORD, October, 1893.

² Genesis i. 26.

³ Matt. v. 43. See also Gen. xviii. 1; Deut. xviii. 13; 2 Tim. ii. 17, &c.

⁴ 1 Thess. iv. 3.

essential condition is, that he should be free. Should even the best disposed person act in a certain way, for the sole reason that he cannot by any possibility act in any other, no one would say that he is practising virtue, or that he is doing anything meritorious, any more than if he were a mere machine. Here is, let us suppose, a chronometer. It keeps excellent time. Well. We may, of course, speaking figuratively, proclaim it to be 'an exceedingly good watch.' But, in spite of the expression, it never would occur to us to credit it with genuine virtuousness, any more than it would occur to us to accuse a ten-and-sixpenny Waterberry of gross immorality and wickedness, because it habitually refuses to indicate the precise hour, and behaves altogether in a most arbitrary and provoking manner. Why? Because we all know that in either case a watch simply goes as it is made. It is but a machine, an automaton. It exercises no free-will, and is in no sense responsible for its successes or for its failures.

So again, to take a somewhat different instance. We may extol the industry and ingenuity of the bee. We may be lost in admiration at the mathematical exactness of the wonderful hexagonal cells that it constructs; and at the sagacity and prudence with which it first collects, and then stores up the honey, and so forth. But no one, unless he be a very foolish person, indeed, would say that the bee is possessed of any moral worth. Or that, indeed, he is in the least degree more virtuous than that careless vagabond, the butterfly, although the butterfly spends the whole of its brief life idling and pirouetting among the flowers. Why? Because neither the one nor the other possesses free-will. Because each acts according to the laws impressed upon it by its Creator. Free-will is a necessary condition for the existence even of the least degree of sin, as also for the existence of the least degree of virtue—so obviously necessary, indeed, that even the common laws of the country will hold no man either guilty of blame or deserving of praise for any act whatsoever in which his free-will has played no part.

A few months ago, a youth sat playing with a loaded gun. By some mischance the trigger was pressed, and the

gun went off. The whole charge entered the body of a young woman seated just opposite, and killed her on the spot. The act was not intentional. The careless fellow had no desire to murder, or even to wound, anyone. The act was not an act of his free-will at all. Indeed, quite the reverse. Consequently, he was not held responsible, nor judged guilty even by the civil law, and certainly not by the divine. Or, instead of a deplorable action, such as this, we may take a praiseworthy action, and the same principle will apply. Thus: to bestow alms upon the destitute is a commendable practice; but to be meritorious, it must be an act of the free-will, and be done intentionally. If a rich man, sauntering down some poor quarter of Liverpool or London, allows a quantity of loose silver to slip through a hole in his trousers pocket, the poor may, indeed, reap the benefit of it; but no one, I presume, would go into ecstasies over the rich man's extraordinary generosity. No. In order that an act may be really, and in the strictest sense, virtuous and meritorious before God, it must be performed freely and intentionally.

No one deserves to be rewarded for doing what he simply cannot help doing. If a person deserves a reward for doing a good deed which he cannot help doing, then it would follow, that he would deserve punishment for a bad deed which he cannot help doing, which is absurd.

In plain truth, it is precisely because a man might have done wrong, that we think him deserving of praise for having done right. This is explicitly laid down in Holy Writ. Referring to a wealthy, yet upright and honest man, the inspired writer declares that: 'He shall have glory everlasting.' Then he goes on to assign the reason; because, 'he could have transgressed and did not transgress; he could have done evil things, and hath not done them.'¹

Thus it is abundantly clear from reason, from common sense, and from the Bible itself, that there can be no true virtue unless there be true free-will.

But observe, another consequence also follows. So soon

¹ Eccles. xxxi. 10.

as ever we introduce the idea of free-will, we, *nolentes volentes*, introduce the idea of sin. If the will be truly free, then man may choose. He may follow the path of inclination rather than the path of duty. There is always, at least, the bare possibility of making a bad, instead of a good use of one's liberty. So soon as a man is put in possession of the marvellous gift of free-will, one cannot absolutely hinder him from committing sin. For, the instant you coerce or force him, the same instant he ceases to be free, and the same instant he ceases to be virtuous—or for the matter of that—vicious: since the consequences, of course, cut both ways.

This is a brief statement of the case: hence—if we may be allowed, with all reverence, to put [the matter in a human way—God, having determined to create man, had still to choose between two courses. For sake of greater clearness, we may suppose that the Creator mused within Himself, saying:—I will create man. I will endow him with intelligence and reason and the capacity of knowing Me, his Maker. But shall I make him a mere piece of mechanism: a machine, an automaton, moved only as the brute beasts are moved, by internal and external stimuli; and necessarily obedient to the strongest impulses? or shall I, on the contrary, make him free? I will weigh the matter, and compare the advantages and the disadvantages. If I decide to withhold the gift of free-will, there will be no sin. True: man will be as innocent as the fishes that swim in the waters, and as immaculate as the flowers that glisten by the road side. Just imagine, we should then contemplate a world unstained by any moral guilt, a world without sin!

Unquestionably. But if this would give us a world without sin, it would give us also a world without virtue, a world void of all moral excellence. Man would have no more sin than a rock or a stone; but then he would have no more goodness, no more holiness, no more sanctity, than a rock or a stone either.

On the whole, then, it seemed better to extend to man the opportunities of practising virtue, even though such

opportunities carry with them the risk of sin. God saw the advantages of granting man free-will, so He resolved to grant it. Among the considerations which determined Him in His decision, perhaps we may venture to suggest the following five as among the most important.

First consideration.—If man were not endowed with free will, then the entire race must for ever remain wholly incapable of the least act of virtue.

Second consideration.—If free-will was not to be the prerogative, even of man, then God would not be *freely* served by any of His visible creatures. Sun, moon, and stars, together with the earth, and all the earth contains, serve God, and obey Him. Truly; but it is not a voluntary service. They obey because they cannot do otherwise. But God wishes to be served, at least by His rational creatures, with a spontaneous and a voluntary service: with the homage of the heart and of the affections. And even though all might not employ their free-will aright, yet God foresaw that many would.

Third consideration.—We may suppose that God was the more ready to grant the favour, because whosoever abused His free-will and committed crime, would not only be punished for his transgression, which would restore the balance of justice, but would be obliged to acknowledge that he had none but himself to blame. He would realize that if he ran counter to the divine commands, and received condign punishment, it would be wholly and entirely his own doing, and in no way imputable to God.

Fourth consideration.—Another reason moving God to give man free-will was, that such a system opens out to God a vastly wider and grander scope for the exercise and the manifestation of His divine attributes, especially of His power, and His justice, in punishing those who deliberately scoff and set His will at defiance, and still more of His infinite love and generosity in rewarding those who voluntarily and lovingly serve Him, and who exercise their freedom merely to honour and glorify His name. Further it would also enable Him the more easily to show forth His boundless mercy and compassion, in pardoning and

washing out sin, and in receiving even the greatest and basest rebel—if only repentant—back into His grace and favour.

Fifth consideration.—And there is yet another consideration that must have strongly influenced God to grant man free-will, even in spite of the enormous sins and appalling crimes that He foresaw would sometimes be the consequences of this dangerous gift. I mean the consideration that He, the Omnipotent and the Omniscient, is able to bring good out of evil—not only out of physical evil, but what is immeasurably more divine and marvellous, out of moral evil; out of positive and heinous crime; out of hatred, jealousies, vindictiveness, and bloodthirstiness. Yes, in giving man free-will, God knew that sin, and great sin, would result; but He also knew that He was and is powerful enough to turn even the very sinfulness of sinners to the ultimate advantage of the just, and to the increase of His own eternal honour and glory.

Thus, although the condition of this or that particular individual may be worse by reason of his possessing free-will, yet we must bear two facts in mind: the one is, that not even so much as one individual need suffer, except through his own fault; and the other is, that whatever amount of suffering free-will might bring to the individual who makes an evil use of it, it will, nevertheless, always be to the advantage of the Church in general, and of the race as a whole; in some measure, even here upon earth, but above all, in its effects upon the more permanent state of the blessed in heaven.

After a due consideration of this point, it is impossible not to see that the permission of moral evil affords one of the proofs—not, indeed, of God's want of goodness—but rather of the limitless extent of His goodness, and of His extraordinary solicitude for the development of the higher and more heroic forms of virtue in His subjects.

We will now cite an instance or two illustrating the manner in which God draws virtue out of vice, and in which He makes sin itself the occasion of greater and yet greater holiness, over-ruling the crimes and iniquities of the most infamous characters in all history, in order to compel them

to subserve His noblest designs, and to second His sublimest purposes. Again and again does it happen in the history of the world, that cruel tyrants rage and rebel against the Church, and that 'princes meet together against the Lord, and against His Christ.'¹ But 'He that dwelleth in heaven' allows them thus to abuse and misuse their free-will, and to dabble their hands in blood, because He is fully able, by His all-wise providence, to use them (even when they flatter themselves that they are doing infinite mischief) as the instruments—the unconscious, the unwilling, and the wicked instruments—still the real instruments, of great and everlasting good. 'Miri modo fit,' says St. Gregory, 'ut quod sine voluntate Dei agitur, voluntati Dei contrarium non sit, quia ejus consilio militant etiam quae ejus consilio repugnant.'²

An example will make clear what we mean. Pass, then, in spirit to the early ages of the Church. We are in Rome, the capital and centre of pagan influence and power. The air is astir with the sounds of many voices and the shouts and cries of moving multitudes. Some are in chariots, some on horseback, some are borne by slaves on litters; but the vast majority are elbowing and pushing their way along on foot. Whither is this great, tumultuous stream of human beings flowing and eddying? Ah! towards the gigantic amphitheatre, the famous Coliseum, the very ruins of which are one of the greatest marvels of modern and Christian Rome. Full soon the thousands and thousands of seats, arranged tier above tier to the number of ninety thousand, are filled up by eager and excited spectators. The roar of the wild beasts rises above the murmurs and the vociferations of the crowd. Not a cloud is to be seen in the sky, and the strong Italian sun, beating down upon the immense concourse of men and women, glistens and glitters upon the burnished helmets and armour of the Imperial Guard, and lights up the gaudy splendour of the Emperor and his numerous attendants.

We ask, 'What is going on?' and 'What all this

¹ Ps. ii. 2.

² Lib. vi. Moral.

commotion may mean?' But we have not long to wait. The mystery is soon made clear, for, hark! a cry, a shout, and now another, yet louder and shriller than before, rings through the air: '*Christianos ad leones!*' 'To the lions with the Christians!' 'Away with them to the arena!' A great sea of voices takes up the refrain, till the pagan mob grows hoarse and husky with shouting.

Yes, Imperial Rome had resolved to destroy and uproot this new sect (as it called the infant Church), and to put to death the followers of the Crucified; and God deliberately permits the attempt. The prophecy of our Lord is being fulfilled: 'I send you forth as sheep among wolves,'¹ to be rent, and torn asunder, and devoured. 'You shall be hated of all men for My name's sake.'² 'The servant is not above his Master. If they have persecuted Me, they will persecute you.'³ 'Yea, the hour cometh in which whomsoever killeth you will think that he doeth a service to God.'⁴

Yet here, too, God is with His chosen ones, to comfort and strengthen them in a conflict so honourable and so advantageous to themselves;⁵ while the world, in its pride, and arrogance, and material strength, stands by, and marvels to see Christ revealed again in the person of His followers. Yes, old men of over fourscore, like St. Ignatius; warriors in the Emperor's own army, like St. Sebastian; delicate and sensitive girls and mere children, like St. Felicitas, and St. Agnes, and St. Perpetua, stand forth unabashed before that immense multitude of witnesses to bear public testimony to their faith, and to seal that testimony with their heart's blood. Truly, God knows how to draw the pure gold of virtue out of the seething cauldron of vice and sin. Yes, God's providence has led the martyr and the confessor there for the purpose of exhibiting to a pagan

¹ Matt. x. 16.

² Mark xiii. 13.

³ John xvi. 18, 20.

⁴ John xvi. 2.

⁵ 'Constanter Deo crede, eique te totum committe quantum potes; nihil enim tibi evenire permit't, nisi quod tibi prosit etiamsi necias.' Soliloq. cap. xv. St. Aug.

world the irresistible power of divine grace, and the indomitable courage and superhuman love of the children of the Church for the spiritual mother who bore them. Oh, what a sublime scene was this!—a spectacle to rejoice the hearts of God and of man.

The youngest and the most fragile grows strong in the strength of God. Children scarcely out of their teens, stand up unfaltering and firm before the threats and menaces of the greatest and mightiest institution the world has ever known. Their faith grows till it becomes almost vision. Their hope and trust expand until they attain heroic proportions; their love and their loyalty to their crucified Lord and Saviour fill them not merely with submission and resignation under their awful sufferings, but with a holy impatience to pour out the ruddy stream of their life for His sake, and to be ground to powder by the teeth of savage beasts.¹

What a glorious picture! What a sublime record of victory! What a triumph of virtue over vice; of gentleness over cruelty; of weakness over strength; of love over hate; and of moral power over brute force! Where, outside the pale of the Catholic Church, shall we find such heroes? *Non sunt inventi similes illis*: their equals do not exist! Who, indeed, will measure the height and the depth of their burning charity? Who will estimate the honour and glory given to God by the 'white-robed army of martyrs'? Not in twos and threes, but in tens of thousands, and in hundreds of thousands they came forth with joy in their hearts, and smiles on their faces, to cruel imprisonment, torture, and death, as though it were to a banquet or a nuptial feast. It is calculated that over three millions of martyrs laid down their lives in testimony of the Roman and apostolic faith during the ten great persecutions. So that it is really to sin and injustice—*i.e.*, the sin and injustice of wicked tyrants—or, what is the same thing, to the *permission of moral evil*, that we owe the glory of the martyrs.

¹ St. Ignatius wrote in A.D. 107:—'I am the wheat of God, and I long to be ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ,' &c.

Look, gentle reader, look in spirit up into heaven. Contemplate the ravishing beauty and glory of these conquerors. Gaze upon the crowns of entrancing splendour that deck their brows. Call to mind the joy and happiness, and peace and delight, that is theirs; and say: does not their very presence seem to brighten up the heavenly court as with a new effulgence, and to fill everyone of the blessed with an altogether special joy? Who would wish to see heaven shorn of all this glory?

Who? Well; he who is foolish enough to blame God for permitting the existence of moral evil. Such a man would deliberately rob heaven of one of its greatest accidental joys, and God Himself of untold honour and praise. For observe if wicked men were not permitted to follow their free-will and to indulge their passions, and commit crime, then there would be no persecutors, no tyrants, no fierce and blood-thirsty emperors and kings to torment, and imprison, and put to death the holy ones of God. The martyrs would be a class unknown and non-existent. Their heroism and sterling virtue a thing undreamed and unimagined.

Our conclusion, then, is, that God permits moral evil for the same reason that He permits physical evil, viz., because He can draw good out of it, and through its agency add immeasurably to the sanctity, to the glory, and to the everlasting beatitude of the saints.

We have selected the example of the martyrs, because it appears to us to be the most striking and the most readily grasped. But the selfsame Providence is ever at work, all the world over,¹ converting evil into good, and calling forth the fairest flowers of virtue from the most hopeless and stubborn soil of vice. If the Church is attacked, if the pride and malice of men denounce and malign her, it redoubles the fervour of her children; it arouses her bishops and priests to greater zeal; it causes her doctrines to be more fully studied, and more accurately and more persuasively stated and explained, and the beauty and divinity

¹ 'Deus unumquemque nostram tanquam solum curat, et sic omnes, tanquam singulos.' St. Aug., l. 3, Conf. cap. ii.

of her whole constitution to be more easily recognised and more universally known.

The union ever subsisting between God and His Church, and the wholly supernatural character of the Church's life, could never have been so striking—could never have been the argument it now is—had storms and dangers, and hostile attempts not marked every stage of her career, and proved on a hundred different occasions, that an Omnipotent arm was sustaining her, and a Divine Power defending her. 'Behold I am with you all days,' receives its most striking interpretation and confirmation in the annals of her miraculous history.

Even in our own individual cases we must, surely, often have realized how the faults and imperfections of others have again and again offered us opportunities of exercising virtue; and how, perhaps, on the other hand, our own sins have created occasions for others to display a charity, good temper and forbearance, of which we scarcely deemed them capable.

It would take too much space to pursue this subject along the innumerable paths over which it would lead us, but let each one think out the problem for himself, and he will assuredly arise from his task, blessing and praising the wisdom and goodness of God, who suffers moral evil to continue in this world during the course of man's probation, and who uses it as a mighty engine for the accomplishment of His own divine and admirable purposes.

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

IDEALISM AND REALISM IN ART

HAVING criticized at some length the school of idealistic art, and sided generally with its main contentions, I come now to treat of the school of realism, and of the movement in which it took its rise. The realistic movement was started originally as a protest against the lethargy and repose that hung over art in the eighteenth century. Very few names connected with that period have come down to our day with any degree of familiarity. It was an age that laid no claim to originality, and in the domain of art moved along without demur in the narrow groove allowed it by the classical idea. It was not until the nineteenth century opened that artists began to turn to nature to draw thence, if possible, a little of the life, the freshness, the freedom they saw in her, and forthwith craved for. They found that freedom pervading nature like a living spirit, and they could not but contrast it with the narrowness and poverty of their own cramped methods. Mountains arose and rivers flowed over the surface of nature, wherever the Creator wished them to appear. But artists had to revere traditions and measure and balance, and reason out places for everything they painted, spreading out scenes in nice gradations, and balancing them upon appointed centres.

Then came the reaction I am going to treat of. In a quarter of a century most of these strictures were entirely removed, and art sprang up, and flourished, and grew strong, and showed its strength in the number and variety of its enterprises and accomplishments. The movement to which all this is due is known generally as the realistic reaction. It had a varied history too chequered and disordered to be considered here; but I shall do my best to draw out its principles, and explain the number of forms it took, as its aims grew wider and more pretentious.

The realistic movement was a movement towards closer communion with nature, towards fresh sources of inspiration;

a movement away from traditional ideas, from disabilities and restrictions. The disabilities under which art laboured in the eighteenth century, I think I may safely reduce to three; and these I shall indicate in the three following paragraphs.

1. Properly speaking, art had a right to the fullest freedom in the selection of its subjects; a right, therefore, to range through the noblest and the simplest tracts in nature wherever a fitting subject appeared. But the mind of the eighteenth century critic was exceedingly narrow. It was so in poetry, and it was so in art; and for that whole century art was practically bound down to the imitation of the classic model, plying its labours amongst plaster gods in dusty studios, instead of being let into every cranny of the earth's surface, if it only wished to get its subject there. The first disability was on the subject-matter of art.

2. That wide chasm, fostered particularly by the later idealism, between art and nature, between art and truth, was growing and growing, and should be closed. Nature is truth, and standard of the true in art. In the eighteenth century, art was content to outline well, caring little about minor details, on the plea that if it adhered to them it could not possibly design nobly. This meant that art was nine-tenths false—at least nine-tenths. The second disability was on a question of truth.

3. The third disability arose from the fact that the domain of painting—or rather, I should say, the proper object of painting—was not quite understood in the eighteenth century. The proper object of painting and the field of vision are one and the same. What the eye sees the painter paints. The difficulty is to determine how much in our perceptive acts is revealed through sight. Other impressions from other faculties associate with the pure visual impression, to produce a fuller and more complex image of the external world. Thus touch and judgment are always working along with sight, filling in, completing, shaping, defining its scanty presentations. It is for science to analyze this complex image, and to pick out carefully the single factor in which art is interested, viz., the visual

impression. That is a matter for penetrating vigorous refined research, and presupposes an intimate knowledge of the determinants of perception and of the laws of nature. The eighteenth century was not scientific; it was not penetrating, it was not vigorous; and its art, in consequence, was in great measure spurious. This I shall make clearer further on. But take the *genuine* field of *vision*, disassociated from all other elements; how great, how varied, how deep it is; how penetratingly that art must sift it and sound its depths that would deal with it adequately! The eighteenth century did not half understand it. If we only look steadily there is no missing what falls on the retina in great broad masses; but besides these masses, there is, in nature, an infinite wealth of colour-delicacies that can be missed, hanging about objects, that are too light to awaken a sense of themselves, and may escape observation, and that still can tell on the sensitiveness of vision, with the effect of enriching or softening, or illuminating, as the case may be, the masses they hang on. It was just these delicacies the eighteenth century was not able to discover. Even still with our riper fuller opportunities they are growing on us. The third disability was one of inadequacy.

These were the three prevalent disabilities in the sphere of painting during the eighteenth century; and they naturally issued in three distinct reactionary movements: the first in romanticism, the second in realism (the central phase of the larger realistic movement), the third in impressionism.

(1) Romanticism aimed at enlarging the traditional compass of art. The rules of classicism had cut off from art the whole range of history, ancient and modern; and limited it to the Christian tradition and pagan mythology. The romanticists proposed to bring art into touch with the whole range of history, ancient and modern, real and imaginary, and to interest art in every feature and phase of nature, in history, landscape, portraiture, &c. It is due to them that art has stooped to ordinary nature, and found in fields and barns, and ricks of hay, and ploughmen and reapers,

inspiration for a new and original style more interesting than anything achieved in the Renaissance; certainly more attractive. As long as art was kept within doors, amongst plaster gods, what could it know of the things to which it was subsequently awakened—of cottages, cottiers, sunlight, fresh fields, or the common clay? It missed the brighter half of nature, or had long ceased to know that any such existed. The history of romanticism is the most interesting phase in the modern revolution. But I cannot dwell on it, for I wish to run on to the two other movements of which I have many things to say in criticism.

(2) On realism—the second of these three great movements—I must dwell now at length. In it the whole realistic movement appears to have been centred; and, therefore, it is known as realism proper. The reaction of the realists was much more thorough than that of the romanticists. Romanticism expanded the compass of art. But realism broke from the traditionary rules of composition and design, and created two artistic principles in which to formulate its new philosophy. These principles were—first, that art, being only the reflex of nature, should fill in the details it found in nature with as much care as it sketched outlines. The second ran—nature has nothing to say to *ideals*, but is built up of facts and physical laws, according to which it works itself out into definite effects. As idealization is not known in nature, so neither ought it be known in art. How can art improve on nature, change her, recast her, if it claims, at the same time, to be nothing more than her reflex and expression? The first was the principle of artistic truth; the second the principle of artistic beauty. All permanent truth is grounded in nature. All the beauty that art requires it can find in nature. Beauty is truth, and nature is truth. All other beauty is false and transient, a thing of taste, a passing prejudice, a conventionality.

That is the æsthetic philosophy of realism. Its natural issue was the well-known rule formulated, I think, by the pre-Raphaelite Brethren, that all art is portraiture of one kind or other. In this principle of portraiture the philosophy of realism is fully expressed; and it is to that principle we shall direct our criticism.

The rule of the pre-Raphaelities, to paint from nothing but the living model, is not so ridiculous as might at first sight appear. How, one asks, is the past to be made live again—past battles, past romances, past faces, &c.? But the pre-Raphaelites made them live again, by staging history, and spreading out tableaux in all kinds of surroundings, at dinner tables, in ball-rooms, in woods, and by river sides. How could a competent artist go wrong—this was their point—who had only to paint the scene before him, with plenty of opportunities to observe and measure, and plenty of leisure to dwell on difficulties? Yet that is exactly where portraiture failed. It made them go wrong; wrong in everything it was worth going right in. Portraiture by proxy may get profiles right; but how will it provide for subtle indications of character, feeling, momentary temperament—for everything, in fact, in which separate personalities find distinct expression? An actor may work up in his own features the feelings of another, and become for the moment the likeness of another, the model of a history. But the artist it is who will judge of the likeness, and he judges an idea already in his possession. The idea is painted: the model is discarded, except for the rougher plainer work of profiles, lines, proportions, &c. Portraiture, as a principle of historical painting, of imaginative painting, is false on the face of it; and the principle of portraiture, ‘justice without mercy,’ will set us wrong as sure as we work on it. Its incompetency increases as we rise to the loftier characters in history. A man is great because his deeds and life are such as will not be repeated in others. His bearing is his own; look is his own; he is great because his character is great, and his character is his own, and no other countenance will be found like his. I am speaking generally. It was a false principle, a destructive principle, that set Holman Hunt searching among the carpenters of Jerusalem for a model of Christ. The Christ in Millais’ ‘Workshop of Nazareth,’ surprises everybody, disappoints everybody. He is an ordinary boy, without pretensions to intellect or sanctity, or thoughtfulness or greatness, or any other trait, in which his character and thought must have found some utterance.

Now, I am not speaking of genuine portraiture, but of portraiture by proxy. I have nothing to say to genuine portraiture on the particular score that has been before us. But I do contend, though on another score, that genuine, that is, first-hand portraiture, as a principle of art, is not necessarily true. Portraiture emphasizes small details, and gives them their full objective value. Every line in a stone, every vein in a leaf, is as accurately drawn, as the prominent masses. The rocks in Millais' portrait of Ruskin are done as carefully as the woodcuts of a modern geological treatise. I am waiving altogether the question of utility, though I believe that such pains are lost on art, and lost on the spectator. But, at present, I am on another point, on a question of truth. Is detailed delineation a true principle of art? The answer is easy—it is, if details stand out in the genuine field of vision, as they do in the picture; it is not, if the eye is not able to catch them, or will not catch them, as it skims along the outlines of a landscape, or dwells on its parts. Now, I know that the eye can discover anything, if we set it to work as we plant a microscope on a single object, to pick out atoms, or to tax, and try, and hurt the sensibility of a delicate organ. But the field of vision which art interprets is the bold sweep which the eye embraces, when nature leads it across her surface for the beauties that are in her, and the pleasure she gives. In that wide survey, the sense is dead to tiresome detail, to the veins of stones, and the nerves of plants; but it catches the broader richer masses, the bold outline, the strong lights, and the deep shadows, the telling obstacles, the strong large framework that scenes are set in. Details are true, as true as outlines; but if sight must miss them, or must needs investigate before it finds them, we are not to paint them, on the very same principle that we adopt perspective, and make streets that are parallel converge on a canvas. That is the way they appear to us, and that is the form in which art receives them. We paint as we see.

Have I nothing to say in favour of realism, now that I have said so much against it? I have only to mention the pre-Raphaelite Brethren, and the pre-Raphaelite school to

recall the many achievements of realism, in a department that shall in future mark the kind and the degree of the high artistic attainments of this century. That department is landscape. The high attainments of modern art in the field of landscape are due altogether to the school of realism, and, in particular, to a little band of artists, all Englishmen; I think, whose names are household words wherever art is cultivated. Early in this century three young and enthusiastic lovers of art, Holman Hunt, Millais, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, happening to meet at Pisa, became possessed there of a scrap-book, with drawings in it and designs for the walls of the Campo Santo in that city. The simplicity and truthfulness of the whole series, their freshness and grace, their candid unaffected style, were a revelation to the three young artists. Here was living, breathing nature appealing forcibly to every faculty and to every sentiment, disclosing too with telling persuasiveness the untried possibilities of realistic art. And these three young men made covenant with one another, that they would vindicate for nature her naturally appointed and accredited function, as the source and standard of artistic merit. They called themselves the pre-Raphaelite Brethren, because their aims were those of Leonardo Da Vinci and of the others that led the Renaissance movement, before Raphael's time. Their aims were these, to paint no face but from the living model; no action from memory or from mere imagination, but from the living group; no moonbeams except the moon was shining, no sunbeams outside the broad noonday. Night after night, from sunset to sunrise Holman Hunt was labouring at the open window on a moon and sky for his 'Light of the World.' Week after week, from sunrise to sunset, he sat at his easel watching the glow on the mountains of Moab for the scene in the 'Scape-goat.' Such laborious thought, such close communion with the outward world, could not but yield a ripe and plentiful harvest of ideas, and rich materials to carry them out with. Full and rich, and accurate and bold, are the pre-Raphaelite landscapes, and, more particularly, the pre-Raphaelite water-scenes: and when I speak of the pre-

Raphaelites, I apply the term to the whole school of art from Turner and Constable on to Millais. The Renaissance artists could not paint a water-scene—everybody knows that. Raphael and Michael Angelo knew less about water than a modern school-boy, under a competent master. Until this century water was quite a mystery to art, and never got adequate treatment on canvas, not even from Vandevelde, except in the less translucent forms, like foam. It is in great part a mystery even now, and a mystery it must in great part remain. Its moods are too delicate and subtle for art; the variety of forms that rise each moment out of vast sea-depths, and their manifold expression along its surface, are not to be reproduced in painting. Light lies on water as on nothing else. It trembles and dissolves, and art cannot paint either tremor or dissolution. As the light grows strong, the waters glow, and delicate vapours, streaked with rainbow tints, play on their surface; and then art can follow nature no further—its function is over. Such is art, and such is nature. The one has limits; if the other has any, who shall assign them?

But whatever came within the compass of art, the pre-Raphaelites accomplished. They have painted water: water as we know it—water that can flow, and break and gather, that fish can live in, and boats float on. No man can say he is intimate with the sea; but Turner (who, if he was not one of the Brethren, had a part at least in the movement) knew all that a man can know of the sea. He knew there was nothing on earth like it, nothing so great, nothing so extreme; and he feared no extravagance in depicting its anger, and never could get sunshine enough for its calms. He tore waves asunder, as if he were tearing steel, marking the strain, along their fluted surface, and suggesting the power with which they close again in the piling up of a mountain of waters high over the chasm. In one of the harbour scenes, he has covered the full breadth of his canvas with a single wave, mounting at one edge and descending at the other, though the background exhibits an illimitable sea, a harbour, and ships. No one before Turner could have dared to lift up a wave like that, because no one else

knew what a wave could come to. On the other hand, what an inexpressible hour he has kept for us, from the morning calm on the Scarborough beach! I say it advisedly—he has kept that hour for us. Even to-day, we fancy we can see the waves rising to the line of shingle, the last deposit of the ebbing waters, and the long bright reflections still tremble towards us, from ships and pier head, and the children in the water, and the skeleton fishing boats, and the sea-weed lying still wet on the beach, beyond the tide.

This now is all I shall say of the Realists. If they exaggerated the principle of conformity to nature, they have, at least, concentrated attention on it. They have taught us that if art by artistic privilege may depart from nature, it is a privilege that can be seldom used, and never beyond assigned limits.

(3) I come now to impressionism. We have heard so many bewildering accounts of the nature of impressionism, that most of us have ceased to hope for a clear statement of its principles, and for an explanation of those monstrosities of art that are called impressionistic. It is not, therefore, without difficulty that I venture to offer the following explanation. Its very simplicity will prejudice many who know anything about the vagaries of the school, and the variety of styles that bear its name. The principle of impressionism, as I conceive it, is as follows:—The pure impressions received on the retina from the external world, or what are called the pure visual impressions set free from every element of association, from the suggestions, that is, of touch, memory, and the other faculties—these and these only are the proper and exclusive subject-matter of painting. Let us see how this principle works itself out. Everybody knows that experiences commonly attributed to sight are really a very complex product to which other faculties beside sight contribute. It is no easy matter to pick out the pure visual impression so obscured is it by suggestions from touch and interpretations from reason and associations from memory. For all these faculties break in on the simplest act of vision, and qualify its testimony by their own. We see shadows and call them depth: we see lines

brushed along indistinctly, and we call them motion: we see a shapeless mass of green, and we remember the distinction of trunks and leaves and the lines on leaves. Again, on another score, every visual act is complex in character. When the eye opens, it lights successively on a number of objects, successively pitching on various centres, and changing its field of vision accordingly. An isolated look is extremely rare, if not altogether impossible. This restless motion of the pupil of the eye we can no more control than a telegraphist can make the bell strike only once at each touch of the button. Here are various impressions, all visual, however; and, strictly speaking, a landscape should hit off only one of these, for it purports to preserve the proportion of parts given in one view, in prominence, dimensions, distinctness, &c. First, then, the artist should cut off the pure impression of sight from associated elements; and, second, he must give to that impression just what is revealed in a single instant, no more and no less. This last restriction many would not admit, but the first is a peremptory law of the art. Here are some examples. We fancy if we look at a round glass vase, that the body and edges are revealed together, clean cut and defined; whereas if the eye falls fair on the vase we do not so see it, for the edges melt into the surrounding colours. There are no abrupt endings. The intellect it is that keeps setting us wrong. To see the edge stopping abruptly we must centre the pupil on the edge itself. The accomplished artist takes note of this, and his objects are seldom well defined. Again, it would be worth our while to study one of the impressionist water-scenes, particularly those that are most misunderstood. I single out these because they exaggerate principles, and are consequently more likely to bring them out in greater prominence. A number of patches, blue or grey, running along on a murky canvas, is commonly used by impressionist artists to represent water. That is the way an impressionist conceives it; and on what principle?—for he must have a principle. Look at the surface of a sheet of water which the winds have ruffled into small low waves, and you will find the principle. What the eye reveals is not a

continuous sheet of water, though memory keeps telling us it is continuous (I know it is continuous); but a series of patches each alternately light and darkness, running back in parallel lines for a considerable distance. It is the movement of the water that keeps suggesting an unbroken substance throwing off reflections from each part of the surface, according to the way in which the light falls on it. But the eye only catches the shiting patches, and that is all the artist will reproduce.

Again, how few are ever conscious of the delicate colouring that passes across the face of nature in atmospheric mists, sunbeams, reflected lights, changing with every hour of the day, sometimes deepening and growing quite visible, sometimes discernible only with difficulty—the merest breath. Without this floating mass of colour nature is only discordant patchwork. This tempers its contrasts; this is the groundwork, the prevailing tone, the key-note of the harmony we find on every coloured surface. Why do I say this? What else is nature, but a patchwork of substances, discordant in kind, and discordant in colour? and what else except the overhanging mists could graduate the breaks and soften the discordance where so many textures lie side by side? It is the *attention* that misses what the eye catches and cannot analyze.

And then there is that mystery of sunshine, streaming over rocks, and seas, and many-coloured gardens, the mystery being what it is doing there. Lighting up darkness—can that be all? So it used to be thought, but the moderns say that sunshine has a colour of its own, distinct from that of the texture it lies on. Science may demur, but the mystery remains—why dark-green meadows can turn to gold, with the green breaking through, when the sun pours over them. The fact is unquestionable, and plain to anyone who cares to notice it. It is only a question of looking and seeing. The Venetians discovered that shadow was colour, but the nineteenth century was the first to know that there was something more than light in sunshine; that it might be gold, or silver, or scarlet, burning purer than the tints it lies on, though these it also helps to strengthen, and purify, and refresh.

These are some of the mysteries of vision. It was only

when romanticism awakened men to the study of nature that these things began to reveal themselves; and the men that first became conscious of them, and raised interest for them have a right, on many scores, to be called a school with a special philosophy and a distinct aim. Impressionism seeks to define the proper field of vision, and to limit painting to the visual impression; but then, in addition, *to work that field for all that it is worth*, and reveal some of its untold wealth. 'Fiat lux' is the full expression of the philosophy of impressionism. It is a great philosophy. Let it only be supplied with legitimate methods, and impressionism must live. The very formulation of its programme is great. So much for its principles.

But our judgment alters when we come to consider the extravagant courses this school entered on almost immediately after it began. In the first place it so exalted colour as to question the importance of line and figure, and even tried to eliminate the latter altogether from art. It reasoned as follows:—Draughtsmanship and painting are separate arts. The former studies lineal symmetry; the latter, colour and harmonies in colour. What, then, has painting to do with figures? What has colour to do with lines? If colours may harmonize without dividing lines, and they can so harmonize, is it necessary we should hang them on lines and figures? And if we do so hang them, how are they to expand or open out, like musical notes, into rich broad contrasts, and prolonged harmonies? Figures compress them just where they begin to deepen and expand. If music were confined to a couple of scales, as painting is by the limits of figure, how should musical harmonies find utterance? This now is the principle embodied in the so-called impressionist symphonies. Every picture is a symphony either in grey and green, or black and gold, or blue and silver, or some other chord, a chord being the group of colour tones the scene is strung on. There are no figures, no dividing lines, but the colours arise in rich, broad masses, or vanish into delicate films of unending harmonies. But notice particularly how the original principle of impressionism is running on here, for it is my business to show

that my definition of impressionism is still running on in this prominent department of the impressionistic work. We are still interpreting the *field of vision*, and the impressionists suppose that line and figure are not essential to that field.

I have said so much in explanation of impressionism, that I shall only say a word in criticism. I shall only ask whether the painter's palette might justly be counted a work of art. I ask the question in all seriousness. You have only to harmonize the colours on the palette, and there you have impressionistic art. Many will be dissatisfied with this summary way of disposing of a school with a name and a history. But, I believe, I am striking its central weakness. The truth is, that harmony is a very small portion of the function of colour. Figure lends all their meaning to colours, and, what is more, gives them their interest. Figures are their naturally appointed media, their only support. Brown is only brown, but it gets a meaning and becomes criticizable in a face or an apple. And for these reasons, I say, we do violence to art in divorcing colour from its appointed vehicle.

But what am I criticizing? The colour symphonies? I do not believe that what are called colour-symphonies exist. I have never seen one. The so-called symphonies are all art trickery. Not one of them does what it pretends to do. Every one of them works on lines and figures, sometimes only dimly traceable, but always suggested in one way or another for the colours to run on. It could not be otherwise. You may paint faintly; or you may paint confusedly. You may show only fog or a cluster of stars, or falling rockets, but you are not going to hang up a canvas palette, dabbed over with colour, and call it art. The figures will come in, whether you like it or not. If nothing is to be visible but a rocket in the heavens, or the thick grey fog, then every 'man in the street' can be an artist, for he can *do* a fog. In that adventurous freak of Monticelli, 'A bouquet of women,' there is no mistaking the dancers, and trees, and the slopes of valleys, in the midst of the colour. And the same is true of all the symphonies, not excluding Whistler's. Artists may draw out the spirit of

nature, and the moods it excites; but a bodily presence must come in somehow, however it be insinuated.

Not less extravagant is the stress laid by impressionists on atmospheric hues. There *are* some delicate shifting colours floating in the atmosphere, particularly where the sun falling through foliage reaches water. But they are never more than barely perceptible, though I believe they affect our impressions of a scene. In the impressionist paintings it is the solid objects that are dimly traceable through the thick mist round them. Nature is put aside or contradicted flat for the mere bringing out of an idea. To a child the rushes in a river are green. The impressionist comes and exhibits his painting, and now the child calls them gold, or silver, or scarlet, or such like, with green looking through. And this suggests another point about colour. Why are these tints not noticed, as a rule, on the surfaces they hang round? The answer is; and the answer is important:—they are always in motion, and pass so quickly over the same locality that the several effects are in great part neutralized, though they *do* get in delicately upon us. Now painted objects are painted at rest. There is no known method of painting motion. There are hundreds of ways of *suggesting* motion:—the position of the body, the lie of garments, haziness, streaks, the direction of the eyes. There is no possible way of painting it directly. Art has its limits, and this is a limit it cannot pass. If it could paint motion, it could paint sounds. With this simple answer, I think I have disposed of (and I hope I am right) a vast collection of impressionistic paintings, probably the largest the school possesses—ballet scenes, storm scenes, flickering of light, moving meadows, breaking waves. They all embody a wrong principle, and are all false art.

When, therefore, it is claimed that impressionism has opened new sources of beauty, and created for art an entirely new province, we answer unhesitatingly:—it has certainly looked far into nature, and opened up numberless hidden beauties; but the natural limitations of art remain, and no new province has been created. Art is fresher than it was before; its spirit is stronger; but the boundaries it has are set by nature and are made impregnable.

