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"Ut Ecclesia aedificationem accipiat."

I. Cor. xiv., 5.

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BOOK REVIEW.

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AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

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THE RELIGIOUS STATE AND MODERN SOCIETY.

AS there is a growing disposition on the part of some to speak disparagingly of what is called the "religious state" as though it were something merely adventitious to the Catholic religion; something useful and perhaps necessary for past ages but rather out of place in our own times; a desirable ornament when not procured at too extravagant a cost; it may not be amiss to say a few words on the nature of this institution, its place in the Church and its relation to the Christian religion. As intelligent Catholics such knowledge ought to interest us for its own sake; but living as we do among non-Catholics who are continually crying down the life of perfection and the practice of the evangelical counsels, it is doubly necessary that we should have a firm grasp of the truth both for their sake and for our own, to silence if not to convince them; and to satisfy ourselves. And be it noticed that the scope of this article is to defend, not religious orders in the concrete, but the religious state in general, or the public profession of the three evangelical counsels.

St. Paul boasts—and he is a great boaster—that the world is crucified to him and he to the world; and "God forbid," says he, "that I should boast in anything save only in the cross of Christ." The cross has become so outwardly honoured since those days; such an object of worship and adora-

tion"; so haloed round with secular glory from the labours of poets, painters and carvers that St. Paul's words do not sound so mad in our ears as they did in the ears of those who looked on crucifixion as we do on hanging or penal servitude; and who felt as little reverence for the cross as we do for the gallows or the tread-mill. To get the full flavour of his sentiment we should have to put the word *gallows* instead of *cross*, and *hanged* instead of *crucified*. His meaning is that the world, that is those who place their ultimate happiness in learning, pleasure, refinement, culture, wealth, influence, power, look on me as a criminal, an outcast, a fanatic; weak, foolish, contemptible, coarse-minded, uncultured; and I, strong in the conscious possession of truth, return these compliments with interest; "the world is crucified to me"; it is in my eyes altogether mad, wicked, contemptible and wretched.

Herein St. Paul is the typical Christian. As far as we are permeated with the spirit of the Gospel, so far shall we feel an ever-growing contempt for the life and conduct and aims of the spirit of worldliness wheresoever manifested; in Catholics or non-Catholics; in Christians or non-Christians; in its professed votaries or in its professed enemies. It is not the world but worldliness which is hateful to God—a subtle leaven of unbelief and selfish egoism lurking in all our hearts; and breaking out like a plague over the millions of humanity. And as our contempt of worldliness increases so too will our reverence for the "evangelical counsels" and the religious state increase. For just as the Church of Christ took the hated gibbet and lifted it above her altars and taught men to bow down and worship what the world spat upon and trampled under foot; so by the existence of her religious orders she continually sets the world at defiance; and teaches men to love and honour and—when it is God's will—to embrace what the world hates and despises and flies from,—namely, poverty, self-restraint, mortification, obedience, submission, humility.

Our divine Saviour is rightly said to have sanctified and exalted and imparted a sort of sacramental dignity to what-

ever He touched, or used, or made in any way His own. It is the instinct of love to choose the lot, to imitate the ways of those we love. "Lord," says Peter, "I will go *with Thee* to prison and to death." "Where thou goest," says Ruth to Naomi, "I will go; where thou lodgest I will lodge, thy people shall be my people, and thy God shall be my God. Where thou diest I will die and there also shall I be buried." It was the purpose of God to govern and reform the world not by theories and philosophies but by this imitative power of personal love; to draw men's hearts to Himself so that it should be their chief glory and joy to live as He lived, choosing and loving the lot which He chose and loved; walking in the paths trodden by His Blessed Feet. "I am the Way." "If any man will come after Me . . let him follow Me." "When He leadeth out His sheep (the Good Shepherd) goeth before them."

But the world into which He came was a world where riches, wealth, possessions were worshipped and idolised to the ruin of souls and the dishonour of God. "Idolised" because they were sought as an end in themselves; or sought in a spirit of selfishness and individualism, not for the common good but for the exclusive good of the unit; where accordingly wealth was acquired by fraud and oppression of the poor; where the labourer was despised by the capitalist as the vanquished by the conqueror. For it was not only the little world of Judea two thousand years ago but the great world of all the nations and ages that He came to heal. It was in answer to the cry which to-day goes up to the ears of God from the oppressed millions of humanity no less than to the cries and groanings of past ages that He has come down as Emmanuel—God, one of ourselves; Jesus the Carpenter of Nazareth. To poor and rich alike the love of wealth is the most fruitful source of misery, spiritual and temporal. Superabundance on the one hand is a snare to the rich, making them feel independent of God in so many ways, like the poor fool who said "Soul take thy ease; thou hast much riches laid up." Furthermore it is the key to endless pleasures and enjoyments the appetite for which, when

unduly indulged, grows insatiable and tyrannical; and breeds that sensuality which blinds the understanding to every spiritual conception and makes the heart cruel and selfish. It is no less the passport to vain honour and to influence which also come quickly to be desired as ends in themselves with a spiritual hunger less degrading but really more soul-destroying than the craving for luxuries and enjoyments. The mere possession of superabundant wealth is no sin in itself, no injustice, as socialists pretend it must necessarily be; but it is a continual occasion, almost a proximate occasion, of such tendencies and temptations as we have just spoken of. For it is all but impossible for ordinary souls to possess wealth and yet not to love it; and "the love of money is the root of all evil." How rare are they who not only believe but who realise that their wealth is given them by God for the *common good;* that if they are allowed certain luxuries and enjoyments as the fruit of industry, their own or their parents', it is only because the *common good* requires that there should be such differences within reasonable limits; and that there should be a stimulus to industry; and because social unity requires that we should share both good and evil; wealth and poverty, reward and penalty for what we are not personally responsible. Hence it is not against the poor but for the poor that they hold their wealth; insomuch as the poor are members of the same body. It is in the power of doing good that the true privilege of wealth and position lies. "Let him that sitteth at meat be as him that serveth," says our Saviour, who was at once Lord of lords and Slave of slaves. To rule is to be great because to serve is to be great; to have is happiness because to give is happiness. "It is more blessed to give than to receive." And besides all this it is the tendency of superabundant riches to ruin the spiritual independence of man by making him the slave of imaginary necessities. History everywhere testifies to the social and national decay consequent on the selfish accumulation and selfish use of wealth. We must not find fault with productive expenditure; nor even with such as promotes the moral, intellectual and phy-

sical development of individuals. For society is helped and strengthened by the multiplication of healthy, intelligent and moral citizens. We are not Vandals nor Puritans to deny the purifying pleasures of fine art to those who can afford them; nor are we so narrow-minded as not to see that there is such a thing as useful leisure; and that the existence of a leisured class is not necessarily a source of corruption but may and ought to be a helpful factor in the general well-being. It is against the enervating effects of luxury that we protest; against the indulgence of sensuality; against the squandering of possibilities of happiness; of true utilities, to no purpose or to an evil purpose.

Again to the poor, no less than to the rich the love of wealth is a source of misery. For not all who are poor in fact are poor in spirit; and grasping avarice is confined to no class of society. No doubt where there is real insufficiency and destitution it is impossible—apart from miracles of grace—but that the heart must be eaten up with cares, or hardened with despair. On such poverty the mother of all vices, our Saviour has pronounced no blessing; but only a curse on those who are responsible for it. But it is often the comfortable poor who are most enslaved with a desire of accumulating; with a thrift that has become an end itself, instead of reasonable means to a reasonable end.

It was therefore needful for us that our Saviour by embracing poverty should make that state of life more honourable and more lovable to His followers. He knew that it was as difficult for a rich man to use his riches unselfishly as for a camel to go through the eye of a needle; He knew that for the majority it was far better, safer, happier to be actually poor, to have less rather than more, and to be content with that less. And that they might be not only content but better pleased with that lot, He made it His own. To the anti-social, individualist spirit of worldliness nothing is more hateful than poverty; none more contemptible than the poor; and so to condemn and defy the world and to show His contempt for its judgment our God came among us as a poor man, labouring for His daily bread in the sweat of His brow. He

embraced poverty and thereby made it something divine—Holy Poverty, the Bride of Christ.

> With Christ she mounted on the cross
> When Mary stayed beneath. (Dante.)

He shared it with His Blessed Mother; with St. Joseph, with His Apostles and with His closest friends. To them He says, speaking of the perfection which is counselled though not commanded, "If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell all that thou hast and give to the poor . . . and come and follow Me," the Son of man who hath not where to lay His head. And let us notice in passing that the spirit of poverty is not a spirit of economy or parsimony; not a spirit of keeping but of *giving; sell, in order to give* to the poor; after His example "who though He was rich, yet *for our sake* He became poor" and "emptied Himself of His glory." It is the spirit of devotion; self-sacrifice, self-forgetfulness; the very antithesis and antidote of the love of acquisition. Again; it was not well possible for our Saviour to choose any but the harder lot and the lot of the majority. Which of us could bear to go well-clad or to feast sumptuously, or to make merry if one most near and dear to us were in destitution and pain and poverty? Even though we could in no way by self-privation relieve his misery, yet love and sympathy would make the inequality intolerable to us and we would be restless and miserable till we were on the same level as he. True, common sense has no justification of such a sentiment; but there is something in us, thank God, much diviner than common sense; something that is a spark from that fire that burns in the Human Heart of God Incarnate. It was not merely to guide us, to encourage us, to feel with us and for us, that our great High Priest was tempted and tried with all our temptations and trials; but because love is miserable until it shares the sorrows of the beloved; it feels itself false and disloyal if it enjoys any advantage in solitude. "Pauperes semper habetis vobiscum;" there would always be poor while the world lasted; and furthermore the poor would always be in the majority. For, whatever socialists

dream to the contrary, the distribution of wealth will always be hierarchic; the rich will be few and the poor will be many. But our Saviour was necessarily with the majority; for the few are for the many and not the many for the few; the rich are for the poor and not the poor for the rich; the gifted for the needy and not the needy for the gifted. *Nemo sibi vivit.* Finally; He had come on a mission of reparation to make atonement for the sins of the world. He saw, as none other saw, the torrents of iniquity and offence that streamed from this one source of avarice or the selfish love of wealth: and therefore despising what the world loved and loving what the world despised He willingly and freely chose to be poor rather than to be rich.

And the Church, His Spouse, has faithfully guarded His doctrine in this matter of poverty; and she proclaims it not only by word of mouth, but by the continual object lesson given by the professors of voluntary poverty. She allows and encourages her children, who are called thereto by God, to make obligatory on themselves by vow what is of counsel and free to all; to seal a contract with poverty and to make her their bride as she was the bride of Christ. And let us notice that the sacredness of the marriage tie and the specific distinctiveness of conjugal love depends on the bond being irrevocable at will and perpetual. So he who gives himself to poverty irrevocably, who locks the fetter and casts away the key loves her with a devotion far other in kind and degree than he who embraces her at will or takes her on trial or with the possibility of a divorce in view. And so of religious vows in general. It is excellent to practice continence or obedience; but far more excellent to vow oneself to the practice. It is then in sympathy with the intentions and motives of Jesus Christ that souls here and there are drawn to the profession of poverty; loving it first of all for His sake, that is, because He loved it and made it His own; and then, more intelligently entering into His mind, they love it for the sake of mankind because it is the harder lot and the lot of the many; and because they see that the love of riches is the source of all kinds of social misery and injustice and

therefore they give themselves to the preaching of poverty by their life and example, giving up freely the wealth, or the opportunities of wealth, they might otherwise have lawfully enjoyed. And finally in a spirit of reparation for all the dishonour done to God by the worship of money, they do not merely accept the poverty that may be laid upon them in the course of Providence contentedly and cheerfully, but they freely make themselves poor for ever.

But against all this doctrine economists urge that the love of money, the desire to procure comforts and to raise the standard of enjoyments is the root of all good, that is, of all progress and increase of national wealth which eventually redound to the relief of destitution and poverty. Christ says: "Sell all and *give to the poor*." He desires that poverty should be relieved. He regards it therefore as an evil. He insists strongly and frequently on this duty. Plainly to find the causes of poverty and to remove them is the truest and most universal kind of charity. May it not be said, they urge, that He is preoccupied rather with the evil of superabundant riches, that is, of capitalism, than with the excellence of poverty; that it is only freedom from those particular evils which makes poverty *preferable*, in spite of other evils of its own.