I shall be quite satisfied if these few elementary remarks will enable the reader to set out broadly the principles that actuate a still-existing movement, and to localize its disordered parts, and see the unity that underlies them.

M. CRONIN, M.A., D.D.

FATHER O'GROWNEY.¹

TO very many in Ireland, as well as to many, very many, of the scattered members of our race, no sadder or more heart-breaking news has come for many a day than the announcement of the death of Father O'Growney, which three days ago was flashed along the wires from the distant Pacific Slope. Far away from his cradle-land, from the land which claimed his undivided affection, has he fallen asleep in death. Far away from that land to which he gave such loyal and ungrudging service, for whose glory and renown he ceaselessly laboured, in behalf of whose ancient language and literature he spent himself during his all too brief span of mortal existence, must his bones repose, must all that was mortal of him await the resurrection. Thousands of miles away from his natal spot in Royal Meath his remains have been ere now consigned to the silence of the tomb; but, if gratitude and patriotism have not wholly died out of the Irish heart, his name and memory must permanently endure in Erin. To his incessant, untiring, enthusiastic, unselfish and self-sacrificing work for Ireland and her language is it due, it cannot reasonably be doubted, that he now fills an early grave in distant Los Angelos. Such as he it is that make movements. What he has been to the Irish language movement it is impossible to tell. What he effected for it by his steadfast and unwearied efforts, by his enthusiastic yet eminently practical and methodic work, no words could well exaggerate.

On this occasion, then, I do not think I need apologize

¹ Lecture delivered in the MacMahon Hall, Maynooth College, on Oct. 21, 1899.

for turning aside from the beaten track of my lectures from this platform to pay my tribute to Father O'Growney's worth; to give expression to my appreciation of his great and unselfish labours for Ireland; to lay a wreath, however poor and unworthy, upon his grave. As a fellow-labourer of his for many a year in the same field of national effort, but still more as his successor here, charged with the duty of continuing his work, I feel strongly that I owe this much to his memory. But these considerations apart, I do not think it too much to say that the students of the College may learn a useful and inspiring lesson from his life-story.

Father O'Growney never thought of fame. As unassuming as he was unselfish, dreams of greatness, the promptings of ambition, troubled him not. Ireland was his idol. The study of her language and literature was his passion. The movement for the revival, spread, and perpetuation of the nation's ancient speech formed the focus of all his thoughts and strivings. To the effort which is being made to secure that Ireland's future shall be a genuine continuation, a rational development of her past, he rendered all the assistance in his power. To the ideal that inspires that effort was he devoted heart and soul, and as long as life remained all his energies were directed towards aiding to secure its realization. That ideal was as persistently present to him away in distant Arizona and California as it ever had been in Ireland. The fame of which he never dreamed came to him unsought. To-day there are thousands all the world over who revere his name, to whom his example and life-work have been an incentive to noble aims.

Father O'Growney was born at Ballyfallon, in the parish of Athboy, County Meath, on August 25, 1863. Hence, he was only thirty-six years when he passed away. His early studies for the priesthood he made in the Diocesan Seminary at Navan. It was during his student days in Navan, and when he was already in his sixteenth year, that he first became interested in the Irish language. Until then he was not aware, as he used himself to tell, that there was, or ever had been, an Irish language. The language of his ancestors had not been spoken in his home, and of it he had never heard

a single word there or elsewhere. He became aware of its existence in this way. Father Nolan and John Fleming contributed about this time a series of Irish lessons to *Young Ireland*, a weekly periodical published from the *Nation* office. Of this periodical Father O'Growney had been a reader, and the moment the Irish lessons began to appear, and he became aware that there was a language till then unknown to him which had been for thousands of years the language of his race, he resolved that he should master it at any cost. So he set to work. After much searching he succeeded in discovering a few old people who spoke Irish, with whom he could confer on questions of pronunciation, and who could help him along in other ways. From those days on to the very end the Irish language and its restoration as the vernacular of his native land formed his principal substantial interest in life.

In September, 1882, he came to Maynooth, and on the 13th of that month he matriculated for the class of First Philosophy. During his college course, which extended over six years, he never enjoyed robust health; indeed, his health was oftentimes of the most indifferent character. This accounts for the fact that his course, though by no means undistinguished, was not as brilliant as his undoubtedly great talents had led his friends to expect. For him the severe and constant study which alone leads to brilliant scholastic successes was out of the question. To the study of the national language, however, he devoted himself with the greatest ardour. In the brief sketch of his life which appears in the history of the college, we read:—

Whilst still a student he showed an extraordinary aptitude for the Irish language, and studied it with great care and perseverance. During his holidays he often spent months in the Islands of Arran, and in those districts of Connemara and Cork, in which the purest Irish is still spoken. He thus acquired a perfect command of the spoken as well as of the written language, and prepared himself admirably for the position he was subsequently to occupy.¹

It may here be added that his vacation tours, always

¹ *Maynooth College: Its Centenary History*, p. 169.

planned with a view to perfect his knowledge of Irish, also embraced Donegal, Kerry, Waterford, and various other districts. The Irish class in the College was in Father O'Growney's student days placed in the Second Divinity year; and no wonder that we find him in 1886 carrying off the Irish *Solus*.

In 1888, he completed his course, and returned to Navan Seminary, in what capacity I cannot at present say—probably as Dean or Professor. On the 24th June, 1889, he was raised to the priesthood in the College Chapel here. Immediately afterwards he went on the mission, being appointed curate at Ballynacargy, County Westmeath. This was his only curacy, and the few years that he lived at Ballynacargy gave him his only experience of missionary work.

He now threw himself with whole-hearted zeal and energy into the Irish language movement. Just then the movement was at a rather low ebb. It may be said to have begun in 1876. From the time that the Ossianic Society became defunct, several years before, until the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was founded there existed no organization specially charged with looking after the interests of the language. But in 1876, almost entirely through the great and unremitting exertions of Father Nolan, the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was successfully launched. For a brief space hope ran high, and much enthusiasm was aroused. As an immediate result the existing provision, miserably and scandalously inadequate though it be, for the teaching of Irish in the National Schools was secured. But the Society referred to, though still in existence, never took hold of the country, and to-day it has very little practical work to place to its credit. Beyond the publication of an incomplete series of elementary manuals, and of a few indifferently edited texts, it has done little to justify its twenty-three years of existence. It soon became but too evident that it was not the sort of body to create or direct a popular movement.

Even the Gaelic Union, an association founded in 1880,

and since merged in the Gaelic League, though a much more enterprising and progressive organization, did not succeed in making any very considerable impression on the public mind. All the same it accomplished some good work; so much do I, as one of its original members, and from first to last a member of its Council, deem it my duty to claim for it. It encouraged the teaching of Irish in the National Schools by awards of prizes to teachers and pupils. But its most important achievement was the founding of the *Gaelic Journal*.¹ This was, undoubtedly, one of the greatest services ever rendered to the Irish language movement. The launching of such a periodical in 1882—the same year that Father O'Growney entered this college as a student—was an almost heroic undertaking. Still the movement, though it commanded the services of the best Irish scholars of the time, and included in its ranks numbers of unselfish and thoroughly earnest workers, did not make notable progress. Indeed, after a time, it began rather to lose ground, and, between one thing and another, its fortunes were somewhat low when Father O'Growney began to take an active and prominent part in it.

Very soon he became one of the outstanding figures, one of the most potent influences, in the movement; and of those who have closely followed its fortunes since then, few will be found to question that to him is largely due the position which it occupies to-day. Whilst still a student he was a frequent contributor to the *Gaelic Journal*. Whilst on the mission he published, first in the *Gaelic Journal*, and later on as booklets, a series of modernized versions of *10mpiaín Shneadógarfa 7 Mhic Ríagla*, and other short early Irish tales. Then also he made, and published in the *Gaelic Journal*, translations of 'The Wearing of the Green' and of 'Auld Lang Syne,' which, under the names *Caiteáin an Shléair*, and *An T-am Fadó Ó*, have since acquired great popularity in Gaelic circles. During those years he laboured hard by his writings in the press as well as by private

¹ In the original list of subscribers, which I have before me at present, and which contains nine hundred and eleven names, I find Father O'Growney's name. The address given is 'Dressogue, Athboy, Co. Meath.' In a subsequent list, however, the address becomes 'St. Joseph's, Maynooth College.'

correspondence to call attention to the movement, to arouse increased interest in it, to induce as many as possible to join it and work for it. His most notable performance during those years was the publication in the *Gaelic Journal* of a series of four articles on Arran written in Irish. They were published under the title *Ára na nAomh*. The articles named appeared towards the close of 1889 and in the beginning of 1890. Never have Arran and the Arran islanders been written of more worthily, not even by Petrie himself, than in the articles to which I have referred. Language and matter are alike delightful.

In September, 1891, Father O'Growney became, in succession to John Fleming, editor of the *Gaelic Journal*.¹ This put him at once in the very forefront of the movement, and gave him a vantage ground which he was just the man to avail himself of to the utmost.

Of the periodical for which Father O'Growney now became responsible, it may not be out of place to say something at this stage. As stated already, it was founded by the Gaelic Union. Its first issue appeared in November, 1882. Since then a vast body of published and hitherto unpublished Gaelic literature—folk-tales, folk-songs, proverbs, original prose and verse—has been published in its pages. It contains, furthermore, extensive contributions to Irish lexicography and to scientific Irish grammar. Valuable old texts and masterly studies in Gaelic literature have appeared therein, to say nothing of propagandist matter or of intelligence about the movement. The *Gaelic Journal* is now in its tenth volume, and a complete set of it forms an indispensable adjunct to the library of every serious student of our mother tongue.

From November, 1882, to August, 1884, it appeared as a monthly. Thenceforward until February, 1894, it appeared as a quarterly. But at that time the earlier arrangement was reverted to, and since then it has again appeared as a monthly.

¹ It may be well to add here that when Father O'Growney went to America, in 1894, Mr. John MacNeill undertook temporarily the editorship of the *Gaelic Journal*. Later on it was absolutely transferred by Father O'Growney to the Gaelic League, whose property it has since been. Mr. MacNeill continued to edit it until recently. Its present editor is Mr. J. H. Lloyd.

Its first editor was David Comyn, still an earnest and effective, though unobtrusive, worker in the movement. In March, 1884, he felt obliged to resign, and was succeeded in the editorial chair by my dear old friend and tutor, John Fleming. Those who are at all interested in our ancestral tongue should never forget Mr. Fleming. Throughout a very long life he was an earnest, active, and practical supporter of the claims of the Irish language. To further the cause of its revival, he laboured unceasingly and with the most single-minded devotion. In the very front rank of the Irish scholars of his time, he was a persistent and unwearied worker in the cause which was dearer to him than life. Few Irish books appeared during his time, the manuscripts and proofs of which did not pass through his hands. And what labour and pains he bestowed on their revision! Yet, his services in this way often passed without a word of acknowledgment. He did not mind. He only thought of the interests of his native language. There was no Irish language society of his time of which he was not an active member. The Ossianic Society, the Keating Society, the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language (in its early days), the Gaelic Union, the Gaelic League—he belonged to them all, did valuable work for them all. Never overburdened with this world's wealth, he freely gave of his means—oftentimes, as I know full well, to an extent which he could ill afford—in furtherance of the Irish language movement. From the first issue of the *Gaelic Journal*, he was its most frequent, valued, and extensive contributor. Such was the man who in March, 1884, succeeded Mr. Comyn as editor.

He occupied the position for seven years. During those years he had frequently to write or otherwise provide almost the entire matter of the *Journal* himself. He conducted it with signal ability, and kept the flag flying until younger men were available to relieve him of the work. At length, the accumulating infirmities of age obliged him to ask that he should be relieved of the editorship, and so in September, 1891, he handed over the periodical to Father O'Growney.

Mr. Fleming has since passed to his reward. Peace to his ashes, and the light of heaven to his soul! He had many sorrows. He endured more trials than fall to the common lot. Those who in the ordinary course should have survived him predeceased him, and his home was left desolate. But all his trials he bore with magnificent Christian fortitude. A better man, a more sterling Christian, a man of simpler and more robust faith, I have never known. The language of our race never had a more ardent, fearless, outspoken, uncompromising champion, nor has the Irish language movement ever had within its ranks a more earnest, persevering, and indomitable worker. For twenty years I enjoyed his intimate friendship, his entire confidence; and to his inspiration, example, and unfailing aid I owe far more than I can ever adequately acknowledge or repay.

Within a month after he had taken over the editorship of the *Gaelic Journal*, Father O'Growney was appointed Professor of Irish in this College. His appointment took place at a meeting of the Trustees held on October 15, 1891. By the terms of his appointment he was required, in addition to the former duties of the Irish Chair, to deliver each year, before the College, six public lectures on Irish literature and archæology.

Here it may not be amiss to say a word or two about the College Irish Chair. The College, as everybody is aware, was founded in 1795. It had been seven years in existence before a chair of Irish was established: a somewhat curious fact, it may be observed in passing. One would have thought that a chair of the national language and literature would have been, especially in those remote days, amongst the first for which provision would have been made. Such a chair was, however, established on July 30, 1802, and its first occupant was the Rev. Paul O'Brien, who, like Father O'Growney, was a priest of the diocese of Meath. Father O'Brien held the position for eighteen years. He was a good Irish scholar of the old fashioned type, somewhat lacking however in exact and scientific knowledge, and rather given to the fanciful speculations of the Vallancey

school. Judged by modern standards, his Irish Grammar is a poor production. But he, undoubtedly, loved the language of his ancestors, did good work on its behalf in the College, and was an active member of Irish language societies of his time. His name appears in the list of members and officers of the Gaelic and Ibero-Celtic Societies, along with those of O'Flanagan, MacElligot, Haliday, and O'Reilly. Father O'Brien's successor was the Rev. Martin Loftus, a priest of the diocese of Tuam. He was appointed on June 22, 1820, and occupied the Irish Chair for eight years. Of him or his work I have been unable to glean any further particulars.

He was succeeded on August 30, 1828, by the Rev. James Tully, also of the diocese of Tuam. Father Tully occupied the Irish Chair for forty-eight years. His death occurred in 1876. Of Father Tully little need be said. All over Ireland, and far beyond the shores of Ireland, there are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of priests to-day who remember him, and who passed through the Irish class during his time. He was, according to unanimous testimony, a man of great piety, a kindly, benevolent, charitable man, who effected much good in a variety of ways. But, alas! it is but too true that no one can lay to his charge that he ever did much for the Irish language. His tenure of the Irish Chair, covering nearly half a century, embraced the most critical period in the history of the language. But all with whom I have ever spoken on the subject agree that he did little to help the students in the study of their mother-tongue, to imbue them with a love for it, to send them forth to the mission animated with a fitting sense of the duty they owed it. When one recalls the lost opportunities of that half century, well—*de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. Sad, very sad, is it, all the same, to think of what has been, and of what might have been.

After Father Tully's death the present Cardinal Primate became at once a Dean of the College and Professor of Irish. This double appointment was made on October 17, 1876. The change in the occupancy of the Irish chair promised fair for the fortunes of the national language in the

College; but, unfortunately, Cardinal Logue's tenure of the Chair was of very brief duration. His Eminence was, on the 25th June, 1878, appointed to a Chair of Theology, and for the thirteen years that followed the Irish Chair was left vacant. The Irish Class, however, was still continued, but was taught by a lecturer selected annually from amongst the Dunboyne students. This arrangement was necessarily most unsatisfactory. It involved a new appointment every year, in itself a fatal drawback, not to speak of still more serious disadvantages, which need not be mentioned, but which must be sufficiently obvious.

Eventually came the dawn of a happier day. The Irish Chair was revived by the Trustees on October 15, 1891. Their choice of a professor fell, as a matter of course, upon Father O'Growney. For the next few years he did the work of three or four men. The national language was at once placed upon a much more satisfactory footing than it had ever previously occupied in the College. Attendance at the Irish classes was made compulsory on all students of Rhetoric and Philosophy, whilst an optional class was established for students of Divinity. To all these classes had Father O'Growney to lecture. He had to prepare and deliver the public lectures to which I have already referred. He had to manage and edit the *Gaelic Journal*. Furthermore, he carried on an extensive correspondence with people in all parts of the world who were interested in the Irish language. This I have the best reason to know. Though then labouring on the Scotch mission, I was in constant communication with him, and knew of all his undertakings and projects. For the use of his classes he began to compile text-books. He thus prepared and had printed, although they were never published, an admirable summary of Irish Grammar, two parts of a series of Irish Readers, and one part of a Manual of Irish Composition. How he contrived to get through all the work he did at this time is a mystery.

His work in the *Gaelic Journal* and his correspondence was beginning to tell upon the outside public. Beyond doubt, he and John Fleming did an immense lot to pave

the way for a genuine Irish language awakening. But credit where credit is due. There was another man who accomplished very much in the same direction—a man young in years, but comparatively old as a worker in the movement. That man was Dr. Douglas Hyde. As a lecturer, both in Ireland and in America, he had succeeded in creating a good deal of interest in the movement. The time seemed ripe for the launching of an organization of a truly and professedly popular and go-ahead character. All previous organizations had been largely, many of them wholly, academical; it was high time to see what an organization with practical aims, and worked by popular methods, could accomplish.

On July 31, 1893, nine men, most of them young and practically unknown, held a conference in Dublin. That conference has become almost as historic as the more famous conference, of scarcely larger dimensions, that originated the language revival in Bohemia. Those present at the conference were Dr. Douglas Hyde, C. P. Bushe, J. M. Cogan (who has since passed away in a foreign land), Rev. William Hayden, S.J.; P. J. Hogan, M.A. (now Junior Fellow of the Royal University); John MacNeill, B.A.; Patrick O'Brien, T. O'Neill Russell, and Martin Kelly. The conference assembled at Mr. Kelly's house, 9, Lower O'Connell-street. Thereat was founded the Gaelic League, which has since become a world-wide organization, including hundreds of branches in Ireland, England, Scotland, the United States, and elsewhere, some of them located in places as far distant as Montreal, San Francisco, and Buenos Ayres. At a subsequent meeting, Dr. Hyde was elected President, Father O'Growney Vice-President, and Mr. MacNeill Hon. Secretary. Since then these three have been the real leaders of the Irish language movement.¹

¹ 'When the Gaelic League was founded in 1893, Father O'Growney was absent, I think, in Scotland, but he had been for some time previously in constant communication with a few others who, like himself, believed that the whole question of the national language required to be taken out of its academical surroundings, and brought to the hearths of the people. Immediately on his return he associated himself with the League, and induced many others to join it, including several of his colleagues in Maynooth. He also placed the *Gaelic Journal* at the service of the new organization. He is, there-

From a contemporary account of the founding of the Gaelic League, I may quote a few passages :—

The idea of making our movement more popular and practical has long been in the air. It was put forward by Dr. Hyde in New York two years ago. Since that time it has been touched upon more than once in the *Gaelic Journal*. It has now at length taken tangible shape and found for itself a local habitation and a name.

Then after giving an account of the preliminary conference, the writer proceeds :—

It was agreed that the literary interests of the language should be left in other hands, and that the new organization should devote itself to the single object of preserving and spreading Irish as a means of oral intercourse.¹

I shall not here follow up the history of the Gaelic League. Like honey of Hymettus was its advent to Father O'Growney. But the office to which he was elected therein threw additional work upon one already overburdened. To the practical and detailed work of the League he ungrudgingly devoted himself, and amongst its members in its early days of obscurity and struggle none was more zealous and active than he.

In this same year which witnessed the founding of the Gaelic League, Father O'Growney was called upon to undertake still further work. As a result of a somewhat protracted correspondence which appeared in the *Freeman's Journal*, he undertook, at the suggestion of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, the compilation of a new series of elementary lessons in Irish, in which an attempt should be made to teach the pronunciation by means of a system of

fore, properly to be regarded as one of its founders. Dr. Hyde was elected President of the League, and has since been always re-elected. The Rev. Guesby D. Cleaver was elected Vice-President, in recognition of his generous help given to the teaching of Irish in the primary schools, on which he annually spent large sums of money. Mr. Cleaver died a few months after the Gaelic League was formed, and Father O'Growney was chosen Vice-President to succeed him, and retained that post till his death; but he deprecated his election at first, and renewed his protest several times afterwards. Indeed, at no time did he seek prominence or obtrude his personality on others.'—*Reminiscences of Father O'Growney*. By one of his friends.—*Freeman's Journal*, October 21, 1899.

¹ *Gaelic Journal*, November, 1893.

phonetics. In elaborating the phonetic system which he proposed to employ for this purpose, he received large and valuable assistance from the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh. The new course of lessons was first published in the *Weekly Freeman*, and concurrently with their appearance in that journal they also appeared from month to month in the periodical which Father O'Growney himself controlled. In the *Weekly Freeman* and *Gaelic Journal*, they appeared as 'Easy Lessons in Irish,' but when republished in book form later on the title was changed to *Simple Lessons in Irish*. Of these lessons Father O'Growney published Parts I. II. and III. When no longer able to work upon them, Mr. John MacNeill undertook to continue them. Part IV. has long since appeared, and Part V. is at present on the eve of publication.

The compilation of the *Simple Lessons* was almost a work of genius. To say that they are a great improvement upon anything of a like kind previously in existence, is to say but little. They are, beyond all doubt, vastly, immeasurably, superior to any works of a similar character ever placed at the disposal of students of our language. They are a marvel of simplicity, clearness, order, and almost perfect gradation. Of the language and its phonology they display, elementary as they of necessity are, a perfect mastery. Their publication, on the whole, was probably the greatest individual service ever rendered to the Irish language movement. Compiled primarily and mainly for the use of those whom circumstances obliged to study without the aid of a teacher, they have been found just as useful by others more favourably circumstanced. Nevertheless Father O'Growney himself always said that if he had had a different object in view, he would have worked upon quite different lines. Thousands upon thousands of copies of his books have been sold. They have gone to all parts of the world. They have carried their compiler's name everywhere. They have made more readers of Irish, introduced far more people to the study of the Irish language, than all the other works that have ever been published.

It seemed that Father O'Growney was but on the threshold of a career of singular usefulness to his country, to her language and literature. But for some years he had, as has been already observed, been doing the work of three or four men. His health, always indifferent, now gave way altogether. On October 9, 1894, he felt obliged to apply to the Trustees of the College for a year's leave of absence. He hoped that rest and change and a milder climate would so restore him that by the time his leave of absence had expired he should be able to resume his work. Unfortunately, this was not to be. He immediately sailed for America, where, on his arrival in New York, the Gaelic societies of the Empire City, Brooklyn, and the Eastern States generally organized a reception in his honour. He journeyed leisurely to San Francisco, where he proposed to settle down. Soon, however, he discovered that the state of his health required a still warmer and drier climate. He, consequently, moved southward to Arizona. In that State he has since lived, sometimes at Prescott, sometimes at Phoenix, with occasional sojourns at Banning and Los Angeles in the neighbouring State of California. When his year's leave of absence had expired, his health had not materially changed for the better. He asked that it should be extended by a year, and his application was granted. Still restored health refused to answer his expectations, and so he wrote to the Trustees tendering his resignation. On June 23, 1896, his resignation was accepted, and he was granted a pension by the College.

His life since then has been a lonely one, far away from home and friends, far removed from the scenes, the work, the interests that to him were all in all, without a single kindred spirit to commune with, save when, at long intervals, some friend of happier days, or some fellow-worker in the cause, paid him a brief visit. Such visits were necessarily few in that remote region. His situation was pathetic enough for tears. The victim of acute heart disease, he lingered on until last Wednesday, when the end came.¹ He

¹ October 18, 1899,

died at the Mercy Hospital, Los Angeles. A pillar of the Irish language movement has fallen! He who was in very truth a tower of strength to the cause to which he devoted his life is no more. His friends and his fellow-labourers in the cause have lost one for whom they shall mourn for many a day. Every sympathiser with the movement for the revival of our ancient language shall henceforth grieve for one for whom he cherished a tender affection.

Though far removed from direct contact with the movement, Father O'Growney kept in touch with it to the last, and laboured as zealously as ever in its behalf. During the brief portion of each day which his physicians allowed him to devote to work of any kind, he occupied himself in writing letters to the Irish-American periodicals and journals in the interests of the movement. Scarcely an issue of the *Gaelic Journal* appeared that did not contain a contribution from his pen, usually on some disputed or unsettled point of Irish grammar or lexicography. He maintained a constant and voluminous correspondence with the leaders of the movement at home and in America. For all he had a word of encouragement, of praise, of counsel. His vast and extremely accurate knowledge of everything pertaining to the language was ever at the disposal of all who cared to draw upon it, and he was a singularly prompt and obliging correspondent. The vast influence that he wielded—in many cases over people who never saw him,—his earnest and indefatigable devotion to his ideal, his utter unselfishness, the singularly practical character of his enthusiasm, have often led me to link him with Thomas Davis in my thoughts.

In a notice of him which appeared about two years ago the writer observed :—

There is no more familiar name in the Gaelic world than that of Father O'Growney. It would be difficult to exaggerate his great influence on the language movement. Modest, scholarly, and retiring, he is one of those quiet enthusiasts by whom causes seemingly almost hopeless are pushed on to victory. He may be said to have consecrated his life to the cause of the old tongue which he loves so well.¹

¹ Fáinne an Uae, Feb. 12, 1898.

Generous and enthusiastic as this tribute is, it certainly does no more than justice to Father O'Growney, to his influence and work.

Now that he is gone from us, it is pleasant and consoling to recall that he was spared to see the movement on which he had staked all, whose final and complete success was far dearer to him than life, well advanced along the road to victory. His closing hours must have been cheered and made happy by the well-grounded conviction that that movement, which he himself did so much to create and consolidate, is bound to succeed—to succeed, at no distant date, beyond the most daring hopes of its originators, to press onward and upward to victory, complete and assured. Happy, assuredly, are those noble, generous, and unselfish souls, fired by a lofty ambition, inspired by high and ennobling ideals, moved by exalted aims for God or country, for whom life's evening is not clouded by shattered hopes, whose sun does not set amidst forebodings of unrelieved gloom, whose lamp is not extinguished in nethermost darkness. May the great God be thanked and praised that such a fate was not Father O'Growney's in his dying hour!

Father O'Growney was a man of most amiable disposition, of most winning manners, a kindly, warm-hearted, genial man. He was as unassuming and artless as a child; amongst strangers somewhat reserved, silent, and even shy, but amongst his colleagues and intimates bubbling over with fun and drollery. He possessed an extraordinary gift of humour; indeed, those who knew him best believe that in this respect he could not be surpassed. 'I have never known a man half so witty, or with anything approaching his exquisite sense of humour,' observed one of his former colleagues a few days ago. No one was quicker to grasp the humorous element in an incident or situation; no one told a story with more racy, sparkling, mirth-provoking humour. He was a capital *raconteur*, a splendid specimen of the real Irish *seanchaidhe*.

Of the ardent personal affection that he invariably inspired, I had abundant and striking proof during the summer vacation. His visits to the Arran Isles during his

student days have been already referred to. Such visits did not end with his student days. He visited Arran more than once in later years. Last July I carried out a long-cherished project of visiting Arran. In Inishmaan, one of the Arran group, I tarried for some weeks. I had been there scarcely a day when I discovered that Father O'Growney was simply worshipped by the islanders. He had been almost the first to sojourn amongst them in quest of Gaelic lore, the first to inspire that Gaelic-speaking community with a sense of pride in their racial inheritance. They regarded him as in a sense their own, and from morning till night would they talk of him in the most affectionate and endearing terms. How they pitied him away in distant Arizona, stricken down by illness, exiled from friends and home and native land, and how fervently would they pray again and again that God and the Virgin Mary might restore him to health, and send him back to Ireland. How ardent was their desire to see him once more, to welcome him again amongst them. The news of his death will make many a heart sad and sore the world over, but nowhere will it cause keener, more poignant regret, or a deeper sense of personal bereavement, than away amidst the Atlantic billows in rock-bound Inishmaan.

Father O'Growney was a member of the Royal Irish Academy. He was well known to continental Celtologists, who admired and respected his ability and attainments. Many of them visited him here on their way to the Irish-speaking districts in the south and west. On questions of Gaelic scholarship they frequently sought his advice and assistance. In the preface to one of his books, Dr. Kuno Meyer of Liverpool, refers in warm terms of acknowledgment to the help which he had received from him. Amongst his class-fellows and contemporaries here were some who have since achieved fame, and not a few who, inspired and influenced by his example, have rendered valuable service to the Irish language movement. Amongst them may be named Father Yorke of San Francisco, distinguished as a journalist, controversialist, and orator; Dr. Henebry, Professor of Irish in the Catholic University of America; Father

Mockler, Professor of Irish in St. John's College, Waterford; and Father Kiernan of Clontribret, the tireless and indefatigable leader of the language movement in Monaghan.

It is time to conclude. I should be glad to think that I had done anything like justice to the memory of my dear friend, my fellow-worker for so many years in the cause of our native tongue, my distinguished predecessor in the Irish Chair of our College. If I have failed, it has not been through any want of good-will, of any want of appreciation of his character and work, of any want of affection and reverence for his memory. My highest ambition is to continue his work here in the spirit in which he would have wished me to continue it, to give to the movement for which, as I believe, he sacrificed his life, all the assistance I can possibly render it. His devotion to the language of his country, when as a student he dwelt within these walls, should be for all time an inspiration and a guiding light to the students of the College. I hope the lesson of his unselfishness, his zeal, his industry, his self-sacrifice, his patriotism, his high sense of national duty will not be lost upon them. Most heartily and sincerely do I hope that his example will spur many, very many of them to earnestly strive to emulate his work for Ireland. I hope too that the glorious example of his life-work since he became a priest will not be lost upon the patriotic priesthood of Ireland. I conclude in the words of a note received from Dr. Hyde in reply to a telegram which I sent him on Thursday, announcing that his dear old friend and comrade-in-arms was no more. *Ὁυίλλε ἐπιὸν ἐπιαιγιμέλειάσ τοῦ ἐπιτ ἀπὸ Χιλανναίβ Ἰαεὸεάλ μοιυ. Ἰὸ νοέανα Ὀία τριόκαιρε ἀπ ἀναμ ἀπ Ἰακαρὰ!* 'A heavy woeful blow has fallen upon the Irish race this day. May God grant mercy to the soul of our friend!'

MICHAEL P. HICKEY.

ST. PATRICK'S BIRTHPLACE

THE SCOTTISH TRADITION

BEFORE we proceed to consider the character and value of the Scottish tradition, it will not be out of place briefly to review the ground already traversed. We began our inquiry by asking what Irish tradition had to say on the subject before us. Our ancient records were found to give to this question a clear and consistent answer: they pointed decisively to the neighbourhood of Dunbarton as the place where St. Patrick was born.¹ And the answer thus given must be accepted, not as the opinion hazarded by one or other of our early writers, or as the witness of this or that particular manuscript, or even as the view of any special period, but as the unvarying testimony of early Irish tradition. To doubt that this is so is tantamount to accusing our ancestors of a dulness and apathy simply inconceivable, and attributing to our ancient scribes, in particular, an unexampled capacity for blundering. These transcribers, according to such critics as Dr. Lanigan, Father Malone, and Dr. O'Brien, not only displayed an unvarying tendency to substitute false for true readings, but showed themselves consistently incapable of perceiving true readings, even when these latter were, so to speak, staring them in the face, and clamantly demanding recognition. St. Jerome, with characteristic plainness of language, sometimes attributes certain Scriptural readings to *oscitantes librarii*: but our Irish copyists, according to the critics just mentioned, can only be described in the language of Lucretius as *librarii stertentes*.² Such a supposition carries with it its own complete refutation, and only serves to confirm our belief in the genuineness of the tradition so unworthily assailed.

Accordingly, when we now turn to examine the Scottish tradition, we are simply obeying the voice of the Irish,

¹ I. E. RECORD, October, 1899, p. 341.

² 'Et vigilans stertis, nec somnia cernere cessas,' *De Rev. Nat.* iii. 1061.

transmitted to us from a remote antiquity, when the question of St. Patrick's birthplace could not have been a matter of uncertainty. We are not acting as would-be 'discoverers,' but as those who seek confirmation of teaching derived from trustworthy sources: we are not following the *ignis fatuus* of 'theory,' but are led by the light of authentic records.

I.—TRADITION OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH: THE
ABERDEEN BREVIARY

It is, surely, impossible for any Catholic to contemplate the change which has come over the once glorious Scottish Church, without feeling his heart touched with the deepest sympathy for her misfortunes. As we think of the devastating storm of anti-Catholic bigotry and violence that swept over this country at the Reformation, we are filled with a sentiment akin to despair, as we realise all that was then lost to our common Catholicity. We mourn over the general destruction of whatever was connected with the ancient faith; of glorious churches and venerable monastic institutions burned or levelled to the ground; of precious works of art, the symbols of our holy faith, wantonly defaced, or shattered into shapeless fragments; of valuable documents of various kinds, condemned either to the flames, or to misuse, neglect, and ultimate decay. But, although much has perished, something still survives to bear witness to the ancient faith of the Scottish Church.

Among the documents which have survived the sixteenth century revolution, the Aberdeen Breviary occupies an important place. It is, indeed, the only pre-Reformation Scottish Breviary that has come down to our time.

(1) *History of the Aberdeen Breviary*

We owe this work to the enlightened zeal of Bishop William Elphinstone, the founder of Aberdeen University, and one of the earliest patrons of the art of printing in Scotland. He was a man distinguished alike for his private virtues and for his labours for the public welfare; and his piety and learning would have made him a worthy ornament of the Catholic Church in any age or in any country of the

world. He caused the Aberdeen Breviary to be printed by Walter Chapman, of Edinburgh, in 1509-1510. Under the editorship of the well-known scholar, David Laing, the work was reprinted by Toovey, of London, in 1854.

(2) *Character of the Aberdeen Breviary*

This work enjoys a high character for authenticity, even in the estimation of Protestant writers. When submitted to the test of comparison with other early sources of information, it is found to be so faithful in reproducing its authorities that we are forced to respect its testimony in cases where such means of comparison no longer exist. Laing says:—

In the instances of some of the chief missions (*i.e.* to the different peoples inhabiting Scotland), such as those of St. Ninian and St. Columba, St. Kentigern and St. Serf, the original materials employed in the preparation of the work have, in whole or in part, descended in our own day, and the remarkable fidelity with which we find these cited in its pages, warrants us in placing a high value upon the accounts that are given of other apostles and early teachers, of whose pious enterprise every other memorial has passed away.¹

The reader will also observe that the testimony of the Aberdeen Breviary may well be taken as a witness to the general belief of the Scottish Church in the matter now under consideration; for, as to its situation, the diocese of Aberdeen was in the north-eastern corner of Scotland, far removed from the territory comprised in the ancient see of Glasgow.

(3) *Testimony of the Aberdeen Breviary*

The *Lectio I.* in the Matins for the 17th March, the Feast of St. Patrick, is as follows:—

Patricius, Hybernensium apostolus, ex patre Calphurnio de Scotorum nobili familia ortus, matre Conkessa, beati Martini Turonensis episcopi Francigena sorore, apud castellum de Dunbertane divinatorum praesagiis conceptus, et in Kilpatrick prope idem castellum in Scotia natus et educatus extitit, in baptisate Suthat a comparentibus nominatus: post hoc a sancto Germano in Gallia Magonius, et a beato Celestino papa Romae Patricius appellatus.

¹ *Preface*, by David Laing, quoted in Father Macnab's Pamphlet, p. 58.

The general meaning of the above passage is unmistakable, and strikingly confirms, even in matter of detail, the evidence derived from Irish tradition. But it is worthy of remark that a distinction is here made between the place in which the saint was 'conceived, amid the accompaniment of heavenly signs,' and the place in which he was born: the first is the 'Castellum de Dunbertane,' the second is the neighbouring town of Kilpatrick. This reminds us of the words of St. Fiac's hymn, and the gloss thereon. For, St. Fiac says: 'Genair Patraic i Nemthur,' literally *Genitus est Patricius in Nemthur*. The gloss then adds: 'Nemthur. i. cathir sein feil i. op. mbretnaib tuaiscirt i. ail cluade, literally, *Nemthur: id est, civitas quae est in Britonibus septentrionalibus (or, inter Britones septentrionales), id est, Ailcluade*.¹

And now, let us consider the special significance of this testimony. We see that the Aberdeen Breviary claims St. Patrick, as one born in Scotland; but, in order to recognise the full force of this claim, a second consideration demands our attention; namely, that no other ancient Breviary has ever been known to advance a similar claim for any other country in the world.² Now, how could this be so, if St. Patrick really belonged, not to Scotland, but to some other country, such as France, Spain, or even South Britain? All these were more favoured than Scotland was; they were more advanced in civilisation; they could boast of a more continuous literary activity;

¹ I have already observed (I. E. RECORD, Oct. 1899, p. 349), that the question, whether Nemthur directly refers to Dunbarton or to Kilpatrick, is one of secondary importance, in the view of those who are guided by the evidence of tradition. We may be content to acknowledge our limitations, with regard to an accurate acquaintance with topographical details: it is better to wait in patience than to blunder in haste. Later on I may venture to state my own opinion. Meantime, it is obvious that a comparison of the passages given above suggests that Nemthur was a special name for Dunbarton rather than for Kilpatrick.

² A striking illustration of this truth is derived from the history of the Rouen Breviary. In the text which reads 'in Britannia Gallicana ortum,' the word *Gallicana* is notoriously a modern interpolation. Such tampering with ancient testimonies defeats its own object; for when such 'Gallican liberties' have to be taken with the text to bolster up the French theory, it is quite clear that the original reading was regarded as unfavourable to that theory.

they possessed a more unbroken historical tradition. Yet we are asked to admit as probable, nay as actual, that from some one of these more favoured countries a prominent citizen should suddenly disappear, torn from his home by Irish marauders ; that he should again appear among his own people, after years of absence in a state of slavery ; that he should once more abandon friends and country, severing all natural ties, and disregarding all opposition ; that he should become the successful apostle of a country at the world's end, thus adding a new nation to the Church's fold ; that he should be the means of inspiring that newly converted nation with such lively faith and ardent zeal as should send forth from her bosom a countless multitude of earnest missionaries, destined to become the teachers of his own country and of half the countries of Europe ; and yet, that, in spite of all these marvels, the countrymen of this wondrous saint and hero should never acknowledge the bond of nationality existing between themselves and him, should never claim him as their own ! Are we seriously expected to believe all this ? Do our adversaries themselves realize all that is involved in their arbitrary hypotheses ? Let us suppose that no indication whatever had been afforded by any national records as to the place of St. Patrick's birth, and that we found ourselves reduced to the necessity of casting about for a likely spot to which the honour might be attributed. Even in that case, we might prudently have selected Scotland, for we might naturally reason thus :—

Since no nation claims this remarkable man, we are forced to conclude that he must have been born in some country whose national records have suffered most severely from the ravages of time and from other destructive agencies ; for, otherwise, it is impossible to understand how so great a man could fail to be remembered in the place of his birth. Now, within the limits of possibility in Western Europe, Scotland is certainly the country that seems best to fulfil the required conditions. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that Scotland was the place of St. Patrick's birth.

And now, let us return from abstract hypothesis to actual fact. In reality, Scotland is the only country which seems

to claim him, while other more favoured lands have consistently ignored him. How can this phenomenon be explained, unless we acquiesce in the unopposed claim of Scottish tradition? We see, then, that the consistent and consentient testimony derived from the ancient records of two nations points to the same conclusion, and leads us towards the same spot? Where must we look for that spot? I think the reader already knows how that question must be answered; but, let us set all possible doubts at rest, by turning to the evidence of strictly local tradition.

II.—THE KILPATRICK TRADITION

The Aberdeen breviary informs us that Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton, was the birthplace of St. Patrick; after the considerations already advanced, that evidence should be held to decide the question. But our ancient Irish records, if properly understood; if interpreted, not in the spirit of captious criticism, but in the spirit of judicious fairness, are equally definite. This appears all the more clearly when we view them in connection with the facts to which I now proceed to refer.

(1) *Local Cultus of the Saint at Kilpatrick*

The reader will remember the testimony already adduced from two of the earliest lives of our national apostle.¹ The *Tripartite*, which embodies early materials dating from A.D. 500-700, says:—

A church was founded over the well in which Patrick was baptized; and the well is at the altar, and it has the form of a cross, as the learned report.

Similarly, the *Vita Quarta*, compiled before the year A.D. 774, tells us:—

The inhabitants of the place erected a church over the fountain in which he [St. Patrick] was baptized, and those acquainted with the place say that the fountain, which is beside the altar, is in the form of a cross.

Now, let us compare these ancient records, more than

¹ I. E. RECORD, October, 1899, pp. 355, 356

twelve hundred years old, with existing facts, verifiable at the present day.

On the main road to Dumbarton, about four miles from Dumbarton Rock, and five miles from the place where I am now writing, stands the modern church of Kilpatrick. The church is on the right-hand side of the highway, as you proceed towards Dumbarton; and, on the opposite side of the road, not many paces distant, is the well which has been known from time immemorial as St. Patrick's well. I am aware that such a gross, material fact as a well counts for little in the estimation of 'Patrician' theorists, who regard as objects more worthy of their attention their own abstract theories, doubtful etymologies, and conjectural 'readings.' But it is none the less a striking circumstance, that the well of which I speak is the only one which not only bears St. Patrick's name, but also claims to have marked for more centuries than we can precisely reckon, the place of his birth, and the spot of his baptism.

(2) *Antiquity of the Local Cultus*

The modern church of Kilpatrick is but the last link in the chain of evidence which reaches back to a period far beyond the date of the oldest surviving records—the form of the name would alone tell us that. But even such early records as exists point to the same conclusion. From them we gain a knowledge of the following facts:—

Deriving its name from St. Patrick, the church had in the remote and misty past been dedicated to that illustrious saint. Following the fashion of the times, the church of Kilpatrick, which had been built on the supposed birthplace of the saint, with the lands granted to it by the earls of Lennox, was conveyed in 1227 by Maldowen, or Malcolm, the earl of the time, to the monastery of Paisley.¹

This well-known action of Earl Maldowen's, by which the church and lands of Kilpatrick became the property of Paisley Abbey, merely begins a new period in the history of the local Cultus, which must necessarily be admitted to have existed long before. We know that Maldowen's

¹ Bruce's *History of Kilpatrick*, p. 63.

predecessors had given generous grants to the church of St. Patrick. The following, so far as can be gathered, is the succession of the early earls of Lennox. The first of whom history gives any account was Alwyn, who died about the year 1160, leaving a family of very young children. During the minority of the heir, the earldom was held by David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion, and one of the principal companions of Richard the Lion-hearted in the war of the Crusades; Alwyn, the second of that name, succeeded as heir to the first Alwyn, towards the close of the twelfth century, and dying in 1225, left the title and estates to the Earl Maldowen above mentioned.¹ Maldowen's transfer of the property from the hands of the secular guardians of the shrine to those of the regular clergy, was not allowed to pass unchallenged. The dispute which thus arose brought about the intervention, first, of a Papal Commission; and secondly, of the secular power. The proceedings which resulted are recorded both in the *Chartulary of Paisley Abbey*, and in the *Scots Acts of Parliament*. The following passages are of special significance.²

(a) A certain Beda Ferdan, who may be described as hereditary guardian of the Kilpatrick church and property, and who dwelt in a house situated towards the east, near the cemetery attached to the church, held the lands of Monachernan, and other lands in the time of Earl Alwyn, the second of that name. These lands were held from the church, under the sole obligation of entertaining pilgrims who came to the sanctuary. Beda Ferdan ultimately lost his life in defending the rights of the church, *interfectus erat pro jure et libertate ecclesiae*, and was succeeded by his son, Christinus. Earl Alwyn added to the possessions already held by the church.

Malcolmus Beg juratus dicit, quod vidit Bedam Ferdan, habentem domum suam sitam juxta cimiterium ecclesiae de Kylpatrick ex orientali parte et tenuit nomine ecclesiae illam terram de Monachkennaran . . . et praedicta terra et aliis quas

¹ Irving's *History of Dumbartonshire*, p. 43: cf. p. 480.

² These passages will be found in an extract from the *Scots Acts of Parliament*, vol. i., fol. 85, cited in Bruce's *History of Kilpatrick*, Appendix, p. 331.

tenebat de ecclesia recipiebat hospites ad ecclesiam venientes, nullum aliud servitium faciendo pro eis. Requisitus in tempore cujus comitis hoc vidit, dicit quod in tempore Alwini Comitis; et quod idem Comes dedit Sancto Patricio et ecclesiae illam terram de Kachconnen, &c.

(b) Earl David, while he held possession of the Lennox, had endeavoured to obtain from the church lands assistance in raising his military forces; but this attempt had been successfully resisted by the authority and influence of the Church, although the resistance thus successfully offered seems to have cost Beda Ferdan his life.

Anekol juratus, idem dicit per omnia quod Malcolmus Beg, et adjecit quod Comes David, frater regis Wilelmi, eo tempore quo habuit comitatum de Levenax et possedit, voluit de dictis terris ecclesiae de Kylpatrick habere auxilium, sicut de ceteris terris comitatus, et non potuit, quia defensae erant per ecclesiam.

(c) Beda Ferdan's family seems to have presided over the reception and entertainment of the pilgrims to St. Patrick's church for a number of years. During the course of the legal proceedings connected with the settlement of the dispute, the oldest residents, and such as had been born and brought up in the neighbourhood, were naturally cited to give evidence. One witness in particular deposed to having seen, *more than sixty years previous* to the time of the inquiry, this very Beda Ferdan, who occupied a large house built of wattles, near the church of Kilpatrick, and situated east of that building.

Alexander filius Hugonis juratus dicit, quod sexaginta annis et eo amplius elapsis, vidit quemdam nomine Beda Ferdan, habitantem in quadam domo magna, fabricata de virgis, juxta ecclesiam de Kylpatrick versus orientem.

As the document from which the above extracts have been taken refers to an inquiry instituted in 'the year of grace 1233,' it is clear that the church of Kilpatrick was a place of pilgrimage as early as A.D. 1170. At that time we find Beda Ferdan established as guardian of the sanctuary, and holding from the church certain lands by a kind of feudal tenure. How many centuries before feudal tenures were known in Scotland this church and place of pilgrimage

existed, protected only by the sanctity of the spot, and by the piety of the faithful, who shall say? Or rather, who shall take upon himself to put an arbitrary limit to the antiquity of a local cultus, and a local tradition, which were already old at the time spoken of by our most ancient records?

(3) *Position of the Ancient Church at Kilpatrick*

In the course of ages, since first their existence was recorded, both church and well have undergone several changes. But the citations above given throw some light upon the question of their original relative position. We are told that Beda Ferdan's house, where he received and entertained the pilgrims, *recipiendo et pascendo hospites illuc venientes*, was a wattled building, and we naturally conclude that the adjoining church was of wood. What we are told of early churches in other places, as for example, of those in Ireland, strengthens this conclusion, which indeed is put beyond a doubt when we remember that St. Ninian's church, being built of dressed stone, was regarded as quite an innovation in ecclesiastical architecture. The earliest church at Kilpatrick was, we are informed, built over the well; and we can quite understand the truth of the assertion. The present Protestant church was built on the site of its immediate predecessor, the pre-Reformation structure; during the rebuilding of the sacred edifice the congregation had to worship in the open air. Mr. Bruce admits the difficulty of assigning a precise date for the erection of this earlier edifice, which was demolished in 1812. But he notes that in 1825 'it was said to have been the oldest church of its time in the west country;' and he adds, judging from a surviving drawing of the building and from some still existing fragments, that 'the architecture is apparently of the Norman period, and points to the early part of the twelfth century.'¹

It seems probable, therefore, that two different churches existed for some time simultaneously, and of course, occupy-

¹ Bruce's *History of Kilpatrick*, pp. 100-101. This judgment has since been confirmed by the remarks and illustrations which occurred in a lecture given by Mr. Bruce before the Antiquarian Society of Helensburgh.

ing different sites: the earliest structure, which was of wood, survived down to the end of the twelfth century, and even later, being allowed to stand, in consideration of the continued visits of pilgrims, until it gradually fell to ruins; while, under the influence of the superior culture introduced by the Norman barons, the pre-Reformation stone building was erected in the earlier part of the twelfth century. The actual position of the present church is thus seen to be in no wise opposed to the statement of our early writers, that the primitive structure 'was erected over the well.'

RECAPITULATION

Let us now briefly recall the evidence already considered. We have seen the testimony of Ireland; we have examined the claims of Scotland, and we have inquired into the local tradition of Kilpatrick; the result has been in every case the same, and seems to leave no room for reasonable doubt.

With regard to the first, our ancient Irish records are decisive and unanimous in pointing to Scotland, and even to the neighbourhood of Dumbarton, as our apostle's birthplace. The evidence is all directly in favour of one view: no other opinion finds any support.¹ Now, on the supposition of our adversaries, what an inexplicable phenomenon would here be presented, setting at defiance all the laws of evidence! What a wonderful agreement in support of error; what a wonderful 'conspiracy of silence' against the truth!

Again, when we consider the opposite claims that might be advanced by various nations, a similarly remarkable phenomenon is presented: Scotland alone claims St. Patrick while all other nations confirm her claim by allowing it to pass unopposed. The Aberdeen Breviary asserts that he was born in Scotland and at Kilpatrick; all other ancient

¹ With regard to the supposition that our ancient records prove that St. Patrick was taken captive in Armorica, I have already called attention to the fact that the place of birth and the place of capture are in themselves two very different things. If, from an examination of St. Patrick's own writings, or from any other consideration, we are forced to conclude that the two places are to be reduced to one and the same, then the unanimity of testimony in favour of Kilpatrick being the place of birth will compel us to seek in the same neighbourhood the place of capture. Once more, the certain must be made to explain the uncertain, not *vice versa*. My own opinion on the point in question will find expression at the proper time.

breviaries fail to raise a single note of protest. This must be a new embarrassment to 'Patrician' theorists: the assumed agreement in support of error and 'conspiracy of silence' against the truth become still more wonderful.

Lastly, when we turn our attention to the neighbourhood of Kilpatrick, early records and existing indications alike prompt us to exclaim: 'This is indeed the spot indicated by our ancient writers.' And this, too, while we vainly seek elsewhere for records or indications which could by any possibility intimate the presence of a serious rival. Thus we have been led onward, step by step, from Ireland to Kilpatrick: we have followed in the footsteps of so many of our ancestors, who believed as we believe, and who so often came hither on pilgrimage to honour their national apostle at the spot that gave him birth. Have they and we been alike mistaken? Those who profess to think so must, at least, concede that we have erred in good company—that of the saints and sages of ancient Erin. They must also admit that the indications by which we have been guided in the course of our inquiry are such as do not generally lead to false conclusions. On the other hand, their view of these indications supposes that inexplicable agreement of evidence in support of error and that impossible 'conspiracy of silence' against truth, to which I have already referred.

These considerations the anti-Scottish theorists would do well to weigh carefully, before again attacking a question which should be regarded as one that was definitely and finally settled long ago. Above all, they should hesitate to identify themselves with those of whom the poet says:—

We think our fathers fools; so wise we grow—

lest perchance they incur the Nemesis that threatens them in the satirist's next line.¹

I have now reviewed the principal arguments in support of the truth. I hope to consider in a future article the history and fate of error.

GERALD STACK.

¹ See Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, l. 439.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

DISPENSATION IN A VOW OF CHASTITY

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you please say if a dispensation is necessary in the following case, and from whom it should be sought? A woman who had taken a vow in chastity in the world obtained from the Pope a dispensation to get married. Her husband has since died, and now she wishes to marry a second time. Does she require a dispensation? If she does, who can grant it?

A. M.

WE gather from the fact that this person, on the occasion of her first marriage, had recourse to the Holy See for a dispensation, that her vow was one of perpetual and perfect chastity. Our correspondent's question, then, comes to this:—What is the precise effect of a dispensation to marry on a vow of perpetual and perfect chastity? The obligation of the vow is only partially removed by the dispensation. *Per se* the effect of the dispensation is to remove the obligation in religion forbidding marriage, and the use of the rights consequent on marriage. Other obligations under the vow remain intact. Sins against chastity, therefore, committed by the dispensed person continue to be violations of the vow. Again, the permission or dispensation is usually given for one marriage only, and, therefore, a new dispensation is required for a second marriage. If, however, the first dispensation were granted absolutely, and if the reason on account of which the dispensation was given was universal and permanent, the dispensation also would be understood to be permanent, and there would, therefore, be no need for a second dispensation in case of a second marriage.

If a dispensation be needed, it can be obtained only from

the Holy See or someone having special faculties. The vow was *ab initio* reserved specially to the Holy See, nor does the vow cease to be reserved now owing to the fact that its obligation was partially and temporarily suspended.

ABSOLUTION FROM A RESERVED SIN

REV. DEAR SIR,—A person who is under the necessity of receiving Communion, or of celebrating Mass, *v. g.*, finds his conscience burdened with a reserved sin. There is no time to go to, or write to the Superior who reserved the case. May he confess to any priest, and is he bound to confess the reserved sin even though the confessor has no faculties to absolve from it?

CONFESSARIUS.

This question has been so often discussed that we will but briefly recall the principles underlying the solution.

1. The reservation of which there is question may be a papal reservation or an episcopal reservation.

2. In case of papal reservations, any confessor has, *modo transeunte*, the necessary faculties to absolve *directly*, provided the penitent be in urgent necessity of receiving absolution, and if there be no time to refer the matter to the proper authorities. There remains, indeed, the obligation to have recourse to the proper authorities within a month. This has been the clear rule since 1886 in regard to papal cases.

Theologians are not agreed as to whether the same procedure is, without a special disposition of the bishop, to be followed in regard to episcopal cases. For ourselves, in view of the legislation or decision of 1886, above referred to, we think it most probable that any confessor has power, and *direct* power, to absolve in case of urgent necessity from an episcopal reserved case, even though the bishop has not *expressly* adopted the papal procedure in regard to his reservations. Others, however, are inclined to think, that, apart from an express disposition of the bishop, a simple confessor can, even in urgent necessity, absolve only *indirectly* from an episcopal case.

3. If the penitent in our correspondent's question can

get *direct* absolution from the reserved case, he is manifestly bound to confess it. If, on the other hand, he can get only *indirect* absolution, he is, *per se*, not bound to confess it: he may confess other sins, and obtain absolution which will *indirectly* extend to the reserved sin. In this latter case an obligation will, of course, remain of afterwards confessing the reserved sin to someone who has faculties to absolve directly; the same obligation would remain, even if the sin were mentioned in the previous confession.

In reply to our correspondent's question, then, we say:—

1. The penitent may not confess to *any* confessor. He must confess to one having faculties, if any such confessor be available. Our correspondent may seem to imply the contrary.

2. In the absence of a confessor with special faculties he is bound, when the case is a papal case, or an episcopal case to which the bishop has made the Roman practice apply, he may select any confessor available, he can be absolved *directly*, and he is bound to confess the reserved sin. The fact that the penitent *can* be absolved directly removes all excuse for not confessing, or for withholding the reserved case. When the case is an episcopal one, in our opinion the penitent ought to confess; also to mention the reserved case, and he can be absolved *directly*. As it is not certain, however, that in such a case the absolution of the reserved case would be direct, we do not undertake to condemn the penitent who does not consider himself bound to confess his reserved sin to a simple confessor. Acting on this latter opinion, a penitent having no unreserved grave sin since his last confession may confess venial sins, or sins of his past life, and receive absolution, or he may omit confession altogether, and receive communion, having made an act of contrition: a penitent whose conscience is also burdened with grievous sins, which are unreserved, is, of course, bound to confess these, though he may withhold the reserved sin.

DISPENSATION OF THE VOWS OF RELIGION

REV. DEAR SIR,—A member of a religious community, for sufficient reasons, obtained from the bishop a dispensation to return to secular life. No dispensation was asked or granted in the view of chastity. Does this person require a dispensation in the vow of chastity in order to get married?

RELIGIOUS.

We assume, of course, that the bishop was within his right in dispensing in the vows of religion. For, the person belonged, no doubt, to a mere diocesan congregation which had got no approval from the Holy See. The bishop retained power, therefore, to dispense in the vows of the members. A dispensation is evidently still required from the vow of chastity before the person can lawfully contract marriage. But from whom is the dispensation to be obtained? If the vow be not perfect and perpetual, of course the bishop can dispense in it; if it be perfect and perpetual, it will be necessary to have recourse to the Holy See, unless the bishop happens to have special faculties. If the vow be perpetual, and if it were taken freely with full knowledge and deliberation, it is, almost with a certainty, a perfect vow, and should be treated as such. It may be worth while to add, however, that if the person can assert that the vow of chastity was taken not precisely, *ob amorem castitatis*, but for some other reason, the vow is imperfect, *ratione finis*, and may be dispensed by the bishop.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

CARRYING THE BLESSED SACRAMENT IN OTHER CASES THAN TO THE SICK

REV. DEAR SIR,—1. A priest celebrates at an out station, where he wishes to remain till evening to give Benediction with the evening devotions; but he has to return home that night, and, accordingly, carries the Blessed Sacrament with him—perhaps several miles.

2. A priest attends two small churches—one three, the other six miles from the urban church, where he lives. He remains

after the late Mass in the former church to give Benediction, with a Host consecrated at the Mass; but he has to return to town for Vespers. Benediction is given at the out church at four in the afternoon. He has to carry the lunette, with the large Host, back to town.

3. A priest celebrates on Sunday, thirty miles from his residence, in a small church. He consecrates for Benediction; but, there being no safe in the church, he takes the lunette back after Benediction to the hotel where he lodges. He consumes it next morning at his Mass.

4. In the case No. 2 above, the nearer church to town contains the larger congregation; hence Mass is celebrated there at 11 o'clock about three times in the month, and at 9 in the farther church. The priest, going out from town every Sunday morning, takes a number of consecrated particles to communicate people at the nearer church. He then proceeds to the farther, celebrates Mass at 9, returns to the nearer church, where he celebrates the late Mass. It is thought too long for the people to remain fasting till the late Mass.

5. The priest's residence is about five hundred yards from the church. In the house there is an oratory, with a tabernacle. On other accounts the oratory is legitimate; but the only reason for keeping the Blessed Sacrament is for convenience' sake, in case of sick calls. Mass may be said in the oratory; but usually the priest does not hesitate to carry the particles from the tabernacle in the church to the oratory, without lights, &c.

I should very much like to have a full treatment of the theological aspect of the above cases—first, as to whether Benediction is a justification, under the circumstances; and, secondly, whether the devotion and convenience of people and priest justify carrying the Blessed Sacrament in the other cases. As to dispensations, I know of none beyond that of taking the Blessed Sacrament to the sick *sine lumine*, &c., and of keeping it in the priest's room when necessary, &c.

IN PARTIBUS INFIDELIUM.

We are of opinion that the various practices mentioned by our esteemed correspondent are all quite lawful. But though we are certain that this opinion is correct, we experience no small difficulty in supporting it by arguments sufficiently conclusive to convince one who was inclined to

doubt. True, were we at liberty to appeal to the custom which prevails in missionary countries we could at once show that the Blessed Sacrament is carried by the holiest priests in circumstances precisely similar to those described by our correspondent, and preserved in their houses, though no farther distant from the church than the presbytery to which he refers; and, finally, we could show that bishops in missionary countries, though aware of the existence of this custom, do not condemn it. But it would seem that we are not at liberty to appeal to this custom, because it is this custom itself which our correspondent impugns, and for which he seeks from us either condemnation or justification. We must, therefore, seek some other source for reasons in favour of the opinion we have already stated.

In discussing questions of this kind one cannot hope for much assistance from the decrees of Roman Congregations, or from the works of theologians. For both the Congregations and the theologians, in treating of preserving or carrying the Blessed Sacrament, have before their minds, as a rule, the circumstances which prevail, or used to prevail, in Catholic countries. If they refer to the state of things existing in missionary countries, they merely give the words of the dispensation, to which our correspondent refers in the last paragraph of his letter, without vouchsafing a word of explanation as to the extent of the dispensation, or as to the practical details which it may cover. The working interpretation, then, is left to the prudence and piety of bishops and priests, and the custom to which we have just referred embodies this interpretation.

But we are not left entirely without assistance. For though we have not met any theologian who discusses *ex professo* any of the points raised by our correspondent, we can quote many theologians who would permit the Blessed Sacrament to be carried to others than those who are subjects for the viaticum, or who are *infirmi* in the sense of the dispensation granting permission to carry the Blessed Sacrament *occulte ad infirmos*. When a person suffers from a chronic ailment, which is too slight to justify him in receiving Holy Communion after having broken his

fast, and yet is of such a nature that he cannot remain fasting during the night, theologians generally say that a priest may, and sometimes *ought* to, bring the Blessed Sacrament and administer Holy Communion to him shortly after midnight.

Si autem morbus diuturnus quidem, sed nullatenus letalis est, S. Eucharistia non jejuno dari nequit, etsi aegrotus sine cibo diu manere non potest; at haec est ratio cur aliquoties media nocte vix elapsa ad eum deferri possit, vel etiam *debeat*.¹

Now Lehmkuhl, as is evident, here contemplates Communion received through devotion only, and yet he would not merely allow, but would oblige a priest to violate the law of the Church forbidding the carrying of the Blessed Sacrament at night, in order to satisfy the devotion of the infirm person. And, moreover, he would have the priest to be at hand at the stroke of midnight—*media nocte vix elapsa*—in order to obviate all, even the slightest, inconvenience. The Blessed Sacrament may, then, be carried for the purpose of administering Communion received through mere devotion; and, also, a priest must take into consideration the convenience of those who are to communicate. We may, therefore, draw the practical conclusion that, in the case mentioned by our correspondent in No. 4, the priest is not only justified in carrying the Blessed Sacrament with him in order to communicate those in the nearer church, but that he is bound to do it. The inconvenience of receiving Communion at an 11 o'clock Mass is so great, that few would be able, and fewer still would care, to face it, at least frequently. Hence, if Communion were not distributed early, no one would be found to approach the holy table in that church on Sundays; and thus, by a pharisaical interpretation of the mind of the Church, Christ, in the Blessed Sacrament, would be kept out of the hearts of His people. If priests kept in mind the dictum, *Sacramenta sunt propter homines*, they would be saved many a scruple.

From the Congregation of Rites also we obtain clear

¹ Lehmkuhl, vol. ii., n. 161, 2.

and direct confirmation of our opinion that the Blessed Sacrament may be carried to others than those who are sick: In 1871 the then Prefect Apostolic of Denmark asked the Congregation some questions regarding the extent of the faculties conferred on him by this very dispensation which we are discussing. We will quote the part that applies to the present case:—

Inter facultates speciales quae Oratori communicatae fuere, nona ita jacet: Deferendi Sanctissimum Sacramentum occulte ad infirmos sine lumine, etc. Num vi hujus facultatis liceat deferre et ministrare S. Communionem eis qui longo tempore in carceribus acatholicis detinentur dicto modo, si secus eodem carere debeant.

Resp. Affirmative si immineat periculum sacrilegii ab haereticis aut infidelibus, et adsint causae graves pro Communionem administranda.¹

The qualifying clause, *si immineant periculum, &c.*, need not be taken into account. It is on this condition that the general dispensation is granted, and the condition is supposed to exist wherever the dispensation can be availed of, even for the purpose of carrying the Blessed Sacrament to the sick. Hence, when there is a grave cause, as there certainly is in the case mentioned in No. 4, the Congregation of Rites would allow a priest to carry the Blessed Sacrament *occulte*, and to administer Communion to people who are not at all sick.

The carrying of the lunette containing the Benediction Host follows the analogy of carrying the Blessed Sacrament to administer Communion to persons who are not sick. Both are intended to excite and strengthen devotion to the Most Holy Sacrament, and though Holy Communion unlike Benediction produces this and other effects *ex opere operato*, still Benediction holds so prominent a place in the *cultus* of the Blessed Eucharist, and is, moreover, so favourite a devotion with the faithful, that the same cause, or a cause similar to that which would justify a priest in carrying the Blessed Sacrament for the purpose of giving Communion,

¹ N. 5469, Feb. 4, 1871.

would justify him in carrying it for the purpose of giving Benediction.

So much for the abstract view of the case. Now for the case as described by our correspondent. Benediction has already been established as a weekly, or, at least, as a regularly recurring devotion in the churches of which mention is made. Plainly in the circumstances it is impossible to have this devotion unless subject to the inconvenience of carrying the Blessed Sacrament for the purpose of keeping it safe. Now, if there was question of establishing this devotion in a church in which it had not previously been established, and in which it could not be celebrated unless the priest carried the Host from or to another church, or to his house, there might be some reason for inquiring whether Benediction alone is sufficient to justify a priest in carrying the Blessed Sacrament *occulte*. But when it has been already established in a church no speculative doubt on this subject, however well founded it might be, would justify a priest, or even a bishop, in discontinuing it. The doubt should be first changed into certainty, and that can be done only by a clear and unambiguous statement by the Congregation of Rites or of Propaganda.

With regard to the priest carrying the pyxis from the church to the tabernacle in the presbytery without vestments or lights, all we can say is, that it is part of the general custom; but a part of which we do not generally approve. In very many country districts in missionary countries such is the seclusion of the church and presbytery; such, at any rate, is the absence of all danger of insult or sacrilege, that a priest might transfer the Blessed Sacrament to his house or thence to the church with the solemnities prescribed by the church for such occasions.

The inconvenience at night of finding keys, and lights, of opening the church and the tabernacle, together with the delays which all this would cause is considered a sufficient justification for a priest to keep the Blessed Sacrament in his house *loco tamen decenti*.

**CERTAIN DUTIES OF THE SUBDEACON IN A SOLEMN
MASS**

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly insert an answer to the following questions in the next number of the I. E. RECORD:—

1. Must the subdeacon, whilst holding the paten at Solemn Mass, genuflect at any time, except during the Consecration?
2. In a Solemn Requiem Mass must the subdeacon, standing *in plano* from the Consecration to the *Agnus Dei*, genuflect whenever the celebrant does so?

C.C.

1. We would recommend our correspondent to look into some work of recognised merit on the ceremonies of Solemn Mass, and to follow the directions therein laid down. In small details, such as those to which he refers, there is a variety of practice, and, within certain well-defined limitations, each master of ceremonies, and each writer on ceremonies, adopts or modifies an old practice, or invents a new one. The author of the *Ceremonies of Some Ecclesiastical Functions*, whose work is now before us, directs the subdeacon to genuflect after receiving the paten—

- (a) when he first descends to the foot of the altar;
- (b) before going up to assist at the *Sanctus*;
- (c) on the predella, after the *Sanctus*, immediately before descending to the foot of the altar;
- (d) before going up to the altar at the end of the *Pater Noster*.

All the genuflections of this series that are made at the foot of the altar are made on the lowest step, not *in plano*. During the Consecration the subdeacon genuflects on both knees, or kneels, during the whole time.

2. The subdeacon should always genuflect with the celebrant, in the circumstances set forth in question 2.

**THE USE OF A PURIFICATOR WHEN A BISHOP DISTRIBUTES
HOLY COMMUNION**

REV. DEAR SIR.—Will you please answer the following question? When a bishop during his Mass gives Communion, should the paten be held by the chaplain, *with* or *without* a purificator? The practice does not seem to be uniform. In the

Responsa varia SS. Congregationum given at the end of the first volume of Scavini, it is stated that the paten, 'est purificationem tenenda.'

C. C.

The purificator is never employed now at the Communion of the faithful. The Ritual prescribes an ablution of wine, together with a purificator to wipe the lips, to be presented to every one receiving Holy Communion, whether from a bishop or a priest. But custom has done away with both ablution and purificator. What our correspondent has noticed in Scavini is merely a reference to a custom once obligatory, but now obsolete.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

HOMES FOR AGED AND INFIRM PRIESTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Some remarks in the last number of the I. E. RECORD, under the head ‘Correspondence,’ and entitled: ‘On homes for aged and infirm priests,’ have suggested to me to send you some thoughts on the same subject—thoughts which are the result of study, and of a rather long experience. My attention was called to it some years ago by the fact, that I, with two others, was named trustee for a bequest of £8,000, left to found such a home in Ireland, for Irish priests. The bequest fell through.

I must say that there is no subject upon which a bishop in his pastoral, or a priest in his pulpit could appeal with more power than that of such an institution, because of the extraordinary respect, esteem, reverence, and gratitude which our people have for the good priest who has for a long, or even a short time, laboured amongst them.

My contention is—first, that such a home is neither necessary nor needed for *good* priests; second, that though such a home is desirable for our weak and fallen brothers, it is almost impossible to get them to stay in, and take advantage of any home in which even a mild discipline would be insisted on. Nothing can save some but a religious jail out of which there is no getting; and if such a home were established I would prefer to see it out of Ireland, for the following reason—though not the only one—that in this country it would be an ever-standing reminder of what would be most painful to the most priest-reverencing and priest-loving people in the world, particularly to the afflicted families of which its inmates were members.

With reference, first, to good priests, ‘old and unfit for missionary work, aged or infirm.’ Now, if they be parish priests they are generally left in the possession or part possession of their parochial house, and they have an annual pension out of the parish. But this is not all, they are helped by intentions if they be able to say mass, and also, as a rule, by the generous kindness of friends and old parishioners. Such men, having had for years their own home, and a certain independent way of living, will not be likely to change it for a home such as is

proposed. They would consider it *infra dignitatem*, decidedly and rightly so, if it were not consecrated solely to good priests.

Curates when they break down in health generally die young; but if their existences be prolonged, their family, friends, parishioners, brother priests, some or all, never allow them to need, I will not say, the necessaries, but the ordinary comforts of life. Also, if they had a small residence of their own—parochial property—I have scarcely ever heard of their being disturbed, unless they wished it themselves. I knew cases in which the bishop kindly offered help to delicate curates out of a diocesan fund; which help they refused, first, because they did not need it; and secondly, because this fund was generally utilized for the support of the fallen.

I must candidly say that one remark of your correspondent, 'An Old Reader,' amazed me:—'How sad sometimes to hear of some old dignitary housed up for months, sometimes even for years *without one to visit him, without one to breathe to him a word of spiritual consolation.*' The italics are mine. What must be the forlorn state of good old priests who were never dignitaries? This is entirely against my experience, and I cannot believe that we Irish priests ever did, or could, so neglect a sick or dying brother. I never knew a priest so placed who was not visited socially and spiritually by his neighbouring brother priests and also by the bishop whenever he happened to be in the locality.

With reference to our fallen brothers, who have got chance after chance, and again and again have failed, such an asylum or home is most desirable, but very difficult of accomplishment. Such an asylum must not be a mere hotel, but, in a certain sense, a religious house, where a rule and discipline accommodated to the circumstances must be insisted on under superiors who are at once strict to a certain limit, considerate, and patient. Even in such houses breaks down or breaks out are not infrequent; and the late venerated Abbot of Mount Melleray stated, if I mistake not, at the Synod of Maynooth, 1875, that he and his community were obliged to give up such a house because the breaks out caused a false suspicion to fall on themselves. In any case, I should prefer to see such an asylum—desirable though it be—outside Ireland for many reasons as well as for the one already given.

AN IRISH PRIEST.

HOMES FOR AGED AND INFIRM PRIESTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have perused the letter of 'An Old Reader' on the above subject, and I cordially agree with the writer.

He, however, suggests an appeal to the Catholic public for the funds to establish these homes. I, on the other hand, think such an appeal unwise and unnecessary: unwise, because we make too many such appeals to them; unnecessary, because we can do the needful for ourselves. We are not so poor as we sometimes try to make out.

In my diocese (mine not in the sense that it belongs to me, but that I belong to it) we have a curates' fund to which parish priests contribute annually £2 each, and curates £1. This amounts to nearly £200 a year. We give from £60 to £80 to each retired priest, which, by the way, is not sufficient provision now-a-days, nor is it a fair method of distribution as between man and man.

Now, what I suggest is this. Establish four homes, one for each province; let each diocese contribute *pro rata* according to the number of its own inmates; let nothing be given to the men themselves, but let them be maintained comfortably and respectably. As 'An Old Reader' says, under the existing plan they are neither comfortably nor respectably housed.

May I, with bated breath, make another suggestion to the National Council of 1900? It is this: that—with the permission of Rome, of course—a compulsory retirement scheme be passed under which all priests (whether P.P. or C.C.) be put aside on reaching, say, the age of seventy-five. This in most cases would allow them to celebrate their golden jubilee in harness, and then, free from parochial responsibilities and cares, would ensure them peace in the evening of their lives in these homes. It would also be for the good of religion by bringing in younger and stronger men to work in the vineyard. In the civil service the retiring age is fixed at sixty-five; this is rather early, but the principle is surely a sound one.

In throwing out this suggestion I know I am skating on thin ice.—Yours,

VICARIUS.

P.S.—If the above be adopted, I will gladly subscribe £100 towards the building of these homes.

['Vicarius' may modify his views when he reaches the age of seventy-five, Ed. I, E. R.]

DOCUMENTS

TIME REQUIRED FOR DEGREES IN ECCLESIASTICAL FACULTIES

E. SACRA CONGREGATIONE STUDIORUM

S. SEDES NON SOLET DISPENSARE SUPER LEGE BIENNI PRO ACQUIRENDIS GRADIBUS IN ECCLESIASTICIS FACULTATIBUS

I.

ILLME AC RME DOMINE,

Petitio nuperrime ab Amplitudine Tua ad h. S. Studiorum Cong, transmissa similis prorsus est petitioni tribus abhinc mensibus ab Emo Arch. Compostellano porrectae, cui ex S. Pontificis mandato, licet aegre, negative, responsum fuit.

Rationes ab eadem A. T. adductae, ut nempe clerici istius Seminarii Malacitan, absolutis inibi S. Theologiae cursibus sese ad Instituta Pontificia nuper in Hispania erecta conferre possent ut licentiae examina superarent, quin Instituti cursus frequentare tenerentur, non ita validae ab h. S. C. censentur, ut quae ab EE. Patribus scite ac prudenter nuperrime constituta sunt decreta nedum pro Hispania sed pro omnibus Institutis et Universitatibus haec Romae et per Orbem existentibus, ullo pacto corrigi ac moderari deberent.

Generalis lex est, et praxis ubique terrarum, rigidior profecto penes omnes laicas Universitates, viget ut ibi gradus alumni suscipere possent, ubi studia complevisset. Si qui penes Hispaniam hucusque contrarius invaluit usus, nonnisi temporaneis concessionibus permissum fuit, quibus profecto per decem Institutorum erectionem derogatum est. Lex igitur nova ex rationabili ac universali praxi suffulta, ut Ampl. T. optime novit, ita quoad gradus assequendos in Hispania est proposita, ut nempe baccalaureatus penes Seminaria ex antiquo privilegio conferri posset, licentia vero et doctoratus penes decem Instituta et nonnisi alumni qui eorundem scholas celebraverint.

Hac ferme ratione, lex biennii statuta pro Gallia, statuta fuit et etiam Romae per litteras circulares anno 1896; imo Epis. Universitatum Parisiensis Tolosanae et Lugdunensis Fundatoribus numero 74 per procuratorem specialem Romam ad id missum, dispensationem cursum pro licentiae examinibus instantissime

poscentibus, negative respondendum EE. Patres in plenariis Comittiis mense Junio anni 1895 habitis, uno ore decreverunt, ipso Summo Pontifice pluries adprobante, imo et mandante. Eadem responsio Epis. Bisuntino et Bituricensi facta est anno 1896.

Haud ergo aegre ferat Amplitudo Tua, si huiusmodi recentibus obversantibus decretis, petitioni facere satis haec S. C. minime possit

Quod ad alumnorum paupertatem et pericula objecta attinet, poterunt penes Seminaria centralia nisi Sacerdotes sint, degere per unum annum, quo absoluto, ad licentiae contendere gradum poterunt, qui licet doctoratu inferior, ad effectus tamen canonicos sufficit. Quod si, ut A. T. promittit, ratio studiorum penes istud Seminarium ita constitueretur, ut uniformis prorsus foret ac apud centralia praescribitur, nobilissimum hoc propositum nonnisi valde commendare S. Congregatio poterit, sed non inde sequetur, ius esse alumnis a Facultatibus cursibus dispensari: quia programmatum uniformitas non sola ratio est sufficiens ad privilegium collationis, vel ad cursus dispensationem obtinendam: de multis enim aliisque conditionibus praemuniri S. C. debet et certior fieri, an reapse ex. gr. et Professores habiles sint et Doctores, an materiae profundius et maiori amplitudine pertractentur, an exercitationes scholasticae rite ita fiant ut alumni ad aemulationem in dies excitentur, an Praefectus studiorum suo munere alacriter fungatur, an examina baccalaureatus et pro annuis experimentis nimis remisse haud fiant, aliaque nimis complexa ac innumera concurrant quae propria sunt Universitati, cuius est quasi alma mater alumnos veluti alere, fovere et ad fastigium graduum ducere.

Quod si haec omnia comparari posse penes Seminarium Malacitan. Ampl. Tua testetur, duo poterunt inde concludi, 1 ut vel Seminarium ipsum ad dignitatem Instituti Pontificii rite evehatur: et hoc opportunum nullus dixerit, sive quia decem iam constituta fuerunt, sive quia alia Seminaria continuo idem poscent. Vel 2, admissa programmatum uniformitate ob studiorum amplitudinem ac profunditatem et alumnorum prae ceteris Seminariis profectum et superioritatem, nonnisi valde gratulandum erit pro Ecclesia, cuius sollicitudo est potius doctos requirere clericos, quam doctores.

Si qui, reapse docti, doctores fieri velint, praescriptis conditionibus subiiciantur necesse est, a quibus *in genere* dispensare

haec S. Congregatio nec potest nec debet, licet in casibus specialibus Ampl. Tuae commendationibus libenter indulgere sit parata, prouti pro aliis Hispaniae Dioecesibus in usu est.

Haec erant pro munere, quo fungor Ampl. Tuae significanda, cui aestimatoris meae sensus proderet pergratum habeo dum manum deosculor.

Romae, die 24 Augusti, 1898.

Amplitudinis Tuae Illmae ac Rmae, Humus servus

J. MAGNO, *a Secret.*

Illmo ac Rmo Dno Dn. Joanni

Munoz et Herrera, Episcopo Malacitan.

WHAT IS A SEMI-PUBLIC ORATORY ?