To this there is but one answer. It is most true that where there is no love of money or of comforts there will be industrial stagnation, much poverty and wide-spread destitution. And there are some who are bold enough to say that such a state of things is from a Gospel standpoint preferable to economic efficiency and progress. Nor do we deny for a moment that the squalid peasantry of the West of Ireland is not only more spiritual-minded and moral but even far happier in the best sense than the well-to-do bourgeoisie of a manufacturing town—and after all, happiness is the only sane end of progress. Still it would be wrong and mischievous to allow that Christianity is in any way hostile to true and rational progress; or that the *real* interests of this world and the next were incompatible. But the world is one thing and worldliness another. The latter is an enemy of

the interests of Christianity ; but it is also an enemy of the interests of the world. For though Christianity seeks first the Kingdom of God, it seeks *ipso facto* the advent of that Kingdom upon earth ; and that God's Will may be done on earth, in the individual, in the family, in the state, in things temporal as it is in things eternal, "as it is in heaven." Truth, justice, equity, charity, happiness, liberty, fraternity,—what are these but the will of God? And what are these but the rational ends of progress, the truest interests of this world which God so loved that He gave His only Son to die for it? "What God has joined together let no man put asunder." This world and the next are related as body and soul. The body is subordinate to the soul ; but it is not its enemy, not even its slave—as Manicheans or Platonists hold ; but its companion, its helper, its friend. Both, we believe, are to be glorified together; and we also believe that in some way the kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdoms of God and of His Christ ; and that a renewed and purified Heaven and Earth will supervene upon the old. It has ever been the aim of the Father of Lies to present God to us as at variance with Himself; as hating our material bodies, and as hating the world which He Himself has made ; and to interpret restraint and government as a manifestation of hostility towards that which is restrained and governed. *Quem diligit castigat* is the law of God's dealings with all His creatures in their progress from nothingness to their pre-destined perfection. The tendency to extravagant self-assertion common to all finite natures ; that is, the tendency of the parts and members to forget their subordination to interests of the organic whole, and to make themselves central and supreme, is not without its utility and necessity. For it is the very force or energy which has to be turned and constrained to the common good by him who governs in the general interest. The tangential tendency of the earth is given, not to be realized, but to enter into combination with a centripetal force whereby its orbital course is determined. In unreasoning creatures, and even in man so far as he is merely animal and unreasoning,

this self-asserting, egoistic instinct reigns supreme and needs to be restrained and guided by a Reason or Mind which is outside and over all. But with the dawn of subjective reason man wakes to a consciousness of certain extra-regarding instincts of soul and body within him which he at length recognises as the will of Universal Subsistent Reason working within him; and in free conformity to which his own subjective reason is perfected. If then our lower and self-assertive instincts must be chastened and restrained, it is not because they are evil in themselves or of diabolic origin; but because they are of themselves blind and unreasoning and need to be guided into the service of reason; it is because they are as useful in yoke as they are destructive outside it. And similarly this temporal and transitory world is not to be served but to serve; it is not to dominate and destroy us, but to obey and help us—*non in destructionem sed in aedificationem.* It is through the perceptions of our bodily senses that our mind is waked into life and fed and formed. And it is through this visible world and its kingdoms that the Kingdom of God is to come. True it is that the end governs and guides the whole process of growth, that it is the informing, animating force. The soul is prior to the body which it gradually moulds for itself; and the highest perfection mental or moral which it reaches is but the expression and realisation of a capacity which was in it from the first. And so, it is the Mind of God, and the Idea of His Kingdom which through tortuous and incomprehensible vicissitudes mould the course of human history into gradual conformity with itself. What folly then to think that the Church of God should be indifferent to the course of the world and withdraw herself into the desert. *Vos estis sal terrae. Vos estis lux mundi.* She is the salt, the leaven, the light, of the world; and her influence must be all-pervading.

It is then absurd and narrow-minded to regard modern progress and civilisation as being the pure result either of Christian or of anti-Christian principles and tendencies. It is a mixed product containing much good and much evil

inextricably intertwined, as are the roots of wheat and tares in the Master's field. All that is really good in it is the fruit of the eternal and necessary principles of the Gospel; all that is evil is from the selfish spirit of worldliness. Were it possible to root out the tares the wheat would grow more freely and fruitfully. What chokes and retards civilisation is the same weed of wordliness which strangles the Gospel and forbids its full development and expansion. What do socialists and individualists revile one another with, except with the disregard of Gospel principles; with avarice, with luxury, with injustice, with tyranny?

Let it be granted then that if the Gospel forbids us to seek more than bare sufficiency of food and raiment; or to make provision for the future; or to compete with others in the race of life; if its ideal is a life in the desert apart from all human interest; if it inculcates mortification of every sense and every affection as an end in itself in the spirit of Buddhistic pessimism; if it teaches us to despise the great drama of human history as an unmeaning 'tale told by an idiot'—as though He who cares for the individual life cared naught for the life of cities and nations—if all this be the essential tendency of Christianity then indeed it is the enemy of civilisation and progress. But this is an ignorant travesty of the Gospel which has never been accepted by the Catholic Church, however favoured by certain heresies which have arisen within her and broken off from her. We are forbidden to seek temporal things *first*, that is as the profane and worldly-minded seek them, who regard them as ends and not as means; we are forbidden—not foresight and prudence—but anxiety and fretfulness in these matters; we are forbidden to advance ourselves at the expense and injury of others; to seek our own good at the sacrifice of the common good; we are forbidden even in temporal matters to seek the lower in preference to higher necessities and enjoyments, to indulge in senseless display and luxurious, wasteful sensuality; we are forbidden all that degrades and enervates the individual and thereby weakens society; we are forbidden such aggrandisement as causes atrophy and anemia in the lower

members of the body-social, and hypertrophy and plethora in the higher—a double cause of social decay and death. But nowhere does the Gospel teach us to despise any good creature of God's which used in due measure and season promotes human happiness and leads us to serve and praise Him better than before. If a corrupt and luxurious civilisation deadens and debases the soul ; yet it cannot be denied that of itself civilisation tends to the development of man's spiritual faculties and thereby renders him a more fitting instrument of the Divine praise. Knowledge has deservedly come into certain disrepute in an age where it is worshipped merely as eventually productive of multiplied comforts. But this perversion does not make it less true that knowledge feeds and ministers to wisdom ; and that extended knowledge is one of the principal fruits of civilisation. Civilisation is a good thing ; one of God's helps to salvation ; it is therefore a grace to be sought and laboured for. Starvation, squalour, destitution, suffering are not good in themselves. If Christ or His saints have sought and embraced them it has been in a spirit of penance and reparation for sins of luxury and avarice ; or else because such is the harder lot of the majority ; or else to inculcate that detachment from the selfish love of riches which is needful for salvation.

But there is, thank God, an unselfish love of riches that can more than supply all that energy which is requisite for progress and civilisation. As it is, when a man works for his family he usually works harder than for himself alone. But it is the tendency of Christian charity to throw down the barriers of family and clan, and without lessening the measure of our love for our immediate kin, or destroying its due gradation, to allow our affections to circle out indefinitely to the furthest limit of humanity. Indeed the extent to which the wavelets circle out depends on the force of the central disturbance ; and it is the deepest love that spreads most widely without diminution of intensity. Our Blessed Saviour whose love reached to every son of Adam, past, present and future, loved His Mother and special friends with an intensity proportioned not inversely but directly to the infinite reach of

two arms of His cross. Is there not enough evidence in the past and present of the existence of nobler and wider hearts which have preferred the general good to their own; of men who have like Good Shepherds laid down their life for their flock; is there not enough heroic unselfishness even now in the world to bid us hope that what family-love can do, a love of humanity fed by Christain faith and hope and charity may effect one day more abundantly? As the false philosophies of pagandom prepared the world to receive the truths after which they were vainly groping; so the pseudo-humanitarianism of our day seems to be making possible a fuller declaration of the Christian doctrine of fraternity and love than would have been listened to last century.

Therefore as a man who understands that to rule is to serve may ambition rule simply out of love of the many and a desire to serve them; so a man may ambition wealth just because it increases his power of doing good; of perfecting himself and those who are connected with him in due gradation from the nearest to the furthest, within a sphere which is increased by every accession to his riches.

In no sense therefore is the love of poverty hostile to civilisation. It is compatible with the love of riches; provided it be an unselfish love. Plainly it is compatible with a keen desire to get money in order to give to the poor. But all wealth that is reasonably and unselfishly used is for the general good and redounds to the relief of the poor. Yet as has been said, it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to use his wealth unselfishly. With God it is possible; and Christianity has multiplied and will yet multiply these miracles of grace. Still we are far off from the ideal; and the poor if not the destitute will be with us always. The love of the poor will lead us not only to individual, but to corporate and social efforts for their relief. It will urge us to study the laws of economics, to seek out the causes and remedies of want and suffering. And the love of poverty, what is it after all, but the love of *the poor*—"I was a father to the poor," says Job; that compassion for the weaker members of the body social which is the counter-

agent to the corruptive tendency of competition. By embracing the state of the poor, the religious of the Catholic Church keep before the world His example who was poor Himself and has chosen the poor to be His representatives; and they choose what He chose, they love what He loved,—not blindly only, for love of being like Him exteriorly; but intelligently, for the same reasons as He; being like Him in their mind and in their heart.

The second great vice of the world is sensual licence and impurity. We need scarcely enlarge on so unsavoury a theme. Commenting on the words: "Behold the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world," some have thought that this *par excellence* sin of the world is nothing else but impurity. Be that as it may, it is certain that it has at all times been the commonest form of sin; and that those who pass through life untouched by its contamination are few and far between. We know moreover that it is the gravest and most persistent of social evils; the chiefest hindrance to collective happiness. It is not only the conditions of civilisation but the exigencies of Nature herself that demand restraint in this most difficult matter, and that, for most men, and in most cases. It is not our intention here to explain this apparent anomaly, but simply to take it as we find it. It lies in the fact that God has planted in our animal nature a strong and rebellious instinct which He requires us to resist in the large majority of instances—even in the case of those for whom the married state is practically possible. We know quite well that the indulgence of this instinct during the early years of puberty when its importunity is most irksome would be fatal to the physical development of the race. We know that its invariable indulgence at any time would be equally so; and that its importunity increases by habitual gratification. We know that the conditions of any sort of civilisation require frequent periods of abstinence in those who are married; that they make very early marriage impossible even were it physically desirable. Furthermore there will be many who for one reason or another will be unable to marry. Look at it how we will, we see that restraint is one of the

necessities of human life, as much as labour, or sorrow, or death.

It is the harder lot and the lot of the many; and He who would have His friends feel for that lot and make it their own, came among us, not as an example of conjugal perfection, but as a virgin, born of a Virgin; His foster-father, a virgin; His herald, a virgin; the friend of His bosom, a virgin; His heavenly body-guard, virgins—virgins not in mind only, but in body. It was that He might sanctify and exalt virginity that He embraced it and gave it to His choicest friends to embrace; so that a weak and impure world might be strengthened to honour and reverence virginity; to see in it the very crown of human dignity, the absolute mastery of the spirit over the most imperious exactions of the flesh; to emulate it and approach as near to it as possible by perfect chastity and spotlessness according to each one's state of life; or even to embrace it, if called thereto, as a higher and holier state than that of matrimony. For it is higher and holier to serve the many than to serve the few; to forsake home and kindred for the Gospel and the Kingdom of God on earth, and thereby to find a hundredfold even in the present life.

Here, as in the case of poverty, Christ took what was bitter and sweetened it by making it His own. For the love of being like Christ and His Mother and His friends, thousands in every age have embraced freely and gladly that hardship which is imposed upon so many whether they will it or no. And still more do they resemble Him when they do so for like motives and out of "compassion for the multitude." With what face can the wealthy preach contentment to the poor; and with what face could the Church preach continence to the world, did she not practise it in the persons of her priests and religious? *Semper et ubique*, always and everywhere, even in the corrupted ages the Church has preached an object lesson to the world by the existence of her voluntary celibates of both sexes; and more especially those who by a solemn vow have wedded themselves to the conflict for life. Were it not for such examples men might well say

that the yoke of chastity was impossible, as many Protestants do say, who like to think that the abuses of certain times and places prevail everywhere among professed celibates, only better concealed. Let us leave them to their foul thoughts who make themselves the measure of all else. Yet let us not suppose on the other hand that they who fly to the cloister or to the altar are as cowards who flee from the van to the rear; rather they seek the thick of the fight, that learning the tactics of the enemy they may be able to help others; and having suffered themselves pity the sufferings of others. God, says St. Paul, "comforts us in all our tribulations that we may be able to comfort them who are in any trouble with the same comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God." Nay more, if we may believe the mystics, they "fulfill the law of Christ" by bearing the burden of others; even as the Ransomers of old who as free hostages embraced the captivity which would have endangered the faith of their weaker brethren. They do not escape temptation but they face it and bear it and suffer as perhaps none others suffer. And moreover it is in a spirit of reparation to God's injured honour that they willingly forego what is lawful in order to make atonement in union with Christ for the lawless indulgence and sensuality of others, and to turn away God's anger from many a sinful city or state; as it might be, the ten just men needed for the salvation of Sodom.

The better we understand the social and practical importance of an *idea* the more shall we be convinced that apart from all Christian and supernatural considerations whatever, the existence of voluntary celibates and voluntary mendicants is of incalculable importance; that as a living object lesson it drives home truths simply and effectually in a way which no amount of verbal insistence could succeed in doing. Hence as we saw before, the Protestant spirit of worldliness is socially destructive, while the Catholic and eternal principles of the Gospel are conservative and progressive.

Once more; Christ came into the world where independence, self-direction, self-government were worshipped as ends

in themselves; where obedience was viewed as at best a necessary evil—the less of it, the better. He knew that each member of the body was healthier, happier and more useful in its own place; in subjection to the superior members and to the head; in concord and agreement with its fellow-members; that independence, separation, individualism, meant death; death for the intellect, for the heart and affections; for all that belongs to man as a rational and free agent. Neither in home or in city, in Church or in State could there be progress or happiness without order, harmony and subjection. He knew also the strength of man's self-assertive instincts,—useful and needful when restrained and pressed into the service of higher instincts and principles, but destructive of social life when suffered to run riot in the form of lawless self-regarding ambition, grasping at the reins of government for purposes of self-aggrandisement and self-glorification; caring for private gain, not for the common good. It is one and the same anti-social spirit which manifests itself as tyranny in the ruler and as insubordination in the subject —"omnes quaerentes quae sua sunt et non quae sunt Jesu Christi"—seeking themselves and not the community; and in seeking themselves, losing themselves; even as they who lose themselves and suppress their egoism find themselves again. For it is in proportion to the perfection of the social organism that the individual can enjoy perfect liberty and full mental and moral development. "He that seeketh his life shall lose it; but he that loseth his life for My sake shall find it." It was then the spirit of obedience that needed to be cultivated; obedience motived by charity, that is, by love of the common good; of the interests of Jesus Christ. The spirit that recognises God not in the unorganised multitude, not in the subject people, not in the ruling government, but in the *whole* social organism governing and governed together. The spirit that obeys no created will, but only the will of Him who has care for the whole. It is in obeying rather than in ruling that the majority of mankind are tempted by the anti-social, self-assertive spirit; and though the temptation is far stronger in the case of those who rule,

yet it was to lighten the lot of the many that our Saviour came, not merely to point out the expediency, beauty and necessity of obedience by word of mouth, but to teach us to love obeying for His sake; to prefer, should it be God's will, to obey rather than to rule; to sacrifice more rather than less liberty to the common good; to look on preëminence and authority as the less divine and sanctified lot. In the same spirit and for the same motives the religious of the Catholic Church have by their free and perpetual self-devotion to a life of obedience maintained in all ages the true social principle so needed for the healing of the nations. They have furnished an object lesson in the doctrine of obedience as ever taught by the Christian Religion.

These then are the three counsels of the Gospel; the three nails, as some will have it, whereby religious are fastened to the cross of Christ and held up to the derision of this foolish, near-sighted world. Near-sighted, for as we have said, all true progress and enlightenment which the world has so far seen is traceable to the prevalence of these three great principles, to the silent preaching of which religious devote themselves in life-long sacrifice; all the failure and defeat which progress has met with is due to their neglect.

We can hardly expect those outside the Church of the Saints to enter into the secrets of the Saints, or to understand how in the eyes of every true Catholic, poverty, chastity and obedience are looked upon as the better part, the luckier lot; as beautiful and lovable for their own sake; for the sake of Christ and His saints who embraced them; for the sake of the multitudes of mankind to whom the harder lot has fallen. Yet even outsiders have recently discovered that religious orders are exceedingly useful and economical institutions; that it is desirable to have people banded together and organised for the prosecution of certain philanthropic and charitable purposes, and that they should be content to receive for themselves strict necessaries from a common fund and not look for any salary or remuneration. So far voluntary poverty is an excellent thing. Likewise a married clergy is

rather an expensive institution; besides absorbing in family cares a larger fraction of the available clerical energy of the country. And as for obedience, of course some must obey, just as some must be poor and weakly and unfortunate—"poor creatures, how we pity them and how gladly we would do anything to alleviate their hard lot!" What would become of the government, the army, the navy, the family, without obedience? And who does not see that the lower orders should be kept in subjection and that ideas of liberty and equality are fraught with danger to public security? Use; economy; convenience;—these are the non-Catholic standards and tests. Not poverty for poverty's sake; nor chastity for chastity's sake; nor obedience for obedience' sake; not out of reverential love for the lot which Christ and His saints have made their own and embraced and sanctified; not for any sympathy with Christ's love of humanity for whose well-being here and hereafter these three counsels are so needful; not for any scorn and contempt of the spirit of worldliness which nailed Christ to the cross, and crucifies His little ones daily by the million,—the mortal enemy of God and of humanity; but for narrow, sordid, earthly, economical, mercantile reasons such as appeal to souls from which all that is ideal, spiritual, Catholic, eternal, has been driven by three centuries of individualism in religion, in politics, in philosophy and in morality.

It is not to new social systems that we can trust for the remedy of those evils which weigh upon the public conscience of these times. It is to the character of the people before all else. Doubtless this in its turn is conditioned by environments; and it may well be questioned if under the existing social organisation any universal amelioration through religious influence is possible. Still whenever such favourable conditions are secured it is religion and religion alone—nay, the Catholic religion alone, that will be able to effect and maintain that elevated moral tone which is essential for all veritable progress. It is by her continual insistence on the three Evangelical Counsels, illustrated and

brought home to the public mind by the lives and examples of her religious that she will keep alive that flame of charity kindled by Him who is at once the "Light of the nations and the Glory of His people Israel."

G. TYRRELL, S.J.

London, England.

THE NORTH AMERICAN COLLEGE AT ROME.

(FIRST ARTICLE.)

I.

AS many of the details with which we must deal in this paper refer to events long gone by, we shall, first of all, briefly recount the events which led to the erection of the building, as well as the changes which it witnessed before its conversion to its present use. The history of the old edifice takes us back to the time of Francesco Baglioni, a member of the famous Perugian family of that name, and an ally by blood or marriage of the Medici, Savelli, and other noble families of Florence and Rome. As was the custom of noble cavaliers in his day, Francesco followed the profession of arms, and attaching himself to the service of the German Emperor, fought against John the Wise of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse. Heaven had blessed this warrior-knight with a saintly daughter, and at his death she became heir of his large estates. She married a member of the Orsini family, but after some years the death of her husband to whom she had been a holy and devoted wife, caused her to give her thoughts and life with renewed fervor to heavenly things, and she began to cherish the ardent desire of entering some religious Order. Divine Providence did not lead her, however, by this path. In the meantime she conceived the design to erect and endow a convent for the reception of ladies of noble but impoverished families. For this purpose she purchased in 1598 the ground upon which

the present College stands. A memorable overflow of the Tiber, the traces of which are not wholly effaced from this portion of Rome, delayed the erection of the building until 1602, in which year the convent was begun, and provision was made for thirty choir sisters of the Order of St. Dominic. Having a special devotion to the virtue of humility as characteristic of the Blessed Mother of Our Lord she gave to the new institute the title of *Santa Maria dell' Umiltà*, the name by which the street wherein the building is situated, is still known.

Here Francesca Baglioni Orsini passed the remaining years of her life. She never joined the Order, but giving all that she possessed to the poor, she lived a most simple, unostentatious life in the company of the nuns, taking her place among the novices when at the table with the community. She died in 1626, having spent nearly twenty-five years edifying by her virtue those who owed to her generosity this asylum of peace and prayer. The following inscription may still be read upon a marble slab set in the wall of one of the rooms :

L'ILL. SIG. FRANCESCA. BAGLIONI. ORSINI
FONDATRICE. DI. QUESTO. MONASTERIO
VISSE. IN. QUESTA. CELLA. CIRCA. XXV. ANNI
CON. ORATIONE. DIGIUNI. ED. ALTRE. BUONE. OPERE
SE. INFIRMO. LI. VI. DI. GIUGNO. MDCXXVI
E. MOSTRO. GRANDISS. PAZIENZA. CON. STUPORE. DELLE. MONACHE
E. MEDICI. OSSERVO. GRANDISS. SILENZIO. PARLANDO. A PENA
NELLE. COSE. NECESSARIE
PASSO. A. MEGLIOR. VITA. LI. XV. LUGLIO. DELL. ISTESSO. ANNO
DOVE. SI. DEGNI. PREGARE. PER. LE. SUE. FIGLIOLE
QUEL. SIGNORE. QUI. EST. BENEDICTUS. IN. SAECULA[1]

1 "The most illustrious Lady Francesca Baglioni Orsini, foundress of this monastery, lived in this cell about twenty-five years in prayer, fasting, and other good works. She became ill on the sixth of June, 1626, arousing the admiration of the sisters and the physicians by her singular patience. She observed the strictest silence barely speaking what was necessary. She passed to the better life on July 15 of the same year. May she there pray for her daughters to that Lord who is forever blessed.

The convent continued to serve its original purpose until 1822, when it was sold to the Pontifical Government, and subsequently was handed over to the Visitandines (Salesian sisters). While in their possession, it was twice honored by a visit from the Pontiff King Pius IX., a fact which is commemorated by the following inscription upon a slab set in what is now the community chapel. It reads as follows :

PIO. IX. P. O. M
QUOD. A. D. MDCCCXLVI. DIE. II. MENSIS. JULII
DEIPARAE. ELISABETH. VISITANTI. DEVOTA
AD. CONTINENTEM. MARIANAM. AEDEM
EXTEMPLO. E. COLLE. QUIRINO. SACRO. CONFICIENDO. DESCENDERIT
MONIALES. DEINDE. PRAESENTIA. SUA. IVCUNDAVERIT
ITERUM. VERO. ANNO. EODEM. MENSIS. AUGUSTI. DIE. XXIII
CLAUSTRA. HAEC. INGRESSUS
VIRTUTES. VEN. MARGARITAE. MARIAE. ALACOQUE
HEROICAS. DECRETO. ADSERUIT
SORORES. A. VISITATIONE. BENEFICIIS. EIUS. CUMULATAE
FAUSTA. FELICIA. ADPRECANTUR.[1]

The second part of this inscription is of noteworthy interest as showing that in this house the Supreme Head of the Church set the first seal of authoritative recognition upon the heroic sanctity of the Blessed Margaret Mary, the Virgin Apostle of the Sacred Heart. Such is unquestionably the interpretation of the passage "claustra haec ingressus virtutes Ven. Margaritae Mariae Alacoque heroicas Decreto adseruit." A similar instance is that of St. John Berchmanns, the authori-

1 Upon the Supreme Pontiff Pius IX. the sisters enriched by the benefits of his coming invoke all happy blessings, since in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and fifty-six, on the second of July, the day consecrated to the Mother of God under the title of the Visitation, he condescends to leave the Quirinal mount and visit this neighboring shrine of Mary, in order to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice, and afterwards delighted the religious with his presence ; and also because on the twenty third of August in the same year he came to this convent where he formulated the solemn decree declaring the heroic character of the virtues of the Venerable Margaret Mary Alacoque.

tative opening of the process of whose Beatification was first published in the German College in Rome. It will be remembered that the Blessed Margaret Mary belonged to the Order of the Visitation, and the publication of the Decree in this convent was simply an act of thoughtful courtesy on the part of the Sovereign Pontiff. The College therefore is inseparably associated by this precious memory with the last and greatest of the special devotions of the Church, that of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. We soon behold the splendors of canonization encircling the brow of the angelic nun of Paray whose first glory was proclaimed where our American students daily come and go.

These Salesian sisters must have left about 1848, for we find that during the French occupation the building was used as a lodging by the French officers. Finally in 1859 at the suggestion of Monsignor, afterwards Cardinal Bedini, Pius IX. decided to convert it into a Seminary for American students, and the property was purchased by the Propaganda, partially with American contributions, for this purpose. A letter written at this time by the Roman Consul General, Mr. Binsse to one of the American papers throws light on the proceedings which led up to this important step. After stating the fact of several interviews with Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Propaganda, and with Mgr. Bedini, Secretary of the same, relative to the project of founding a North American College in the Holy City, the Consul offers the following considerations bearing upon the establishment of an American College in Rome . . .

There are in Rome eight national Colleges ; the Germanico-Hungarian, the English, Scotch and Irish Colleges, the Ruthene Greek, the Collegio Pio for converts, the Belgian College and the French Seminary. There are two more in process of establishment : the Austrian and the Lombard College ; and I was besides told that some of the South American States have one in contemplation, and that a considerable sum of money has been promised for the purpose. The Catholics of the U. S. already outnumber any other single one of the denominations professing to be Christians, and along with their fellow countrymen, feel proud of the positio

which their country is assuming in the family of nations. Will they allow their nationality to remain any longer unrepresented in Rome, and in this respect be behind the nations or fractions of nations above mentioned? Furthermore, the energy and activity of our people have not been confined to commercial and material pursuits, but have besides distinguished themselves in science and in art. May not then American Catholics aim at achieving glory and eminence in Theology, which has been aptly termed the science of sciences, and in time, add yet others to the number of the distinguished theologians of the Catholic world?

2. The want of such an institution has been felt here as well as at Rome. I will endeavor to examine as briefly as I can the merits of this part of the question. We all know that one great difficulty under which the Church labors in this country is the scarcity of priests. Their limited number and their mutifarious duties alike preclude that subdivision of labor by which individual talent is best developed, and each branch of clerical duty best performed. At present the pastor of a Church, assisted ordinarily by a single priest, has the charge of all its temporalities, (no slight burden in itself), is expected daily to offer the Holy Sacrifice, to hear confessions, to superintend the instruction of the young in day and Sunday schools, to visit the sick night and day as may be required, and in addition to this, to prepare set discourses for the edification of his congregation every Sunday; and to conduct at particular seasons of the year, as during Lent and Advent, and the month of Mary, special religious services with instructions adapted to the occasion. Can the same individual so multiply himself as adequately to attend to all these duties? Must not each duty in turn be unsatisfactorily discharged? And does it not follow that preaching, which in Catholic countries is carried to so high a degree of perfection, and which has at this time and in this country, a marked and practical value of its own, will necessarily fall far short of what the exigencies of the case demand? Let me by no means be understood as intending to depreciate the merits and labors of our priesthood, they are beyond all praise. Discerning persons cannot but wonder that they accomplish as much as they do, but I am confident that they themselves feel the difficulties under which they labor, and that they would view with great favor any plan that would bring about an efficient accession to their number. Now this, it is believed, the American College will do for the whole country, rapidly, uninterruptedly, and in the best manner, and what is no trifling considera-

tion, at the least possible expense. It is not unreasonable to expect, that the attractive idea of being educated in Rome, may, in some instances, exert an influence that, by the divine blessing, may determine a vocation. Besides, when the institution is once under way, it will, by affording a general increase of facilities for ecclesiastical education, enable the Bishops to receive all candidates of whom they may approve. The creation of separate Seminaries for each diocese must of necessity be a very slow work ; funds have to be collected for the purchase or erection of the necessary buildings ; and what is far more difficult competent professors must be obtained at the sacrifice of other purposes of utility from which they have to be drawn. Now newly created or not wealthy dioceses will find in a central educational establishment situated in Rome an escape from these great and apparently insuperable difficulties. The older dioceses that are blest with more abundant means, will find in it a valuable assistant, which, by relieving the pressure on the Seminaries they already possess, will enable them better to meet their growing wants.