DECRETUM

SUPER ORATORIIS SEMIPUBLICIS

A Sacra Rituum Congregatione saepe postulatam est, quaenam Oratoria ceu semipublica habenda sint. Constat porro Oratoria publica ea esse, quae auctoritate Ordinarii ad publicum Dei cultum perpetuo dedicata, benedicta, vel etiam solemniter consecrata, ianuam habent in via, vel liberum a publica via Fidelibus universim pandunt ingressum. Privata e contra stricto sensu dicuntur Oratoria, quae in privatis aedibus in commodum alicuius personae, vel familiae ex Indulto Sanctae Sedis erecta sunt. Quae medium inter haec duo locum tenent, ut nomen ipsum indicat, Oratoria semipublica sunt et vocantur. Ut autem quaelibet ambiguitas circa haec Oratoria amoveatur, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII ex Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis consulto, statuit et declaravit: Oratoria semipublica ea esse, quae etsi in loco quodammodo privato, vel non absolute publico, auctoritate Ordinarii erecta sunt; commode tamen non Fidelium omnium nec privatae tantum personae aut familiae, sed alicuius communitatis vel personarum coetus inserviunt. In his omnes qui sacrosancto Missae Sacrificio intersunt, praecepto audiendi Sacrum satisfacere valent. Huius generis Oratoria sunt quae pertinent ad Seminaria et Collegia ecclesiastica; ad pia Instituta et Societates votorum simplicium, aliasque Communitates sub regula sive statutis saltem ab Ordinario approbatis; ad Domus spiritualibus exercitiis addictas; ad Convictus et Hospitia iuventuti litteris, scientiis, aut artibus instituendae destinata; ad Nosocomia, Orphanotrophia, nec non

ad Arces et Carceres; atque similia Oratoria in quibus ex instituto, aliquis Christifidelium coetus convenire solet ad audiendam Missam. Quibus adiungi debent Capellae, in Coemeterio rite erectae, dummodo in Missae celebratione non iis tantum ad quos pertinent, sed aliis etiam Fidelibus aditus pateat. Voluit autem Sanctitas Sua sarta et tecta iura ac privilegia Oratoriorum, quibus fruuntur Emi S. R. E. Cardinales, Rmi Sacrorum Antistites, atque Ordines Congregationesque Regulares. Ac praeterea confirmare dignata est Decretum in una Nivernen. diei 8 Martii, 1879. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 23 Ianuarii, 1899.

L. ✠ S.

C. Ep. Praen. Card. MAZZELLA,

S. R. C. Praef.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C. Secretarius.

MASSES IN CONVENT CHAPELS

R. mus D. Stephanus Antonius Lelong Episcopus Nivernen; quae sequuntur Sacrae, Rituum Congregationi exposuit, opportunam declarationem seu resolutionem humillime expostulans, videlicet.

I. Potestne Episcopus iure ordinario concedere licentiam etiam plures Missas qualibet die celebrandi 1 in Capellis seu Oratoriis publicis piarum Communitatum, etiam earum quae clausuram non habent; 2^o. in Capellis seu Oratoriis piarum Communitatum, quae licet non habeant ingressum in via publica, inserviunt tamen quotidianis exercitiis totius Communitatis; 3^o. in Capellis seu Oratoriis ad personas quidem privatas pertinentibus, sed quae sunt publica vel semipublica in eo sensu quod habeant ingressum in via publica vel prope viam publicam, ut semper cuilibet volenti intrare permittatur.

II. Potestne Episcopus alia oratoria praeter Capellam seu principale Oratorium erigere in piis Communitatibus, sive ob numerum Sacerdotum ibi degentium ut ab omnibus Missa dici possit, sive in gratiam infirmorum, qui nequeunt adire Capellam seu Oratorium principale?

III. Potestne Episcopus iure proprio concedere facultatem asservandi SS. mum Sacramentum 1, in Ecclesiis seu Capellis publicis quae tamen titulo parochiali non gaudent, etsi utilitatibus Paroeciae inserviant; 2, in Capellis piarum Communitatum publicis, id est quarum porta pateat in via publica vel in area

cum via publica communicante, et quae habitantibus omnibus aperiuntur; 3, in Capellis seu Oratoriis interioribus piarum Communitatum, quando non habent Capellam seu Oratorium publicum in sensu exposito ut evenit ex. gr. in Seminariis?

IV. Potestne Episcopus iure proprio licentiam concedere uni Sacerdoti secundam Missam diebus Dominicis aut festivis de praecepto celebrandi 1 in Oratoriis seu Capellis quae a S. Sede vel vi indulti ab ea concessi fuerunt approbata, quando propter distantiam a Parochiali Ecclesia ista secunda Missa proficere potest voto Parochianorum qui aliter missam non audirent vel saltem difficillime; 2 in duabus Ecclesiis in eadem Parochia existentibus quando pro utraque deservienda unicus adest Sacerdos, et tamen non sine detrimento religionis Missa in una tantum celebraretur; 3, in eadem Ecclesia quando aliter pars sat notabilis Parochianorum Missam non audiret; 4, quando valde utilis est, sin autem necessaria ista secunda Missa ut communicari a Fidelibus cum maiori facilitate et aedificatione frequentius possit?

Sacra itaque Rituum Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, hisce postulatis sic respondit:

Ad I. Episcopus utatur iure suo in omnibus casibus expositis.

Ad II. Si porro ex piarum Communitatum conditione necessaria sit erectio alterius Oratorii, pro eius erectione facultas erit a Sancta Sede obtinenda.

Ad III. Implorandum est indultum a Sancta Sede quoad omnia postulata.

Ad IV. Posito quod Episcopus iam facultatem obtinuerit a S. Sede concedere Sacerdotibus suae Dioecesis indultum bis in die festo sacrum litandi, erit suae prudentiae hac speciali facultate in casu necessitatis pro populi bono uti, si vero eiusmodi facultate ipse non sit instructus, eam impetrare poterit. Atque ita respondit ac declaravit. Die 8 Martii 1879.

Ita reperitur in Actis et Regestis S. R. Congnis. Die 23 Ian. 1899.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C. Secret.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

OCCASIONAL SERMONS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS. By T. O'Rorke, D.D., P.P., Archdeacon of Achonry. Dublin : James Duffy & Co., Limited, 15, Wellington-quay. Price 3s. 6d.

THE merits of this graceful little volume are exactly inversely as its size. The eleven discourses which it contains are each a model of sacred eloquence. It is an exceedingly rare and refreshing experience when so much that is scarcely up to the mediocre standard of pulpit oratory sees the light of publication, to come across a style of preaching which flavours strongly of the simplicity commended in Scripture and which possesses, at the same time, in its choice purity of expression, warm recommendations to popular taste and favour. Above and beyond all things these sermons are eminently readable. Few persons can take up an ordinary sermon-book, and read an instruction to the end without a feeling of weariness. Yet we are convinced that any of our readers may take up any of the sermons contained in this pithy but pregnant collection, and derive even positive pleasure from its perusal. Dr. O'Rorke is well known to the general public as a man of letters and a ripe scholar. The erudite works that have emanated from his prolific pen have worthily heralded the accuracy and extent of his learning in fields of Historical and Archæological research. But it will, perhaps, occasion a pleasant surprise, even to those who know him best, to discover that his abilities are so versatile as to enable him to invest the dryest and most hackneyed of subjects with an attractiveness that will ensure their being read not alone by the Pastor in search of the bread to break to his flock, but even by the religiously-minded in quest of stimulants to still deeper devotion. Recognising that the inspired narratives afford the most appropriate setting for the Word of God, our author has largely cast his language in the Scriptural mould. Indeed the whole fabric of these lectures, warp and woof, is Sacred Scripture. There is one of these sermons in which the author seems to have excelled himself. No doubt the subject appealed to his heart, and the theme was an inspiration. The funeral oration on Dr. Durcan (late Bishop of Achonry) places our author in the first rank of Panegyrists,

while it will enshrine the revered memory of his departed friend in a monument more enduring than stone or brass.

Four of the sermons were preached on 'special occasions.' The others are on such ordinary subjects as Scandal, the Blessed Virgin, the Passion, Detraction, &c. We know that Archdeacon O'Rorke was induced to publish this choice selection only out of deference to the urgent solicitations of many friends, and that he intends them primarily as a token of regard towards, and for the use of his parishioners, to whom they are inscribed. Yet we would predict that their sphere of usefulness will be by no means so circumscribed, and that the well-merited reputation of the author in the literary world, as well as their own intrinsic worth, will secure for them a wide circle of readers among clergy and laity.

P. M.

CARMEL IN ENGLAND. A History of the English Mission of the Discalced Carmelites, 1615 to 1849. Drawn from Documents preserved in the Archives of the Order. By Father B. Zimmerman, O.C.D. London: Burns and Oates, Ltd. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

By this volume Father Zimmerman has done for England what Father Patrick, another priest of the Order, has recently done for Ireland in his history of the rise and spread of Carmel in our own country. The origin of the Carmelites is sufficiently romantic to fire the enthusiasm of the historian. Tradition surrounds the founding of the Order with a halo of antiquity, tracing its connection with the 'Sons of the Prophet,' founded by Elias and Eliseus, and this link with pre-Christian times is still preserved in the name of the Congregation. The records, then, of the introduction and institution of the Carmelite Order in these countries ought to stimulate the interest of everyone who is alive to the reputation which its sons enjoy for their lives of self-renunciation and religious zeal, and who is acquainted with the success that attends their missionary labours, especially among the poor and lowly of Christ's flock.

Disturbed by the incursions of the Saracens, in their peaceful abode in the Holy Land, where they seem to have been cradled, the Carmelites spread into Europe, and they were afforded protection and patronage in France by Louis IX. From France

they crossed over to England, about the twelfth century, and one of their early converts in this country was the celebrated 'Simon Stock,' who has been accredited with receiving the Brown Scapular at the very hands of our Blessed Lady. Here they soon multiplied rapidly until the confiscations of Henry VIII. threatened them almost with extinction. Our author takes up the revival of the Order in England subsequent to the Reformation, and treats of the Foundation of the English Mission, its progress during the Restoration, and the trials and victories it has borne and achieved during these troublous periods. He confines himself to the Discalced Carmelites. It may be interesting to point out that there are two well-known branches of the Order. The division arose out of the exigencies and circumstances of the times. The original Rule, first written for them by John, Patriarch of Constantinople, in the fifth century, and afterwards enlarged and approved by Innocent IV., was rigorously severe. Later on, to increase the practicability of the Order, a mitigation of some of the austerities prescribed by the original Constitution was granted by Eugene IV. After a time a yearning arose for a return to the pristine rule, and St. Theresa, the glory of Carmel succeeded in bringing about a reform to stricter observances in many convents of nuns and friars. All the houses did not fall in with these reformations, and from this time forward there have been two branches--the Calced, or Friars of the Mitigation, and the Discalced, or Friars of Reform, each having its own Superior-General. P. M.

DE JUSTITIA ET JURE ET DE QUARTO DECALOGI PRAECEPTO.
Tractatus Compendiosus in Usus Scholarum Praesertim
in Britannia. Auctore Thoma Slater, e. Soc. Jesu.
Editio. Altera Multum Aucta. Londinii: Burns et Oates.

THE early demand for a new edition of Father Slater's tract bespeaks appreciation, on the part of students, of his goodly effort to supply a much-felt want. It were superfluous to commend a work whose value has been so quickly recognised. It will suffice, for the sake of those who may be as yet unacquainted with the work, to state, that the author sets forth, clearly and succinctly, the principles of the Justice treatise, together with their special determination and application as affected by English law. In the new edition a very substantial appendix of fifty

pages has been added. In it the author deals with some special contracts of frequent occurrence, and with the fourth precept of the Decalogue. The sole reason, as far as we can judge, why these questions are placed in an appendix, is their absence from the first edition. This reason will scarcely be deemed sufficient. The contents of the appendix have every claim to rank as an integral portion of the principal work, as in importance and practical utility we can by no means regard them as secondary.

The book is professedly a synopsis and supplement, and must be judged accordingly. Yet we cannot help expressing regret, that it has not been expanded to at least once and a half its present size. Failing this, we should certainly eschew a number of questions of altogether minor importance. Either course would enable the author to give a fuller treatment to the more important questions, and to extend a more generous recognition to rival opinions. As a deficiency in this latter respect we would instance the author's treatment of the questions on 'Cessio bonorum,' and the obligations arising from copyright law. The strict opinion in the former case, and the liberal one in the latter (at least if understood in regard to the rights of the publisher as distinct from those of the author), have enough to recommend them to deserve being commemorated even in a compendium.

At times we should look for greater precision of statement at the author's hands. For instance, as a proof of the necessity, for valid Prescription, of *bona fides theologica*, we find the following reason assigned: '*quando quis cognoscit se rem alienam possidere, eam restituere tenetur.*' As a statement this is a truism, but as a proof in the particular instance it is scarcely satisfactory. If the State could transfer ownership, notwithstanding the absence of *bona fides*, the object would cease to be a *res aliena*. The point to be proved is that the State has no such power.

However, in noticing these imperfections, we should be sorry to be understood as implying that they detract in any way seriously from the value of the book. We fully recognise the great utility of the work, especially in so far as it expounds and applies English law, and we are certain that, in its present amplified form, it will be found eminently worthy of a place among the books of the 'practical' order in the sacerdotal study.

W. B.

DE PAUCITATE SALVANDORUM QUID DOCUERUNT SANCTI?
Auctore F. X. Godts, C.SS.R. Rollarii Flandrorum :
Julius De Meester.

SEIGNEUR, Y EN AURA-T-IL PEU DE SAUVÉS? (Luc. XIII.
23.) Par le P. J. Coppin, C.SS.R. Bruxelles : Société
de St. Charles Borromée.

THESE two works have been written as a refutation of the teaching of R. P. Castelen, S.J., put forth in his work 'Le Rigorisme et La Question du Nombre des élus.' The learned Jesuit teaches that by far the greater number of the human race will be saved. The purpose of the two books before us is to show that the greater number will be lost. This is an age of controversy. French authors have been specially active in Catholic circles. All those authors whose ordinary language is French we may designate by the title of French authors. In all their writings, there is a clearness of idea and language which distinguishes them from their German neighbours, and frequently from their English fellow-workers in the name of truth. The two works which lie before us are conspicuous for this clearness of conception and expression.

Both works, though a refutation of the same teaching, set about their task in different ways. The work of Father Godts establishes his teaching principally from a positive point of view. He shows that the almost universal opinion of the saintly and learned theologians of the Catholic Church is that the number of the saved is less than the number of the lost. He gives the doctrine of these men in their own words with their reasons. This collection is of great interest. It shows clearly what the mind of the Church is, as made manifest in its doctors. The work of Father Coppin, on the other hand, faces the question from a negative point of view. He takes up, page by page, the book of Father Castelen as it first appeared in the *Revue Générale*. He shows the weakness of its arguments, and in doing so proves the truth of his own doctrine.

We have great sympathy with both writers in their condemnation of the expressions which Father Castelen employs in reference to the followers of the opposing view and their doctrine. 'Ce vieux legs du Jansenisme;' 'Un rigorisme qui repand des idées étroites et de troublants préjugés;' 'Discours rigoristes, pessimistes, intolérants, désespérants;' are a sample of the

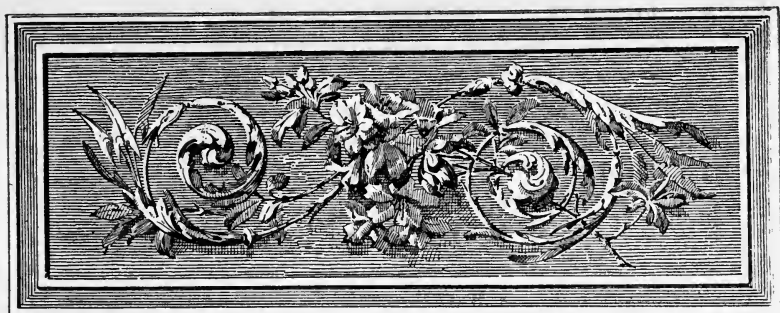
expressions which that author uses. We can see how unsuitable this style is when we remember that the doctrine which is thus contemptuously rejected is the teaching of St. Thomas, St. Alphonsus Liguori, St. Bernard, St. Augustine, and practically all theologians who have written on the subject. On the other hand, we do not think it wise on the part of the learned Redemptorists, whose books we are reviewing, to urge their doctrine so far as to make it seem that at present the teaching of their opponent deserves some ecclesiastical censure. Constituted authority will, doubtless, in its own good time, give a decision; but till that decision be given it is better to abstain from the use of expressions which cannot fail to give offence to good Catholics.

J. M. H.

TWENTY-TWO OFFERTORIES FOR THE PRINCIPAL FEASTS OF THE YEAR, for Soprano, Alto, and Bass *ad lib.*, with Organ accompaniment, composed by Ludwig Ebner, Op. 52. Ratisbon: J. Georg Boessenecker.

THIS collection ought to prove most useful to a great many choirs. The combination of parts, Soprano, Alto, and Bass is one, we imagine, that will suit in a great many places, where male voices are scarce. Moreover, the Bass part being *ad libitum*, the choir will not be put out, even if the gentlemen singers do not turn up. The pieces are easy and short, and at the same time artistic and effective.

H. B



THE CONVERSION OF GREAT BRITAIN TO THE CATHOLIC FAITH

IT is through a sense of duty to the Sovereign Pontiff and to Holy Mother Church that I venture to trespass on the valuable space of the I. E. RECORD, and solicit in the name of the Superior and Society of St. Sulpice the kind attention of its readers. More than two years ago it pleased our Holy Father Pope Leo XIII. to entrust us with a mission to the whole Catholic world, 'ad complexum universi orbis Catholici,' and, more recently, to remind us of the great importance he attaches to our fidelity in discharging this mission. The object and character of the undertaking are indicated in the very title of the present article, and all I beg leave to do is to explain more fully the purpose of the Archconfraternity of Our Lady of Compassion, by referring to documents and facts connected with the first origin and progress of the work.

On August 22, 1897, the Holy Father directed to the Very Rev. A. Captier, Superior-General of the Society of St. Sulpice, his apostolic letter, *Compertum est*, through which an archconfraternity of prayers and good works for the conversion of England to the Catholic faith is established, having its headquarters 'in Ædibus Sulpitianis.' The latter words here designate the Seminary of St. Sulpice, the residence of the Superior-General (henceforth President

of the Archconfraternity), and also the adjoining Church of St. Sulpice. It is in this church that the meeting of the Archconfraternity takes place on solemn occasions, and regularly once a month the whole seminary, superiors, professors, and students, join in the devotions with the clergy and faithful of the parish.

In the course of his letter, Leo XIII. repeatedly recalls his own constant and strenuous efforts to bring together once more all the Christian nations that have been so sadly torn away from the centre of Catholic unity. He also bears testimony to the ardent zeal of the founder of St. Sulpice for the conversion of England, and finally declares that he has set his heart upon promoting the good work by a new crusade of prayers; that he has resolved to have it spread throughout the Catholic world by the care and instrumentality of the venerable Olier's sons, by the zeal likewise of so many priests of divers tongues and nations who go forth year after year from the seminaries conducted by the Society.

Britanniam scilicet vota Nostra petunt, conjuncta cum votis tot hominum sanctitate, doctrina, dignitate præstantium, in quibus maximi fuit Paulus a Cruce, tum pater legifer Olerius, Ignatius Spenser et Wiseman cardinalis. . . . Nunc vero aliquid coeptis addere cupientes quo latior fiat ac validior quasi precum conspiratio. piam Societatem constituimus instar Archisodalitatis, cui propositum sit assiduis maxime precibus Britanniae conjunctionem cum Romana Ecclesia maturare.

Ædes autem elegimus S. Sulpitii ubi Societas hujusmodi constitueretur, tum quia Gallia, utpote Britanniae citima, facilius potest cum ipsa quae opportuna sunt atque idonea communicare; tum quia Sulpitianae Congregationis auctor Olerius. Angliae cum Romana Ecclesia reconciliandae ingenti studio, suos inter alumnos flagravat; tum denique quod eadem Congregatio S. Sulpitii quum ad omnes fere orbis partes proferatur, potest ubique gentium alias istius modi sodalitates instituere. *Nostra enim interest maximi, quemadmodum res ipsa suadet piam istam societatem longe lateque propagari, ideoque hortamur omnes vehementer quotquot sunt, non in Gallia modo sed ubique terrarum, catholici de religionis causa solliciti ut sua eidem societati nomina dare velint.*

It is needless for us to comment upon the words of the Holy Father, to insist upon the pressing character of his

desire. After commending so highly the new sodality, His Holiness proceeds to establish it formally, briefly describing its organization, patrons, and privileges. As a supplement to the latter part of the Papal letter, the *Statutes* of the Archconfraternity are added under the signature of the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars.

The nature of the new sodality may be gathered from either document, and may be summed up in the following few points:—It is an association of prayers and good works, having for its sole end the conversion of Great Britain to the Catholic faith. It is placed under the heavenly patronage of the Blessed Virgin, under her title of Our Lady of Compassion, likewise of St. Joseph, St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and St. Austin, the Apostle of England.¹ A plenary indulgence is granted available to associates on the feast day of all the above-named saints, and on certain other occasions.² All such indulgences may be gained, on the ordinary conditions, by all active members of the Archconfraternity, viz., by all persons who (1) have been duly inscribed, and who (2) offer up every day some special prayers (at least one Hail Mary) for the conversion of Great Britain to the faith. Those who wish to answer the fervent call of the Sovereign Pontiff, and become members of the pious association, have two means of doing so. They may either send their names directly to the President or Director of the Archconfraternity in Paris, or else give them to the Director of any other of the local sodalities to be erected all over the world for the same object, and then affiliated to the Central Association in Paris. Pastors, chaplains of colleges, convents, and religious communities, desirous of erecting a sodality in their church or chapel have to apply to the diocesan authority, viz., to the bishop

¹ To this list of patrons the name of St. Gregory the Great was most appropriately added at the special request of Cardinal Perraud.

² (1) On the day of enrolment in the Archconfraternity; (2) at the moment of death; (3) for attending the monthly meeting. An indulgence of fifty days once a day for the associates who devoutly recite the Ave Maria for the conversion of Great Britain.

himself, or to the vicar-general when he has received a *special delegation* for that end.¹

A recommendation from the bishop is required by canonical regulations when application is made to the Superior of St. Sulpice for affiliation of the sodality already erected to the Central Association in Paris.² Such association is necessary for members of local sodalities to share in the spiritual privileges granted to the archconfraternity. Further information on practical points connected with the foundation or management of sodalities will be cheerfully furnished on application to the headquarters of the work.

The solemn inauguration of the archconfraternity took place in the church of St. Sulpice, on October 17, 1897, attended by a large number of Catholic laymen and clergy from England, many of whom had come over for that special occasion. English and Irish representatives of the Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, Servites, Jesuits, Vincentians, Passionists, Oratorians, and other orders;

¹ The following form for the erection of a confraternity has been printed for the use of a large diocese, and may, perhaps, be of service elsewhere:—

N. (*Nomen Episcopi*.)

Dei and Apostolicæ Sedis Gratia Episcopus N (*Nomen Sedis*).

Quum a Nobis rogatum sit ut Confraternitas B. V. Mariæ perdolentis (*de Compassione* pro conversione Britanniae in Ecclesia (*iiii. Titularis et Loci*) erigatur; Nos Confraternitatem prædictam per has præsentem erigimus ac R. D. Ecclesiæ Rectorem pro tempore existentem (*vel alium sacerdotem*) ejusdem præsidem constituimus. Mandamus autem ut pro dicta Confraternitate statim petatur aggregatio ad Archconfraternitatem ejusdem nominis primariam à SS. D. N. Leone PP. XIII. in Ecclesia Si Sulpitii. Parisiis erectam.

Datum (*Nomen loci*) die

² The following specimen of a form for application may, perhaps, be found useful:—

Rmo. Superiori Cong. S. Sulpitii

Rector infrascriptus Ecclesiæ . . . Præsides Confraternitatis B. V. Mariæ Perdolentis pro conversione Britanniae ab Illm. et Rmo. Dno. (N. Episcopi) ibidem canonicè institutæ humiliter postulât ut pro dicta Confraternitate concedatur aggregatio ad Archconfraternitatem ejusdem nominis primariam a SS. D. N. Leoni PP. XIII., Parisiis in Ecclesia S. Sulpitii erectam . . . die . . . N. Rector Ecclæ. Confraternitatis Præsides.

Vidimus et approbamus tum Confraternitatem ipsam
tum præsentem petitionem

.....die.....

N.....Epus. N.....

secular priests, canons, prelates, heads of colleges, members of the English hierarchy, all mingled with the priests, students, and faithful of St. Sulpice, in the impressive ceremonies of this memorable day. Before this imposing audience a most eloquent sermon was preached by the French Dominican, Father Feuillette ; and when, after the celebration, the two Cardinals of Paris and Westminster, who had alternately presided over the functions of the day, returned to the seminary, preceded by the long procession of the secular and regular clergy, they were greeted by the enthusiastic cheers and applause of a large crowd of bystanders ; a touching evidence of the ascendancy which the Catholic feeling retains over the soul of the French people, and of the power of the same feeling to reconcile differences upon other points of minor importance.

Since then thousands of names have been entered in the register of the head confraternity, and hundreds of sodalities already erected in various parts of the Catholic world have applied for affiliation. The number of affiliated sodalities amounts, at the present date, to very nearly five hundred and thirty, scattered over France and England, over Belgium, Italy, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, fully reckoning an aggregate number of myriads of associates.

To Ireland, however, the work has not yet been sufficiently presented, though very kind encouragement has been received from eminent members of the Catholic hierarchy. We should not answer the expectation of our revered and beloved Pontiff Leo XIII. were we to delay any longer in inviting our brethren of the Irish clergy to join in the holy work, particularly such of them as minister to communities in which reigns a spirit of greater piety and zeal—clerical colleges, convents, monasteries, &c. ; there, indeed, fervent souls are already united by manifold ties of common prayer and universal charity ; there, above all, the voice of our Holy Father is wont to receive a prompt and willing response. Prayers offered up in Ireland for the conversion of England will rise to the throne of God, enriched with a

sweet and singular fragrance of noble generosity which cannot fail to please and touch the Sacred Heart of the Saviour. These generous prayers will prove a powerful co-operation in the work of so many Irish priests who, in all English speaking countries, are slowly gathering, day by day, into the one true fold the souls of converts, sweetly winning back by word and example the hearts of our separated brethren to the faith of their forefathers.

Were England to become once more a Catholic country, what a wonderful increase of power would accrue the world over to our Holy Mother Church, and what prayer could be more effective for the conversion of England than the prayer of Ireland!

P. DE FOVILLE, P.S.S.

DERRY-CALGACH

IT is at all times an interesting study to trace the derivation and origin of names, but frequently it is a task of no ordinary difficulty when one has but the faint light of tradition to guide his steps. In such cases conjecture must often take the place of proof, and fragmentary scraps of history must be pieced together to make out a consecutive narrative. The ancient name of Derry is no exception to the rule. That the place was known from time immemorial as Doire-Calgach down to the close of the tenth century, all our writers testify; that this Calgach, who gave his name to the place, must have been a distinguished warrior, all are agreed in saying; but of his history or military career there is no authentic Irish record. Our annals had not as yet begun to be written, and the heroes of that prehistoric age were doomed to go down to their graves without having their names emblazoned in story. In some instances, however, mute memorials have perpetuated the names of notable warriors in the pillar-stones or cairns erected to their memory; or, as in the

present instance, by giving to a place the name of him who was the hero of the age.

The original Pagan appellation of this place [says the Ordnance Memoir of Templemore] was Doire Calgaic, or Derry-Calgach—‘the oak-wood of Calgach,’—Calgach, which signifies ‘a fierce warrior,’ being the proper name of a man in Pagan times, and rendered illustrious as Galgacus in the pages of Tacitus. In support of this etymology may be adduced the high authority of Adamnan, abbot of Iona, in the seventh century, who, in his life of his predecessor, St. Columbkille, invariably calls this place ‘Roboretum Calgagi,’ in conformity with his habitual substitution of Latin equivalents for Irish topographical names. For a long period subsequent to the sixth century, in which a monastery was erected here by St. Columbkille, the name of Derry-Calgach prevailed; but towards the latter end of the tenth century it seems to have yielded to that of Derry-Columbkille, no other appearing in the Irish annals after that period.

Similar to this is the statement of Dr. Reeves, in a note p. 160 of his *Adamnan*:—

Daire-Chalgaich—the name is Latinized Roboretum Calgachi. Calgach, the Galgacus of Tacitus (*Agric.* c. 29), is a name occasionally found in the *Annals* (*Four Masters*, 593; and in composition, *ibid.* 622). It is derived from Calg, ‘a sword,’ or ‘thorn;’ and as an adjective denotes ‘sharp’ or ‘angry. Hence Calgach, gen. Calgaich, became a proper name in the sense of ‘fierce warrior.’

Such are the statements about the ancient name of Derry; but little seems to be known of the hero from whom the city derived that appellation. He was evidently a man of no ordinary mould, a general whose warlike achievements and military prowess were not only admired in his own day, but

Which on the granite walls of Time
Cut deep a deathless name.

Unfortunately, however, he lived too early to have his name transmitted to us by an Irish scribe, and we are consequently obliged to turn to the pages of Tacitus for whatever is known of this clever commander; but even here the references are only fragmentary.

Calgach is a distinctly Irish name, for neither in English

nor in Scotch history does such a name occur. He whose name is associated with Derry must have been a prince as well as a warrior, for otherwise he could not have collected and commanded as he did the forces which he sent across the Channel to aid the Caledonians in their wars against the Romans. But it may at the outset be asked what could have induced an Irish king to join the Scotch confederation, or what interest could he have had in fighting against the Romans? It appears to us that the answer to this question greatly assists us in settling the nationality of Calgach, and of identifying him with Derry.

From prehistoric times there had been a continued emigration from the north of Ireland into that part of Scotland subsequently known as Dalriada, and largely corresponding with the present Argyleshire and its borders. The Irish king claimed dominion over this colony, and ranked it as part of his territory. We know how in after times, when it had grown powerful, this colony determined to throw off the Irish yoke, and in this movement for Home Rule had no less powerful an advocate at the Convention of Dromceat than the eloquent and patriotic St. Columbkille. The native Picts had at first endeavoured on many occasions to expel these settlers, but finding their efforts fruitless had to permit them to remain in possession of the territory. At the period now under consideration there existed, as O'Halloran tells us,¹ a strong alliance between the Britons, Picts, and Irish against the Romans. The Irish monarch was Fiachadh, son of the great Fearaidhach. This king, well knowing the designs of Agricola upon Ireland, wisely resolved to fight him abroad rather than at home.

The successes of Agricola [says O'Halloran], far from intimidating, rather added a new stimulus to the counsels of Fiachadh. Fresh forces are poured into North Britain; led on by Cormac, called Gealta-Goath, and grandfather to Cathoir-more, whom Tacitus calls Galgacus; and to his standard are all the disaffected in Britain invited.

¹ *History of Ireland*, vol. i., ch. 5.

From this it appears certain that Galgacus was of the blood-royal, and was completely in command of the Irish forces. In joining the Caledonian confederation he was merely defending the property of the Irish monarch and the lives of his subjects, and warding off at the same time an invasion by the Romans. Agricola well knew the importance of gaining possession of Ireland on account of its splendid harbours, and vast resources; he knew besides the military power of the island and the aid it was giving to the Caledonians, and he felt that by subjugating it he would at the same time crush the persistent and successful opposition of Scotland. Circumstances seemed to favour the plans he was maturing, for an Irish petty king, who had got into trouble at home, fled to Agricola, by whom he was hospitably received, and kept to be afterwards turned to account. Tacitus thus relates the circumstances :—

In the fifth summer Agricola made an expedition by sea. He embarked in the first Roman vessel that ever crossed the estuary, and having penetrated into regions till then unknown, he defeated the inhabitants in several engagements, and lined the coast, which lies opposite to Ireland, with a body of troops; not so much from any apprehension of danger, as with a view to future projects. He saw that Ireland, lying between Britain and Spain, and at the same time convenient to the ports of Gaul, might prove a valuable acquisition, capable of giving an easy communication, and, of course, strength and union, to provinces disjointed by nature.

Ireland is less than Britain, but exceeds in magnitude all the islands of the Mediterranean. The soil, the climate, the manner and genius of the inhabitants, differ little from those of Britain. By the means of merchants resorting thither for the sake of commerce, the harbours and approaches to the coast are well known. One of their petty kings who had been forced to fly from the fury of a domestic faction, was received by the Roman general, and, under a show of friendship, detained to be of use on some future occasions. I have often heard Agricola declare that a single legion, with a moderate band of auxiliaries, would be sufficient to complete the conquest of Ireland. Such an event, he said, would contribute greatly to bridle the stubborn spirit of the Britons, who, in that case, would see, with dismay, the Roman arms triumphant, and every spark of liberty extinguished round their coast.¹

¹ *Life of Agricola*, ch. xxiv.

From this chapter we see the importance Agricola attached to the conquest of Ireland. We see, moreover, how much he dreaded attacks from that quarter, for when he sent his fleet (if it can be so called) to circumnavigate Scotland, or at least to explore part of its coast, he is careful to line that part of the coast opposite Ireland with a body of troops. Why? 'Not so much,' says Tacitus, 'from an apprehension of danger, as with a view to future projects.' Of course; Agricola feared no danger. But that troublesome Calgach had an inconvenient habit of bringing over his Irish auxiliaries to annoy the poor Romans, and it was no harm to have an army ready to receive him. Another fact—a painful one to us, no doubt—is learned from this chapter, viz., how early in her history Ireland was betrayed by her own sons. Here is a petty king, anticipating the treachery of Dermot McMurrough, prepared to sell his country to the Romans, and to guide them in the invasion of his native land.

Before proceeding further in this sketch it is well to inquire what weight is to be attached to the statements of Tacitus when describing the military achievements of Agricola. Agricola was his father-in-law, and his object was to glorify that father-in-law by all means in his power. The account was written for the Roman people, who were ready to swallow any statement that magnified their glory, or ministered to their vanity. Rome was far distant from Britain, and there was no means of contradicting the statements of Tacitus. He describes, therefore, with the greatest apparent minuteness, various engagements of Agricola in places never heard of since or before, and with people of whose existence no trace can be found. The Roman general gains countless victories, and slays thousands of his enemies; but, somehow, he seems to reap no advantage from his victories, and his enemies appear none the worse for the slaughter. He is always on the point of performing some great achievement, but storms come on, or bogs and marshes intervene, and *only* for these the Caledonians would have been exterminated to a man. It seems to have been the weakness of all the Roman invaders

of Britain to boast of how completely they had subjugated it, whilst in reality they had often run away. Cæsar boasted that he had completely conquered that country, but Tacitus says:—

Even Julius Cæsar, the first of the Romans that set his foot in Britain, at the head of an army, can only be said by a prosperous battle to have struck the natives with terror, and to have made himself master of the seashore. The discoverer, not the conqueror of the island, he did no more than show it to posterity.¹

How, then, are we to believe Tacitus himself when he tells us: 'The fact is, Britain was subdued under the conduct of Agricola?'² This fact of the untrustworthiness of Tacitus when recording the exploits of Agricola is to be carefully borne in mind when reading over the account of his encounter with Calgach and his forces at the foot of the Grampians. That under the name of a great victory over the Caledonians, Tacitus tries to cover what was rather a defeat to Agricola, is pretty clear to anyone who reads even *his* narrative of the event. Again and again in the preceding portion of his story the Caledonians are represented as beaten, completely routed, and slain. Now, in the contest at the foot of the Grampians we see Galgacus at the head of thirty thousand men confronting the Romans, and with numbers daily flocking to his standard. This is not at all a bad muster for men that had been routed and slain so often already.

After describing the opening of the campaign, Tacitus depicts in glowing language the enthusiasm of the Caledonians—how the various clans leagued together to defend their country, and drive back the invaders.

Undismayed by their former defeat [says he], the barbarians expected no other issue than a total overthrow, or a brave revenge. Experience had taught them that the common cause required a vigorous exertion of their united strength. For this purpose, by treaties of alliance, and by deputations to the several cantons, they had drawn together the strength of their nation. Upwards of thirty thousand men appeared in arms, and their force was increasing every day. The youth of the country poured in from

¹ *Agricola*, ch. xiii.

² *Ibid.*, ch. x.

all quarters, and even the men in years, whose vigour was still unbroken, repaired to the army, proud of their past exploits, and the ensigns of honour which they had gained by their martial spirit. Among the chieftains, distinguished by their birth and valour, the most renowned was Galgacus. The multitude gathered round him, eager for action, and burning with uncommon ardour.

Galgacus before the battle addressed his soldiers in a speech recorded by Tacitus, and whether he delivered this speech in the words attributed to him, or that Tacitus, having heard the substance of what was said, clothed it in that beautiful language of which he was such a master, certain it is that it stands unrivalled in the annals of military oratory. He dwelt on the motives that impelled them to engage in this war, motives than which none more noble could fire the breasts of men. They were fighting for home and liberty, fighting against the imposition of a foreign yoke and against the galling bondage of slavery. They had ever been freemen—were they now to become the slaves of the Roman Empire, that empire whose history was written in the blood of its victims and in the ruin and degradation of every land it had subdued. If vanquished, what, said he, have we to expect but the merciless lash of the conqueror—our country devastated, our wives the victims of a brutal soldiery, our children sold like dumb cattle in the slave-market, and this ancient stronghold of liberty converted into an appanage for the hirelings of tyrant Rome. He thus concluded :—

In the ensuing battle be not deceived by false appearances ; the glitter of gold and silver may dazzle the eye ; but to us it is harmless, to the Romans no protection. In their own ranks we shall find a number of generous warriors ready to assist our cause. The Britons know that for our common liberties we draw the avenging sword. The Gauls will remember that they once were a free people ; and the Germans, as the Usipians lately did, will desert their colours. The Romans have left nothing in their rear to oppose us in the pursuit ; their forts are ungarrisoned ; the veterans in their colonies droop with age ; in their municipal towns, nothing but anarchy, despotic government and disaffected subjects. In me behold your general, behold an army of freeborn men. Your enemy is before you, and, in his train, heavy tributes, drudgery in the mines, and all the horrors

of slavery. Are those calamities to be entailed upon us? Or shall this day relieve us by a brave revenge? There is the field of battle, and let that determine. Let us seek the enemy, and, as we rush upon him, remember the glory delivered to us by our ancestors; and let each man think that upon his sword depends the fate of all posterity.

This speech [says Tacitus] was received, according to the custom of Barbarians, with war songs, with savage howlings, and a wild uproar of military applause. The battalions began to form a line of battle; the brave and warlike rushed forward to the front, and the field glittered with the blaze of arms.

In his admirable translation of the Roman historian, Arthur Murphy speaks thus of the oration of the Caledonian general:—

Neither the Greek nor Roman page has anything to compare with it. The critics have admired the speech of Porus to Alexander; but, excellent as it is, it shrinks and fades away, before the Caledonian orator. Even the speech of Agricola which follows immediately after it, is tame and feeble, when opposed to the ardour, the impetuosity, and the vehemence of the British chief. We see Tacitus exerting all his art to decorate the character of his father-in-law: but he had neither the same vein of sentiment, nor the same generous love of liberty, to support the cause of an ambitious conqueror. In the harangue of Galgacus, the pleasure of the reader springs from two principles: he admires the enthusiasm of the brave Caledonian, and at the same time applauds the noble historian, who draws up a charge against the tyranny of his own countrymen, and generously lists on the side of liberty.