But another great advantage besides the increase in priests, will be that a higher tone will be given to the education of the clergy, and a high standard of excellence set up among them by the annual incorporation into their body of a number of men highly and carefully trained, and possessing an instruction vaster, more complete, and more solid than any which they can possibly acquire here. These would come to us full of the true Roman spirit, which they would diffuse through both clergy and laity, and bind both more and more closely to the great centre of Catholic Unity. The Holy See would no doubt, in process of time, reap the advantages resulting from a personal acquaintance of a large number of our clergy, who will have been educated under his watchful supervision. Our Seminaries would be invited to extend and perfect their means of ecclesiastical education, and would be acted upon in the same manner as were, some time ago, the Colleges and Universities of New England, by the return of Everett, Bancroft, and others, from the educational institutions of Europe. The non-Catholic portion of the community, who have already a traditional idea of the learning of our clergy, would be proportionately impressed by the presence in our body of a number of men of learning, and complete ecclesiastical education, who would, each according to his peculiar ability, contribute to the consideration and importance of the Catholic faith. Nor will these advantages be gained at the cost of any

diminution or impairing of the commendable parts of our national spirit and character in those thus educated away from home; for the American College, like other institutions in the Eternal City, being under a national direction, will, while drawing from the treasures of Roman instruction, educate its young levites *especially for America*, and for a life of utility among their fellow countrymen.

In this last respect the Propaganda may be said to be deficient, because the national education of its students suffers from their being confounded with others of so many different nations. In reply to those who might, perhaps, say that the Propaganda can fulfill all the purposes of an American College in Rome, I would mention here that it falls far below our necessities; the proportion alloted to America, viz., one quarter of the entire number of students, being always full and yet insufficent to provide for all applicants for admission. The fact that English is the mother tongue of the students in three of the already existing colleges, will, no doubt, excite in an especial manner, and in the highest degree, a spirit of emulation among American students; and it will urge them to rival those of Great Britain, whenever possible, and try to surpass them.

3. The last and greatest consideration is the wish of the Holy Father which he has already expressed to the Bishops of the United States. I was assured that he had the establishment of the American College deeply at heart, and that he feels the greatest interest in it. It happens unfortunately that the French troops occupy at present several buildings conveniently situated for our purpose, and it is not foreseen how long this occupation may last. This was given to me as a reason why the Holy Father may be prevented from setting apart for our use the proper *local*, which may therefore have to be purchased by ourselves. The Holy Father besides his blessing and his prayers,—so indispensable to the success of our undertaking,—will contribute material aid; but to what extent, and in what precise manner, cannot now be determined; it will however be designed as a mark of his interest in, and approbation of the work. Whether the amount required to purchase and fit up a suitable building in Rome be $100,000 or even $150,000, it is undeniably within the reach of the united efforts of the diocese of the United States. Let it be apportioned among them, a systematic mode of collection carefully devised, and the sum can be raised without any great difficulty, and without impairing our ability to contribute for other purposes. Have not $40 000, or for aught I know, a still larger sum, been drawn from the United

States for the Catholic University of Ireland, from which we never could expect to derive much, if any benefit? I have also heard of large amounts collected for the erection of churches in Ireland—for instance, some years ago for the Cathedral of Ardagh, and at the present time for that of Armagh. Did we not easily collect and send to the Holy Father at Gaeta, as a token of our filial regard, some $25,000? Have not the Catholics of this city quite recently got together the large sum $34,000 for the extension of a hospital? The idea of the establishment of a National College is not altogether new, it has before this been entertained and discussed by Bishops of the United States, who were anxious to provide the means of solid education, and of a vast and complete ecclesiastical education for their rising clergy. But there was a diversity of opinion as to where it should be located,—some preferring France, some Belgium, and others again Rome. Private munificence may found a college for the special benefit of the American Missions in Belgium, or any where else to great advantage, but no number of such institutions can take the place, or effect the purpose of an American College under the shadow of St. Peter's Chair. This part of the question has been happily settled by the express desire of the Sovereign Pontiff, to which I have already referred. It now only remains for the laity, as soon as the Bishops have agreed on the preliminary and indispensable concert of action, and have given the signal for action, to exert themselves one and all, and find the requisite means.

The rise and growth of the American College will form a proper sequence to the first appearance of an Apostolic Nuncio in our country,—it will add another glory to the present Pontificate, and endear it for ever in the memory of the Church of the United States. It will be the third notable institution of a similar great utility for which the Catholic world will be indebted to the Successor of St. Peter, and will exalt to contemporaries and to posterity the wisdom and pastoral solicitude, indefatigable and universal, of the great head of the Church, Pius IX.

L. B. Binsse.

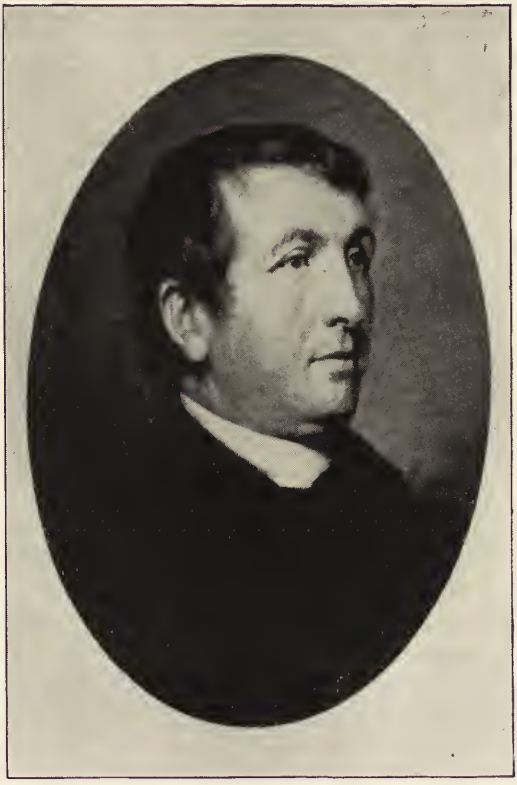
Less than a year after the matter had been taken up by the American Bishops, the Propaganda purchased the building for the use of the North American students, the Catholics of the United States having contributed a certain amount

toward fitting up the institution and maintaining its service. This fact is chronicled in an inscription near the parlor:

PROVIDENTIA
D. N. PII. IX. PONT. MAX.
AMPLIFICATORIS. CHRISTIANI. NOMINIS
QUAE. DOMUS. ANTIQUA. FUERAT. VIRGINUM. SALESIAN.
HANC. ALUMNIS. AMERICAE. BOREALIS. FOEDERATAE
IN. ECCLESIAE. SPEM. DOCTRINA. ET. PIETATE. EXCOLENDIS
AERE. SUO. COMPARAVIT. CONGREGATIO. FIDEI. PROPAGANDAE
TANTI. OPERIS. INSTITUTIONEM. COLLATA. PECUNIA. IUVERE
CATHOLICI. CUM. EPISCOPIS. AMERIC. AN. MDCCCLIX[1]

The new College was at first placed in charge of Dr. Bernard Smith, a Benedictine priest, who occupied at that time the chair of Dogmatic Theology in the University of the Propaganda. Dr. Smith died 11 Dec. 1892, at the age of 76 years, as titular abbot of the Mantuan monastery of S. Benedict. He acted as rector provisionally, as it was the intention to place the direction of the College in the hands of an American priest. Accordingly the Rev. W. G. McCloskey, who was then superior of Mt. St. Mary's, Emmittsburg, Md., became not long afterwards the regularly appointed rector. Upon his elevation to the episcopal see of Louisville, Ky., in 1868, his vice-rector, now the Rt. Rev. Francis Silas Chatard, D. D., Bishop of Vincennes, Indiana, took the management, and remained in charge until called to his present field of labor. His place was taken by Monsignor Louis E. Hostlot, who likewise had been his predecessor's vice-rector. He died at his post Feb. 1, 1884, and the then vice-rector the Rev. Augustine J. Schulte, became pro-rector until the appointment, the following year, of Monsignor D. J. O'Connell.

1 Through the providential care of our Supreme Pontiff, Pius the Ninth, the extender and glorifier of the Christian name, the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith with its own resources aided by those of the bishops and faithful of America purchased the house which had formerly been that of the Salesian nuns, in order that, as a hope of the Church, students of the United States of North America might here become thoroughly grounded in doctrine and piety.



DR. BERNARD SMITH, O.S.B.,

FIRST PRO RECTOR OF THE AMERICAN COLLEGE, ROME.

NORTH AMERICAN COLLEGE,
ROME.

At this time there occurred an incident which is of importance in the history of the American College inasmuch as it marks the prompt and energetic action of our Government which prevented the interference of the Piedmontese administration in the affairs of the institution. It will be remembered that by a general Act of Parliament the Italian Government had decreed the confiscation and sale of certain ecclesiastical property. Among the buildings designated as coming under this Act was the property of the Propaganda. On March 3, 1884, Cardinal McCloskey sent the following letter to the President of the United States:

To His Excellency Chester A. Arthur, &c., &c.
Your Excellency,

Information has been received by cable that the American College in Rome, a theological establishment for the education of American citizens, is about to be sold, in accordance with the recent decision of the Court of Cassation, ordering all the real estate of the Propaganda to be converted into government bonds.

Though technically held by the Propaganda, the American College is virtually American property, as the bishops of the United States have the use of it in perpetuity, free of cost, and as they have contributed large sums of money, probably equal to its original value, in alterations and equipments. The ecclesiastical province of New York, over which I preside, contributed $20,000 for this purpose in 1859, and all the other dioceses of the country also contributed their quota.

The decision of the Court is entirely unexpected. In this sudden emergency, then, as representing the Catholic Episcopate of the United States, I would beg Your Excellency to ask the King of Italy for a stay of proceedings, at least, in the premises, if it be not possible furthermore to exempt the institution, as virtually American property, from the operation of the law.

I would further suggest, in view of the urgency of the case, that communication be by cable.

I am, &c.,
John, Cardinal McCloskey,
Archbishop of New York.
Per *M. A. Corrigan,*
Archbishop Coadjutor.

In a separate letter addressed to Mr. Frelinghuysen, Secretary of State, Archbishop Corrigan explained more in detail the relation of the American Clergy to the Propaganda, and in particular to the American College as one of its dependencies. He cited recent parallel cases in which foreign Governments had saved the property of their subjects under similar circumstances and showed the injustice of the proceeding on the part of the Italian Government. Mr. Frelinghuysen promptly informed Mr. Astor, our national representative at Rome, of the facts, instructing him at the same time to put himself in communication with the officers of the institution and to do what he could to aid them. Mr. Astor conferred with the authorities of the Propaganda and the American College, and laid the facts before Mr. Mancini, the Minister of Italian Foreign Affairs. As a result of the negotiations the following cablegram, dated March 28, 1884, was sent to our Secretary of State: "'College exempted from Propaganda sale.'—Astor." This was confirmed by a subsequent account of the transactions in which the Italian Minister of Peace and Justice, Sig. Savelli admits that "the American College in Rome should not be in any way confounded with the real estate of the Propaganda which has been ordered to be sold." The details of this matter are found in the records of the 48th Congress, first Session.

In June 1895, Mgr. Denis O'Connell, after ten years of faithful service, resigned his position as Rector. In November of the same year, the Very Rev. W. H. O'Connell was appointed to the office. Dr. Rooker, present secretary of the Apostolic Delegation, had administered the affairs of the College in the interval; and Dr. Farrelly still acts as Vice-Rector.

The original set of students numbered, like the States of the Union, thirteen. Twenty-five to thirty was the average until 1870, when the number rose to fifty-eight. Of late years there have generally been sixty to sixty-five students in the house. As a rule the outgoing class of ordained students counts from twelve to fifteen, or even more.

The various Colleges in Rome have their special Cardinal Protectors. Cardinal Ledochowski, protector of the American College, is one of the most imposing figures among the great churchmen of these later days. Those who are familiar with the history of this venerable prince of the Church may to some extent realize the charm which his manner exercises upon the youth who propose to devote their lives to the defence and propagation of the Catholic faith. For years he endured trials and sufferings, imprisoned because of his unflinching adherence to the rights of holy Church whilst Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen during the Kultur Kampf in Germany. Though free now, under the roof of the saintly Pontiff who called him to share the burden and responsibility of his laborious Pontificate, Mieceslaus Ledochowski bears upon his lofty brow the spirit and seal of the martyr, and those who are privileged to converse with him are impressed by the apostolic force and enlightened vigor of his thoughtful words.

There are other persons not of the American College, yet closely identified with its progress spiritual and intellectual. Among these we must mention P. Cavecchione who for several years gave special instructions in Canon Law to the students during the rectorship of Mgr. Hostlot. Another figure, dear to every member of the house during those years, was that of the learned and humble Dr. Ubaldo Ubaldi, professor of S. Scripture at the Propaganda. He lived in the College as its spiritual director, and acted for many years as prefect of studies, preparing the young candidates who went up for the degrees of the doctorates in philosophy and theology. Every student of biblical science is familiar with his great work of Introduction to the Sacred Text, and his lectures at the various Colleges always drew eager listeners from among the best students. Many of the alumni of the College will also remember with kindly emotion the devout Jesuit Father Armellini who acted as confessor for more than a quarter of a century. Another professor domesticated in a manner with the American students was Dom. Fiorentini whose beautiful litanies and other musical compositions have

gained wide popularity through the efforts of former pupils from the American College who have fostered the love for the Roman melodies.

Among those who have gone forth from the College and done honor to it by being called to take rank among the hierarchy of the United States, are His Grace, Archbishop M. A. Corrigan, present metropolitan of New York ; Bishops H. B. Northrop, of Charleston, S. C.; Jos. H. Richter, of Grand Rapids, Mich.; Maurice F. Burke, of St. Joseph, Mo.; Charles E. McDonald, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Ignatius F. Horstmann, of Cleveland, O.

Perhaps it might be ungraceful not to mention here also the only two persons still attached to the College who were present at its opening, namely Dr. Gualdi, the College physician, and one of the most noted practitioners in Rome, and Davide Pietrostefani, an old and faithful servant who still performs a light share of his former duties.

III.

Turning now to a consideration of the building itself and its surroundings we find much to attract our attention. The walks about the enclosed gardens present some objects of especial interest. At one of the angles stands a large group of statuary, a massive and noble "Descent from the Cross." This is the work of Achtermann, a German artist of Cologne, one of that group which counted Overbeck among its members, and whose ideal aim was to reunite in the varied branches of art a truly religious element with standard beauty of form. In the present work the artist endeavors to imitate the classic simplicity of Canova's style and to give it at the same time the religious character too often neglected by that master. The work before us is the original cast of the group in the Trinita Dei Monti, and is said to have occupied the artist for twelve years. At the opposite end of the same colonnade there is another example of this school, Pettrich's St. Cecilia, a graceful work in which the saint, attended by an angel, holds her traditional instrument of music. Near

this the fountains are plashing at the feet of America's Immaculate Patroness, and along the base of the walls lies a scattered fringe of carved fragments of marble composed of pieces of columns, broken inscriptions, and friezes, and other excavated forms, some of which may in a future day give valuable information to the inquiring archeologist.

The general appearance of the College building is that common to Roman structures, solidity of construction with scant attempt at external decoration. The plain, buff-colored exterior, except for the church façade which it includes, would give no hint of the use to which the building is applied. Within, the arrangement is that usual in community houses, but an American notices the total absence of wooden floors, the place of which is taken by tiling or brick-work. In the various rooms and corridors there are some interesting memorials of by-gone days, a few of which may be noticed here. In the central room on the right of the corridor leading from the community chapel are the two inscriptions already noticed chronicling the foundations of the buildings and of the College. Another records a memorable visit of Pius IX. in 1860. It is as follows:

IV. KAL. FEB. AN. MDCCCLX
FESTO. DIE. FRANCISCI. SALESII
PIUS. IX. PONT. MAX.
PARENS. ET. AUCTOR. COLLEGII. AMERICAI. BOREAL. FOEDER.
SACRIS. OPERATUS. IN. AEDE. N.
ALUMNOS. DAPE. COELESTI. PAVIT
DOMUM. PROPITIUS. INVISIT
OMNES. ADMISSIONE. ET. COLLOQUIO. DIGNATUS. EST.[1]

Along this corridor are to be seen the portraits of the American hierarchy, as also a number of simple mural

1 On the twenty-ninth of January, 1860, the feast of St. Francis of Sales, Piux IX., Supreme Pontiff, parent and founder of the College of the United States of North America, having celebrated the Holy Sacrifice in our house, nourished the students with the Heavenly Banquet, kindly inspected their home, and honored all with his presence and conversation.

shrines, one of which is of especial interest. It is near the chapel, and is a graceful painting of the Madonna and Child, presented to the College by Pius IX. This is stated in the beautiful inscription above it:

IV. KAL. DEC. A. D. MDCCCLXV
PIUS. IX. PONT. MAX.
IMMACULATAE. MEAE. ORIGINIS. ADSERTOR
AMERICANI. COLLEGII. ALUMNIS
ME. DEDIT
CUSTODEM. DOMUS. EXEMPLAR. VITAE
ALTRICEM. PIETATIS [1]

Other memorials of Pius IX. possessed by the College are: a bust and a portrait of the Pope himself, in the parlor. The painting is certainly beautiful, and the bust is said to be one of the best existing likenesses of the Pontiff. It is by Milmore, and was taken from actual sittings. In the vestibule of the church we find a bust of St. Francis of Sales, a gift of the Pope; and among the sacred vessels there is a beautiful gold chalice from the same donor.

Like Pius IX. of saintly memory, our present illustrious Pontiff, Leo XIII. has repeatedly shown a deep interest in the American College. As a token of this fact the College possesses a magnificent oil painting richly mounted and bearing the papal arms which covers the greater part of the rear wall of the "sala" or hall. In this gift the Pontiff desired to emphasize his zeal for the advancement in the culture of Scholastic Philosophy and Theology. This idea is illustrated by the picture which includes beautiful, life-size portrait-figures of the Pope's brother, Cardinal Pecci, and of the then Domestic Prelate and now Cardinal, Satolli, each of whom took so prominent a part in the great move-

1 On the twenty-eight of November, in the year of our Lord 1865, the Supreme Pontiff Pius IX., the proclaimer of my Immaculate Conception, gave me to the students of the American College as the guardian of their home, the model of their lives, and the nurse of their piety.

ment to which the initial impulse had been given by the Pope himself.

IV.

But we must turn to other things, for the beautiful church awaits our attention, and we shall proceed thither. On our way we notice the long, red-tiled refectory, which we would not notice at all, were it not for the fact that the large painting of Mary Immaculate and the American shield and eagle in the centre of the high ceiling appeal to one with a force to be appreciated only by those who feel themselves far away from the land of which both form a vivid reminder. One does not know how much of a patriot he is until he has been separated for some time from his native country. But we shall not linger here.

The passage to the church from the other parts of the College opens into a wide vestibule, which was formerly the sacristy. Entering the church itself we take holy water from one of two handsome fonts cut out of a rare quality of Porta Santa marble, and on looking around we find that this elegant example of the marble worker's art is only a fitting introduction to the rest of the interior, which is lavishly rich in choicest decoration. Sculpture, painting, precious marble, and masterly work in wood and metal, all lend their varied charms to enhance the value of this ancient church. Beautiful statues stand in niches along the walls, the recessed chapels present a great variety of costly material and delicate workmanship, and a comprehensive unity of design gives to each detail an added beauty while making it conspire to the production of a complete, harmonious whole. The entire surface of the walls to the arch of the ceiling is encrusted with variegated marbles, dominant among which is Sicilian jasper so carefully disposed as to result in corresponding designs on opposite sides of the church. Graceful arches mark the side chapels, and paneled paintings symmetrically arranged are set into the marble surface. The greater part of the ceiling is covered by an "Assumption," of a marked refinement of touch and delicacy of coloring.

Enclosed in a rich framework of gilt it has on opposite sides the life size figures of Religion and Purity with garland-bearing angels and emblematic designs, all harmonizing in style with the principal picture, but executed in more subdued tints. Exquisite decorations in *chiaro oscuro* consisting of symbolic devices, fine floral work and beautiful angels surround and occupy the remaining panels of the ceiling.

The high altar stands within a broad gilt arch profusely decorated with flowered reliefs, and having its glistening surface broken in the centre by a white dove around which are grouped winged angels and cherubs. The inner surface of the recess is formed by one of the broken pediments so much in favor with architects of the *baroque* period, supported by two magnificent columns of *giallo antico*, one of the rarest of marbles, and bearing just below its arch a fine picture of the Assumption. Beneath this was placed at one time a rare gem of art which had no doubt suggested much of this elaborate ornamentation. At the instance of one of the novices the Macharani family, of which she was a member, gave to the convent a Madonna by Perugino, and the decoration of this altar was greatly enriched in order to furnish a suitable setting for the new treasure. The picture occupied the centre of a large amethyst oval, over five feet in its longer diameter, held by marble angels, and containing not only the painting but also the dove in the upper part and adoring angels at the sides and below, all in bronze. This picture was removed, probably by the nuns at their departure, and its place is now taken by a beautiful copy of the Rimini Madonna. Beneath this again, in a deep marble frame, there is a well executed copy of Giulio Romano's picture of the Apostles looking into the flower-filled tomb in which they had placed the body of the Blessed Virgin. At the sides of the arch we find notable reminders of the first occupants of the convent in the life-size marble reliefs of two patronesses of the Dominican order, St. Mary Magdalen, the type of penance, on the gospel side, and St. Catherine of Alexandria, a type of study, on the side opposite. These

reliefs are in the style of Bernini, and exhibit the energetic treatment characteristic of that master. Just below, mural tablets of black marble attest the munificence of Camilla Macharani and of Paul, her son, in securing these beautiful decorations, and also the gratitude of the sisters and the desire of the benefactors to be remembered in the prayers of those who would be here when they themselves had passed away. The altar itself is composed, for the greater part, of Sicilian jasper, and like Roman high altars in general, it is severely plain in design, attracting attention chiefly by the excellence of the material. The tabernacle proper, which is of bronze, and of semi-cylindrical form, is enclosed in an outer one formed of a heavy base with pillars and canopy from a vein of Sicilian jasper of magnificent deep coloring.

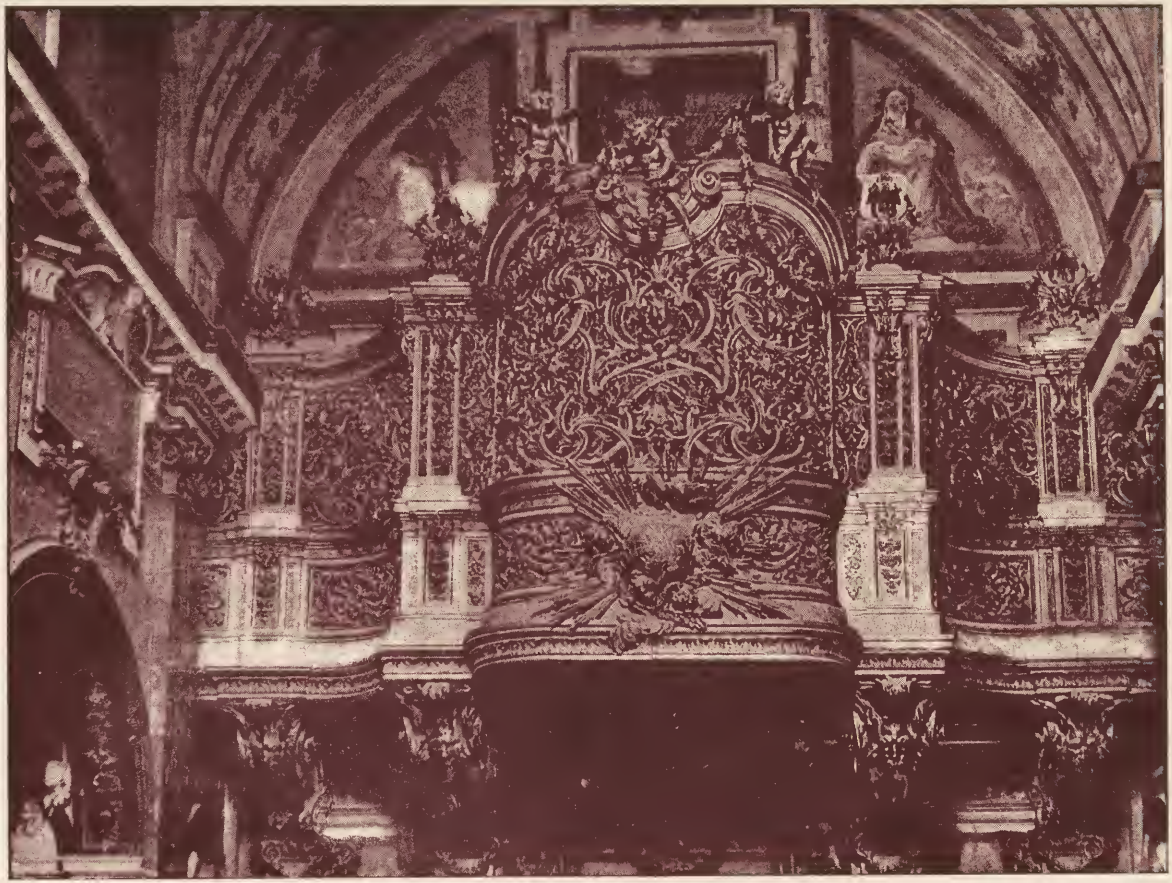
It will be noticed that the church is particularly rich in the variety and preciousness of its marbles; indeed a volume might be filled in describing them. Greece, Asia Minor, Arabia, Nubia, Mauritania, Sicily, Aquitania, the region of the Pyrenees, and the choice quarries of Italy, such as Carrara and Seravezza, have contributed magnificent specimens for the embellishment of this shrine. A glance about us here recalls to mind the vast extent of the power of ancient Rome, for these treasures were originally brought to the imperial city as the tribute of the conquered provinces. Just as the Roman people became instrumental in the hands of Divine Providence to prepare the world for Christianity, so these remains of its former splendor served to adorn the eternal reign of Him to whom they unconsciously ministered.

This rich setting greatly increases the effect of the principal decorations. The statues six in number, and of heroic size, standing in niches of green, in a frame of yellow marble, form a striking feature of the interior. Let us pause a little to examine them. The first figure on the epistle side can be identified only by the palm branch as a virgin-martyr, for there is nothing to indicate her name. Next comes St. Ursula known by the arrow which she bears, and then St. Agnes with the lamb, emblematic of innocence. The youthful martyr's gaze is directed above and beyond the things of

earth, as if she fain would see even here the celestial object of her love. Opposite her, the graceful St. Barbara looks thoughtfully down upon us, and further on, St. Catherine of Alexandria stands with that gaze of conscious power which only knowledge can give. St. Cecilia occupies the niche nearest the high altar on the Gospel side, and with her instrument at rest by her side, looks across the church as if attracted by the beauty of her sister spirit Agnes.