Tacitus then proceeds to give an account of the engagement, and for brilliancy and vividness of description nothing could excel the picture he presents. The varying fortunes of the battlefield; the alternate victory and defeat of Roman and Caledonian; the courage, born of despair, which rallies again and again the routed forces of the north, are depicted in so real a manner, that one fancies as he reads that he is standing at the foot of the Grampians, witnessing the prowess of Galgacus, and the military tactics of Agricola. Of course, Tacitus, as usual, gives the victory to his father-in-law, represents the number of slain on the Caledonian side as ten thousand, whilst only a few hundreds

of the Romans fell; but it is rather remarkable that, notwithstanding this signal victory, Agricola, instead of following it up, withdrew to winter quarters, and shortly afterwards withdrew altogether from Britain. Another remarkable fact is, that in the plain where Agricola had his forces marshalled for the battle, there is a fort, which to the present day is called Galdachan, or Galgachan Ross-Moor; 'not that Galgacus constructed the camp,' says Gordon,¹ but here he engaged Agricola's army; for which reason his name is left on the place.' We are rather inclined to think that Galgach took and held the camp, just as his name holds it up to the present.

Such is the man whose name has been linked with that of Derry in the past. That the man who impressed his name on this place must have been a remarkable man, a man of note above his fellowmen, is evident; but no such man is known to history or tradition, except Calgach who figures in the pages of Tacitus. That he was a prince or king of the north of Ireland, and as such king also of the Irish colony in Scotland, is pretty clear; and this would explain the part he took against the Romans. That Derry was his great military fort, where he massed and drilled his forces for sending to Scotland, is most probable, for from time immemorial the island of Derry was used as a military station. The kings of Aileach so employed it, and we know that Æd, the son of Ainmire, had his great military camp here at the time St. Columbkille came to seek a site for his intended monastery. That it continued to be used as a military station in after ages, we learn from the annalists. Thus, under the year 832, they record that 'Niall Caille and Murchadh defeated the foreigners, *i.e.*, the Norwegians and Danes at Derry-Calgach, with great slaughter.' Its natural position was well suited for this purpose, as well as for sending out auxiliaries to the Caledonians.

The Scotch annalists, however, lay claim to Calgach as a countryman of their own, and few can blame them for so doing, for he was a man of whom any country might well be

¹ *Itinerary*. pp. 39, 40.

proud. Thus in Gordon's *Itinerary*, as quoted by Murphy in his notes to Tacitus, we are told:—

In the chronicles of the kings of Scotland, Galgacus is called Galdas ; of which name and its etymology, Gordon gives the following account :—Galgacus was latinized by the Romans from two Highland appellations, viz., *Gald* and *Cachach* ; the first *Gald*, being the proper name, and the second an adjective to it, from the battles he had fought, it signifies the same as *praeliosus*, 'Gald, the fighter of battles :' which kind of nickname is still in use among the Highlanders. Thus the late Viscount Dundee was, by the Highlanders that followed him, called John-Du-Nan-Cach, 'Black-haired John, who fights the battles,' and in like manner John Duke of Argyle, was known among the Highlanders by the name of John Roy-Nan-Cach, 'Red-haired John, who fights the battles.'¹

This derivation, however, is too far-fetched, and is put forward merely as a specious argument in favour of the Scotch theory. The derivation from the Irish of the name Calgach is much more natural, and an argument in its favour is the fact of the name of the hero having been given to Derry in pre-historic times, and continued so late as the close of the tenth century. There is one fact which tells against the Scotch theory more than any other, and it is that 'the original records of Scotland were wholly destroyed by Edward I. of England, when he overran that country in the year 1300, for the purpose, if possible, of obliterating by their destruction the nationality of the people ; but before the close of the same century a new account of the history of Scotland was given to the world ; a long series of Scottish kings, who never had any existence, being coined to fill up the interval of some hundred years before the time of Fergus, the son of Erc.'² We fear that the *Galdas* of Gordon must be relegated to this list of manufactured potentates.

The foregoing are all the fragments we have been able to gather about this remarkable man. They are meagre, it is true ; for the want of historical records at that period renders the history of Ireland for centuries rather vague and

¹ Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 40.

² Haverty's *History of Ireland*, ch. ix.

uncertain ; but the fact remains, that our writers, taking up the early traditions of the time, identify Calcagh as the hero of Tacitus, and link his name inseparably with the green island in the Foyle. Derry can boast of many glories in the past ; but not the least of these is, that from her wooded heights went forth the warrior who spread dismay among the Roman battalions, and whose dauntless courage and burning eloquence have furnished Tacitus with materials for the most brilliant and glowing passages in his history of Agricola.

✠ JOHN K. O'DOHERTY.

FATHER MARQUETTE, S.J., DISCOVERER OF THE MISSISSIPPI

JACQUES MARQUETTE was born in 1637, in the old French town of Laon. He belonged to a family which, as far back as the fourteenth century had already achieved considerable distinction. The brilliant talents which won for so many members of the Marquette family high honour both in the military and civic annals of their country, were inherited in the highest degree by the subject of this sketch. But he was destined to win renown in a new and very different arena. Young Marquette was to be one of the bravest and most devoted warriors of the Immaculate Mother of God ; a bold and successful pioneer in the fields of spiritual conquests, and one of the most beloved teachers of the 'Red Man.' Like so many great and good men, the future apostle had the happiness of having a truly Christian mother, under whose tender care he daily unfolded the blossoms of youthful virtue. It was she who instilled into his innocent heart that deep and ardent love of our Blessed Lady for which he was ever so remarkable. In his seventeenth year, Jacques entered the Society of Jesus, and after twelve years of study and probation was ordained priest. He at once volunteered

for the foreign missions, begging to be sent among the heathens. Before his request could be granted, he had to be transferred from the province of Champagne to the province of France. The transfer accomplished, he was at once appointed to the Canadian Indian mission.

On the 20th September, 1666, Père Marquette landed at Quebec. He was then in the very bloom of early manhood, full of life and vigour, glowing with apostolic zeal and ardour, and resolved—aye, perhaps, already bound by vow—never to leave this mission, the thorny ways of which led to the gates of martyrdom, unless at the call of obedience, 'which is better than sacrifice.' Under no circumstances has the missionary a bed of roses; but, in some favoured spots of the earth, his life may be rendered more endurable. A mild climate, nature in her fairest aspect, and the good dispositions of the natives in many instances, lighten his toil, and afford him some little consolation, although, even then the arch-enemy does not let his prey be snatched from him without severe fighting and weary wrestling. But, under the cold sky, in the gloomy forests, on the stormy lakes and snowy plains of north-west Canada, whither our good missionary first bent his steps, the struggle was indeed a hard one. A barbarous people, firmly bound in the devil's slavery, ever ready for deeds of violence; blindly proud; fiercely opposed to Christian practices; fickle as the wind: such were Father Marquette's first pupils. Every earthly comfort and consolation were wanting to the messenger of faith. He had not even the prospect of speedy and lasting results to buoy him up in his trials. Still, without some support, the strongest soul would faint and grow weary. Like all his brethren on the Indian mission of that time, Père Marquette was sustained by the blessed consciousness that he was drinking of the chalice of his thorn-crowned Master; that he must share His poverty and desolation; and like Him, be mocked and hated. What mattered any suffering or privation to the ardent young apostle, if he could in the end succeed in snatching a few, nay, even one soul from among the thousands who were wandering

in the night of separation from God. The baptism of a dying infant richly rewarded this faithful loving soul for months of weary wanderings, full of privation and fatigue.

Three weeks after landing in Quebec, Father Marquette set out for the Jesuit residence at Three Rivers, where, under the saintly Père Druillettes, he was to begin the study of the various dialects spoken by the Algonquins. A knowledge of these dialects would be indispensable for the Ottawa mission on the Upper Lake, for which he was destined. Having acquired the needful knowledge to which he added some proficiency in the rudiments of the Huron tongue, the following year (1668) he set out for the Upper Lake, accompanied by a lay-brother. At that time this was a difficult and dangerous journey. A brigade of Indian canoes laden with furs arrived yearly from the Upper Lakes, Michigan and Superior, and our travellers availed themselves of the return of this brigade to reach their destination. In fact, this was the only means by which the journey could be accomplished. The route lay through the Ottawa River into Lake Nipissing, thence through the St. Francis River (now French River) into Lake Huron.

The voyage proved an excellent apprenticeship for his subsequent missionary life. Usually, it was with the greatest reluctance that the Indians gave a passage in their trail bark canoes to strange teachers who condemned their gods and their vices. Vainly the patient son of St. Ignatius handled the rudder with the unwearied strength of an enthusiastic beginner, or waded in the water, as he helped to push the boat against the stream. Without a murmur he carried not only his own pack, but also whatever load the savage Indians chose to add, over the numerous portages, often miles long, from river to river, from lake to lake, past waterfalls, sinking in marshy ground, stumbling over rocks and fallen trees. Often, too, did he suffer the pangs of hunger, by no means a rare occurrence on a journey where they relied entirely for food on occasional hunting or fishing. Many a time did he divide the last of

his scanty stock of provisions, regardless of his own want, among the sick ones, whom he nursed with angelic patience, even singing hymns to amuse them, hour after hour. But his humility, his gentleness, his unwearied labour and self-sacrifice were in vain. The savage sons of the forest regarded all he did as their right. The defenceless stranger with the hateful hairy face, was at every opportunity the butt for mockery, and sometimes even received bodily ill-usage. He might be thankful that they did not set him ashore, and leave him to his fate in the pathless woods. Such had happened to earlier missionaries, in particular to the first apostle of the Chippewayans, Father Menard, when he made this journey. But the fiercely savage mood of the Indians had been somewhat tamed since that time by a closer acquaintance with some of the fathers, and most of all by the knowledge that the actual ill-treatment of the 'Black Robes' would not pass unpunished by the French in Canada. All the same, sufferings of all kinds were not wanting to our father on the long weary journey from the St. Laurence to the Falls of St. Mary's River. The deep humility, which was such a strongly-marked feature of his character, did not permit him to mention a word of these sufferings in his first reports written to his superiors. It was only two years later that, acting under holy obedience, he wrote a detailed account of his work during his two years' residence on the Upper Lake.

Sault St. Marie, is the name given to the Falls or Rapids formed by the mighty volume of water which rushes from the Upper Lake into Lake Huron, a few miles east of the lake known then by Sweet-Water Lake, at this point, sparkling and foaming like the Nile Cataract at Philae, the crystal flood, a mile in breadth, rolls over the enormous masses of rock which fill the bed of the river for about a mile. Here, where no vessel of the white man dares to venture, the light skiffs of the Indians stem the rushing, but shallow waters, and make war on their finny inhabitants, the dainty white fish and the huge lake trout.

Not less than two thousand Chippewayans and other Indians were assembled at this spot, when, in 1642, the first missionaries, Father Charles Rambaut and Father Isaac Jacques, lingered for a few days on the banks of the St. Marie River. Fear of the terrible Iroquois drove these Indians, ten years later, to the remotest creeks of the Upper Lake. In 1660, when Father Menard and Father Allouez wandered about Sault St. Marie, they found it utterly forsaken.

In Father Marquette's time the partial peace which existed between the French and their allies, the Algonquin tribes on the one side, and the Iroquois on the other, had enticed some of the fugitives back to the old camping ground. The Rawitigowiniway (men of the river turned into foam) once more made Sault St. Marie their home, while other Algonquin bands halted there as guests. The rich harvest, yielded by the teeming waters, afforded food for all. The Indians of Sault St. Marie proved less averse than others to the teachings of the Gospel. Father Marquette who built a hut and lived amongst them in the summer of 1669, declared of them:—"The harvest is rich, and it depends on the missionary alone to baptize all—two thousand in number—who dwelt there." But Father Marquette was destined by Providence to be the pioneer of the Gospel in fresh and distant fields. An older missionary, Father Dablon, recently appointed superior of all the Upper Algonquin missions, elected to live at Sault St. Marie, and undertook the cultivation of the newly-sown field which under his, and more particularly under his successors, Pères Nowel and Druillettes, blossomed forth and bore rich fruit.

Our young missionary was sent four hundred miles further away to Chagoimegom (Schagawanikong), where the waves break over the long sand banks, called by the Jesuits La Pointe due Saint Esprit, in these latter days abbreviated to Pointe. His route lay along the southern shore of the lake and past the Bay, where now the picturesque town (the see of a bishop), named after our holy missionary, year after year stretches further over the fir-crowned sand-hills.

Had the humble priest, when he camped somewhere along the shore for his frugal meal and nightly rest, any prophetic instinct of the future? We know not. But certain we are, that if a prophet voice had whispered to him, 'Here one day will thy name be honoured,' the humble priest would answer, 'Oh, rather may it be entered in the book of life!'

After a canoe journey of four hundred miles, which in favourable weather was usually accomplished in fourteen days, but often took much longer, Father Marquette arrived at La Pointe, on 13th September, 1669. His predecessor and founder of the mission, Father Claudius Allouez, had worked here for four long years with burning zeal. No fewer than eight different Indian tribes, some of them settlers, some only visitors at La Pointe, had received the Word of God from the mouth of the Gospel messenger who spoke in divers tongues.

Hurons, Chippawayans, different bands of the Ottawa tribes, &c., were acquainted with the principle of the Christian religion, and some at least out of these tribes had learned to bend the knee before Him who has made all things. Many children and a chosen number of adults had been baptized. But the greater number of the Indians domiciled at La Pointe obstinately resisted the missionaries. The invocation of the demons (manitous), especially in times of war, sickness, and when hunting; the worship of the phenomena of dreams as a divinity; the savage feasts, at which everything must be consumed, even at the risk of life, in honour of the manitous; the dances and orgies held in worship of the demons, these were the hell-forged chains in which the powers of darkness kept these creatures of God fast bound. And what were the weapons of the solitary missionary against these Satanic forces? Instruction, admonition, persuasion, alike failed. The preaching of the eternal punishments of hell, which at the time made a great impression, was usually very soon forgotten. But by slow degrees the example of a pure self-sacrificing love, and the heroic renunciation of a saintly life, penetrated with warm life-giving ray to those hearts so enshrouded in the darkness of idolatry, and so petrified with self-love. Prayer

and sacrifice were the missionary's chief weapons. The unbloody sacrifice of Calvary daily offered by the young religious; his countless privations and penances, and the intercession of the sinless Mother of God, these were the means he employed.

The Immaculate Conception was Father Marquette's favourite devotion, the perpetual subject of his contemplations, the central point of all his devotional practices. It was the constant theme of his sermons; even in daily conversations it was constantly on his lips. He wrote no letter which did not contain in some part the words Immaculate Conception. From his ninth year he fasted every Saturday in honour of the Immaculate Virgin. It was the loving absorption of his soul in this mystery which, according to the testimony of his superiors and brethren, yea, of all who knew him, surrounded him with a halo of transfiguration, and gave to his character an indescribable brightness and lovingness, and made him so powerful in winning souls. Four stout bands, one of the Hurons, and three of the Algonquin tribes—on the whole over two thousands souls—claimed Father Marquette's spiritual care. The Hurons, nicknamed Tobacco Indians, fugitives from the Iroquois War of 1650, were already, for the most part, Christians. For twenty years they had wandered over the islands of the great lakes and through the forests of Wisconsin without spiritual guides, and in constant contact, either friendly or hostile, with heathen tribes. Consequently, they had become so demoralized that Father Allouez's efforts to reform them proved almost fruitless. Our missionary, who was all things to all men, obtained such influence over them that they promised him to amend their lives. The Ottawa Indians were more than all others sunk in witchcraft, 'They mock at the commandments,' wrote the father, 'and will scarcely listen to us when we speak of Christianity. They are proud and obstinate, and but little is to be hoped from this tribe.'

The Chippawayans (of the pike), with the exception of the few baptized by Father Menard nine years before, also remained callous, yet wished to have their children

baptized. The Kischkako tribes (short-tailed bears) were the missionary's joy and comfort. True, it was only after three years' unceasing labour that his predecessor had succeeded in overcoming their prejudices. The whole band declared for Christianity. Some of the chiefs and many of the people had been baptized. Father Marquette, with his winning ways and entire devotion, completed their conversion. Some passages from his reports on these Indians might here find place :—

On my arrival I found all the Indians in the fields, busy with the harvest. They listened with pleasure when I declared to them that I had come to La Pointe for their sake and that of the Huron ; that they should never be forsaken, but should be held dearer than all other tribes, and that they and the French should be as one people. I had the consolation of seeing how much they loved prayer, and how highly they esteemed the privilege of being Christians. I baptized the newly-born children, and visited the chiefs, all of whom I found well disposed. The principal chief had allowed a dog to be hung from a pole near his wigwam—a sort of sacrifice which the savages offer to the sun. When I told him this was not right, he went himself to the spot to take it down. A sick man who had been instructed, but not yet baptized, begged me to grant him this grace, or, at least, to stay near him, as he would have no sorcery practised for his recovery, and he also said that he was afraid of hell-fire. I prepared him for Baptism. The joy my frequent visits gave him half cured him. He thanked me for my trouble, and made me a present of a slave brought to him a few months before from Illinois. He frequently declared that I had given him fresh life.

I invited the Kis-chkakoer Indians to winter near the chapel, whereupon they at once separated from the other bands, and crowded round us, delighted to be near the house of prayer, where they could frequently receive instruction, and have their children baptized.

It is a great consolation for a missionary to find such docility among a barbarous people. I lived in perfect peace with these savages, and often spent whole days instructing them and praying with them. The severity of the winter did not prevent them from coming to the chapel, and there were many who never failed in their daily attendance. From morning until night I was busy receiving them, preparing some for baptism, some for confession, and at other times admonishing them against superstitious practices.

Some vague tradition of the Tower of Babel seems to have lingered amongst these tribes. They said that their fathers had

told them of people who had once tried to build a great house as high as the sky, but that the wind had blown it down.

They now despised all the gods whom they had honoured before their baptism, and wondered how they were ever so silly as to offer sacrifice to such fabulous things.

Father Marquette was appointed, in the summer of 1670, to the new mission among the Illinois. He only awaited the arrival of his successor to leave the flourishing mission field of the Upper Lake in order to begin anew his labours elsewhere. But, alas! before long no successor would be necessary. The fruitful vineyard was destined to destruction, and one hundred and sixty-five years were to pass away before a Christian missionary—the saintly Bishop Baraga—would again land in the lovely bay of the Chagoimigon.

The circumstances which led to such an unexpected change form one of the darkest spots in the annals of the Huron and Ottawa Indians. Sinago, the chief of the fierce heathen band of this name, had, some years previously, paid a visit to the neighbouring Sioux, and had been received with high honour. They welcomed him as a son of their nation with festive dances and smoking of the calumet. By these ceremonies, which in their significance resembled a solemn oath, Sinago's person, as well as those of all his tribe and allies, became as sacred as the person of a mighty ambassador, or of a monarch himself would be among civilized people. On the other hand, the insulting of a Sioux, by either the chief or one of his tribe, would be an act of treachery for which no revenge was too great.

In the autumn of 1670, the same Sioux chief, who had smoked the calumet of peace with the chief of the Ottawa, came to La Pointe for the purpose of settling misunderstanding which had arisen between the tribes. Full of unsuspecting trust, he took up his abode in Sinago's wigwam, who greeted him as a brother. But the savage Hurons were thirsting for blood, and no amount of palaver-ing prevailed; even bribery, often the surest method among the Indians, failed to secure a pacific settlement of the dispute. Sinago proved treacherous, and his guest's rich presents could not purchase his fidelity. At a signal, the

Sinago warriors fell upon the unsuspecting Sioux chief and his companions, three men and one woman; they were cut to pieces, and then, according to their fiendish custom, eaten in triumph.

Dire punishment followed closely upon such shameless treachery, rare even among savages. No sooner was the deed done than terror seized the band. As if the whole Sioux nation was already at their heels they took to their canoes and fled to the mouth of the Upper Lake and farther; most of them as far as the Island of Manitoulin in Lake Huron, others to the straits of Mackenzie. The remainder of the population followed them, some in early winter, some in the spring of the following year: all knew that the vengeance of the mighty Sioux was certain. One can imagine the pastor's feelings at such a calamity. His own extremely reticent reports, as they reach us, are silent on the matter. He tarried at La Pointe until the beginning of the winter, but his ministrations were no longer needed. Confusion reigned in the colony. Perplexity and frightened suspense filled all hearts. The Sioux formally declared war, and at the same time, they returned to Father Marquette a picture of the Immaculate Virgin, which he had sent them as a greeting and token of friendship. He then resolved also to leave the terror-haunted spot, and to repair to Sault St. Marie, in order to consult with his superiors as to future proceedings. He embarked in his frail canoe, and at the end of a month arrived at the Falls of St. Marie, utterly worn out, after having made his way through snow-storms, hurricanes, and dangers of every sort. In all probability, it was on this fearful journey that the seeds were sown of the wasting disease which a few years later caused the devoted priest such suffering.

The terrible occurrence at La Pointe rendered the opening of the Illinois mission an impossibility. The scattered flock must be gathered together again. A number of the Huron and Ottawa Indians had long been settled in the neighbourhood of Mackinac. Hither now came many of the fugitives from La Pointe. The missionaries followed them, and towards the end of winter a poor little chapel

was built on the cape opposite the Island of Mickilimackican (Big Turtle) on the west, henceforth to be known as Point St. Ignace. Here, where one day his bones were to rest, Father Marquette began, in the spring of 1671, the work of his third mission. The success of his labours at St. Ignace is best described in his own words. In his report, written the following year (1672), he says:—

They have been faithful in their attendance at chapel, have willingly listened to my instructions, and have given their consent to every regulation which I consider necessary to make in order to wean them from their barbarous and dissolute practices.

We must have patience with these wild souls who have learned none but the devil's lessons, whose slaves they have ever been, and who continually relapse into sin. God alone can steady these fickle minds, grant them His grace, and preserve them in it; He alone can soften their hearts, whilst we weak creatures try to stammer in their ears.

Even of the savage Sinago, of whom there were about sixty in the mission, he was able thus to report:—

They are no longer the same as when at La Pointe. They now desire to become Christians; they bring their children to be baptized, and come regularly to the chapel.

The humble missionary ascribes this change to the influence of a brother Jesuit, Père André, in whose mission at Green Bay some of these had wintered. He continues:—

No matter how severe the weather, it did not prevent the Indians from coming to the chapel. Some came twice daily last autumn. I prepared some for confession who had not approached the sacrament since their baptism, while others made a general confession of their whole lives. I could not have believed that Indians could give such an exact account of everything that had happened. Some spent a fortnight in preparation. From that time I noticed a complete change in them. With some, indeed, I am not satisfied; but if I only let fall a word of disapproval of their conduct, they come at once to the chapel. I have hopes that what they now do from motives of fear or respect, will be one day done from love of God and the wish to save their souls.

The report ends with these words:—

So much, Rev. Father, have I to communicate about this mission. They are milder, more tractable, and inclined to accept

instruction, than in any other district. But, at your word, I am ready to leave them in the hands of another missionary, and go forth to seek unknown tribes, to preach the great God of Whom they know nothing.

Father Marquette was not mistaken in the good opinion he had formed of his flock. In the course of a few years, Point St. Ignace became a model mission. Most of the Hurons were thoroughly converted, and hundreds of the Christian Ottawa Indians, whose numbers increased daily, vied with them in devotional practices. The services of three priests were required for the zealous flock. But our missionary, meanwhile, had determined to follow the path marked out to him by God, and to preach the Gospel to the tribes of the lovely Mississippi Valley.

To be continued.

E. LEAHY.

THE CHURCH IN 'THE DARK AGES'

A.D. 800-1200.

THE old legend of 'the dark ages' is dead and buried, and we have no wish to disinter it. Invented by the Reformers, as an excuse for their rebellion, it did duty for centuries as a war-cry, and was received as gospel by at least ten generations of Protestants. All Catholic protests and refutations were unheeded until, on the revival of historical studies, some learned Protestants discovered the imposture themselves. It needed no little courage to proclaim the discovery to their co-religionists, and the names of Voigt, Hurter, and Maitland, the pioneers in the cause of truth, deserve to be preserved and remembered.¹ Although no respectable writer ventures to quote the old legend now, it still holds its ground in Gibbon, Hume,

¹ *History of Gregory VII.*, 1815, by Voigt, Professor of the University of Halle. *History of Innocent III.*, 1838, by Hurter, Swiss pastor. *The Dark Ages*, second edition, 1845, by Rev. S. R. Maitland, Librarian to Archbishop of Canterbury.

Robertson, and all our old writers. For writers of every kind managed to give it a place in their books. Who could expect to find it in Robertson's *History of Charles V.*? Yet, in this single work, Maitland counts thirteen cases of what he calls 'gross mistake or barefaced falsehood' regarding this subject. Thus:¹ 'Many of the clergy did not understand the Breviary which they were obliged daily to recite; some of them could scarce read it.' Again:² 'Many dignified ecclesiastics could not subscribe the canons of those councils in which they sat as members.' Again:³ 'Even the Christian religion . . . degenerated during those ages of darkness into an illiberal superstition. . . . Instead of aspiring to sanctity and virtue . . . they imagined that they satisfied every obligation of duty by a scrupulous observance of external ceremonies.'

These are not the worst cases, but they are fair specimens of the barefaced assertions one may expect to find in any English work published before the middle of this century.

But we must not reopen a controversy which every historian now looks upon as closed. Our object is to notice a fact not much attended to by the disputants, namely, the extraordinary manifestations of the Church's innate sanctity during these 'dark ages.' The legend was expressly intended to proclaim to the whole world the complete disappearance of her note of sanctity during this period. Well, we confidently assert, that at no period of her history was her innate sanctity more conspicuously manifested than during these same 'dark ages.'

No one ventures now to assert that any change took place during this period in her doctrine, sacraments, or sacrifice. We can, therefore, confine our attention to her members. Not that we hope to find them all living up to their profession, for 'the wheat and the cockle' must commingle to the end; but that the works of holiness were so general, and the number of singularly holy persons so great,

¹ Page 10.

² Page 16.

³ Page 103.

as to prove the mother that bore them and nourished them by her doctrine and sacraments, to be the true Spouse of Christ.

After the Church's successful labours during three centuries for the conversion of the new races that succeeded the Roman Empire, she found herself suddenly confronted by new difficulties. The new Christian states formed under her influence were threatened with destruction; and with them all her institutions of religion, learning, and charity. Hordes of pagan Norsemen, delighting in rapine and slaughter, strong, brave, and fearless, issued from the north, and fell upon the Christian states. We know the results in England and Ireland. Well, the state of the Continent was not much better. Rohrbacher tells us¹ that during the ninth century the Norsemen had penetrated everywhere by the great rivers, and had sacked Rouen, Paris, Trèves, Hamburg, Toulouse, Aix-la-Chapelle, Tours, Cologne, Blois, Beauvais, Bordeaux, Nantes, Liège, Angers, Amiens, Cambrai, Arras, Metz, &c.; and that the Saracens had ravaged the whole south, even to the walls of Rome. Churches and monasteries had a special attraction for these fierce marauders, whose hatred of Christianity equalled their love of plunder. Wherever they passed, the churches and monasteries were in ruins, the clergy and monks slain, dispersed, or carried into captivity; the schools closed, and the people like sheep without a shepherd.

Such was the state of Europe about the close of the ninth century. But the mercy of God was at hand. By the conversion of Rollo, Duke of Normandy, in 912, an end was put to the continental ravages of the Norsemen; King Alfred (871-900) broke their power in England; Pope Leo IV., in 849, secured Rome and Italy against the Saracens; and, though last not least, Brian Boru, in 1014, delivered the schools and churches of Ireland from the tyranny of the Danes.

It was no easy matter to repair the ruins, moral and

¹ Vol. xii.

material, that had accumulated during a whole century; but the Church and her children were equal to the emergency, and in an incredibly short time the churches and monasteries were restored, the schools reopened, the parishes supplied with pastors, abuses corrected, new institutions founded, and almost every trace of devastation and ruin obliterated.

But just at this point a persecution began, the most dangerous that the Church had ever endured. The feudal princes who had just been so liberal in their endowments, claimed the right to dispose of the chief dignities of the Church; that is, in practice, to impose unworthy pastors on the Christian people. The emperors of Germany and the internecine factions of Italy, even claimed the right to give Popes to the Church, and actually set up nineteen anti-popes during this period. We need only name Henry IV. of Germany, Philip I. of France, and our first Norman kings, to remind our readers of the exorbitant claims made by the princes of this period. A single example will suffice to illustrate the working of this system. St. Arnulph¹ is a good specimen of the bishops at this time. Born of noble parents, his early life was spent in the army, and in the ordinary pursuits of a country gentleman. But even then his morals were pure, and his virtues conspicuous. One day, accompanied by his two esquires, he set out as if to visit the court; but on arriving at Soissons they hung up their arms in the Church of St. Medard, and entered that great monastery as 'soldiers of Christ.'

Arnulph made rapid progress in virtue and learning, and voluntarily undertook the care of an aged monk who had long inhabited a lonely hermitage within the enclosure. On the death of this hermit he asked permission to occupy his place; and here he spent three years and a half in most rigid silence, terrible austerities, study of Holy Scripture, meditation and prayer, and even in the composition of books, as his biographer thus tells us: *librosque componendi non contemnendam adeptus est gratiam.* At this time the

¹ Surius, vol. viii.

abbot died, and the King intruded an unworthy favourite named Pontius; speedy ruin, temporal and spiritual, was the result, until at last the monks, aided by the bishop and the notables, appealed for mercy to the King, and Pontius was withdrawn. Arnulph was elected, and compelled by the bishop to quit his hermitage and undertake the charge. In a very short time the havoc wrought by Pontius was repaired, and Arnulph's gift of miracles became so notorious that people flocked to him from all sides. But another trial awaited him. An ambitious monk, named Odo, to create a vacancy, induced the King to summon Arnulph to his standard at the head of his tenants. Rather than return to his old profession he resigned, and went back to his beloved hermitage, taking care to have a holy and learned monk named Gerald elected in his stead. But Pontius soon reappeared, and took forcible possession by the aid of Queen Berta; Gerald had to retire, but Arnulph remained unmolested in his hermitage. His fame had spread more and more, and his cell was now constantly surrounded by persons of every class seeking advice or the cure of their diseases. At this time the bishop died, and a courtier named Ursio was intruded. On hearing of this St. Gregory VII. ordered his legate to call a provincial council to examine the matter, and Ursio was deposed. Arnulph was elected, and compelled by the legate to take charge of the see. Excluded from his cathedral he took up his residence in the castle of Ulcia, placed at his disposal by Count Theobald. Attracted by his sanctity and miracles the whole diocese rallied around him; under the protection of the people he made his visitations, administered confirmation, consecrated churches, reformed abuses, and performed every other duty of his office. He died in 1087.¹

We have here a vivid picture of the times, and can easily see how abuses were multiplied. These abuses were great and numerous, but were never universal, and seldom of long duration. An intruder was often followed by a saint, or counterbalanced by a saint in the next diocese.

¹ Our *Surius* is the critical Turin ed. 1880.

St. Hugh of Grenoble found the diocese in a deplorable state, but long before his death (1132) it was the model diocese of France. The notorious intruder Vidon (Gui) of Milan found himself confronted by St. Peter Damian and St. Anselm of Lucca. This constant succession of holy bishops diminished the evils of lay-investiture; the nominees of princes were not always unworthy; and princes were not always able to have their own way. Yet the abuses arising from the system were enormous; so enormous that, at first sight, the Church's note of sanctity would seem to have disappeared altogether.

But it is only at first sight; for on closer inspection we see clearly that never was her vitality and innate sanctity more strongly manifested than during this very crisis. Against the most powerful princes, the intruders in some of the principal sees, the pretended rights of numerous dignitaries and unworthy pastors, the temporal interests of numberless families and dependants, the dead-weight of custom, and the absence of all human aid, the cause of the Church seemed quite hopeless; and yet by the force of her own innate sanctity she swept away all these abuses. The first impulse came, as usual, from Rome. The Popes had often condemned these abuses; but they only yielded at last to the open war against investitures which was proclaimed by St. Gregory VII., in 1075, and followed up to complete victory by his immediate successors. This victory appears all the more glorious by contrast, for all these abuses survive to this day in the East, where the schism was consummated in 1053, and in the Russian, English, Prussian, Swedish, and every other national Church separated from Rome. They are all mere slaves of the state, departments of the civil government.

These signal victories over barbarism and Erastianism would suffice to prove the Church's innate sanctity; but much more remains to be told. Alban Butler's list of saints for this period mounts up to one hundred and seventy-two; 'all approved,' he tells us, 'by the Holy See or by some particular churches.' They had also the unanimous testimony of their contemporaries, founded on their known

lives of heroic virtue, and their notorious gift of miracles. Even such men as Alfred, Lanfranc or Urban II., great and good as they were, had no claim to this distinction with their contemporaries. It was only the notorious gift of miracles that decided public opinion, lay and clerical; for the idea that miracles had ceased with the apostolic times was unknown in those days. Lourdes has, in our own time, almost completely silenced not only this Protestant fiction, but also the rationalistic paradox regarding the impossibility of miracles. It is not necessary for our purpose to prove each and every miracle attributed to a saint; it is enough for us to know that the gift was so notorious as to attract to him persons of every class and condition. That there were many such the reader can verify for himself in Surius, Guerin's *Petits Bollandists*, or even in Butler's abstracts.

In reading the lives of saints one is struck by their mysterious influence over their contemporaries. This influence produces far-reaching effects if the saint happens to occupy some responsible position. Let us now see whether the Church produced such saints in those days. We begin with bishops, and, to enable the reader to judge for himself, an authentic list is given, with the dates of death:—

St. Leo IV., Rome	-	-	-	855
St. Nicholas I., Rome	-	-	-	867
St. Leo IX., Rome	-	-	-	1054
St. Gregory VII., Rome	-	-	-	1085
St. Tharasius, Constantinople	-	-	-	806
St. Nicephorus, Constantinople	-	-	-	828
St. Methodius, Constantinople	-	-	-	846
St. Ignatius, Constantinople	-	-	-	877
St. Dunstan, Canterbury	-	-	-	988
St. Elphege, Canterbury	-	-	-	1012
St. Anslem, Canterbury	-	-	-	1109
St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury	-	-	-	1170
St. Celsus, Armagh	-	-	-	1129
St. Malachy, Armagh	-	-	-	1148
St. Laurence, Dublin	-	-	-	1180
St. William, York	-	-	-	1154
St. Ethelwald, Winchester	-	-	-	984
St. Wolstan, Worcester	-	-	-	1095

St. Osmond, Salisbury	-	-	-	1099
St. Richard (Eng.), Andria	-	-	-	1199
St. Anscarius, Bremen	-	-	-	865
St. Rembert, Bremen	-	-	-	888
St. Frederic, Utrecht	-	-	-	838
St. Ado, Vienne	-	-	-	875
St. Ludger, Munster	-	-	-	809
St. Conrad, Constance	-	-	-	976
St. Donatus (Irish), Fiesoli	-	-	-	874
B. Peter Igneus, Albano	-	-	-	1089
St. Uldaric, Augsburg	-	-	-	973
St. Adalbert, Prague	-	-	-	998
St. Gerard, Toul	-	-	-	994
St. Wolfgang, Ratisbonne	-	-	-	994
St. Peter Damian, Ostia	-	-	-	1072
St. Anselm, Lucca	-	-	-	1086
St. Arnulph, Soissons	-	-	-	1087
St. Gerard, Hungary	-	-	-	1046
St. Boniface, Russia	-	-	-	1009
St. Stanislas, Cracow	-	-	-	1079
St. Godhard, Hildesheim	-	-	-	1038
St. Bernward, Hildesheim	-	-	-	1021
St. Annon, Cologne	-	-	-	1075
St. Hugh, Grenoble	-	-	-	1132
St. Peter, Tarentaise	-	-	-	1174
St. Ubaldus, Gubbio	-	-	-	1160
St. Anthelm, Bellay	-	-	-	1178
St. Godfridus, Amiens	-	-	-	1118
St. Galdinus, Milan	-	-	-	1176
St. Otho, Bamberg	-	-	-	1139
St. Bruno, Segni	-	-	-	1125
SS. Cyrii and Methodius	-	-	-	ninth century.

All these names are found in the Roman Martyrology. Alban Butler has just a third more. How many such bishops have the Eastern Churches produced since the schism; or the Anglican Church since its origin?

‘Rex justus erigit terram.’¹ In these days when kings not only reigned but ruled, a good king or queen was an inestimable blessing. We all know the set form in which the English people used to petition their kings: ‘give us the laws of good King Edward.’ It was so also in Hungary, and wherever saints had reigned. Well, in

¹ Prov. xxix. 4.

those days the Church produced not only a Charlemagne (814), and an Alfred the Great, but also—

St. Edward the Confessor	-	-	1066
St. Stephen of Hungary	-	-	1038
St. Ladislaus of Hungary	-	-	1095
St. Henry of Germany	-	-	1024
St. Wincelaus of Bohemia	-	-	938
St. Olans of Norway	-	-	1030
St. Canute of Denmark	-	-	1086
St. Eric of Sweden	-	-	1151
St. Edward of England	-	-	979
St. Margaret of Scotland	-	-	1093
St. Mathildes of Germany	-	-	968
St. Leopold of Austria	-	-	1136

Alban Butler has a few more, but only these are found in the Roman Martyrology.

But it was in the conversion of nations the Church's holy fecundity was most strikingly manifested during this period. It was precisely during those 'dark ages' the light of the Gospel was diffused in the north by the missionaries who converted Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Moravia, Servia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Muscovy, and several minor divisions of the Slavonians. To see the close relations between the apostles of these nations and Rome, we need only read the lives of SS. Cyril and Methodius, St. Boniface, St. Anscarius, St. Rembert, and St. Adalbert. That all these nations were converted by Catholic missionaries is beyond all question; it is only about Russia that any doubt has been raised, but Alban Butler (July 24) has clearly proved that Russia was Catholic long before the Greek schism reached her.¹ What a contrast between this prodigious fecundity and the notorious sterility of the Eastern Churches since the schism. They have been able, by fraud and violence, to pervert Catholic populations, but not to convert pagans, of whom Russia has whole nations under her rule. The extension of the schism into Siberia and northern Russia was not by the conversion of pagans, but by the migration of the populations to those unoccupied

¹ See also Rohrbacher, vol. xiii., p. 236, xix. 130.

regions. To form an idea of the sterility of the Anglican and other Protestant Churches, we need only read Marshall's *Christian Missions*. The conclusion from all this is manifest. 'Go teach all nations . . . and behold I am with you all days, even to the end of the world.' It is easy to see where this promise has been realized.

Even Protestants have begun at last to see the value of the religious orders, and to envy the Church's power of producing them, just as they are needed for the wants of the time: for the preservation of learning and culture, the redemption of captives, the nursing of lepers, the care of the sick, the improvement of agriculture, the foundation of schools and colleges, the education of children, and all the other wants of the Christian people. For, besides the common object of their own sanctification, each of them has some one of these special objects. Montalembert, in his *Monks of the West*, has given a detailed account of the immense services rendered by the monasteries from the sixth to the tenth century; but the blight of lay-investiture had gradually fallen upon a great many of them, thus creating an immense void. The Church thus finds herself again confronted with many and urgent wants. Will she be equal to the emergency? Let us see.

New orders, protected in some way from this blight, could alone meet the difficulty. Well, such orders she produced: they spread with amazing rapidity, and were protected by their poverty and the fame of their sanctity. Cluny was founded in 910, and soon found itself at the head of two hundred houses. Before 1158 it had given to the Church many bishops and three great Popes, St. Gregory VII., Urban II., and Pascal II. So great was its influence on the culture and learning of the period that the freethinker, Violet le Duc, does not hesitate to call it 'the cradle of modern civilization.'¹

The Carthusians were founded in 1085, had two hundred houses at the end of the thirteenth century, and edify the Church by their example and writings to this day.

¹ *Dictionnaire des Dictionnaires*, art. 'Cluny.'

The Cistercians were founded in 1098, and had five hundred houses at the end of fifty years; of these seventy-two were founded by St. Bernard himself, five of them in Ireland, five in England, thirty-five in France, eleven in Spain, six in Belgium, five in Savoy, four in Italy, two in Germany, two in Sweden, one in Hungary, and one in Denmark.¹ He was the most remarkable of the distinguished men produced by the Order, among whom were two popes, forty cardinals, and a great number of bishops.

The Order of Premontr  was founded in 1120. They were Canons Regular, spread rapidly, and had at one time as many as thirteen hundred houses. Missions and preaching were its chief external work. One can form some idea of the effect produced by these missions from the single instance given by Alban Butler in the life of St. Norbert, June 6th. But more ample details are given by Rohrbacher.²

Besides these great cosmopolitan orders, important local ones were founded by St. Benedict Anian (821), St. Romuald (1027), St. John Gualbert (1073): stimulated by the example and influence of all these new orders, bishops and nobles everywhere began to restore or reform the older monasteries; most interesting details regarding this movement are given by Montalembert.³

Yes, these fruits of sanctity are great and undeniable; but what about the masses of the people? Is not the testimony of Robertson amply confirmed by the learned Mosheim's account of these 'dark ages'?

Robertson only copied from Mosheim, one of the chief agents in circulating these calumnies. No popery is the main feature of his so-called *History*. At the tenth century he exhausts the whole vocabulary of slander. Thus, ch. iii.:

The state of religion in this century was such as might be expected in times of ignorance and corruption. . . . The whole Christian world was covered at this time with a thick and gloomy veil of superstition. . . . Corruption and impiety now reigned with a horrid sway; licentiousness and dissolution had infected all ranks and orders of men.

Rohrbacher, vol. xv.

² Vol. xv.

³ Vol. v., ch. 12.

By what proofs does he support these charges? Were these people atheists or agnostics? Were they socialists or anarchists? Were they wholesale swindlers, like our French and Italian Masons? Did they deal in fraudulent monopolies, syndicates, or *corners*? Did they exterminate whole populations, like Irish landlords? Were they hard-hearted to the poor or the afflicted? Was there any abnormal licentiousness like that which exists not only in the great cities of Europe and America, but even among a great many rural populations? Not a bit of all this, What then? Well, then, they believed in saints, relics, monks, penance, reparation, pilgrimages, masses, festivals, and devotion to the Virgin Mary. Is that all? Absolutely all that this so-called historian offers in proof of these atrocious charges.¹

The Church of God could not allow her children to lapse into such a state. All these writers argue sophistically, from the particular to the general, as Maitland fully proves; his exposure of Robertson's many sins of this kind is most interesting and instructive. Garbled extracts formed another weapon in their unholy warfare; Mosheim used it freely and without shame or remorse. The reader should see for himself Maitland's exposure of his conduct.

We have no *Mores Catholici* for this period like that of Digby for the middle ages; but we cannot believe in the moral degradation of people subject, at least periodically, to such influences as these already mentioned. Saints rose up amongst them, like the prophets of old. Holy bishops repaired the injuries inflicted by intruders. Holy kings and queens reformed whole nations. Strict and fervent monasteries arose upon the ruins of others. Who can calculate the reforming influence of preachers like St. Bernard or St. Norbert? Or that of the many holy bishops whose names we have given? Not to go beyond our own country, did not St. Celsus and St. Malachy repair in a few years the disorganization of two centuries?

¹He accepts as gospel all that Luitprand had written against the Popes; but for this he is not so culpable, since even Catholic writers had been deceived for a long time. See Rohrbacher, vol. xii., for the credence due to Luitprand.

This and many similar examples remind us, that the hearts of the people remained always sound in spite of the scandals that arose from the confusion of the times. We have numberless proofs of this. At the preaching of saints, feuds and enmities were extinguished, restitutions and reparations effected, calumnies retracted, and good works set on foot, such as hospitals, roads and bridges, churches and monasteries. Protestants deride this zeal for the foundation of monasteries, and call it a superstition by which great criminals hoped to atone for their iniquities; but they forget that the monastery in those days was the school of the district, the medical dispensary, and the centre of outdoor relief.¹ Yes, even the Strongbows of those days believed in the necessity of reparation, and made some atonement to society; a superstition not much in fashion at present. How many hospitals have been founded by the Panama robbers, or by our Irish exterminators?

But works of spontaneous piety were far more numerous than works of reparation. It would be impossible to give any idea here of their number, but the reader can see it in detail in vol. v., ch. xii., of Montalembert's great work. In vain does Mosheim attempt to trace this prodigious liberality to the scare that preceded the year 1000; for that scare was transient, whereas this movement existed for generations before and after.

In these chapters Montalembert describes in detail a movement still more extraordinary. Countless men and women of rank and fortune devoted not only their wealth but their own persons also to works of charity and religion. This movement was no local or sudden outburst; it was universal, and ran through the whole of these 'dark ages.'

We have seen how numerous saints were in those days. In reading their lives one is struck by two things; nearly all had received a liberal education, and their parents and relatives were remarkable for great piety and intelligence. This is just the reverse of what Mosheim tells us about these 'dark ages.' Only that these saints had biographers,

¹ Montalembert, vol. v.

we should never have known this interesting fact. These saints had fellow-students at school and college; but as we know nothing about them they are counted among the ignorant.

At the close of this period there is one landmark about which there can be no mistake—the first crusade. Apart from its merits or demerits, we learn from it one thing, the spirit of the time. Can anyone say that there was then any lack of faith, religious earnestness or self-sacrifice in any rank or class whatever?

We may now ask, what enabled the Church in those days to repair the ravages of barbarism; to save Christianity and civilization from utter extinction; to resist the erastianism of the princes; to save the Holy See from the despotism of German emperors and Italian factions; to convert so many nations; to overcome so many superhuman difficulties? We may also ask at what period in those 'dark ages' did she cease to produce these other fruits of sanctity? When did she cease to beget saints, to exhibit the gift of miracles, to found religious houses, to provide for the poor and the sick, to redeem captives, to protect the weak, to defend the sanctity of marriage, to denounce the vices of the great, to found schools and colleges for the poor, to proclaim and defend the whole law of Christ? We may ask Reformers what Church separated from Rome ever produced manifest fruits of sanctity like these? We may ask, in fine, in what period of her history, since the age of the martyrs was the Church's note of sanctity more strikingly manifested than during those so-called 'dark ages'?

PHILIP BURTON, C.M.

ST. PATRICK'S BIRTHPLACE

THEORISTS AND THEORIES

The School of Lanigan

‘FOR more than a thousand years,’ says Cardinal Moran,¹ ‘it was the uninterrupted tradition of Ireland and of Scotland, that our apostle, St. Patrick, was born in the valley of the Clyde, not far from the city of Alclyde.’ And so long as the Irish tradition was preserved and handed on by native Irish scholars, it was impossible that the truth concerning this matter could ever be effaced, or even obscured in the Irish heart. But the time came when the succession of native Irish scholars was almost brought to an end, through the disastrous influence of English misrule and oppression.

The Irish nation had reverently carried on the history of her apostle in an unbroken sequence from the saint's death, at the end of the fifth century, until the compilation of the *Book of Armagh*, in the middle of the seventh, and thence down to the age of the Four Masters. With the death of the latter, in the seventeenth century, night began to gather round the history of the Irish Church.²

Indeed, it was during the lifetime of the Four Masters that this period of darkness and trial was ushered in. To the government of Elizabeth belongs the odium and infamy of having inaugurated that system of political oppression and religious persecution which was for centuries identified with English policy in Ireland: the Scottish princes of the Stuart line can only be reproached with the minor disgrace of having continued and extended a system of misgovernment to which they must have felt themselves

¹ *Irish Saints in Great Britain*, p. 131.

² See article in *Dublin Review*, July, 1880, ‘The Apostle of Ireland and his Modern Critics,’ p. 85. The writer of these words is here an unexceptionable witness, no other than Father Morris himself. Why the knowledge of the saint's birthplace, and that alone, must be excluded from this ‘unbroken sequence’ of tradition is a question worth answering; but Father Morris prudently refrains from suggesting an answer, and, indeed, even from considering the question.

already committed. It is worthy of note that the repressive measures of the Virgin Queen contrast unfavourably even with those of her polygamous father. 'Henry's treatment of Ireland was, on the whole, considerate and conciliatory, though with an occasional outburst of cruelty.' . . . 'His policy, as carried out by Sentleger, was thoroughly successful; for the end of his reign found the chiefs submissive and contented, the country at peace, and the English power in Ireland stronger than ever it was before.' Under Elizabeth, however, systematically rejecting the one wise alternative of a policy of conciliation, 'the Government deliberately chose the other (alternative), and carried it out consistently and determinedly. And not only did they rule by force, but they made themselves intensely unpopular by needless harshness.'¹

No wonder, then, that in such a period of darkness and trial the Irish people began to lose sight of some of the traditional beliefs of their ancestors. The children of Erin, persecuted for their religion, and oppressed by an alien rule, had little leisure to turn their attention to such questions as that of St. Patrick's birthplace; and, besides this negative influence, another influence of a very positive and tangible kind was now brought to bear upon Irish opinion. The old kindly feeling which had united the Scotch and the Irish—a feeling founded in a sense of kinship and of community of interest—now gave place to a sentiment of a widely different nature. The time had gone by when the Irish could willingly accept for their chosen king the gallant brother of the Scottish hero-monarch, and the native country of Edward Bruce was now only looked upon as the recruiting-ground from which were drawn the instruments of political and religious oppression. It was under such altered circumstances, and, as it were, at the 'psychological moment' (the reader will pardon the over-worked phrase), that Dr. Lanigan came forward with

¹The above quotations are from Dr. P. W. Joyce, our latest and most trustworthy Irish historian. See his *Short History of Ireland*, pp. 388, 391, foll.

his theory. Let us briefly review the history of his attempt.

I. *A prelude to Lanigan's theory*

It must not be forgotten that Dr. Lanigan had a remarkable, if not a distinguished rival as a claimant to the discovery of St. Patrick's French birthplace. Mr. Patrick Lynch published his *Life of St. Patrick* in 1828. This is the gentleman who undertook to set our ancient authors right as to the meaning of the word *Letha*, and whose rash presumption Eugene O'Curry was afterwards at pains to correct.¹ Mr. Lynch, like all the rest of the theorists, seriously professed to found his conjecture upon the testimony of our early writers. He took the word *Nemthur*, and, changing its supposed meaning of 'heavenly tower' to 'holy tower,' he gravely informed the world that the apostle of Ireland was born at (holy) Tours! The reader who will take up a map of France, and observe the hopelessly inland situation of Tours, will have some idea of the utter absurdity of this baseless conjecture.

In thus giving the first place to Lynch's theory, I am moved by a special object. The reader will observe the characteristics of his method—an utter disregard of the traditional belief of both the Irish and the Scottish nation: an unholy licence in dealing with the words of our venerable authorities; a reckless daring in the framing of conjectures; and, finally, a seeming conviction that any wild theory is good enough for the Irish race, and likely enough to secure ready acceptance. And these same characteristics will be found almost equally prominent in the whole series of what we may call 'holy tours' of discovery, undertaken by erratic theorists with the object of finally 'fixing' St. Patrick's birthplace. From first to last, from Mr. Patrick Lynch to Dr. Edward O'Brien, their methods are alike arbitrary, and their results are equally improbable.

¹ See *MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 503.

II. Lanigan's theory

Of course Dr. Lanigan rejected the 'ingenious'¹ conjecture of Mr. Lynch. Tours, he said, would not do at all; and in this judgment I fancy that all sane men will agree with our distinguished ecclesiastical historian. But let us see how Dr. Lanigan proceeds 'to make out his own view.

The question of St. Patrick's birthplace is discussed in the third chapter of the *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*. The writer begins with an appeal to authority: all our theorists do this. 'In these inquiries,' he says, 'my principal guides shall be, next, after St. Patrick's confession and his letter against Coroticus, Fiech's hymn or metrical sketch of the life of our saint, and the life by Probus.' He then proceeds to express a very high opinion of the antiquity and authority of the hymn; but he arbitrarily rejects the gloss which identifies *Nemthur* with Dumbarton, though it is obvious that, without the gloss, the evidence of the hymn is incomplete, and indeed almost unmeaning. As to Probus, I hope later on to show how important this writer's testimony really is, if only it be properly appreciated; and how conclusively his true meaning confirms the claims of Kilpatrick. In the meantime it will suffice to observe that, in spite of the pretended marshalling of

¹ Dr. Lanigan had no difficulty in admitting that Mr. Lynch's conjecture was 'ingenious,' a fact which I recommend to the serious consideration of Father Sylvester Malone: for this writer, more ingeniously than ingenuously tries to make his readers believe that Dr. Reeves favoured the 'Bonna-Ventha-Burii fiction, and this, simply because the deceased scholar promised to 'weigh well your ingenious theory'! Father Malone adds, without the smallest perception of the humour of the statement, that the letter containing this non-committal phrase 'was probably the bishop's last literary correspondence.' At the most, this only shows that the learned prelate should have been more careful; and that it is positively dangerous to treat Father Malone with ordinary unrestrained courtesy, seeing that we may be thus exposed to the risk of being misconstrued and misquoted by one who is all too eager to grasp at any pretence of support for his house of cards. See Lanigan's *History*, pp. 92, 102; and Malone's *Chapters*, p. 61. By the way, Father Malone in his strictures on Dr. O'Brien (*I. E. RECORD*, Aug., 1899), alludes to the author of the Spanish theory as 'our ingenious writer' no less than *nine times*. Is this Father Malone's 'ingenious' method of intimating that he accepts Dr. O'Brien's view? For myself, I have no difficulty in describing Father Malone as 'ingenious': I only wish I could call him ingenuous. But all this, by the way: I hope to deal with the 'Bonna-Ventha-Burii-ac' fiction more directly later on.

'authorities,' what Lanigan really does is to appeal to pure conjecture, and to endeavour to support the conjecture by a reference to the text of the *Confession*. His additional pretence of a local tradition in favour of his theory may be at once dismissed. He signally fails to give anything like a coherent statement of such a tradition; and his failure has been shared by all who have endeavoured to support a similar contention. If the reader desires to appreciate the value of the alleged local French tradition, let him turn to pages 96-97 of the *Ecclesiastical History*, where he will see a most amusing instance of flimsy special pleading, which, in any other writer, Dr. Lanigan would have torn to tatters with triumphant glee. If the reader further desires to see what can be advanced at the present day in favour of local French tradition, even by those who are most willing to prove St. Patrick a Frenchman, let him turn to the article by Father Morris in the *Dublin Review* of Jan., 1883, where he will find that all the evidence forthcoming consists of a 'blackthorn' producing the 'Flowers of St. Patrick,' and the name of the saint attached to a local 'station,' *S. Patrice*. But these flowers, like those immortalized by a certain popular lyricist, 'have nothing to do with the case'; and the name of the 'station' has just as little. Both flowers and railway station are 'about twenty miles from Tours,' between Tours and Angers. Father Morris is no believer in Mr. Lynch's wild theory, and he does not pretend that either flowers or station mark the place where St. Patrick was born; these objects merely mark the place where the saint crossed the river Loire! Having thus disposed of irrelevant matters, we may confine our attention to a consideration of Lanigan's conjecture.

1. *Dr. Lanigan's motives and partiality*

At the outset one may be inclined to ask, Why did Dr. Lanigan feel moved to put aside the old belief, and to supply its place by arbitrary theory? The answer to this question is not far to seek. Let the reader remember what has been already said about the gradual alienation of Irish sentiment and Irish sympathy from Scotland and

from the Scotch. This feeling of hostility was at its height when Dr. Lanigan was engaged in writing his history,¹ and sufficiently explains why Irishmen were disinclined any longer to believe that their national apostle was a Scotchman. It is as easy to indicate the reason why they were ready to believe that he was a Frenchman. While Scotland had been losing the sympathy of Ireland, France had been gaining what Scotland lost. Then, towards the close of the last century, the hopes excited by the French Revolution, and the events of '98, intensified the feeling of good-will towards France; and this sentiment of cordiality and sympathy had, on the whole, grown rather than diminished during the time Dr. Lanigan spent upon the compilation of his history. Above all, France, in spite of her crimes and blasphemies, was still regarded as a Catholic nation, whereas Scotland was known to be uncompromisingly Protestant and Presbyterian. These facts must be steadily borne in mind by those who would understand either the action of Dr. Lanigan, or the extraordinary success by which his action was attended.

We are thus prepared to find that Dr. Lanigan treats with scant courtesy the Irish and Scottish traditions in favour of Kilpatrick. At the outset, we remark that his knowledge of the locality, as in the case of all other theorists, seems to have been singularly defective. One meagre note sums up his sources of information, and this note refers to *Statistical Survey of Scotland* (vol. v., at 'Old Kilpatrick'), and Garnett's *Tour* (vol. i., p. 6), and ends with an unworthy sneer at a local popular story connected with a tombstone in the Kilpatrick churchyard.² Again, we are amused at his special pleading, when he attempts to explain away the force of the gloss on St. Fiacc's hymn.

His [the scholiast's] fixing upon Alcluit was very probably owing to there having been a church there, or in the neighbour-

¹ Dr. Lanigan published the first edition of his *Ecclesiastical History* in 1822; the second edition is dated 1829. But he seems to have been engaged upon the work for some twenty years before the earlier publication.

² Lanigan, p. 91, note (48). This unworthy sneer is unworthily reproduced by Father Morris. See my first article, I. E. RECORD, October, 1899, p. 341, note 1.

hood, bearing the name of St. Patrick, whence he supposed that Alcluit might have been the place of his birth. Or it might have easily happened, that the name Kilpatrick gave rise to a vulgar opinion among the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, that the reason of its being so called was the saint's having been born there.

This explanation reminds us of the eastern fable representing the earth as supported by an elephant, which in turn is supported by a tortoise; but the comparison between the fabulist and the historian is decidedly to the advantage of the former, for Dr. Lanigan *forgot the tortoise*. He omits to explain the striking fact, that the neighbourhood of Dumbarton was so peculiarly favoured *above all possible rivals* by the existence of the church of the saint, and by the possession of the name *Kilpatrick*.

Of course, Dr. Lanigan was not without a specious plea, which might be made to serve as an apparent justification for his arbitrary rejection of the claims of Scotland. The plea is one which offers no difficulty to the minds of such representative Irish scholars as Cardinal Moran, Bishop Healy of Clonfert, or Dr. P. W. Joyce, or to the minds of the long line of Protestant scholars, Irish, Scotch, English, and foreign, from Dr. Petrie's day to the present time. This fact alone is quite enough to dispose of the assumed and recklessly asserted 'impossibility' that St. Patrick could be born at Kilpatrick. Nevertheless, as this fallacy still continues to disfigure the pages of theorists and sciolists, we may as well once for all give it its *quietus*.

We are told, that there was in Scotland no Roman town which bore the name of Bonavon Taberniae. Now, from the times of Strabo and Ptolemy onwards, we have no writer who can be relied upon as giving an exhaustive, or even a complete account of the geography and topography of Roman Britain. Ptolemy, the latter of these two writers, only brings us down to about the middle of the second century. The materials used by both were certainly collected from accounts compiled at a period anterior to the actual date at which these geographers wrote. How, then, can we argue from what these writers do *not* mention,

when there is question of the existence of a Roman town in the latter half of the fourth century, *i.e.*, at least one hundred and fifty years later! To argue thus is simply to argue from the plenitude of admitted ignorance.¹ In any other case the traditional account of the saint would have been admitted, and the ancient records of his life would have been accepted as illustrating the state of his native country at the time of his birth; but, because certain Irishmen preposterously claim the right to choose their national apostle's birthplace, his own works are cross-questioned and harrassed under torture, in order to wring from them an avowal flattering to national vanity, or to the conceit of a would-be 'discoverer.' But the most ludicrous form of the objection is, when we are gravely assured that St. Patrick could not have been born in Kilpatrick, because his father was a *decurio*, and because in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton there was in his time no *municipium*, or *colonia*, or town that could have boasted of a *curia*. Once more, the reader will remark, that this objection is not recognised by Cardinal Moran, Bishop Healy, Dr. Joyce, Dr. Petrie, &c., or indeed by any competent scholar, whether Irish, Scotch, English, or foreign. We know something of the character and attainments of the men who do recognise and urge it. And we are forced to ask: Do these objectors know what they are talking about? Do they understand what period of Roman history they are discussing? It is notorious that from the time of the Emperor Caracalla, *i.e.*, from the second decade of the third century, the full rights of Roman citizenship were conferred upon all the free inhabitants within the limits of the Roman world. Observe, it is not merely a question of the minor privileges, or inferior degrees of autonomy hitherto enjoyed by certain *coloniae* or *municipia*; we are not dealing with the limited *Latinitas*: for the full Roman *Civitas*, with all its attendant

¹ That Dr. Lanigan should refer to the supposed Richard of Cirencester was excusable; but that Father Malone, in the year 1892, in his *Chapters*, p. 81, should still rely on Betram's 'impudent forgery' (as Dr. Skene terms it), is positively disgraceful—all the more so as Father Malone would apparently have his readers believe that he is acquainted with the contents of Dr. Skene's works.

rights and privileges, was conferred upon every free inhabitant of every town throughout the Roman Empire.¹ The fact is recorded by Gibbon; it is commented upon by Niebuhr: indeed, I believe it would be difficult to find an historian of the Roman Empire who does not refer to the action of Caracalla. Yet our theorists assure us, that in reference to a period nearly two hundred years after Caracalla's death, *i.e.*, at the close of the fourth century, they cannot find a *municipium*, or a *curia*, in north Britain. They can find what nobody wants—the birthplace of St. Patrick, in places where nobody expected it, and where none but themselves will acknowledge it; but they cannot discover a fact of which any intelligent schoolboy might well be ashamed to remain in ignorance.

2. Dr. Lanigan's conjecture

It would be tedious and unprofitable to enumerate and correct all Dr. Lanigan's erroneous guesses and statements. He was certainly a man of great learning for his time. Indeed, the great pity was that he had no rival in his own day and in his own particular department. He had merely *foils*, whose efforts to oppose or rival him would simply have served to emphasize his absolute supremacy in his own department. But the progress of knowledge cannot be arrested by any man or for any man's sake; and many of Dr. Lanigan's mistakes have long since been corrected. There is no use in 'slaying the slain.' We may, therefore, be content to state his hypothesis. Indeed, to state it is to refute it; for it would be hard to find any competent scholar at the present day who would venture to uphold Lanigan's theory in the particular form in which it was

¹ The writer of the article 'Civitas' in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, while recognising a certain limitation in the application of Caracalla's decree, bears decisive witness to the main fact here noted. 'The constitution of Antoninus Caracalla, which gave the *Civitas* to all the Roman world, applied only to communities, and not to individuals; its effect was to make all the cities in the empire *municipia*.' I may add, that some writers carry back this extension of the 'Civitas' to an earlier date, ascribing the measure to Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180). These authors suppose that Caracalla merely removed certain restrictions which limited the application of the earlier measure.

first advanced. Nay, more, we shall presently see that his own immediate followers were compelled to acknowledge his error, and were driven to seek such modifications of his view as might seem to render the French hypothesis still in some measure defensible. Here, then, is what Dr. Lanigan boldly advanced:—¹

Bonavem, or Bonaven Taberniae was in Aremoric Gaul, being the same town as *Boulogne sur mer* in Picardy. The addition of Taberniae marks its having been in the district of Taravanna or Tarvenna, alias Tarabanna, a celebrated city not far from Boulogne, the ruins of which still remain under the modern name of Terouanne. The name of the city was extended to a considerable district around it, thence called pagus Tarabannensis, or Tarvanensis regio, &c.

Probus calls St. Patrick a Briton, and so is he usually called in chronicles, breviaries, &c. In the older tracts of this kind Britain was said in general terms to have been his country; but in some of the later ones the word *Great* has been added to Britain. To guard against this interpolation, the corrector of the Breviary of Rouen has in the lessons for St. Patrick marked the Britain, his real country, by adding *Gallicana*. This was the Britain which Probus had in view, and which St. Patrick himself must have meant, when he mentions his having been in Britain with his parents; for there is no other Britain, in which the town Bonaven Taberniae can be met with. But this Gallican, or rather Armoric, Britain must not be confounded with the country now called Brittany; for it lay much farther to the north. Pliny places in the very neighbourhood of Boulogne, a people called Britons, whose territory stretched to near Amiens, &c.²

The above extracts present a strange medley of bad geography, and contain as many mistakes as phrases. These mistakes have long been generally acknowledged; and the reader shall presently see how even Lanigan's own followers did not fail to take exception to his statements. But the misrepresentation in connection with the Rouen Breviary calls for immediate protest. From the first occurrence of the earliest forms of the name *Britain*, the word, when used absolutely, admittedly applies to Great Britain rather than to France. This has always been true, and remains so even to the present time. If, then, we find

¹ *History*, p. 93.

² *Ibid*, p. 103.

the word *Britain* used apparently without definite qualification, and add the word *Great*, with a view to making the expression more definite or more emphatic, we are hardly going beyond the limits of legitimate comment, or doing what any honest man may fear to do. But to take upon ourselves to add the word *French*, or its equivalent, so as to give to the word *Britain* its *less usual* sense, is obviously tantamount to taking such a liberty with the text as amounts to absolute falsification. We have already seen how such a falsification was committed in the case of the Rouen Breviary;¹ and in the very passage now under consideration Dr. Lanigan admits the late introduction of the word *Gallicana*, an addition whose significance has been already pointed out, as indicating that the original text was felt to be adverse to the French theory. Yet here we see Dr. Lanigan actually endeavouring to fix upon the natural and obvious change that odium of 'interpolation' which justly attaches to a change to the *unusual and unnatural sense* of the word *Britain*. It has over and over again been pointed out that in the whole history of Latin literature, down to a period long posterior to the time of St. Patrick, *i. e.*, down to the end of the sixth century (one hundred years after the saint's death), no writer ever referred to any part of France under the name of *Britanniae*; yet this plural form is that which occurs in the saint's own writings. Again, even at the late date mentioned, the plural form only received such an application from the influence of an obviously false analogy: because both *Britannia* and *Britanniae* had been applied to Great Britain, people began to think that both forms indifferently might also be applied to part of France. But this is not all. Even the singular form, *Britannia*, was not used until a period so late as must render its use by St. Patrick to indicate a French province practically impossible. The earliest occurrence of this usage is in the year A.D. 458; and as St. Patrick wrote his *Confessio* towards the close of the century, and had long ceased to have direct personal

¹ See I. E. RECORD, November, 1899, p. 447, note 2.

intercourse and contact with France, it is utterly unreasonable to suppose that the saint could have adopted the late French usage, or that such usage could have penetrated to Ireland and influenced his style within a period of some thirty years. Indeed, no one who has ever read a single line of St. Patrick's works can be ignorant how little they favour the supposition that the author could have copied his modes of expression from the fashions of speech then prevailing on the Continent.

To these considerations another may be added. Would a native of *New Britain*, *New Ireland*, or *Nova Scotia*, be likely to announce to a Cape Town or New York audience that he was born in Britain, Ireland, or Scotia? If he did, everyone would denounce him as a pretender and a deceiver. Yet, the case is in some respects stronger with regard to St. Patrick. He could not look towards France without having his attention called to that Britain which intervened. How, then, could he apply the name *Britain* to a French province, ignoring at the same time that nearer, more obvious, and better known Britain which must have inevitably suggested itself to the minds of his readers? From whatever point we view the matter, it is quite clear that the attempt to make out that St. Patrick was born in France violates all the laws of probability and all the rules which govern the interpretation of documentary evidence.

So much for Dr. Lanigan's principal geographical argument. That argument is hopelessly wrong; and may serve to give a fair idea as to the question, how far he may be trusted in the rest of his topographical speculations.

3. *Dr. Lanigan's controversial tone*

Before passing on to the consideration of the attempts of Dr. Lanigan's followers, a few words must be said about the historian's manner of discussing his predecessors. O'Curry justly characterizes him a 'far too dogmatic writer.' Such, indeed, he is; but, as already intimated, we may charitably find a partial excuse for this fault when we

remember that Dr. Lanigan's unchallenged and unrivalled position as an historical authority was only too apt to encourage a somewhat recklessly dogmatic manner. But what shall we say of his contemptuous tone, when he was engaged in opposing the very greatest and most respected writers who had preceded him? Think of how he treats the learned and venerable Father John Colgan! Colgan is accused of having 'committed heaps of blunders,' of indulging in 'reasoning too pitiful to produce any effect,' of 'swallowing all this stuff' about the *Campus Tabernaculorum*, of practising 'evasion,' and of not having read, at least with attention, the Confession of St. Patrick!¹ Usher also 'swallows' things, *i.e.*, 'fables,' and uses 'evasion!'² And the Bollandists, like a set of forward and peevish children, are rebuked for being 'angry with' a writer, whose unsupported assertion not even Dr. Lanigan's special pleading can serve to render probable.³ Furthermore, the *Vita Quarta*, published by Colgan, and ascribed by him to St. Eleran the Wise, is represented as containing 'many fooleries;' and the *Scholia* on St. Fiacc's hymn are recklessly lumped together, and denounced as a 'hodge-podge collection of contradictory notes!'⁴

The writers thus scoffed at by Lanigan have since been amply avenged; their traducer has been convicted of having misapprehended the meaning of those very documents which he so scornfully refused to follow. But is it not time that Lanigan's uncritical methods of criticism were more generally recognised, and that a distinct and forcible protest should be entered against the tone of one whose irreverent and dogmatic theorising has proved the fruitful parent of confusion in Irish opinion and in Irish literature?

III. *Cashel Hoey's supplement to Lanigan's theory*

Whatever be Mr. J. Cashel Hoey's defects, it is a relief to turn to his more gentlemanly utterances after the crudities

¹ See Lanigan's *History*, pp. 85, 91, 93, 87, 89, and 92. In the last two passages the more obvious sense conveyed certainly is 'that Colgan had not read the Confession at all.'

² *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 105.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 90

of expression indulged in by Dr. Lanigan. Mr. Hoey undertook to 'perfect' and to 'complete' 'the proof which Dr. Lanigan had commenced.'¹ The work of the disciple was composed for delivery before the members of the 'Academia of the Catholic Religion,' a society founded in London by Cardinal Wiseman in the year 1861, and was published along with other essays in a volume edited by Dr. Manning, in 1865. The work of the master had then been before the world for some forty years, and the world had begun to discover certain insuperable difficulties in Dr. Lanigan's theory. The first difficulty arose from a recollection of the long and venerable series of authorities in favour of the Scottish view.

1. *Cashel Hoey's admissions*

The following extracts, though they fail to do justice to the point, are still worthy of special attention :—

The theory most generally accepted, and which *certainly has the greatest weight of authority in its favour*, is that which assumes that St. Patrick was born in *Scotland*, at *Dumbarton*, on the Clyde . . . The opinion that St. Patrick was a Scotchman has the *unanimous assent* of all the antiquaries of Scotland. . . . I have to add to the Scotch authorities and pleadings, however, *all the best of the Irish*. That St. Patrick was born in Scotland, is the opinion of Colgan, a writer whose services to the history of the Irish Church cannot be excelled and have not been equalled. . . . The Bollandists accepted it without hesitation; and I hasten to add to their great sanction that of the two most learned antiquaries of the latter days of Ireland, Dr. John O'Donovan and Professor Eugene O'Curry. They, I am aware, were also of Colgan's opinion; and so, I believe, are Dr. Reeves and Dr. Todd, whose views on most points of ecclesiastical antiquities connected with Ireland are entitled to be named with every respect.

This significant passage, penned by an adversary who was candid so far as his unconscious racial prejudices allowed him, does credit to the writer; but I cannot let it pass without protesting against the words, 'theory,' 'assumes,' and 'pleadings.' It is notorious that the 'theory,' 'assumption,' and special 'pleading' are entirely

¹ *Essays on Religion and Literature*, p. 109 foll.

on the side of our adversaries. I must also protest against some phrases which I have here omitted, and which show the writer's ignorance concerning the true state of the Strathclyde district during the interval between St. Ninian and St. Mungo.¹

Mr. Hoey also complains that he could not, 'in the course of a careful examination of the district, and the recognised authorities, concerning its topography, arrive at any acceptable evidence on the subject.' Well, the reader knows that the local topography and local authorities have succeeded in satisfying better scholars and better judges than Mr. J. Cashel Hoey. And a glance at my last article will furnish him with a good deal of very relevant local information, much more than can be found respecting any other place in Europe, so far as the question of St. Patrick's birthplace is concerned.²

2. *Cashel Hoey's refutation of Lanigan.*

Mr. Hoey partly agrees with Dr. Lanigan's conjectures, and partly dissents from them; but his dissent is more emphatic than his agreement. The pupil says of the master:—

I will not say that his proof with regard to the identity of Boulogne with Bonaven is conclusive; but if the whole of his proof rested on as strong presumptive grounds, little would remain to be said on the subject. The second part of it is,

¹ One has to complain of a similar display of ignorance on the part of all the anti-Scottish theorists. I have already warned the reader against their ignorance of the topography of the Kilpatrick neighbourhood; I must now warn him against their ignorance of the civil and ecclesiastical history of the country. I claim to be in a much better position than any of them to reconstruct the history of the period above referred to, the period coincident with St. Patrick's early life. I hope, in time, to publish such a reconstruction, which will serve to confute the wild and general assertions of interested critics. Meantime, I may call attention to the significant fact, that those who talk so glibly about the supposed utter desolation, dechristianizing, and barbarism of the Dumbarton district at the time referred to, are *unable to produce a single line* from any authority who ever gave such an account of the district in question. Our theorists, therefore, are merely arguing, to use a phrase already employed, from the plenitude of admitted ignorance.

² Father Morris also expresses dissatisfaction with the result of his personal visit to Kilpatrick. This dissatisfaction I can understand, for better reasons than any which he could assign. That a distinguished writer like him should

however, in my humble opinion, *wholly erroneous* . . . The passage identifying the Taberniae of Boulogne with Therouanne is, in my opinion, *altogether incorrect*.¹

Mr. Hoey then adds some reasons for his dissent, and finally sums up his judgment on his master's performance in the following pitiless exposure of Lanigan's ignorance ;²—

In fine, he confuses Therouanne, which is at a distance of *thirty miles* from Boulogne, and certainly did not stand in the relation he supposes to it, with another city *some twenty miles still farther away*. But Malbrancq, who was his chief authority, does not omit to mention that Tervanna and Taruanna are *two absolutely distinct places* : Tervanna was the old Roman name of the town now known as St. Pol—Taruanna that of Therouanne.

Cashel Hoey's conjectures

Having thus played Balaam to Lanigan's Balac, and condemned what he was rather expected to approve, Mr. Hoey next endeavours to establish some conjectures of his own. The attempt was somewhat rash. If Lanigan had failed, how could Hoey hope to succeed ?

Magna petis, Corydon, si Tityrus esse laboras.

But, as Tacitus puts in, 'speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute petebat.' The desire to distinguish himself as a discoverer betrayed him, as it has betrayed other Patrician theorists, into a course of action in which he showed more zeal than discretion. He first proceeds to look for *Emtur*, or *Nemtur*, incidentally giving Professor O'Curry a lesson in Irish. He fixes upon the river, *Em*, or *Hem*, and upon the neighbouring town, and triumphantly observes :—

The name is 'Tournehem, or, as it was written in Malbrancq's

think it worth his while to repeat his misleading jibe and absurd etymology in his *Ireland and St. Patrick*, published in 1892 (see p. 27, note 2), is a disgrace to Irish scholarship, or, rather, to pretended Irish scholarship. Cf. my first article I. E. RECORD, October, 1899, p. 341, note. It may be added that, so far as I can ascertain, Mr. Hoey and Father Morris are the only anti-Scottish theorists who have honoured Kilpatrick with a visit. Neither writer was satisfied with his visit. But as neither takes the trouble to explain either what he expected to find, or what he actually found, their dissatisfaction is of no consequence to anyone but themselves. All we can say is, that Father Morris apparently 'came to scoff,' and that Mr. Hoey did not 'remain to pray.'

¹ *Essays on Religion and Literature*, pp. 119-120.

² *Ibid.*, p. 123.

time, Tur-n-hem. The *tower* and the *river* show the derivation of the word at a glance. The exigencies of Irish verse simply caused their *transposition*!

And so St. Fiacc's *Nemthur* turns out to be Tur-n-hem! Poor St. Fiacc! Did ever Irish saint or writer suffer such a reverse before? But Mr. Hoey makes another discovery. *Eight miles* from Tournehem he finds Taberniae at Desvres. He solves the etymological question by assigning to the name of this latter town *two different derivations*.¹ When death overtook Mr. Cashel Hoey, he had not yet, apparently, made up his mind which derivation he should accept. Neither has the present writer yet decided this delicate question: the reader may choose for himself.

I am not aware that any serious scholar, or, indeed, any serious person, has ever been moved to adopt Mr. Hoey's ingenious conjectures. They, therefore, need not detain us any longer. It would be superfluous to refute them: one does not refute the nonsense of *Alice in Wonderland*. But before dismissing Dr. Lanigan's disciple, it is worth while to remark that his work was not entirely in vain. He betrayed the fact that his master's theory was no longer tenable. He set out intending to 'complete' Dr. Lanigan's view: he did more; he 'finished' it.

IV. *Father Morris's forlorn hope*

The French theory of St. Patrick's birthplace is dead: it died of inherent weakness. The reader who has attentively perused the preceding pages can have no doubt of the fact. But, just as on the death of Mohammed, some of his infatuated followers refused to believe that their idol had passed away, so there are some people who, in defiance of all that history and tradition can say, and in contempt of the weight of authority derived from the highest type of past and present scholarship, are so entirely dominated by their preconceptions that they will not believe that *Laniganism* is no more. Such a man is Father Morris. He may be taken as the last representative of a view which is so

¹ *Essays*, pp. 126-133.

destitute of any power of self-defence that it dares not take up a definite position. Observe his own words:—

It is not our intention to entangle ourselves and our readers in the controversy concerning the precise place in Gaul where St. Patrick was born: our only concern here is with his *nationality*, as evidenced by his own language, and his relations with St. Martin. We regard this fact as much more important than the identification of his birthplace.¹

We have already seen that St. Patrick's 'nationality, as evidenced by his own language,' is certainly British, not French; and to this point we shall presently return. But, without any intention of a joke, we may congratulate Father Morris on his unconscious frankness. 'Anywhere in France' will suit him; and his own language shows that this simply means 'anywhere but Scotland.'

1. *Father Morris's attack*

In this spirit of unworthy prejudice, he makes a last desperate attack upon the Scottish traditional view. His weapon is a sum in simple addition—a weapon as simple as David's pebble from the brook; and if it be not equally effective, the failure arises from want of skill on the part of the wielder. He triumphantly presents us with a sum in simple addition; and *the sum is wrong!* Let him speak for himself:—

St. Patrick died A.D. 492, and he himself tells us that he was 'about sixteen years of age' (*ferè sexdecim*) 'when carried captive to Ireland, and that he remained six years in servitude;' he was, therefore, in his twenty-second year when he escaped. Now, St. Martin died A.D. 397. *Ninety-five years*, therefore, intervened between his death and that of his disciple. As St. Patrick was *twenty-two incomplete* at the time of his escape, if we add to this the *four years* of Probus, then the one hundred and twenty years of St. Patrick's life follow as a necessary consequence of his connection with St. Martin; we have the beginning and the end.²

Passing over this dogmatic definition of the date of St. Patrick's death, I remark that according to Father

¹ *Ireland and St. Patrick*, p. 21: cf. *Dublin Review*, January, 1883, p.