Our eyes now wander to the paintings, the glow of whose colors relieves the cold white dignity of the snowy forms below. Above the unknown martyr there is a delicately executed painting of St. Ann and the Blessed Virgin. It combines refined simplicity of design with masterful strength of coloring. The figure of the youthful Mary is especially graceful, and there is an air of quiet repose about the work wholly in keeping with the subject. Farther down, and on opposite sides of the church, we see St. Helena and St. Mary Magdalen in a more pronounced and not less elevated style of painting. The remaining panel is occupied by a sweetly devotional picture of our Lord revealing Himself to Blessed Margaret Mary. At the ends of the nave there are four other large, well-executed frescoes, the details of which however attractive we must pass over. The side altars present a wealth of material and a profusion of ornamentation in keeping with what has already been described. Their tables are all nearly alike in design, large panels of porphyry and Thessalian stone with facings of Numidian marble. A marked contrast is presented by the altar of the Crucifixion, which, as mural tablets and armorial bearings show, is a gift of the celebrated Colonna family. Its frontal is a white marble pelican feeding its young from its torn breast, and surrounded by exquisitely chiselled frame-work in African and Greek marbles. The Carrara predella, or platform, is tastefully inlaid with colored marble. Above it stands the life-size figure of the crucifix, a magnificent piece of carving. Marble cherubs cluster in the gilded arch above the rich pediment and capitals, which in turn are supported by two beautiful columns of Sicilian jasper. At the side, life-size

SIDE ALTAR OF ST. FRANCIS,
IN THE CHURCH OF THE AMERICAN COLLEGE, ROME.



ORGAN GALLERY

IN THE CHURCH OF THE AMERICAN COLLEGE, ROME.

marble reliefs represent angels with the instruments of the Passion ; below these the following inscriptions are cut in a table of black marble :—

SOROR . ANNA . SERAPHINA
COLUMNA
EX . RUVIANI . DOMINIS [1]

REPARATAE . SALUTIS
ANNO
MDCLXXXV [2]

In the next altar we have a memorial of the Salesian sisters. The altar-piece consists of a remarkable group of statuary occupying the recess of the chapel. St. Francis is seated, pen in hand, in the attitude of one pausing in his writing and looking upward as if for further inspiration. At his side hovers a beautiful angel holding the mitre and crosier and bending approvingly over the book. This group is the work of Francesco Moderno, and evinces much care in composition and detail. The altar itself is rich in variegated marbles, and it is here, somewhere in the great vaults which underlie the building that the holy foundress lies entombed.

The altar opposite is that of St. Dominic, and is notable on account of the large and handsome painting above it.

This picture represents our Blessed Lady with St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Mary Magdalen holding a full length portrait of St. Dominic and surrounded by angels and cherubs. The picture of St. Dominic is a facsimile of the one preserved at Soriano, a delicately beautiful piece of work. Judging from a certain similarity in artistic treatment to the previously mentioned painting of the Blessed Virgin and St. Ann it appears not improbable that both are the work of the same artist. There is also in this chapel a specimen of splendidly executed work in Florentine mosaic. It consists of clusters of lilies shaded with such exceeding delicacy as to give them the appearance of reality. It is said that this effect was produced by the application of certain acids, and that the process is practically one of the lost arts ; at least it is not known now as it was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

1 Sister Anna Seraphina Colonna of the rulers of Roviano.
2 Restored, Year of Salvation 1685.

The remaining altar is that of our Lady of Guadalupe, with a life-size representation, an exact copy of the miraculous image. This painting was placed here, it is believed, because the papal Decree which founded the American College was promulgated on the feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe.[1] Like the others, this altar is enriched with elaborate inlaid marble, and possesses two graceful columns beautifully encrusted with Sicilian jasper.

These many points of interest have betrayed us into a somewhat lengthy description, yet we cannot conclude without referring to the marvelous specimen of wood carving which forms the choir screen. Gilded cherubs are poised on the top of a bewildering maze of intersections and interlacings so closely and delicately wrought as to conceal singers and organ alike from the gaze of those below. Richly carved columns and pendants give symmetry and design to the whole, and the entire surface is covered with gold. The organ is a high class instrument secured at the Paris Exposition of 1867 by Bishop Chatard.

Taking a general final survey of the church we receive the impression of what an Italian would call a style "barocco, ma castigato." Its freedom and wealth is of the chaste character which is perhaps best represented by the school of Bernini, free from its later extravagances. As we have indicated, there is a harmonious completeness in the design, and the impression produced, though striking, is withal quiet and religious. In the case of the Italian churches the plan of ornamentation is usually outlined by the architect, and the execution proceeds very slowly, with great attention to detail. The decorations of Santa Maria dell' Umiltà must have taken many years to complete, we might say centuries. Yet in the midst of all this beauty the sound of our retreating footsteps reminds us that the pavement has never been completed, and that the last touch must yet be given by the addi-

1 The feast of the apparition of our Lady of Guadalupe is one of the titulary feasts of North as well as South America; it practically coincides with the prime titulary of the Immaculate Conception, though the Mexican Ordo places it as a Dupl. I cl. etc., on the 12 December.—EDIT.

tion of the elaborate tiling which forms so effective a feature in all the great Italian churches. Slabs in the present pavement mark the resting place of one of the Colonnas DE . HOC . VEN . MONASTERIO . BENEMERENTIS . , and of some other benefactor whose name cannot now be deciphered. In concluding this sketch of the material edifice of the American College we must not omit to direct attention to the inscription on the large and elegant porphyry tablet above the entrance of the church, which pays a fitting tribute of respect and honor to the noble foundress. The tooth of time has removed the marked letters, and an entire word or design is wanting at the bottom, as is evident from the fastenings which still remain.

FRANCESCAE . BALEONAE . URSINAE
QUAE . VIRO . DEFUNCTO . MONASTERIUM . HOC
FUNDAVIT . EXCITAVIT . AC . IDONEO . REDITU . MUNIVIT
HUJUS . COENOBII . VIRGINES
FUNDATRICI . MUNIFICENTISSIMAE
POSUERE[1]

In a future article we hope to give some details of student life in Rome.

QUIRINUS, D. D.

Rome, June 1897.

1 "The religious of this convent have placed (here this memorial of) their most munificent foundress, Francesca Baglioni Orsini, who after the death of her husband, founded, erected, and suitably endowed this monastery."

THE CORNELL HISTORIAN:
or,
Dr. A. D. WHITE'S LEGEND ABOUT ST. FRANCIS XAVIER.

WE said a few words in the last number of this REVIEW,[1] about the Voltairian enterprise of Dr. A. D. White in undertaking to reform history. We called attention to the masterpiece in his production, which was that of reducing St. Francis Xavier's glories to a more modest level. "I am tired of hearing him always called the Just," said the Athenian citizen, who was voting for the ostracism of Aristides; and so the free-minded citizen voted him off. We imagine it must be painful for the denomination which rejoices in Voltaire as a saint of its calendar, to hear these Catholic saints talked about and extolled, as, for prudential reasons, never a saint of its own might be descanted on. We do not know Voltaire as Mr. White does. We speak only at second-hand about him, just as Dr. White does about many things. We borrow our ideas of the saint and his clients from M. Nourrison for instance, in his work on Voltaire and Voltairianism. On the other hand, the Doctor does not know St. Francis Xavier. He borrows his chief ideas about our Saint from some lore not yet catalogued; and these fundamental notions are different from ours. We will signalize the difference here just under one aspect. He likens St. Francis Xavier to "fervent Protestant missionaries." We have nothing to say about Protestant missionaries; but we will say, we should never think of likening a Voltairian saint to any one among our own, nor even, thanks be to God, to one of ourselves. We would recommend the Doctor to be more jealous, in our regard, of the "idols of his tribe," and the "idols of his den," as Bacon so judiciously terms them. And, when he makes his devout reading privately, he may keep his information strictly private, to be had in the new book of M. Nourrisson, Membre de l'Institut: *Voltaire et le Voltairianisme.*

1 See the June number, p. 597, Fr. Hughes' article: "Dr. A. D. White on the Warfare of Science with Theology."

§I.

We remarked before that we made a number of discoveries, on reading the Doctor's new book edition of his previous pleasant essay. We discovered that he had carefully left out some things and had inserted quite a number of others. In strict accord with the tenor of our criticism he has changed his text, which he had a perfect right to manipulate; but he has also manipulated other people's texts, which he had no right to do. In changing his own text, he has done it quite privately—*sub rosa*, as it were—but then, under cover of his changed text, he has turned to make an onslaught upon us, as if he had never run to cover. We are glad he profited so far by our corrections; but we do not altogether like the manner of this higher criticism, or rather this uuderhand criticism—we do not quite like it. Amid the authors whom he had libelled in his first essay, we discover but little change for the better; they still stand disgraced in his pages, with his libels pinned fast to them; and a number of new ones have been captured to bear them company in misfortune.

For all this kind of literary and historical business, he has a gentle phrase of his own; which however suits us perfectly. He calls it all "errors of omission and commission," and he begs a full and free indulgence beforehand; and he hopes to be allowed to keep his literary respectability with his publishers and the public. To secure him on this flank, Dr. Adams sent out the flying column of his pages in *The Forum*, with much commendation, particularly on the subject of St. Francis Xavier. This seems to be the only peccadillo that any body had undertaken seriously to criticize.

The respectability demanded in their authors by what are considered first-class publishing houses is of a very elastic kind. Still, those houses have a sincere and rooted objection to putting forth articles and books which afterwards are found to be absurd and ridiculous, and which will take rank with old wives' stories and old men's dreams. The Macmillans of London were not likely to have known of this

gentleman's previous escapade in New York, to the prejudice of the Appletons. Honoring then the Macmillans of London with his manuscript, and the public of the British Empire as well as of the American Republic with his book, he reassures all alike with a paragraph in his Introduction; and he indicates the perfectly reliable character of his work. The paragraph runs thus:

"That errors of omission and commission will be found here and there is probable—nay certain; but the substance of the book will, I believe, be found perfectly true. I am encouraged in this belief by the fact that of the three bitter attacks which this work in its earlier form encountered, one was purely declamatory, objurgatory and hortatory, and the others based on ignorance of facts easily pointed out."[1]

We have not observed anywhere in his two volumes an answer to the other attacks, whatever they were. The only one, which we see that he repels, is that for which we are responsible. But we fail to recognize ourselves in the description here given of "the three bitter attacks." The criticism which we passed was not purely "declamatory, objurgatory and hortatory," since the Doctor has been so much put out of his way, in text and notes, and also put out of humor, in the attempt to answer us. Neither could it be among those "based on ignorance of facts easily pointed out;" for it is the Doctor who has recast his facts, dropped assertions, changed quotations, altered his text, and sailed a new course to save some canvas in the breeze. We do not recognize ourselves in this introductory description. But we do find ourselves in his book, in notes and in text; and that with a vengeance both active and passive.

Let us give Dr. White's Xaverian legend in its sternest simplicity. He is about to start his thirteenth round, on the same track as all the twelve before, but of course with a different name. The sign he puts up this time is "From

1 Introd. p. x.

Miracles to Medicine."[1] He starts upon the assumption that "there were evolved theories of miraculous methods of cure, based upon modes of appeasing the Divine anger, or of thwarting Satanic malice;" and that, through a refracting medium of theories like these, the life and acts of Our Lord Jesus Christ was transmitted to subsequent generations. Both Old and New Testaments were responsible for such legendary theories. Under the influence of the theory, and of the acts of Our Lord as refracted through the theory, "legends of miracles grew luxuriously;" and they "have thus grown about the lives of all great benefactors of humanity in early ages, and about saints and devotees." "Modern thought holds the testimony to the vast mass of such legends in all ages as worthless." Still, "it is very widely acknowledged that great and gifted beings, who endow the earth with higher religious ideals, gaining the deepest hold upon the hearts and minds of multitudes, may at times exercise such influence upon those about them, that the sick in mind or body are helped or healed."[2] So far, all that the Doctor says is identical with the French and German rationalism of Strauss, Renan and their school. As to Our Lord, they will talk nicely about Him and blaspheme all the while. They acknowledge His place and influence in the world to the extent of attributing all the effects of His divine mission to some contagious power of example; for he was a "great benefactor," "a great and gifted being." The supernatural powers and endowments of the Saints are a legendary effort to enhance in favorite heroes the effects of Christian contagious example, which itself, as it is exhibited in the Bible, was previously enhanced and illuminated by the rays of a "refracting" theory.

"We have within the modern period," says the Doctor, "very many examples which enable us to study the evolution of legendary miracles. Out of these I will select but

1 *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*, by A. D. White; vol. ii., ch. 13, pp. 1–23.

2 Ibid. pp. 1–5.

one, which is chosen because it is the life of one of the most noble and devoted men in the history of humanity, one whose biography is before the world with its most minute details—in his own letters, in the letters of his associates, in contemporary histories, and in a multitude of biographies: this man is St. Francis Xavier. From these sources I draw the facts now to be given, but none of them are of Protestant origin; every source from which I shall draw is Catholic and Roman, and published under the sanction of the Church." [1] After some words on the Saint's remarkable career, the Doctor lays down the basis of his argument: that, "during his career as a missionary he (Xavier) wrote great numbers of letters, which were preserved and have since been published; and these, with the letters of his contemporaries, exhibit clearly all the features of his life;" nevertheless, "no account of a miracle wrought by him appears either in his own letters or in any contemporary document." We need not pause to direct the reader's attention to this basis of the Doctor's argumentation; for he himself does so to our perfect satisfaction. He repeats it over and over again, that the letters of the Saint and those of the Saint's contemporaries "exhibit clearly all the features of his life"—"his life, as exhibited so fully by himself and his contemporaries." He inculcates it: "so far as Xavier's own writings are concerned." He returns to it: "though he (Xavier) writes of his doings with especial detail." And, after all the affirmations, which are kept rigidly bound in the straight-jacket of these restrictive clauses, the Doctor is not yet content, but must needs refer to all of them as a demonstration made and concluded: "As we have seen (*sic*), he is very prompt to report anything which may be considered an answer to prayer." [2] "Nor do the letters of his associates show knowledge of any miracles wrought by him." The Doctor proves this from the collection made by Emanuel Acosta; and then adds in general: "The same is true of various other similar collections published during the sixteenth and seventeenth

1 Ibid. p. 5.

2 Ibid. pp. 6–7.

centuries. In not one of them does any mention of a miracle by Xavier appear in a letter from India or the East contemporary with him." Has the reader caught the idea? He must; and the Doctor comes back to it again: "To Xavier no miracles are imputed by his associates during his life or during several years after his death." Xavier himself and his associates confirm all this: "we find his own statements as to his personal limitations, and the difficulties arising from them, fully confirmed by his fellow-workers;" and notably in the famous case of the supposed gift of tongues.[1] —Dr. White is evidently a widely-read man, and emphatic.

So things went on "until about ten years after Xavier's death." But, "abundant legends had already begun to grow elsewhere." That makes little difference; for the Doctor turns round to reiterate the same peremptory statement for the eleventh time within three pages, that "not one word regarding these miracles came as yet from the country which, according to later accounts accepted and sanctioned by the Church, was at this very period filled with miracles; not the slightest indication of them from the men who were supposed to be in the very thick of these miraculous manifestations." —We are repeating this repetition, which is a little nauseous, if not suspicious; because the Doctor wants it to be impressed deeply on the mind; and so do we.

He continues: "But this negative evidence is by no means all. There is also positive evidence—direct testimony from the Jesuit order itself—that Xavier wrought no miracles." Then he follows with an entirely new demonstration, which he has discovered—though he does not say so—since he wrote in *The Popular Science Monthly*. It is the only piece of "positive evidence" in the entire legend; and we are not quite sure whether it is not the finest piece of demonstration in the two volumes.[2] If we have time and space, we shall see more of it. For the present, we state that it is from Joseph Acosta, who, says Dr. White, affirms that St. Francis Xavier never wrought a miracle. Then comes a long note,

1 Ibid. pp. 7–8.

2 Ibid. pp. 9–10.

about the subject we have offered to the Doctor's consideration, that is, the miraculous preservation of the Saint's body at the present day. He disposes of that.

Now, some nineteen years having passed since the Saint's death, and no miracles having yet been heard of, nay all miracles having been positively denied, the evolution of the legend is in order. Says the Doctor: "Nothing shows better than the sequel how completely the evolution of miraculous accounts depends upon the intellectual atmosphere of any land and time, and how independent it is of fact."[1]

After this, of course, we cannot pretend to have a single word to say. If the basis of the argument is so complete, we shall have to concede all the rest. For it is notorious that the literature about St. Francis is replete with the miraculous. And, if nothing was ever heard of such a thing, during about twenty years after the Saint's death, then we may as well concede to the Doctor whatever he wants.

So he continues at once, beginning now the evolution of the legend: "Shortly after Xavier's heroic and beautiful death in 1552, stories of miracles wrought by him began to appear." Then he begins with series of miracles, dating from two years, three years, and four years, after Xavier's death. But how is this? He had just said that nothing was heard of miracles during some twenty years; now he begins to recount the miracles on record only two years after the death of Xavier! To common minds this seems a little odd. Really, it looks stranger than it is. The piece about Joseph Acosta is new; so too is all that he has said about Emanuel Acosta and the collections; he has devised these parts since he wrote before; and he has pinned them in between two paragraphs, as they stood in the original article. Thus with naive simplicity, he proceeds to rehearse in an old paragraph, how first one Provincial in India, and then another Provincial away in the wilds of Ethiopia, and then the King of Portugal and the Viceroy of India, were either reporting miracles and prodigies, or were actively engaged

1 Ibid. pp. 11–12.

in instituting juridical processes about the miracles of St. Francis Xavier; and this within four years after his death. Here he seems to feel something of the jar upon his reader's nerves, at this singular combination of logic. And he sews in a new piece, beginning with the eternal affirmation, which we have already heard eleven times, that "the letters of the missionaries who had been co-workers or immediate successors of Xavier in his Eastern field were still silent as regards any miracles by him, and they remained silent for nearly ten years."[1] Let us hasten to assure the Doctor that we understand him perfectly; for fear he should repeat it again.

Now appear "the first faint beginnings of these legends," even in the letters of the Indian missionaries. And he quotes Almeida. But the Doctor turns to the Council of Trent, and finds that they must have thought very little there of the legendary lore which was beginning to grow. For Julius Gabriel Eugubinus delivered a solemn oration before the assembled Fathers; and he said nothing about Xavier's miracles. And then there were letters written to and fro all this time; and the Doctor finds not a word about Xavier's miracles. And a Jesuit wrote a letter, "twenty years after Xavier's death;" and Julius Gabriel Eugubinus translates the said letter into Latin; and there is not an allusion to Xavier's miracles.

Meanwhile, "the more zealous and less critical brethren in Europe" were nourishing and watering "the vast mass of legends, always luxuriant and sometimes beautiful," which had begun to grow.—We are quoting the Doctor's imagery; he is quite imaginative, and sometimes poetic, especially when he is at logic.—All the literature henceforth merely "grew." According to Dr. White's idea and assumption, every writer had only a predecessor in the same trade to copy and improve upon—which is certainly his own practice. The series which he gives includes Maffei, 1588; Tursellini, 1594; the canonization proceedings, for which he puts down the date 1622; Fr. Bouhours, 1682. St.

1 Ibid. p. 12.

Francis Xavier had died in 1552; thus Bouhours comes one hundred and thirty years later; and the Doctor makes fine capital of that popular writer; for it is understood that there is no logic called for any more. The evolution of legend consists here in a mere comparison of writer with writer, the original basis having been well secured that there was no foundation in fact, and the subsidiary assumption being taken for granted that no writer had anything but some earlier writer to improve upon. Then Fr. Joseph Acosta comes up again—that *enfant terrible*—who, not satisfied with having "expressly told us that Xavier wrought no miracles,"[1] makes an "explicit declaration" that he had not the gift of tongues.[2]

We had indeed fondly imagined that our textual quotations from Maffei and Tursellini, on a former occasion, would have won exemption for these two writers from any more of the Doctor's libelling. And we had made other citations too. But the interesting gentleman, when he does not like quotations, leaves them alone and substitutes his own more valuable affirmations; and, when he does like them, he brings them forward in such a guise that the authors would certainly have preferred to be left alone than to be parodied in defiance of grammar, parsing and sense.

One little element more: it is those juridical proceedings necessary for canonization. He does not touch that matter in immediate connection with the Saint, but, some pages further on gratifies us with this note: "For some very thoughtful remarks as to the worthlessness of the testimony to miracles presented during the canonization proceedings at Rome, see Maury, *Légendes Pieuses.*"[3] It was thus the note stood in his former essay; and, let us confess it candidly, we showed some bad humor then, on seeing a grave question handled in this style; but then we gave a very full explanation of what is meant by canonization proceedings. Omitting all notice of this, the Doctor punishes us now for our bad temper, by adding to the former note this significant

1 P. 9. 2 P. 21. 3 P. 25, note.

reference, "pp. 4–7." Well, we deserved all this; and now we have Maury on our hands, pages 4 to 7,—three whole pages.

The great demonstration regarding St. Francis Xavier's miracles has become twice as long in the book, text and notes included, as it had been in the Monthly. In both editions he concludes with words which show the extensive bearing of his demonstration on all miracles in the Church: "These examples (of Xavier's biographers) will serve to illustrate the process which in thousands of cases has gone on from the earliest days of the Church until a very recent period. Everywhere miraculous cures became the rule rather than the exception throughout Christendom."[1]

§2.

From all that we have reported it is clear, that there is nothing in the pages of Dr. White which is not deliberate and calculated. There is no question now of inadvertence. He has studied the question again, and has published just what he wanted to say. He has issued it, with his friend, Dr. Adams, supporting him, and selecting precisely this piece about St. Francis Xavier as the specimen by which all may be judged.

In taking up the gage, we feel that, though we shall reëstablish the case of the miracles as they stand in history and not in Dr. White's legend, still that is not the most important work before us. We imagine that what concerns the public more is to see in Dr. White an example—an example of the sect and the tribe, to the idols of which, in Baconian phrase, he has dedicated his work.

In the specimen legend which he has given us, we count up roughly two false assumptions, three false assertions, four gratuitous affirmations; four times he does not seem to know what he is driving at, or else he is deliberately evading the point; there is a protracted vein of self-contradic-

1 Pp. 22–23.

tion, besides a paralogism; and as to false quotations, with the text ostentatiously open before him, we have not counted them up. We may possibly excuse the Doctor here; for he does not seem to know Latin. But does he not understand French? It is hard to believe that an ex-minister to Russia and an ex-minister to Germany, and now returned to his former post as Ambassador to Germany, does not understand French.

We begin with the strongest proof in the whole performance. It is the one positive proof; and he has discovered it since he wrote before. It was indeed a little awkward that, with all his other apparatus, negative, inferential, conjectural, he should not have been able to adduce a single positive testimony from a competent person to the effect that St. Francis Xavier had never worked a miracle at all. We had taunted him with this, saying that "the intrinsic plausibility of a legendary evolution seemed to be demonstration enough," and that, "its scientific prestige, we might suppose, lent to the light flippancy which made up the body of his article an air of circumstantial evidence that invited no further inquiry." That gap he has now been enabled to fill up with Joseph Acosta.

He says that "the highest contemporary authority on the whole subject, a man in the closest correspondence with those who knew most about the Saint, a member of the Society of Jesus in the highest standing and one of its accepted historians, not only expressly tells us that Xavier wrought no miracles, but gives the reason why he wrought none. This man was Joseph Acosta, a provincial of the Jesuit order, its visitor in Aragon, superior at Valladolid, and finally rector of the University of Salamanca."[1] The Doctor, who seems to be taking this from Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jèsus*, omits the fact that Joseph Acosta filled none of these offices before he left Europe for Peru and the West Indies, whither he went in 1571 and where he wrote his book. Our author continues:

1 P. 9.

"In 1571, nineteen years after Xavier's death, Acosta devoted himself to write a work mainly concerning the conversion of the Indies." This would be the year in which he went to Peru. We do not know where the Doctor got this date for the composition of the book. In any case, it was written in the West Indies, as Joseph Acosta tells King Philip II. The Doctor might have told us, though, that the Indies in question are, not the East, but the West Indies, that is, the islands, and Peru and Mexico. He goes on: "and in this (work of Acosta's) he refers especially and with the greatest reverence to Xavier, holding him up as an ideal and his work as an example." That is correct; Xavier in the East Indies was a very good example for his far-off brethren, 12,000 miles away, where Fr. Joseph Acosta was provincial. "But on the same page," says the Doctor, "with this tribute to the great missionary, Acosta goes on to discuss the reasons why progress in the world's conversion is not so rapid as in the early apostolic times, and says that one especial cause why apostolic preaching could no longer produce apostolic results 'lies in the missionaries themselves, because there is now no power of working miracles.' He then asks, 'Why should our age be so completely destitute of them?' This question he answers at great length, and one of his main contentions is that in early apostolic times illiterate men had to convert the learned of the world, whereas in modern times the case is reversed, learned men being sent to convert the illiterate; and hence that 'in the early times miracles were necessary, but in our time they are not.' This argument and statement refer, as we have seen, directly to Xavier by name, and to the period covered by his activity and that of the other great missionaries of his time. That the Jesuit order and the Church at large thought this work of Acosta trustworthy is proved by the fact that it was published at Salamanca a few years after it was written, and republished afterwards with ecclesiastical sanction in France."[1] So far the Doctor, who then gives us in a note the exact Latin title

1 Ibid pp. 9-10.

of Acosta's work, and the locality of his quotation. The reference to his Salamanca edition of 1589, which may have been the first, agrees with our Cologne edition of seven years later.[2] There is little difference even in the numbering of the pages. He tells us that his copy is in the Cornell University Library. We are very glad of that, for we should like persons to consult it, in the light of the remarks we are about to make.[1]

This champion demonstration, on which Dr. Adams as a learned reviewer and a personal friend of Dr. White's was authorized to stake the author's name, learning, sagacity and reputation, presents a respectable appearance, and we feel pleased at making its acquaintance. But could our readers divine whence it was that the Doctor, since his first edition, derived his information about Joseph Acosta, and then discovered the book and the peremptory argument? From no one else but ourselves! We cited the argument for him, as a hundred years old; we cited it from Dr. Milner, who rebutted it when Dr. Douglas the Protestant Bishop of Salisbury advanced it, and who quoted Acosta's exact testimony against Douglas and the whole line of men following Douglas. All this we gave in a full, long extract from Milner,[3] too long to repeat here. Milner quoted the copy in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Dr. White has secured a copy now for himself; he has studied the context in question; and he has also, to judge by his notes, studied other contexts. He is so well pleased with the thesis of the Bishop of Salisbury, that he has adopted it. It stood thus in Dr. Douglas' pages: He would bring "conclusive evidence," he said, "that, during thirty-five years from the death of Xavier, his miracles had not been heard of. The evidence I shall allege is that of Acosta, who himself had been a missionary among the Indians. His work, *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, was printed in 1589—that is, above thirty-seven years after the

1 *Coloniae Agrippinæ*, 1596.

2 We have little doubt other copies are to be found in the Jesuit libraries of the United States.

3 Cath. World, Oct. 1891, pp. 20–22.

death of Xavier; and in it we find an express acknowledgment that *no miracles had ever been performed by missionaries among the Indians.* Acosta was himself a Jesuit, and therefore from his silence we may infer unexceptionably, that between thirty and forty years had elapsed before Xavier's miracles were thought of." This thesis, which we had quoted, pleased Dr. White so much, that he has adopted it and has improved it considerably by his own private researches in Acosta. He was not so well pleased with Dr. Milner's other passage from the same context; so he has left that out.