² *Ireland and St. Patrick*, p. 11; *Dublin Review*, p. 6.

Morris's *own figures*, we have *more* than one hundred and twenty years; we have one hundred and twenty-one years *incomplete*. Why neglect the extra months? Is it because it suits the author's purpose? If so, I protest, not only against his want of accuracy, but against his want of candour?

If Father Morris indignantly replies that he states the sum at one hundred and twenty years because the one hundred and twenty-one years are incomplete, I rejoin, with equal, but more just indignation, that I will force him to be consistent. The ninety-five years are also incomplete. So, as we must assume, are the four years of Probus, during which St. Patrick and St. Martin were together; for who can suppose that they were years of mathematically exact length? If Father Morris can thus add together three terms of *incomplete years*, and obtain a sum of years *complete and precise*, will he kindly show us how he does it? This is the sort of pretended demonstration with which Irishmen are to be cheated out of the belief of their fathers!

And how long does Father Morris suppose St. Patrick would have taken to go from his home at Dunbarton to St. Martin's abode—he who apparently believes that the saint voyaged from Ireland to France in the impossibly short interval of three days? I say 'impossibly short;' for a modern steamer will take about the time in question to accomplish the voyage. If he cannot find room in his calculations for the *short interval of a few days, or weeks* required for St. Patrick to visit his friends at Dumbarton, let him abandon his incomplete chronology; for Father Morris's mathematics and logic are as incomplete as are the items with which he trifles. This is the last desperate attack upon the Scottish position; desperate, not because it is formidable, but because it is obviously despairing.

2. *Father Morris's defence*

The same distinguished writer has the credit of making the last attempt to defend the illogical statement, that the word *Britanniae* used by St. Patrick can refer to France

instead of to Britain. Once more, let him speak for himself:—

It has been argued that this predominance of the plural form points to *Britannia Major*, and its various divisions under the Romans. We find, however, in the writings of St. Jerome, that in more than one place he adopts the singular, *Britannia*, in referring to Great Britain, while Venerable Bede uses the singular and plural indiscriminately. So, even supposing the texts were unanimous, no valid argument can be drawn from them.¹

Passing over some minor points, let us observe the writer's main contention. He desires to prove that the plural form *Britanniae* can be applied to *France*; and he proves instead that the singular, *Britannia* can be applied to *Britain*; he would fain show that singular and plural indiscriminately can be referred to *France*; and, instead of this, he shows that singular and plural indiscriminately can be referred to *Britain*. He attempts to prove what none but the prejudiced can admit; he succeeds in proving that which no one has the least inclination to question.

There is a story told of an Irishman who was once directed to give 'an evasive answer' to an expected inquiry. The point of the story consists in the fact that the answer, when given, was not merely 'evasive,' but *utterly irrelevant*. Now, I have no certain knowledge of Father Morris's nationality; but, after this attempt of his to answer a very pertinent objection, I am strongly inclined to claim him as a fellow-countryman. The only thing which makes me hesitate is the reflexion that my countrymen are generally considered to be 'good at mathematics.'

We have now reviewed the history of the attempt to make out a French birthplace for St. Patrick. We have seen the character of the theorists: we have noted their contempt for national tradition, their recklessness of statement, their wildness in conjecture, and their ignorance of history and topography. We have seen them reduced to silence, or to a feebleness of utterance more significant than silence itself. In spite of the knowledge that the prejudices

¹ *Il. cit.*, pp. 13 and 25.

of my countrymen and of the Irish priesthood are deeply engaged in this matter, I do not hesitate to call for a reversal of their former judgment. 'And they said: These are thy gods, O Israel, that have brought thee out of the land of Egypt.'

These are thy *guides*, O Erin, who engaged to deliver thee from the unwelcome Scottish view, and to lead thee to the promised land of France! What must we think of them now? Their promises are unfulfilled; and the only result of their efforts has been to make us disunited amongst ourselves, and to render us a laughing-stock amongst the nations of the earth. The French view is dead: it died of an incurable disease—congenital *asthenia*. Is it not time that we returned to the view of our ancestors, to the view of O'Donovan and O'Curry, of Petrie and of Reeves, of Cardinal Moran and Bishop Healy, of the Bollandists and of Alban Butler, of all that is best and most trustworthy in scholarship, whether at home or abroad, whether in the past or in the present history of our land?

I shall give the words of some of these authorities in a subsequent article, for I have yet to review the *South British* theories. This, however, will be a comparatively simple task. In the meantime, I commend these pages to the earnest consideration of my countrymen; for what I have written has been written in the best interest of Ireland, as well as in the cause of truth.

GERALD STACK.

NOTE.—In my last article (I. E. RECORD, Nov., 1899, p. 447, line 12), I must ask the reader to delete the intrusive syllable 'op,' which occurs in the quotation of the gloss on St. Fiacc's hymn. In the same passage it will be observed that I have followed the reading, 'tuaiscirt,' *North*, as given by Cardinal Moran and Bishop Grant (*Dublin Review*, April, 1880, p. 294, and April, 1887, p. 336, note 3), rather than the reading of the I. E. RECORD, March, 1868, p. 282, note 1. In the present instance I am merely correcting a printer's error; in other matters, I may be allowed to crave the reader's kind indulgence. I write at a distance from all our great collections of Celtic manuscripts, and I am debarred from consulting many valuable sources of information which are open to my more fortunate contemporaries. I am ready to acknowledge with gratitude any authentic corrections with which I may be favoured.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

PROTESTANTS AS SPONSORS AT THE BAPTISM OF CATHOLICS

REV. DEAR SIR,—May Protestants be admitted to act as Sponsors for Catholic children? Sometimes Protestants present themselves on these occasions, and a priest does not always find it easy to refuse to admit them. J. J. C.

The practice of admitting heretics is manifestly opposed to the ends which the Church has in view in enjoining that sponsors should assist at baptism, and undertake, if needs be, the spiritual care of the person baptized. No wonder, therefore, that the Ritual excludes heretics from the office of sponsor, and that the prohibition of the Ritual has been frequently confirmed by the replies of the Roman Congregations. The Holy Office in a reply, May 3, 1893, stated that, when a heretic had been named as sponsor by the parents, it would be better, *if necessary*, to administer baptism without any sponsor.¹

DISPENSATION TO READ FORBIDDEN BOOKS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly state in the I. E. RECORD whether the bishops of Ireland have power to permit the faithful to read books of heretics propounding heresy?

CONSULENS.

I. A bishop cannot, of course, permit the reading of these books unless there be some necessity for reading them; moreover, there must be no serious danger to the faith or morals of the person to whom the permission is granted.

¹ Act. S. S. t. 26, p. 448

II. By his *ordinary* power any bishop may, in particular cases of urgency, when, *v.g.*, the necessity for immediate refutation does not permit the delay of referring to Rome, grant a dispensation to anyone—a layman or a cleric—to whom the work of refutation may be entrusted.

III. The Irish bishops have, in virtue of the *Formula Sexta*, power to grant, for sufficient cause, to priests *quos praecipue idoneos et honestos esse sciunt*—not to other clerics, or to laymen—a dispensation *ad tempus* permitting the reading of forbidden books. In this faculty a few books are by name excepted, together with all those treating *de obscenis et contra religionem ex professo*. A dispensation granted in virtue of this faculty is subject to the condition, that the holder of the dispensation keeps the forbidden books out of the reach of those who are not authorized to read them. The faculties of the *Formula Sexta* require, as everyone knows, to be renewed periodically. The bishop, as we have above remarked, can grant the dispensation only *ad tempus*. How is the restrictive clause *ad tempus* to be interpreted? It is commonly held to convey, that the bishop cannot grant a dispensation available beyond the time at which his own indult expires. It has been, however, suggested by some, that this clause may exclude a permanent dispensation *only*.¹

DANGER TO CATHOLICS IN PROTESTANT INSTITUTIONS

REV. DEAR SIR,—You would greatly oblige me by giving your opinion on the following case in the I. E. RECORD. In the city² in which I exercise the ministry there is a home for governesses under Protestant management, and conducted on distinctly Protestant lines. The inmates are obliged to attend prayers and Bible readings, which take place twice daily, and are occasionally conducted by an Anglican minister. No one is admitted to the establishment except on condition of compliance with this regulation. There is a home under Catholic auspices

¹ N. Rev. Theol. vol. ii., p. 660.

² Not in Great Britain or Ireland.

in the same city, where board and lodging are offered at a reasonable rate. . . .

CONFESSARIUS.

It is, we think, quite obvious that Catholics entering this sectarian institution, on the conditions stated, are seriously endangering their faith. Every legitimate means should be used to rescue them from the peril in which they are placed; nor should a confessor continue to absolve those who refuse to sever their connection with the institution.

D. MANNIX.

CORRESPONDENCE

HOMES FOR AGED AND INFIRM PRIESTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have read with much interest the letters that lately appeared in the I. E. RECORD on the above important subject. ‘Vicarius’ has thrown out a new and startling suggestion—the compulsory retirement of priests at the age of 75. This will not find favour with those who consider only their personal comfort, but surely the good of religion ought to be considered before the comfort of individuals, and who can deny that religion suffers from maintaining in the arduous and responsible position of pastors, old men who, no matter how zealous, holy, and energetic they were while blessed with health and vigour of manhood, are now beyond their work. In this diocese there are several such, good priests in their time, but now, on account, of their advanced years, and consequent weakness of body and mind, they can no longer discharge their duties in the Lord’s vineyard to the satisfaction of their Divine Master, or with advantage to souls entrusted to their charge. If new schools, or churches, or confraternities are needed in their parish, these old men block the way. They will do nothing, and in the meantime religion suffers.

Though yet some years removed from threescore and ten, which to my mind is the proper age for priests to retire from the mission, I long for the day when I shall be able, if the admirable suggestion of ‘Vicarius’ be acted on, to retire from the constant cares, anxieties, and grave responsibilities of a pastor, and spend the remainder of my life in peace and holy retirement in a home for aged priests.

PAROCHUS.

DOCUMENTS

INDEX OF INDULGENCES GRANTED TO THE MEMBERS
OF THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE HOLY ROSARY

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

I.

S. CONG. INDULG. TRANSMITTIT LOCORUM ORDINARIIS INDICEM
INDULGENTIARUM CONCESSARUM TUM SODALITIBUS MARIALI
ROSARIO TUM UNIVERSIS FIDELIBUS

RME DOMINE,

In ea, quam Summus Pontifex Leo PP. XIII de *Rosarii Marialis* sodalitatibus anno superiore Constitutionem edidit,¹ haec, praeter cetera, edicebantur: 'Magistri Generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum cura et studio, absolutus atque accuratus, quamprimum fieri potest, conficiatur index indulgentiarum omnium, quibus Romani Pontifices Sodalitatem Sacratissimi Rosarii ceterosque fideles illud pie recitantes cumularunt, a Sacra Congregatione Indulgentiis et SS. Reliquiis praeposita expendendus et Apostolica auctoritate confirmandus.' Quod igitur imperatum erat, iam demum exequutioni mandatum est; mihi quoque grato quidem officio, a Beatissimo Patre commissum, ut praedictum Indicem diligentissimis curis confectum supremaque Sua auctoritate adprobatum, Episcopis universis, ceterisque, quorum interest, mitterem.

Hanc vero Sanctissimi Domini voluntatem dum obsequens facio, nil sane dubito, quin Amplitudo tua constans illud studium mirabitur nec sine Dei instinctu esse aestimabit, quo Summus Pontifex, multos iam annos, ad augustam Dei Matrem confugere sanctissimi Rosarii ritu fideles omnes hortatur.

Kalendis primum septembribus anni MDCCCLXXXIII, Litteris Encyclicis *Supremi Apostolatus*, beneficia per Marialis Rosarii preces in christianum nomen collata recolens, in spem certam se adduci professus est, hanc eandem precandi rationem, hisce etiam difficillimis Ecclesiae temporibus, contra errorum vim late serpentium exundantemque morum corruptionem ac potentium

¹ Cfr. *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. vi., p. 439.

adversariorum impetum profuturam. Quamobrem, additis Indulgentiarum praemiis, edixit ut a catholicis ubique terrarum magna Dei Mater, Rosarii ritu, toto octobri mense coleretur.

Ex illo Beatissimus Pater, quotannis fere, hortari populos christianos haud destitit ut Rosarii consuetudine validum Deiparae patrocinium demereri Ecclesiae perseverarent. Ad studium vero fidelium augendum quidquid Marialis Rosarii dignitatem commendaret, datis a se litteris, sapientissime illustravit; seu naturam precationis eius rimando, seu vim extollendo qua pollet ad christianas virtutes fovendas, seu demum maternam ad opitulandum Virginis miserationem scite amanterque explicando.

Quem modo sacrarum Indulgentiarum Indicem ad te mitto, is veluti constantis operis fastigium est; hoc etenim Beatissimus Pater et fidem promissi praestat, et quae huc usque egit ad promovendam Rosarii religionem luculenter confirmat.

Bifariam Index dispescitur; pars altera Indulgentias exhibet, quae unis Sodalicis a Mariali Rosario conceduntur; altera, quae fidelibus universis communes sunt.

Haec Apostolicae largitatis munera ut commissus tibi populus norit proque merito aestimet Amplitudo tua curabit. Qua occasione Beatissimus Pater sollicite te usurum confidit ad fideles ipsos efficacius incitandos, ut reflorentem Rosarii consuetudinem studiose pieque servent, tum nomen Sodalicis dantes, tum octobrem mensem Reginae a Rosario dicantes, tum etiam in sua quisque domo et familia pium Rosarii officium quotidie peragentes.

Assidua hac imploratione mota, miseros Hevae filios Regina coelestis gloriosissima audiet clemens et exaudiet; quamque opem afflictis Ecclesiae rebus efflagitamus uberrime sine dubio impertiet.

Amplitudini Tuae diuturnam ex animo felicitatem adprecor.

Romae, die 30 Augusti an. 1899.

Amplitudinis Tuae uti Frater addictissimus.

Fr. H. M^a Card. GOTTI

S. C. Indulgentiis et SS. Reliquiis praepositae Praefectus.

L. ✠ S.

✠ A. SABATUCCI ARCHIEP. ANTINOENSIS,
Secretarius.

INDULGENTIAE CONFRATERNITATIS SANCTISSIMI ROSARII
 PARS PRIMA INDULGENTIAE CONFRATRIBUS PROPRIAE

I.

Pro iis qui confraternitati nomen dant

1. Indulgentia Plenaria, si confessi sacraque communione refecti in confraternitatem recipiuntur (Gregorius XIII, *Gloriosi*, 15 Jul. 1579).

2. Indulgentia Plenaria, si legitime inscripti et confessi, eucharistiae sacramentum sumunt in ecclesia seu capella confraternitatis, tertiam partem Rosarii recitant et ad intentionem Pontificis orant (S. Pius V, *Consueverunt*, 17 Sept. 1569).

NOTA.—Qui confraternitati adscribuntur, has indulgentias aut ipsa adscriptionis die, aut die dominica vel festiva proxime sequenti lucrari possunt (S. C. Indulg. 25 Febr. 1848).

II.

*Pro iis qui recitant rosarium*A.—*Quovis anni tempore*

3. Indulgentia Plenaria, semel in vita, si Rosarium ex instituto confraternitatis per hebdomadam recitant (Innocentius VIII, 15 Oct. 1484).

4. Si integrum Rosarium recitant, omnes consequuntur indulgentias quae in Hispania conceduntur coronam B. Mariae V, recitantibus (Clemens IX, *Exponi nobis*, 22 Februarii 1668).

5. Indulgentia quinquaginta annorum, semel in die, si tertiam partem Rosarii recitant in capella SS. Rosarii seu saltem in conspectu altaris praedictae capellae, vel si extra civitatem, in qua erecta est confraternitas, commorantur, in ecclesia vel oratorio publico quocumque (Adrianus VI, *Illius qui*, 1 Apr. 1523).

6. Indulgentia decem annorum et totidem quadragenarum, si ter in hebdomada Rosarium recitant, pro qualibet vice (Leo X, *Pastoris aeterni*, 6 Octobr. 1520).

7. Indulgentia septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum, pro qualibet hebdomada si integrum Rosarium recitant (S. Pius V, *Consueverunt*, 7 Sept., 1569).

8. Indulgentia quinque annorum et totidem quadragenarum quoties, recitando Rosarium, in salutatione angelica nomen Iesu devote proferunt (Pius IX, Decr. S. C. Indulg., 14 Apr., 1856).

9. Indulgentia quorum annorum si integrum Rosarium per hebdomadam dicendum per tres dies distribuunt, pro uno quolibet

ex his tribus diebus, quo tertiam partem Rosarii recitant (Clemens VII, *Etsi temporalium*, 8 Maii 1534).

10. Indulgentia tercentum dierum si recitant tertiam partem Rosarii (Leo XIII, 29 Aug. 1899).

11. Indulgentia centum dierum quoties alios inducunt ad tertiam partem Rosarii recitandum (Leo XIII, 29 Aug. 1899).

12. Indulgentia tercentum dierum, semel in die, si dominicis vel festis diebus in aliqua ecclesia Ordinis Praedicatorum assistunt exercitio, recitandi vel canendi processionaliter singulas Rosarii decades coram singulis mysteriis sive in pariete, sive in tabulis depictis (S. C. Indulgent, 21 Maii 1892).

B.—*Certis anni diebus vel festis.*

13. Indulgentia Plenaria, in festo Annuntiationis B. M. V., si confessi et communione refecti Rosarium recitant (S. Pius V *Iniunctum nobis*, 14 Iun. 1566.)

14. Indulgentia decem annorum et totidem quadragenarum, in festis Purificationis, Assumptionis, et Nativitatis B. M. V. si Rosarium recitant (S. Pius V, loc. cit.).

15. Indulgentia decem annorum et totidem quadragenarum, in festis Resurrectionis, Annuntiationis et Assumptionis B. M. V. si tertiam partem Rosarii recitant (S. Pius V. *Consueverunt*, 17 Sept. 1569).

16. Indulgentia septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum in reliquis festis D. N. I. C. et B. M. V. in quibus sacra ipsius Rosarii mysteria recensentur (scilicet, in festis Visitationis B. M. V. Nativitatis D. N. I. C., Purificationis et Compassionis B. M. V. [feria sexta post dominicam passionis], Ascensionis D. N. I. C., Pentecostes et Omnium Sanctorum), si saltem tertiam partem Rosarii recitant. S. Pius V, loc. cit.).

17. Indulgentia septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum in festis Nativitatis, Annuntiationis et Assumptionis B. M. V. si integrum Rosarium ex instituto confraternitatis per hebdomadam recitant (Sixtus IV, *Pastoris aeterni*, 30 Maii, 1478; Leo X, *Pastoris aeterni*, 6 Oct. 1520).

18. Indulgentia centum dierum in festis Purificationis Annuntiationis, Visitationis, Assumptionis et Nativitatis B. M. V. (Leo X, loc. cit.).

III.

Pro iis qui comitantur processionem ss. Rosarii.

19. Indulgentia Plenaria, si confessi et communicati processioni prima mensis dominica intersunt, ibique ad intentionem Summ

Pontificis orant et insuper capellam SS. Rosarii visitant (Gregorius XIII, *Ad augendam*, 24 Oct. 1577).

NOTA.—Hanc Indulgentiam, confratribus concessam, consequi poterunt confratres itinerantes, navigantes aut alicui inservientes (quos inter milites actu servientes adnumerantur) integra Rosarii recitatione; infirmi vero, vel legitime impediti si tertiam partem Rosarii recitant (Gregorius XIII, *Cupientes*, 24 Dec. 1583).

20. Indulgentia Plenaria si processionem associant in festis Purificationis, Annuntiationis, Visitationis, Assumptionis, Nativitatis, Praesentationis et Immaculatae Conceptionis B. M.V. (Pius IV. *Dum praeclara*, 28 Febr. 1561), vel aliquo die infra octavas istorum festorum (S.C. Ind. 25 Febr. 1848).

21. Indulgentia quinque annorum acquirenda, quando ex eleemosynis confraternitatis virgines matrimonio iungendae dotantur, si processioni intersunt (Gregorius XIII, *Desiderantes* 22 Mart. 1580.)

22. Indulgentia centum dierum, si processionem debitis diebus faciendam associant (Gregorius XIII, *Cum sicut*, 3 Ian. 1579).

23. Indulgentia sexaginta dierum, si processiones ordinarias tam confraternitatis, quam alias quascumque de licentia Ordinarii celebratas, etiam SS. Sacramenti ad infirmos delati, comitantur (Gregorius XIII, *Gloriosi*, 15 Iul. 1579).

IV.

Pro iis qui visitant capellam vel ecclesiam confraternitatis

24. Indulgentia Plenaria qualibet prima mensis dominica, si confessi et s. communione refecti id faciunt, ibique ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant (Gregorius XIII, *Ad augendam*, 12 Mart. 1577).

NOTA.—Hanc indulgentiam etiam confratres infirmi, qui ad eandem ecclesiam accedere non valent, lucrari possunt, si praevia confessione et communione, domi ante devotam imaginem Rosarium seu coronam (h. e. tertiam partem Rosarii: (S. C. Indulg. 25 Febr. 1877 ad 6), aut septem psalmos poenitentiales devote recitant (Gregorius XIII. loc. cit. *Ad augendam*, 8 Nov. 1578).¹

25. Indulgentia Plenaria, quavis prima mensis dominica, si sacramentis muniti, expositioni sanctissimi eucharistiae sacramenti in ecclesia confraternitatis, quatenus de Ordinarii licentia

¹ Verba: *Poenitentiales* et *Ad augendam* 8 Nov. 1578, quae non reperiuntur in foliis huc usque editis, fuerint addita in originali asservato in archivo S. Cong., proinde sunt ab omnibus addenda.—N. D.

locum habet, per aliquod temporis spatium devote intersunt, ibique ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant (Gregorius XVI, *Ad augendam*, 17 Decembris 1833).

26. Indulgentia Plenaria, si confessi ac s. communione refecti capellam SS. Rosarii aut ecclesiam confraternitatis visitant, ibique ad mentem Summi Pontificis orant a primis vesperis usque ad occasum solis in festis Domini Nativitatis, Epiphaniae Resurrectionis, Ascensionis et Pentecostes : item in duabus feriis sextis quadragesimae ad arbitrium eligendis ; nec non in festo Omnium Sanctorum, ac semel infra octiduum Commemorationis omnium fidelium defunctorum (Gregorius XIII, *Pastoris aeterni*, 5 Maii 1582 ; Gregorius XVI, *Ad augendam*, 17 Decembris 1833 ; S. C. Indulg., 12 Maii 1851).

27. Indulgentia Plenaria, sub iisdem conditionibus, a primis vesperis usque ad occasum solis, in festis B. M. V. Immaculatae Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Praesentationis, Annuntiationis, Visitationis, Purificationis, Assumptionis ac in festo septem Dolorum (feria sexta post dominicam Passionis (Gregorius XIII, loc. cit. : Clemens VIII, *De salute*, 18 Ian. 1593 ; Gregorius XVI, loc. cit.).

NOTA a.—Indulgentia Plenaria in festis B. M. V. Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Praesentationis, Annuntiationis, Visitationis, Purificationis et Assumptionis acquiri etiam potest par octavam, sed semel tantum in quovis octiduo (S. C. Ind. 25 Febr. 1848).

NOTA b.—Indulgentia Plenaria in diebus Paschatis, Ascensionis et Pentecostes, ac in festis B. V. M. Immaculatae Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Annuntiationis, Visitationis, Purificationis, Praesentationis et Assumptionis, nec non in duabus feriis sextis quadragesimae acquiri potest etiam visitando quamcumque aliam ecclesiam vel publicum oratorium (S. C. Indulg. 12 Maii 1851)

NOTA c.—Quoad itinerantes, navigantes, inservientes vel infirmos aut alias legitime impeditos, pro acquisitione Indulgentiae Plenariae ecclesiam seu capellam SS. Rosarii visitantibus concessae diebus quibus festa mysteriorum Rosarii celebrantur, idem dicendum, quod superius de iis, qui processioni intervenire nequeunt (n. 14), dictum est (Sixtus V. *Dum ineffabilia*, 30 Ianuarii 1586).

28. Indulgentia Plenaria, sub iisdem conditionibus, dominica infra octavam Nativitatis B. M. V. (Clemens VIII, *Ineffabilia* 12 Febr. 1598).

29. Indulgentia Plenaria, sub iisdem conditionibus, dominica tertia Aprilis, a primis vesperis usque ad solis occasum (Gregorius XIII, *Cum sicut*, 3 Ian. 1579).

30. Indulgentia septem annorum totidem quadragenarum, si confessi sacraque communione refecti capellam seu altare confraternitatis visitant, ibique ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant in diebus Nativitatis D. ni, Paschatis, Pentecostes, et in festis Immaculatae Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Annuntiationis, Visitationis et Assumptionis B. M. V., nec non in festo Omnium Sanctorum (Clemens VIII, *Salvatoris*, 13 Ian. 1593 ; Idem, *De salute*, 18 Ian., 1593).

31. Indulgentia centum dierum pro quolibet die quo visitant capellam seu altare SS. Rosarii, ibique ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant (Gregorius XIII, *Cum sicut*, 3 Ian. 1579).

NOTA.—Moniales in clausura viventes, iuvenes utriusque sexus in collegiis, seminariis, conservatoriis degentes, omnesque demum personae viventes in institutis ex quibus ad libitum egredi non possunt, imo et membra societatum catholicarum, omnes indulgentias pro quibus praescriberetur visitatio capellae seu ecclesiae confraternitatis—dummodo huic riti adscripti sint—lucrari possunt visitando propriam ipsorum ecclesiam, seu capellam, sive oratorium (S. C. Ind. 11 Aug. 1871 ; 8 Feb. 1874).

Confratres infirmi vel quomodocumque impediti quominus sacramentum eucharistiae recipiant, aut ecclesiam vel capellam visitent, indulgentias omnes pro quibus istae condiciones praescribuntur lucrari possunt, si confessi aliisque iniunctis operibus adimpletis, aliquod pium opus a confessario iniunctum exequantur.

Cum in quibusdam festis pro visitatione ecclesiae seu capellae SS. Rosarii praeter plenariam indulgentiam aliqua etiam indulgentia partialis concessa fuerit, ad hanc quoque acquirendam distincta ecclesiae seu capellae visitatio necessaria est.

V.

Pro iis qui visitant quinque altaria

32. Confrates qui visitant quinque altaria cuiuscumque ecclesiae vel oratorii publici, vel quinquies unum duove altaria ubi quinque non reperiuntur, lucrantur easdem indulgentias ac si Romae stationes visitarent (Leo X, 22 Maii 1518).

VI.

Pro iis qui dicunt vel audiunt missam votivam ss. Rosarii

33. Indulgentiae omnes integrum Rosarium recitantibus concessae, pro confratribus sacerdotibus si missam votivam secundum missale romanum pro diversitate temporis ad altare SS. Rosarii celebrant (quae missae votivae bis in hebdomada dici possunt)

pro aliis autem confratribus si tali missae assistunt et ibi pias ad Deum fundunt preces (Leo XIII, *Ubi primum*, 2 Oct. 1898).

34. Indulgentiae omnes concessae iis qui processionem prima uniuscuiusque mensis dominica fieri solitam associant, pro iis qui consuetudinem habent celebrandi vel audiendi hanc missam, semel in mense, die quo confessi sacramentum communionis recipiunt (Clemens X, *Coelestium munerum*, 16 Febr. 1671).

35. Indulgentia unius anni pro iis qui in sabbatis quadragesimae assistunt coniunctim missae, concioni de B. M. V. et antiphonae 'Salve Regina' (Gregorius XIII, *Desiderantes*. 22 Mar. 1580).

VII.

Pro iis qui devotionem quindecim sabbatorum ss. Rosarii peragunt

36. Indulgentia Plenaria in tribus ex quindecim sabbatis, uniuscuiusque arbitrio eligendis, si per quindecim sabbata consecutiva (vel immediate praecedentia festum SS. Rosarii, vel etiam quolibet infra annum tempore) confessi et s. communionem refecti ecclesiam confraternitatis visitant ibique ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant (S. C. Indulg., 12 Dec. 1849).

37. Indulgentia septem annorum et totidem quadragesimarum in duodecim sabbatis n. 36 non comprehensis (S. C. Indulg. 12 Dec. 1849).

VIII.

Pro iis qui mense rosariano certas devotiones peragunt

38. Indulgentia Plenaria, si exercitio mensis octobris, in ecclesiis Ordinis Praedicatorum institui solito, saltem decies interfuerunt, die ab ipsis eligendo, si sacramenta recipiunt et ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant (S. C. Indulg., 31 Aug. 1885).

39. Indulgentia septem annorum et totidem quadragesimarum quoties devotionibus in ecclesiis Ordinis Praedicatorum mense octobris quotidie instituti solitis intersunt (S. C. Ind., 31 Aug. 1885).

IX.

Pro iis qui assistunt antiphonae 'Salve Regina' cantatae

40. Indulgentia trium annorum et totidem quadragesimarum, si in ecclesia confraternitatis cum candela accensa (ubi usus viget, alibi adiungatur una 'Ave Maria') assistunt antiphonae 'Salve Regina' cantari solitae in festis B. M. V. quae ab universa

ecclesia celebrantur (S. C. Indulg., 18 Septem. 1862 ad 4), et in Apostolorum natalitiis, ac festis Sanctorum Ordinis Praedicatorum (Clemens VIII, *Ineffabilia*, 12 Febr. 1598).

41. Indulgentia centum dierum omnibus diebus per totum annum, si huic antiphonae post completorium assistunt (Clemens VIII, loc. cit.).

42. Indulgentia quadraginta dierum in omnibus sabbatis ac diebus festivis per annum (Leo X, *Pastoris aeterni*, 6 Oct. 1520).

NOTA.—Indulgentias nn. 40 et 41 recensitas legitime impediti, quominus in ecclesia huic antiphonae adstent, lucrari possunt si eandem flexis genibus coram altari vel imagine B. M. V. recitant (Clemens VIII, *Ineffabilia*, 12 Febr. 1598).

X.

Pro iis qui orationem mentalem aut alia spiritualia exercitia peragunt

43. Indulgentia Plenaria, semel in mense, si per integrum mensem quotidie per mediam horam vel saltem per quartam horae partem mentali orationi operam dant, die ad eorum arbitrium eligendo, quo sacramenta poenitentiae et eucharistiae recipiunt (Clemens X, *Ad ea*, 28 Ian., 1671).

44. Indulgentia Plenaria, si in memoriam quadraginta dierum, quibus dominus Iesus stetit in deserto, per eundem numerum dierum in oratione, mortificatione et in aliis piis operibus sese exercuerint, semel in anno, die ab ipsis eligendo (Pius VII, *Ad augendam*, 16 Februarii 1808).

45. Indulgentia septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum, quoties per mediam horam mentali orationi operam dant (Clemens X, *Ad ea*, 28 Ian. 1671).

46. Indulgentia centum dierum quoties per quartam horae partem meditationi vacant (Clemens X, loc. cit.).

XI.

Pro iis qui visitant confratres infirmos

47. Indulgentia trium annorum et totidem quadragenarum, quoties infirmos confratres visitant (Clemens VIII, *Ineffabilia*, 12 Feb. 1598).

48. Indulgentia centum dierum si confratres infirmos ad ecclesiastica sacramenta suscipienda hortantur (Gregorius XIII, *Cum sicut*, 3 Ian. 1579).

XII.

Pro iis qui suffragantur animabus confratrum defunctorum

49. Indulgentia Plenaria, si in quatuor anniversariis (diebus 4 Feb., 12 Jul., 5th Sept., 10 Nov.) quotannis in ecclesiis publicis tum fratrum, tum sororum Ordinis Praedicatorum institui solitis, officiis defunctorum intersunt, ac confessi sacraque communione refecti ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant, semel quolibet ex illis quatuor diebus (Pius VII, *Ad augendam*, 11 Feb. 1808).

50. Indulgentia octo annorum si exequiis adstiterint sequentes processionem quae in suffragium defunctorum quolibet die sabbati aut semel in mense per ecclesiam confraternitatis sive per claustrum ducitur (Gregorius XIII, *Desiderantes*, 22 Mart. 1580).

51. Indulgentia trium annorum et totidem quadragenarum, quoties corpora confratrum defunctorum ad ecclesiam confraternitatis associant (Clemens VIII, *Ineffabilia*, 12 Febr. 1598).

52. Indulgentia centum dierum si cadavera confratrum cum vexillo confraternitatis ad sepulturam associant, vel si anniversariis pro animabus defunctorum confratrum celebratis intersunt, et ibidem ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant (Gregorius XIII, *Cum sicut*, 3 Ian. 1579).

XIII.

Pro iis qui quodcumque caritatis vel pietatis pous peragunt

53. Indulgentia sexaginta dierum quoties confratres aliquod opus caritatis et pietatis exercent (Gregorius XIII, *Gloriosi*, 15 Jul. 1579).

XIV.

Pro morientibus

54. Indulgentia Plenaria, a sacerdote etiam extra confessionem per formulam communem applicanda, si Rosarium per hebdomadam recitare consueverunt (Innocentius VIII, 13 Oct. 1483; S. C. Indulg. Decr. 10 Augusti 1899).

55. Indulgentia Plenaria, si ex hac vita migrant manu tenentes candelam benedictam SS. Rosarii, dummodo semel saltem in vita integrum Rosarium recitaverint (Hadrianus VI, *Illius qui*, 1 Apr. 1523).

56. Indulgentia Plenaria, si sacramenta poenitentiae et eucharistiae recipiunt (S. Pius V, *Consueverunt*, 17 Septemb. 1569).

57. Indulgentia Plenaria, si contriti ss. nomen Iesu saltem corde, si ore non possunt, invocant (Leo XIII, Rescr. S. C. Indulg. 19 Aug. 1899).

58. Indulgentia Plenaria, si susceptis Ecclesiae sacramentis fidem Romanae Ecclesiae profitentes et antiphonam 'Salve Regina' recitantes, B. Virgini se commendant (Clemens VIII, *Ineffabilia*, 12 Febr. 1598).

NOTA.—Quamvis heic relata sit pluries indulgentia plenaria in mortis articulo, tamen ad tramitem Decretorum S. C. Indulgent. una tantum acquiri poterit in mortis articulo sub una vel altera ex diversis conditionibus supra expositis.

XV.

Pro defunctis

59. In ecclesiis Ordinis Praedicatorum altare SS. Rosarii pro sacerdotibus eiusdem Ordinis privilegiatum est pro anima cuiuscumque confratris (Gregorius XIII, *Omnium saluti*, 1 Sept. 1582).

60. In ecclesiis confraternitatis altare SS. Rosarii pro sacerdotibus confratribus gaudet privilegio, non solum in favorem confratrum defunctorum, sed etiam cuiuscumque defuncti, etiamsi aliud altare privilegiatum in eadem ecclesia existat. Imo, si in ecclesia non extat aliud altare privilegiatum, altare SS. Rosarii etiam pro quocumque sacerdote, quamvis confraternitati non adscripto, et in favorem cuiuscumque defuncti privilegiatum est (S. C. Ind. *Cameracen.* 7 Iun. 1842; Pius IX, *Omnium saluti*, 3 Mart. 1867).

PARS SECUNDA

INDULGENTIAE CONFRATRIBUS CUM ALIIS FIDELIBUS COMMUNES

61. Indulgentiae septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum, prima dominica cuiuslibet mensis, si processioni intersunt (S. Pius V, *Consueverunt*, 17 Sept. 1569).

62. Indulgentia plenaria toties quoties in festo SS. Rosarii, sacramentis refecti, a primis vesperis usque ad occasum solis diei ipsius, in memoria victoriae super Turcas apud Echinadas insulas ope Rosarii reportatae, capellam (vel effigiem B. M. V. in ecclesia expositam: S. C. Ind. 25 Ian. 1866) visitant, ibique

ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant (S. Pius V, *Salvatoris*, 5 Mart. 1572 ; S. C. Indulg., 5 Apr. 1869, 7 Iul. 1885).

NOTA.—Ad lucranda[m] praefatam Indulgentiam, confessio poterit anticipari feria sexta immediate praecedenti festum SS. Rosarii (Leo XIII, Rescr. S. C. Ind., 19 Augusti 1899).

63. Indulgentia plenaria in uno die octavae festi SS. Rosarii ad arbitrium uniuscuiusque eligendo, si, sacramentis refecti, capellam SS. Rosarii, vel simulacrum B. M. V. in ecclesia expositum, visitant, ibique ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant (Benedictus XIII, *Pretiosus*, 30 Maii 1727 ; S. C. Ind., 7 Iul. 1885).

64. Indulgentia Plenaria sub iisdem conditionibus in festo Corporis Christi et in festo Sancti Titularis ecclesiae (Gregorius XIII, *Desiderantes*, 22 Mart. 1580).

65. Omnes et singulae indulgentiae in hoc Indice contentae possunt per modum suffragii applicari animabus fidelium qui vinculo caritatis Deo coniuncti supremum diem obierunt ; excepta tamen Plenaria in mortis articulo (Innocentius XI, *Ad ea*, 15 Iun. 1679).

DECRETUM

Cum Magister Generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum mandato obtemperans articuli xvi Constitutionis Apostolicae *Ubi primum* anno superiore editae, novum Indulgentiarum Indicem huic S. Congregationi exhibendum curaverit, H. S. Congregatio illum diligentissime expendit, adhibita etiam opera quorundam ex suis Consultoribus. Cumque, mature perpensis omnibus, existimaverit nonnulla demenda, addenda vel brevius exprimenda esse, has omnes immutationes, in Indicem praefatum inducendas, SSmo Dno Nostro Leoni Pp. XIII per infrascriptum Cardinalem Praefectum subiecit.

Sanctitas autem Sua in audientia diei 29 Augusti 1899 eas benigne approbare dignata est, simulque novum hunc Indicem uti supra redactum in omnibus et singulis partibus probavit, Indulgentias omnes in eo contentas Apostolica Sua Auctoritate confirmavit, et, quatenus opus sit, denuo concessit ; simul edicens praeter eas quae in praesenti Indice referuntur quascumque alias Confraternitatibus ss. Rosarii tributas, abrogatas seu revocatas esse concendas, ita ut quaecumque iam erecta vel in posterum erigenda sit Sodalitas ss. Rosarii a Magistro Generali Crdinis

Praedicatorum iis tantummodo gaudeat Indulgentiis quae in hoc Indice insertae reperiuntur. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis die 29 Augusti 1899.

FR. HIERONYMUS M. Card. GOTTI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ A. SABATUCCI Archiepiscopus Antinoensis,
Secretarius.

APPENDIX

Summarium indulgentiarum omnibus christifidelibus pro devotione SS. Rosarii concessarum

1. Indulgentia Plenaria, semel in anno, si singulis diebus saltem tertiam partem Rosarii recitant, et die ab ipsis eligenda sacramentis reficiuntur, dummodo adhibeant coronam ab aliquo religioso Ordinis Praedicatorum, vel ab alio sacerdote deputato benedictam (*Raccolta*, Editio 1898, n. 194).

2. Indulgentia centum dierum pro quolibet 'Pater noster' et qualibet 'Ave Maria,' si integrum Rosarium vel saltem tertiam eius partem recitant, dummodo Rosarium sit benedictum ab aliquo religioso Ordinis Praedicatorum, vel ab alio sacerdote deputato (*Ibid.*).

3. Indulgentia quinque annorum et totidem quadragenarum, quoties tertiam partem Rosarii recitant (*Ibid.*).

4. Indulgentia decem annorum et totidem quadragenarum, semel in die, si una cum aliis, sive domi, sive in ecclesia, sive in aliquo oratorio publico seu privato, saltem tertiam partem Rosarii recitant (*Ibid.*)

5. Indulgentia Plenaria in ultima singulorum mensium dominica, si saltem ter in hebdomada tertiam partem Rosarii una cum aliis sive domi, sive in ecclesia, sive in aliquo oratorio recitant, et in dicta ultima dominica ss. sacramentis refecti aliquam ecclesiam seu aliquod publicum oratorium visitant, ibique secundum mentem Summi Pontificis orant (*Ibid.*).

6. Indulgentia Plenaria in uno ex quindecim sabbatis continuis, arbitrio uniuscuiusque eligendo, si singulis sabbatis sacramenta suscipiunt, et tertiam partem Rosarii recitant, vel aliter eiusdem mysteria devote recolunt (*Raccolta*, edit. cit., n. 197).

NOTA.--Quoties fideles legitime impediuntur quominus praefatum exercitium die sabbati peragant, absque indulgentiarum iactura illud die dominica explere possunt (*Ibid.*).

7. Indulgentia septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum, omnibus sabbatis n. praecedenti non comprehensis (Ibid.).

8. Indulgentia Plenaria, si quovis anni tempore per novem dies in honorem Reginae SS. Rosarii piis exercitiis operam dant, recitando preces a legitima auctoritate approbatas, die ad arbitrium uniuscuiusque eligendo, sive intra novendiales sive infra octo dies immediate sequentes novendum, quo vere poenitentes, confessi et s. communione refecti iuxta mentem Summi Pontificis orant (*Raccolta*, edit. cit., n. 149).

9. Indulgentia tercentum dierum pro omnibus aliis diebus novendii, quibus in dictis orationibus se exercent (Ibid.).

Pro recitantibus tertiam partem Rosarii in mense Octobris

A SSmo Dno Nostro Leone PP. XIII (1 Septembris, 1883, 20 Augusti, 1885, 23 Iulii, 1898), concessae fuerunt in perpetuum Indulgentiae quae sequuntur :

10. Indulgentia Plenaria, si in die festo B. V. de Rosario, vel aliquo die infra octavam, sacramenta rite suscipiunt, et aliquam sacram aedem visitant, ibique ad mentem Summi Pontificis orant, dummodo die festo et singulis per octavam diebus sives publice in aliqua ecclesia, sive privatim tertiam partem Rosarii recitent.

11. Indulgentia Plenaria, si post octavam festi SS. Rosarii saltem decies infra eundem mensem octobris, sive publice in aliqua ecclesia, sive privatim, tertiam partem Rosarii recitant et die ab ipsis eligendo sacramenta rite suscipiunt, aliquam ecclesiam visitant ibique ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant.

12. Indulgentia septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum pro quovis die mensis octobris, quo fideles tertiam partem Rosarii sive publice in aliqua ecclesia, sive privatim recitant.

13. Omnes et singulae Indulgentiae in hoc Summario recensitae sunt applicabiles animabus igne purgatorii detentis (*Raccolta*, edit. cit., p. XXII, n. 4).

Sacra Congregatio Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita praesens Summarium Indulgentiarum omnibus Christifidelibus pro devotione SSmi Rosarii concessarum uti authenticum recognovit typisque imprimi ac publicari permisit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 29 Augusti, 1899.

Fr. HIERONYMUS M. Card. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ A. SABATUCCI, Archiepiscopus Antinoensis,
Secret.

II.

INDULTUM QUO PROROGATUR AD ANNUM, I. E. USQUE AD DIEM 2 OCT. 1900, TEMPUS CONCESSUM IN CONSTITUTIONE 'UBI PRIMUM' D. D. 2 OCT. 1898, AD PETENDAS LITTERAS PATENTES RMI MAGISTRI GENERALIS ORD. PRAED. PRO CONFRATERNITATIBUS SS. ROSARII SINE TALIBUS LITTERIS AB INITIO INSTITUTIS.

BEATISSIMO PADRE,

Fr. Giacinto Maria Cormier, Procuratore Generale dei Predicatori, umilmente prostrato ai piedi di V. S. espone che:

Il No. III della Costituzione Apostolica '*ubi primum*'¹ avendo suscitato alcuni dubbi, sotto posti alla S.V. da Monsignor Vescovo di Aosta, e la risposta ai dubbi essendo stata data dalla S. Congregazione delle Indulgenze con approvazione di V. S., solamente il 10 agosto 1899,² l'anno concesso da V.S. nel mentovato No. III, perché le Confraternite del S. Rosario che non stanno in regola abbiano tempo di munirsi delle Lettere Patenti del Maestro Generale dei Predicatori, sembra ormai insufficiente per raggiungere lo scopo, giacché la suddodata Costituzione venne pubblicata *Sexto Nonas Octodris*, 1898.

Perciò l'Oratore nell'interesse delle anime e del lucro delle Indulgenze, implora la Concessione di *un altro anno* di tempo durante il quale gli Ordinari ed i Rettori delle Confraternite, conosciute le risposte del 10 agosto 1899, avranno tutta facilità di munirsi, dato che facesse d'uopo, dei richiesti documenti.

Che della grazia, etc.

Ss. D. N. LEO PP. XIII in Audientia habita die 8 Septembris 1899. ab infrascripto Card. Praefecto S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, benigne annuit pro gratia iuxta preces. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 8 Septembris, 1899.

Fr. HIERONYMUS M. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

Pro R. P. ANT. A. ARCHIEP. ANTINOEN, *Secretario*.
Ios. M. Canonicus COSELLI, *Subst*.

¹ Cfr. *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. vi, p. 439.

² Cfr. *Anal. Eccl.*, fasc. praec. p. 366.

**CANONIZATION OF THE BLESSED JOHN BAPTIST DE LA
SALLE, FOUNDER OF THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS**

ROTHOMAGEN.—DECRETUM

CANONIZATIONIS BEATI IOANNIS BAPTISTAE DE LA SALLE FUNDATORIS
CONGREGATIONIS FRATRUM SCHOLARUM CHRISTIANARUM

SUPER DUBIO

AN ET DE QUIBUS MIRACULIS CONSTET IN CASU ET AD EFFECTUM
DE QUO AGITUR

Quam praeclens quamque frugifera sit virtus naturalibus haud relicta viribus, sed altis fidei christianae fixa radicibus divinaeque gratiae suffulta praesidio, mire ostendunt, eorum exempla, quotquot Ecclesia ad Beatorum Coelitum honores evexit. Nam praeter innumeros, qui causa Religionis martyres occubuerunt invicti; alii consepulti cum Christo solitariam vitam egerunt eamque intaminatam sic, ut cum Angelis de virtute certare visi fuerint; alii vero, quasi fluctibus obiecti quotidianae ac publicae vitae, mirum quantum in communibus etiam obeundis ministeriis profuere.

Extremis his est accensendus Ioannes Baptista de La Salle Religiosae Familiae Institutor, cui nomen a Scholis Christianis, quo viro insigni gloriatur iure saeculum XVII. Rhemis in Gallia ortus est anno MDCLI., nobili genere. Adolescentia pie integre exacta, adlectusque anno aetatis suae XVI. inter canonicos metropolitanae Ecclesiae Rhemensis sui expectationem, suscepto sacerdotio, non cumulavit solum, verum etiam longe superavit. Optime enim ratus, *non sua esse quaerenda, sed quae Iesu Christi*, mature coepit officio fungi sanctissime ad plurimorum salutem. Quo in ministerio etsi omnis generis muneribus parem se probaret, nihilominus visus est a divina Providentia designari maxime ad christianam adolescentium popularium institutionem. Itaque scholas, quas primarias vocant, condidit in Gallia, eamque invexit docendi instruendique rationem, quam institutione religiosae familiae perpetuam reddidit, et diuturnus usus per omnes fere orbis regiones maxime probavit. Idem tyrocinia esse voluit formandis praeceptoribus qua disciplina aetas nostra gloriatur quasi recens inducta. Quamobrem mirum non est quod viro de hominum societate tam egregie merito Gallia statuan posuerit publice.

Verum longe maximam gloriam ei pepererunt praeclarae virtutes ab intimo sensu religionis profectae, quibus fructus est

consequutus uberrimos, civili quoque societati valde proficuos. Sincera sane in viro fides nec sine operibus mortua; singularis pietas; vehemens ardor procurandae salutis proximorum. Caritatis enim igne sic exarsit, ut reiectis paternis bonis suaeque familiae commodis, abdicatis etiam honoribus humile et asperum vitae genus fuerit persecutus, nullis non obnoxium difficultatibus, insectationibus, contumeliis. Quibus ad ultimum confectus decessit septimo idus apriles anno MDCCXIX propagata iam per varias orbis regiones ab se instituta Familia Fratrum a Scholis Christianis de re christiana et civili optime merita.

Quamquam autem, tanti viri sanctitate prodigiis etiam confirmata, de Beatorum Coelitus honoribus eidem decernendis multo antea poterat agi, divino tamen consilio factum videtur ut ipse ea aetate publico proponeretur obsequio atque exemplo, qua plurimorum excidit animis divina sententia *initium sapientiae timor Domini*, quum nempe adolescentes aut erudiuntur amoto Deo, aut sin minus ea disciplina aguntur quam non informat spiritus Christi sed humana prudentia, adeo ut vera maneat S. Augustini sententia '*Regnat, Enchirid. c. 117, carnalis cupiditas, ubi non regnat Dei caritas.*' Ex quibus facile intelligitur, non modo opportunum esse sed etiam perutile, in albo Sanctorum inscribi hoc tempore virum, imaginem referentem divini magistri, qui dixit: *Sinite parvulos venire ad me.*

His de causis instantibus Sodalibus Scholarum Christianarum ut Beato ipsorum Patri Ioanni Baptistae de La Salle supremum honorum fastigium imponeretur, eiusque rei gratia bina vulgarentur eius intercessione patrata miracula, Sedis Apostolicae venia, accurata in illa inquisitio facta est processualesque tabulae a S. Rituum Congregatione et recognitae et probatae sunt.

Horum primum contigit anno MDCCCLXXXIX. in collegio Ruthenensi in Gallia. Leopoldus Tayac adolescens gravissima pneumonite detinebatur sic, ut medicorum spe omni abiecta, affecto lethaliter centro, in eo esset ut spiritum ageret. B. Ioanne Baptista de La Salle apud Deum sequestro repente morbus omnis evanuit.

Alterum accidit miraculum eodem anno in religiosa domo vulgo *Maison neuve* prope Marianopolim. Nethelmus e Congregatione Scholarum Christianarum insanabili poliomielite adeo laborabat e spinae laesione orta, ut neque gradum facere neque nullo vel minimo sese pedum motu agitare iam posset. Immobilis itaque et medicorum omnium spe destitutus, procidens ante

imaginem B. Ioannis Baptistae multo cum fletu obtestatur ut ipsum aspiciat opemque ferat. Mirum! Subito vivere ac vigere pedes sensit, redire motum et qui modo semimortuus apparebat iam redivivus ac vegetus videretur.

De quibus miraculis triplici ad iuris normas actione est deceptatum. In Comitii nimirum antepreparatoriis decimotertio calendas augusti anno MDCCCXCVII. habitis in Aedibus Rmi Cardinalis Lucidi Mariae Parocchi Causae Relatoris; in Conventu praeparatorio ad Vaticanum coacto tertio calendas septembres posteriore anno MDCCCXCVIII.; ac demum in generali coetu ibidem coram Sanctissimo Domino Nostro LEONE PAPA XIII. indicto hoc vertente anno, nono calendas martias. Qua postrema in Congregatione Rmus Cardinalis Lucidus Maria Parocchi dubium ad discutiendum proposuit: 'An et de quibus miraculis constet in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur.' Omnes Rmi Cardinales ceterique Patres Consultores suffragium singuli tulere; quibus Beatissimus Pater: 'Vestras de propositis sanationibus sententias intento secuti animo sumus. Nostri tamen iudicium de more differimus, divinum lumen humillime imploraturi. Cupimus quidem ut tali viro qui Galliae nomen auxit Ecclesiamque totam virtute sua illustravit, maxima altarum honorum incrementa contingant quanlocius et feliciter.'

Hodierna igitur die, Dominica quarta post Pascha promeritam laudem novensili Beato, Ioanni Baptistae de La Salle, deferendam censuit. Rei igitur sacrae devotissime operatus, hanc Vaticanam aulam adiit et accessi iussit Rmos Cardinales Camillum Mazzella Episcopum Praenestinum S. R. C. Praefectum, et Lucidum Mariam Parocchi Episcopum Portuensem et Sanctae Rufinae Causa: Ponentem, nec non Ioannem Baptistam Lugari Sanctae Fidei Promotorem, meque insimul infrascriptum Secretarium iisque adstantibus solemniter edixit: 'Constare de duobus propositis miraculis; scilicet de primo: Instantanae perfectaeque sanationis adolescentis Leopoldi Tayac a gravissima pneumonite cerebralibus atque letiferis stipata symptomatis; et de altero: Instantanae perfectaeque sanationis Fratris Netheelmi e Congregatione Scholarum Christianarum a poliomielite cronica transversa lumbari et ab ulceribus in cruribus.'

Hoc autem Decretum in vulgus edi et in S. R. C. acta referr mandavit pridie calendas maias anno MDCCCXCIX.

C. Ep. Praenestinus Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C., *Praef.*

L. ❖ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C., *Secret.*

FACULTIES GIVEN TO MAYNOOTH COLLEGE TO CONFER DEGREES IN THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND CANON LAW

On the 25th of June, 1898, a letter, with the approval of Cardinal Logue, was addressed to Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of the Propaganda.

EMO. AC RMO. DNO. CARD. LEDOCHOWSKI

S. CONGREGATIONIS DE PROPAGANDA FIDE PRAEFECTO

EMF. AC RME. PATER,

Die 29^a mensis Martii anni 1896, litteris ad Emum. Hiberniae Cardinalem missis, Eminentia tua significavit, facultatem baccalaureatum in philosophia omnesque gradus academicos in S. theologia conferendi, Collegio nostro Manutiano, Sanctae Sedis gratia, fuisse benignissime concessam.

Isidem litteris mandatum est ut 'appositum studiorum statutum' pro nostro Collegio redigeretur, et ad Sacram Congregationem de Propaganda Fide examinandum et adprobandum infra annum mitteretur; sed per litteras Eminentiae tuae, diei 5 Aprilis, 1897, tempus hoc mandatum adimplendi usque ad finem mensis Junii hujusce anni 1898, fuit protractum. Nunc igitur ad Eminentiam tuam haec nova mittimus Statuta Collegii nostri Manutiani, quae omnes Hiberniae Episcopi in comitiis suis paucis abhinc diebus habitis probarunt.

In hisce statutis res ita constituuntur ut non modo in S. Theologia juxta facultatem jam benigne concessam, sed etiam in philosophia et jure canonico omnes gradus academici in nostra Collegio dehinc conferri possint. Quam novam facultatem, nomine omnium Hiberniae Episcoporum, enixe supplicamus, tum quia Collegium ubi totus fere clerus Hiberniae formatur, seu potius ipsa in Hibernia Ecclesia, schola aliqua completa ac perfecta non modo S. Theologiae sed etiam philosophiae et juris canonici muniri debet, tum quia nil magis conferre potest ad studia philosophica et canonica in ipso Collegio et in tota Hibernia elevanda ac perficienda quam incitamentum graduum academicorum alumnis Manutianis praebere. Humillime igitur petimus ut haec facultas non denegetur.

Heic adjicimus tabulam quae numerum lectionum in disciplinis philosophicis, theologicis, canonicis, singulis hebdomadibus habendarum, uno conspectu exhibeat. Insuper exemplar mittimus Kalendarii quod singulis annis in Collegio editur.

Paucis demum hic exhibere juvabit quomodo Collegium

gubernetur, et quinam regimini domestico ac pietati disciplinaeque ibidem praeponantur. Summa regendi potestas, sub ipsa Sede Apostolica, residet penes coetum Curatorum, qui constat ex Emis et Rms quatuor Archiepiscopis et tredecim ex Episcopis totius Hiberniae. A Curatoribus autem deputantur Visitatores—quatuor scil. Archiepiscopi et quatuor Episcopi—qui Collegium bis in anno visitent, et omnia quae tum compererint ad Curatores deferant.

In Collegio ipso residet Praeses, Propraeses, quatuor Decani (uti vocantur) qui pietati ac disciplinae invigilent, duo Patres Spirituales, novem Professores in Facultate theologiae jurisque canonici, quatuor in Facultate philosophica, sex in Facultate artium, quinque Adjutores seu Magistri Supplentes.

Superiore anno (1897-1898), 16 presbyteri cursum superiorem sequebantur; 383 erant alumni in S. theologia; 208 in philosophia; et 52 in scholis linguarum; isto igitur anno 659 alumni in Collegio debebant.

Eminentiae tuae, summa cum reverentia,

Addictissimi sumus servi,

DIONYSIUS GARGAN, *Praeses.*

THOMAS O'DEA, *Propraeses.*

Datum Mantuae,

Die 25^a Mensis Junii, anni 1898.

Visum et Commendatum,

✠ MICHAEL CARDINALIS LOGUE.

On the 18th of May, 1899, His Eminence Cardinal Logue sent to the College the following important Rescript from the Propaganda:—

S. CONGREGAZIONE DE PROPAGANDA FIDE PROTOCOLLO, N. 32959.

Mentionem facias, quaeso, hujus numeri in tua responsione. On prie de citer le même numero dans les réponses.

ROMA LI 15, MAGGIO, 1899.

Oggetto,

Sug i Statuti del Collegio di Maynooth.

EME. AC RME. DNE. MI OBINE,

In Plenaria Congregatione horum Emorum Patrum S. Consilii Christiano Nomini Propagando, habita die 27. Superioris Mensis Martii ad examen revocata sunt statuta Collegii S. Patricii apud

Maynooth de studiis ibidem colendis, quae Eminentia Tua una cum litteris Diei 29 Junii superioris anni transmisit, pariterque ratio habita est de petitione a Preside eiusdem Collegii, Nomine universorum Hiberniae Antistitum, exhibita ad obtinendam pro Collegio Maynoothiano extensionem privilegii iam concessi circa collationem graduum academicorum; Porro ad proposita dubia. 1° Utrum et quomodo adprobanda sint exhibita Statuta Studiorum pro Collegio Maynoothiano. 2° Utrum eidem Collegio concedenda sit facultas conferendi gradus academicos universos etiam in Jure Canonico et in Philosophia, iidem Emi Patres respondendum censuerunt; Affirmative ad utrumque, cum modificationibus in statuta Collegii Maynoothiani iuducendis, iuxta mentem. Mens est. 1° In ferendis suffragiis pro exitu experimentorum haec ratio servetur. In examinibus cujusvis Facultatis separatim ferri suffragia debent circa experimentum scripto habitum et circa experimentum orale. Ad obtinendum gradum Baccalaureatus et Prolytae majoritas absoluta suffragiorum requiratur, h.e. unum saltem suffragium supra dimidium omnium disponibilium votorum; Verum ad assequendam lauream duae saltem tertiae partes suffragiorum omnium requirantur, tum in periculo scriptis facto, tum in orali experimento. Examinatores et qui ferendi suffragium jus habent, de decem votis singuli disponant. In diplomate vero exprimitur numerus suffragiorum quem quisque consecutus fuerit (Statuta specialia Facul. Theol. c. v., n. 5, pag. 17. St. Spec., Facul. Phil. c., iv., nn. 7-8, pag. 21.)

2. In superiori cursu philosophico alumni tertii anni quatuor saltem horas singulis hebdomadis ab apposito Professore disciplinas philosophicas edoceantur, adhibito tanquam textu Summae Philosophicae S. Thomae, quae dicitur *contra Gentiles*. Curae erit magistro opportune commentari textuales ejusdem Summae Philosophicae doctrinas, una cum aliis ejusdem angelici Doctoris operibus, praesertim opusculo De Ente et Essentia et Quaestionibus Disputatis ad rem facientibus; comparatione insuper instituta cum erroribus refutandis, praesertim Positivismo et Evolutionismo (Stat. Spec. Facul. Phil. c. ii., n. 6, pag. 20).

3. In universo theologico cursu tamquam textus generalis Dogmaticae et Moralis Scientifcae habeatur Summa Theologica S. Thomae. Curae tamen sit Moderatoribus ac Professoribus ut perdurante theologico cursu adjiciatur, quod ad Dogmaticam spectat, Theologia Positiva, et Polemica nec non Patrologia et

historia dogmatum. Quae Disciplinae tradi poterunt aut a peculiaribus Professoribus aut ab iisdem illis, qui textum Summae Theologicae explicant, ut ita integrum Theologiae scholasticae et Positivae Systema exurgat, ratione habita aliorum probatorum Theologorum etiam recentiorum, et eorum notitia auditoribus indita. Qua ratione, post quatuor annos cursus generalis, alumni Seniores ad gradus academicos candidati, amplum temporis spatium habebunt ad profundum, scientificum, positivum atque historicum Catholicorum dogmatum studium. Distinctus autem Professor habeatur pro tradenda Theologia Morali, casistica et pastorali (Stat. spec. Facut. Theol. c. II. pp. 14-15).

4. Insuper, quod spectat ad disciplinas cursui philosophico adnexas, necessarium existimatur ut duo distincti Professores habeantur, unus pro disciplinis Mathematicis abstractis, atque unus saltem pro scientiis naturalibus tradendis (St. spec. Facut. Phil. c. I. n. 1., p. 19).

Hisce modificationibus adjectis, quae in praxim proximo anno scholastico traducentur, *Statuta exhibita* ad Septennium adprobantur; quo tempore experientia edocebit quatenus utilitas ex iisdem modificationibus, atque ex integro studiorum programme dimanabit. Atque sub talibus studiorum Statutis, gaudeat Maynoothianum Collegium S. Patritii pariter ad Septennium privilegio conferendi *universos* academicos gradus in singulis Facultatibus Philosophica, Theologica ac Juris Canonici. Haec fuit horum Emorum Patrum sententia; quam Ssño D. N. Leonij PP. XIII, ab infrascripto Archiepiscopo Larissensi ejusdem S. Congregationis Fidei Propagandae, Secretario, relatam in audientia diei 23 superioris Mensis Aprilis, Sanctitas sua benigne ratam habuit atque probavit; presentesque litteras hac de re Eminentiae Tuae dari praecepit.

Interim manus tuas maximo cum
obsequio humillime deosculor

EMINENTIAE TUAE,

humillimus addictissimus servus.

✠ M. Card. LEDOCHOWSKI, *Praef.*

A. Archiepiscopus LARISSENS, *Secret.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ADRIAN IV. AND IRELAND. By the Very Rev. Sylvester Malone, M.R.I.A., F.R.S.A.I. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son; Browne & Nolan, Ltd. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd., 1899. Price 1s. 6d.

THE case of the authenticity or spuriousness of the letter of Pope Adrian IV., that is alleged to have been addressed to King Henry II. of England, entrusting him with the mission of correcting certain abuses that existed in Ireland in the twelfth century, has recently been discussed, with great learning and a good deal of spirit, by antagonists worthy of one another—Laurence Ginnell, B.L., and the Very Rev. Dr. Malone, Vicar-General of Killaloe. Both of the learned combatants have now published their version of the facts and arguments, covering the whole ground, and presenting the case as completely as it is likely ever to be presented. Dr. Malone, as is well known, has always been a supporter of the authenticity of the privilege, and none of the arguments that have recently been used to dislodge him from his position have had the effect intended. They have had rather the contrary effect, for they have evidently convinced him more clearly than ever of the weakness of the arguments employed on the other side. Never have his powers of destructive criticism been brought out with greater effect.

If ever the authenticity of Adrian's letter is to be upset, Dr. Malone has clearly shown that it has not been done so far. He has proved that the matter is one of purely historic interest, and is of no political significance whatever, at the present day, that the letter of privilege neither ordered subjection of Ireland to England, nor led to the invasion of 1171; and that the Pope was acting within his right, and according to the principles of international law prevailing in his time, by granting the privilege. We are very glad that the whole case has been so clearly and ably stated by the learned Vicar-General of Killaloe. All future historians will feel indebted to him for the great service he has rendered by the publication of this interesting little volume; and those who are not historians, but who are anxious to form a correct and accurate judgment of the episode with which he deals, and to

put aside irresponsible statements which may happen to be more popular, cannot afford to ignore his presentation of the facts, and the proofs by which the facts are supported.

A. L.

ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS. Compiled from various Sources by a Member of the Ursuline Community, Sligo. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd., 1899.

WE offer a hearty welcome to this *Abridgment of the History of the Church*, and feel pleased at being permitted to introduce it to the readers of the I. E. RECORD. The Most Rev. Dr. Clancy, Bishop of Elphin, in his admirable preface, speaks of this as 'an unpretentious little book,' and states that it 'will furnish everything that the ordinary school child will be required to know on the more salient features of the history of the Church.' We agree with his Lordship that the book is unpretentious. It contains only 134 pages, and yet traces the history of the Church from the days of Peter to the days of Leo XIII. We agree, too, with his Lordship's statement that it contains everything 'that the ordinary school child should know about the salient features of the history of the Church; and we feel quite justified in going still farther by saying that our so-called university students and a considerable number of our priests would know more of the history of the Church than they do now did they know all that is contained in these 134 pages. It is really marvellous what an amount of historical information has been compressed into this small volume. When it was handed to us for review we could not help smiling at the idea of the history of the Church, which several authors have extended over a score of quartos, being contained in the diminutive 16mo placed in our hands. Yet, thanks to the judgment and self-restraint of the compiler, as she modestly styles herself, there is not a vitally important question in the history of the Church excluded from discussion, and all questions discussed are made intelligible even to the mind of a child. We heartily congratulate the compiler for having so successfully filled a void in our religious literature, and although her name may never become 'a household word,' for the reason that she keeps it concealed, her little book will be known, and its effects felt and appreciated long after she herself has begun to enjoy the rewards of her zeal in compiling it.

D. O'L.

THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION. By Francis Aiden Gasquet, D.D., O.S.B. London: John C. Nimmo, 14, King William-street, Strand. Price 12s. 6d.

THE main object Dr. Gasquet has in view in this new volume with which he has enriched the history of the 'Reformation' and considerably enhanced his already well-established reputation, is 'to ascertain, if possible, what was really the position of the Church in the eyes of the nation, at large, on the eve of the Reformation, to understand the attitude of men's minds to the system as they knew it, and to discover as far as may be what in regard to religion they were doing and saying and thinking about, when the change came upon them.' The work does not pretend in any sense to be a history of the Reformation, or of the causes that led to it, or even of the initial steps by which it was introduced.

'Those who know most [writes Dr. Gasquet] about this portion of our national history will best understand how impossible it is as yet for anyone, however well informed, to write the history of the Reformation itself, or to draw for us any detailed and accurate picture of the age that went before that great event, and is supposed by some to have led up to it.'

Dr. Gasquet, therefore, confines himself to giving us, in a series of essays, some very vivid sketches of the condition of things religious and intellectual that existed when the divorce proceedings of Henry VIII. suddenly plunged the country into the most calamitous war that ever disturbed the soil of Britain.

In an introduction to these essays the author takes a general survey of the field before him, and then enters into his subject dealing in succession with 'The Revival of Letters in England,' 'The Two Jurisdictions,' 'England and the Pope,' 'The Clergy and the Laity,' 'Erasmus,' 'The Lutheran Invasion,' 'The Printed English Bible,' 'Teaching and Preaching,' 'Parish Life in Catholic England,' 'Pre-Reformation Guild Life,' 'Mediæval Wills, Chancies, and Obits,' 'Pilgrimages and Relics.'

His chapter on the 'Revival of Letters in England' is full of interest. He completely shatters the pretention that the awakening of minds, the intellectual activity of the sixteenth century, the general advance of culture in England was due to the Reformation. It was already in full development when the Reformation broke out, and was, if anything, rather retarded than promoted by the religious war. He traces the influence of

such scholars as Selling, Linacre, Grocyn, the Lillys, Sir Thomas More, Warham, Fisher, Colet, Lupset, and Dee. He shows that the humanist movement in England under the guidance of these men was not divorced from religion as it was to a great extent in Italy, and quotes facts and figures to prove how the intellectual movement dwindled in the universities under the influence of the innovators.

Those ardent young Catholic journalists who will be satisfied with nothing less than the complete separation of Church and State in France at the present day would do well to read and ponder over Dr. Gasquet's chapter on the two jurisdictions. They will recognise there what tremendous issues depend on the forbearance and disinterested wisdom of the Holy See in dealing with the material arrangements of the Church in the heart of a great nation. They will note that it is to the Concordat between Leo X. and Francis I. that so good an authority as M. Hanotaux attributes the maintenance of the old religion in France. Dr. Gasquet's chapter on the clergy and laity is also most instructive. Every priest should read it. The causes of friction are ever the same, and the evil results of worldliness and ignorance are ever sure to proceed from a similar condition of things.

One of the most interesting and masterly chapters in the book is, however, the sketch of Erasmus. It throws a flood of light on the whole period. It is a perfect sketch, giving in a short space the result of accurate study and research.

We have said enough to show how thoroughly we appreciate the value of the service done to the Church by the publication of a work in which accuracy, clearness, and erudition are so well combined. We wish the distinguished author health and strength to continue his labours, and we sincerely hope that this last volume of his will find a place in the library of every priest.

J. F. H.

DAILY THOUGHTS FOR PRIESTS. By the Very Rev. J. B. Hogan, S.S., D.D., President of St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co. Price One dollar net.

THIS is a small octavo volume, comprising in all about two hundred pages, and containing fifty short chapters, some might

call them lectures, others meditations, for the use of missionary priests. In the preface the author explains the purpose of his book so aptly, that I cannot do better than transcribe the passage :—

‘ Most priests, especially in missionary countries such as ours, are busy men. Interests of all kinds, religious and secular, their own and those of their people, claim their attention almost every day, and at all hours of the day. Those who escape this constant pressure of business, or of duty, are still liable to be caught up and carried along by the rush of the world around them, and too often they yield to it without resistance. Some are so restless by temperament, or by habit, that even when entirely undisturbed from without, they find it difficult to settle down quietly to anything of a purely mental kind. How detrimental such conditions are to that “ life with things unseen ” so necessary in the priesthood, need not be insisted upon. The *Non in commotione Dominus* of Scripture, and the *In silentio et quiete proficit anima devota* of the *Imitation*, have become axioms of the spiritual life. No priest who consults his experience will be tempted to question them, and this is why we find all those who have seriously at heart their own spiritual welfare coming back from time to time to the resolution of not denying to their poor souls, whatever may happen, the daily nutriment without which they cannot but languish and decline. What the most competent authorities agree in recommending, in one shape or another, as the normal sustenance of a priestly life, is the practice of meditation, and the habitual reading of devotional books, especially the *Lives of the Saints*. These helps are guaranteed by their rules to members of religious orders, and a growing number of secular priests faithfully employ them. Yet too many still permit themselves to be deprived, of a part at least, of this daily allowance, nor can those who desire it most always succeed in getting it. Shall they, then, because they have failed to secure their regular repast, go all day long, or, it may be, several days without nutriment? Should they not rather, as men of business often do when compelled to miss their meals, try to sustain their strength by getting some nourishment when and where they can?

‘ It is to supply a need of this kind that the following pages have been written. They consist of truths almost entirely borrowed from the Gospel, and viewed in their bearing on the spirit and duties of the priesthood. The text which introduces each subject is generally a saying of our Lord Himself, and the development of it is gathered from other recorded utterances of His, or from the inspired writings of the Apostles, or from the daily experience of life. A passage from the fathers, the *Imitation*, or some other authorized source is generally given at

the end, reflecting in human form the heavenly truth, and helping to impress it on the mind of the reader. As a substitute for morning meditation, whenever passed over, one of these thoughts may be taken up at any free moment in the course of the day, or before retiring to rest at night. In its condensed form it will be found sufficient for one spiritual meal, but on condition that it be assimilated slowly. 'Quickly swallowed food is no better for the soul than for the body.'

So much for the purpose and plan of the book. The next question of interest for the possible purchaser is, what kind of fare has the writer provided? Is the volume in the style of the *Preparation for Death*, or rather in that of the *Imitation*? It is between. There is not a word in all the fifty lectures about death, or hell, or eternity; and though there is constant reference to the moral virtues as preached and practised by Christ and His Apostles, still there is not so much perfection supposed or expected as in the *Imitation*. Dr. Hogan is very human; makes allowance for the difficulties of the missionary priest's position; appeals to his sense of honour, refinement, loyalty; and is content to help on those who do not aim so much at becoming great saints, as at falling away quietly and without effort into the condition of mere sensible men of the world.

To enable the reader to form a clearer idea of what the book is like, I have thought it well to give a complete list of the *Thoughts* which it contains, and then to submit one of the little lectures in its entirety, to serve as a sample. The list of subjects is as follows:—The beatitudes; the poor in spirit; the humble; the meek; the mourners; the merciful; the pure of heart; hungering after justice; the peacemakers; the persecuted; lost opportunities; the worldly spirit; openings; the voice of God; the divine fragrance of Christ; the forgiving spirit; asking forgiveness; belonging to Christ; the servant of Christ; pity; how to bear honours; self-denial; through death to life; the love of children; Christ the comforter; the priest a comforter; the religious man; holiness and helpfulness; the priest a soldier; the saving power of the priest; young priests; carrying the cross; piety; preaching; purity of intention; the barren fig-tree; Christ's sufferings and ours; unselfishness; the priest's happiness; success; a good name; teaching by example; spiritual sweetness; spiritual influence: scandal; ideals, false and true; the unfaithful shepherd; the divine guest; detachment.

Such are the subjects on which Dr. Hogan would have missionary priests to ponder now and then, if not in formal meditation, at least in some kind of serious thought. As a specimen of how he works out his own reflections, I submit the following, which is but a fair specimen of these fifty lectures :—

‘XI.—LOST OPPORTUNITIES.

‘*Si cognovisses.*

‘If thou hadst known!’—(Luke xix. 42.)

‘The thought which filled the mind of our Lord when He uttered these words may well haunt every serious mind—the sad thought of lost opportunities. God’s mercies towards His chosen people had been countless, and their response had been miserably inadequate. The crowning grace was vouchsafed in the coming of Christ Himself. But “He came unto His own, and His own received Him not.” Jerusalem, in particular, was hostile to Him from beginning to end, and this, politically and religiously, sealed her fate. And so our Lord, as He crossed the summit of Mount Olivet, and looked down on the doomed city, forgot the clamor of triumph which surrounded Him, and shed tears of pity on the fate of His people blind to the value of the gift offered to them for the last time. “If only thou couldst understand, even at this last day, what would bring thee peace and happiness!”

‘What Christ saw in the destiny of Jerusalem, each man has to recognise in his own life; opportunities of all kinds lost through thoughtlessness, or blindness, or carelessness, or weakness. Who does not find himself with natural gifts undeveloped, which, if cultivated in due time, would have added considerably to his usefulness? How many are constrained to acknowledge that impatience of discipline, disregard of counsel, love of ease and self-indulgence in early life, have unfitted them for the noblest tasks of later years. How often do men let go the chances of making a due return in love and kindness, until those to whom they owe most are beyond their reach? How often have they not to grieve over occasions they let slip, to be morally, spiritually beneficial to others, especially to those they knew and loved. Kindness implying little sacrifice, a word of sympathy, of encouragement, of timely advice, would have done much; but it was not forthcoming. And now when they would give anything to be able to make up for their coldness or carelessness, it is too late.

‘There are few, if any, more open to this manner of regret than priests. Their opportunities for doing good are so many and so great that it is difficult to keep alive to them all. Yet they all bring with them their corresponding responsibilities. Every

soul that opens itself to the influence of a priest, as he speaks from the pulpit, or sits in the tribunal of penance, or visits the sick, or listens to the story of trials, perplexities, and sorrows that are poured into his ear day after day—every soul gives him a fresh opportunity to do God's work, and to gather fruit for life eternal. Of those he misses, some he can never recall: that unique occasion to stand up and speak out at any cost for what was noble and true; that great charity which appealed to him in vain, because it could be done only at the cost of some great sacrifice; that long-wished-for advantage, finally secured, but at the cost of self-respect; that friendship preserved only by being unfaithful to principle. These opportunities are rare, and if not grasped at once, are gone for ever—gone like the souls a priest might have won from sin, or lifted up to sanctity, if he had been watchful, but which he suffered to go before God as he found them.

'Happily there are occasions which come back, opportunities which remain. The action of the priest is mostly continuous, and what is missing in it at one time may be made up for at another. Souls neglected may become the objects of special care; works allowed to languish for a time may receive a fresh infusion of vigour, and recover all their usefulness. In many ways the past may be redeemed. St. Paul speaks on several occasions of "redeeming the time" (Eph. v. 16; Col. iv. 5); that is, making the most of the present and its opportunities. This is a means ever open to those who have to grieve over past losses. While life remains, they can always begin afresh, take up new and still higher purposes, organize new campaigns, fight new battles, and win them.'

The reader is now in a position to judge for himself of the value of Dr. Hogan's book. To me it seems very suitable, either for purposes of meditation, or, now and then, of spiritual reading, or even as suggesting lines of thought for sermons. The young priest who would make an effort to reproduce these lectures under forms suited to the laity, could not fail to cultivate his own powers and to produce notable effects on his audience. He may not attain Dr. Hogan's excellence—few will arrive at that; but the effort could not but result in an improvement of the character of the discourses delivered even by good preachers.

W. McD.

CANTIONES SACRAE. Musical Settings of the Roman Liturgy. Edited by Samuel Gregory Ould, Monk of the Order of St. Benedict. London: Novello & Co.

THIS is a collection of twenty-two numbers issued separately, and varying in price from 2*d.* to 6*d.* We regret very much not being able to recommend it. True, there is nothing scandalously bad in it. We must admit that the tone generally is reverential, and that, compared with much that is performed in our churches, this music is a decided improvement. Still we cannot recognise in it the true church style. There is something in it, whether we call it hysterical or sensual or sentimental, that is not in accordance with true devotion or genuine religious fervour. A strange contrast with the rest is formed by a solitary piece, a fine part *Hodie sanctus Benedictus* by Peter Philips. The chasteness and purity of style of this sixteenth century composer make him look quite out of place in his surroundings, and the only reason we can see for this piece being included in the collection is that the editor is a Benedictine. Choirs that have an opportunity of performing this piece will, no doubt, please both themselves and the audience. We would recommend them, however, to transpose it a tone lower. With the two sopranos resting very frequently on the high *g*, it sounds too shrill in the original key. We should think, moreover, that the proper tempo is not allegretto 4/4, but andante 21/2. This may be the same in the actual speed of the notes, but it makes a difference for the æsthetic perception. The only other piece one could recommend is a *Miserere* in *f*, by F. E. Gladstone. If a choir want a very simple setting of the *Miserere*, they may take this one.

To be perfectly accurate, we should state that we have not seen Nos. 16, 17, and 18 of the collection.

H. B.



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