§3.

We regret having led the Doctor into this trap. But, since we did it, though unwittingly, we must now help him out of it. Because, both for what the Doctor says, and for what he omits, everything pertaining to his demonstration is false.

First, he omits this: "I doubt not," says Acosta, "that, if the former faith of our predecessors, if their piety and fervor of spirit returned, we should be witnesses again of the former works. Let us turn our eyes to the man of our age, the blessed Master Francis, a man of apostolic life, of whom so many great miracles (*signa*) are reported by very many (*per plurimos*) witnesses competent to testify, that, excepting the Apostles, more or greater ones are hardly to be found reported of any one else. Then, there is Master Gaspar,[1] and others of our members, not a few of them, in the East Indies,—what glory have they not given to the divine magnificence by the nations they have converted and the admirable works they have done! This has been seen too in the case of other men belonging to the sacred Orders; and it is not altogether a rarity in our West Indies likewise. Truly God gives grace to the humble."[2] In another context, after

1 Baertz.

2 J. Acosta, *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, lib. ii., cap. x., p. 226 (Cologne edit.): Convertamus oculos in nostri saeculi hominem B. Magistrum Franciscum, virum Apostolicae vitae, cujus tot et tam magna signa referuntur per plurimos, eosque idoneos testes, ut vix de alio exceptis Apostolis plura aut majora legantur.

extolling divers religious orders whose missionaries were performing such wonders of zeal, he comes to "our own missionaries in the East Indies," and then adds: "Their leader, the holy Master Xavier would seem to have called back the splendor of the apostolic age, both by the brilliancy of his miracles, and by the magnitude of his feats, and by his endurance under labor." And again he refers to Master Gaspar on the hither side of the East Indies, to Cosmas Torres in Japan, to John Nobrega "in Brazil adjoining us," and to others.[1] And again, in another passage, dwelling on the importance and significance of miracles and supernatural gifts, he says: "Nothing strengthens more the hearts of the faithful preachers of Christ, than the witness of the Holy Ghost by means of His gifts and charismata, which He distributes as He will. And, indeed, it would take long to enumerate the gifts of the Spirit, the prodigies and miracles (*signa et miracula*), which, even in these times, when charity hath grown so cold, have illustrated the preaching of the faith, as well in those East Indies as in these West Indies. The affairs of Japan are well known."[2] All these things have been omitted by Dr. White, who has studied his Acosta so carefully.

Secondly, according to the Doctor, the Jesuit writer asks the question: "Why should our age be so completely destitute of miracles?" With all possible respect for so distinguished a personage, we must simply affirm that there is no such question in Joseph Acosta. It is not entirely a fabrication, because there is a foundation for it, in Latin badly translated. The Doctor gives us the Latin in his note: *Cur miracula in conversione gentium non fiant nunc, ut olim, a Christi praedicatoribus;* that is the title of Chapter ix., book ii.; and its

1 Ibid. lib. iv., cap. v., p. 368 (Cologne edit.): Quorum dux Sanctus Magister Xavier Apostolici temporis splendorem, et claritate signorum, et rerum magnitudine, et laborum tolerantia renovasse videri potest.

2 Ibid. lib. i. cap. vi., p. 141: Et quidem dona spiritus, signa et miracula, quae in Fidei praedicatione innotuerunt, his etiam temporibus, quando charitas usque adeo refrixit, enumerare longum esset, tum in Orientali illa India, tum in hac Occidentali. Res Japponensium notae jam sunt.

translation is: "Why are miracles not performed now as of old by the preachers of Christ, in the conversion of nations." And, beginning his chapter, he repeats: "Why is it that now-a-days, in the preaching of the Gospel to new nations, that power (or that quantity) of miracles is not seen, which Christ promised," *miraculorum illa vis non cernatur, quam Christus suis promisit.* How does the Doctor extract from this Latin his very original translation: "Why should our age be so completely destitute of miracles?"

Thirdly, far from understanding the text of the book, the ex-professor of history has not even caught the title of it. The book is not about the East Indies at all, but about the New World and the West Indies: *De Natura Novi Orbis, libri duo, et de Promulgatione Evangelii apud Barbaros, sive de Procuranda Indorum Salute, libri sex.* The title being too abstruse for the Doctor, it is not to be wondered at that he could not penetrate into the Dedicatory Epistle, in which Fr. Acosta tells his Catholic Majesty, who was king of the West, not of the East Indies, that by order of his superiors he had been sent to the New World, that he had traversed nearly the whole of *India Occidentalis*, that he spent fifteen years in Peru, two years in Mexico, and the Islands; and that now, on his return, he presents this little bouquet to his Majesty. He states, that he had written the books while still in those regions: *quos ego cum in illis adhuc regionibus agerem elabororam.*—Such is the book which the ex-professor of history implies was written by "a man in the closest correspondence with those who knew most about the Saint," "the highest contemporary authority on the whole subject," a provincial, a visitor, a superior, a rector. He was all this, chiefly after he had written the work. He was provincial probably before; but then he was provincial in Peru, some 12,000 miles away from Hindustan and Japan; and he wrote no work at any time on Japan or Hindustan, where St. Francis Xavier had lived and labored. Is this a good sample of the falsity of historical narration by means of the device called *innuendo*, or *suppressio veri*, suppressing the truth?

Fourthly, in keeping with his subject, Fr. Acosta never has occasion to speak of St. Francis Xavier directly. But, since the example of the great East Indian missionary was of such importance to the West Indian missionaries, he refers to the Saint from time to time; and we have seen in what terms.

Fifthly, our ex-professor of history says that Acosta "refers especially and with the greatest reverence to Xavier, holding him up as an ideal and his work as an example. But on the same page with this tribute to the great missionary, Acosta goes on to discuss the reasons" etc., and "then asks, "Why should our age be so completely destitute of miracles." It is painful to have to contradict a gentleman so often, even though it is an open book in his hands that will bear the odium of doing so. Two-thirds of this passage is false, as we have seen; and now we must add, the other third is false. Acosta does not mention St. Francis Xavier on the same page, nor for some pages previously; and then only when dispatching a question which forms an exact contrast with the subject he is treating now. He was speaking there of "the apostolical method and system" of preaching the Gospel to new nations, when they could go forth without any assistance or protection lent them by the civil power. Thus the Apostles did, enjoying the privilege, in this respect, of what has been called "the majesty of the Roman peace." Here he mentions St. Francis Xavier, as following the apostolical method of preaching the Gospel.[1] Then he goes on to institute a sharp contrast between that system and what missionaries are condemned to in the West Indies. Nothing could be more marked than the contrast: "Ours," he says, "have done splendidly (*praeclare*) over a great part of the East Indies, where in truly apostolical fashion they have been enabled (*licuit*) to announce Christ to so many nations, to Indians, Persians, Arabs, Ethiopians, Malabarites, Chinese and numberless others. But, among the greater part of the nations in this Western world, if one presumed

1 Ibid. lib. ii., cap. viii, p. 214.

to follow a method like that exactly, he would have to be declared utterly mad, and not without reason.'"[1] He thinks he discerns two reasons for the difference. One is the nature of the American Indians, whom he likens to "boars and crocodiles." The other is that, which Dr. White has quoted, "because there is no power of working miracles, such as the Apostles worked in abundance." Now the Doctor refers this to St. Francis Xavier, whom Acosta had left over in the contrary category. Continuing his theme, the Jesuit opens the wider question: "Why should there be the lack of miracles" in the New World?[2] But, then, in treating so general a question, he makes exceptions even for the American continent; and begins with prodigies wrought by three good shipwrecked soldiers in Florida, who lived among the Indians there for ten years; and, referring in the next place to the personal merit of missionaries, whose sanctity is crowned by the gifts of the Holy Ghost, he pays the magnificent tribute to St. Francis Xavier, which we have quoted before.[3]

Thus, then, everything in the grand and exemplary demonstration is false. The one positive proof which has been found out, contains not a single element in it that is true; as may be seen by referring to the "copy in Cornell University Library," or to any other copy. It is false that Acosta "tells us, Xavier wrought no miracles." It is false that Acosta "gives us the reasons why he wrought none." It is false that, "on the same page with his tribute to the great missionary," Acosta goes on to discuss why progress in the world's conversion is no longer so rapid as heretofore, and that this is because "there is now no power of working miracles." It is false that he asks the question: "Why should our age be so completely destitute of miracles?" It is false that the argument and the statement, attributed to Acosta, "refer, as we have seen directly to Xavier by name." Finally, it is false that "we have seen" any such thing, or any thing else that is attributed by Dr. Andrew White to

1 Ibid. same page. 2 Ibid. cap. ix. 3 Ibid. cap. x.

the Jesuit Joseph Acosta. Everything in the Doctor's demonstration is false in fact, quotation, implication and logic.

Now we are free to pass on and consider the Doctor's negative arguments. These happily will afford us more entertainment than the very grave disquisition on Father Joseph Acosta.

THOMAS HUGHES, S. J.

Brussels, Belgium.

CARMEN LEONINUM.

We have been requested to publish the Latin text of the recent poem from the classic pen of Leo XIII., of which translations have appeared in numerous journals. Students of Latin literature will appreciate the lines which have all the grace and finish of the Horatian measures.

PARCO AC TENVI VICTV CONTENTVS INGLVVIEM FVGE.

Ad Fabricium Rufum

EPISTOLA.

Quo victu immunem morbis, et robore vitam
Ducere florentem possis, sermone diserto
Sedulus Hippocratis cultor rigidusque satelles
Haec nuper praecepta bonus tradebat Ofellus;
Multa et de tristi ingluvie gravis ore locutus.
Munditiae imprimis studeas; sine divite cultu
Mensa tibi, nitidae lances et candida mappa.—
Albana e cella iubeas purissima vina
Apponi; exhilarant animos curasque resolvunt;
Sobrius at caveas, nimium ne crede lyaeo,
Neu crebra pigeat calices perfundere lympha.—
E munda cerere atque excoctos delige panes.—
Quas gallina dapes et bos agnusve pararint,
Sume libens, firmandis viribus utilis esca:
Sint tenerae carnes; instructaque fercula spissum
Non ius vel siser inficiat, non faecula coa.—
Tum laudata tibi sint ova recentia, succum
Lento igne aut libeat modicis siccare patellis,

Sugere seu mollem pleno sit gratius ore;
Atque alios sunt ova tibi percommoda in usus.—
Neve accepta minus spumantis copia lactis:
Nutriit infantem; senior bene lacte valebis.—
Nunc age, et aetei mellis caelestia dona
Profer, et hyblaeo parcus de nectare liba.—
Adde suburbano tibi quod succrescit in horto
Dulce olus, et pubens decusso flore legumen;
Adde et maturos, quos fertilis educat annus,
Delectos fructus, imprimis mitia poma,
Quae pulcre in cistis mensam rubicunda coronent.—
Postremo e tostis succedat potio baccis,
Quas tibi Moka ferax, mittunt et littora eoa:
Nigrantem laticem sensim summisque labellis
Sorbilla; dulcis stomachum bene molliet haustus.
De tenui victu haec teneas, his utere tutus,
Ad seram ut vivas sanus vegetusque senectam.

At contra (haec sapiens argute addebat Ofellus)
Nectere nata dolos, homines et perdere nata
Vitanda ingluvies, crudelis et improba siren.
Principio hoc illi studium; componere mensas
Ornatu vario, aulaeis ostroque nitentes.
Explicat ipsa viden' tonsis mantelia villis;
Grandia stant circum longo ordine pocula, aheni
Crateres, paterae, lances, argentea vasa:
Mensa thymo atque apio redolet florumque corollis.—
His laute instructis, simulate voce locuta
Convivas trahit incautos; succedere tecto,
Mollibus et blanda invitat discumbere lectis;
Continuoque reposta cadis lectissima vina
Caecuba depromit, coumque vetusque Falernum;
Quin exquisita stillatos arte liquores
E musto et pomis, ultro potantibus offert.
Convivae humectant certatim guttura, et una
Succosas avido degustant ore placentas.
Ecce autem lucanus aper perfusus abunde
Mordaci pipere atque oleo, profertur edendus,
Et leporum pingues armi, et iecur anseris albi,
Assique in verubus turdi, niveique columbi.
Carnibus admixti pisces; conchylia rhombi,

Mollia pectinibus patulis iuncta ostrea, et ampla
In patera squillas inter muraena natantes.—
Attonitis inhiant oculis ; saturantur opime ;
Cuncta vorant usque ad fastidia; iamque lyaeo
Inflati venas nimio, dapibusque gravati
Surgunt convivae, temere bacchantur in aula,
Insana et pugiles inter se iurgia miscent,
Defessi donec lymphata mente quiescunt.
Laeta dolum Ingluvies ridet, jam facta suorum
Compos votorum, et gaudet, memor artis iniquae,
Ceu nautas tumida pereuntes aequoris unda,
Mergere convivas miseros sub gurgite tanto.
Nam subito exsudant praecordia, et excita bilis
E iecore in stomachum larga affluit, ilia torquet,
Immanemque ciet commoto ventre tumultum ;
Membra labant incerta, stupent pallentia et ora.
Corpore sic misere exhausto fractoque, quid ultra
Audeat ingluvies ? Ipsum, proh dedecus ! ipsum
Figere humo, ac (tantum si fas) extinguere malit
Immortalem animum, divinae particulam aurae.

ECCLESIASTICAL CHRONOLOGY.—DEC. 15, 1896–JUNE 15, 1897.

DECEMBER, 1896.

15. Plenary Session of the S. Cong. of Rites :
    1. Introduction of the Process of Beatification of the Servant of God, John Nepomucene Neumann, C.SS.R., Bishop of Philadelphia. This act gives him title of "Venerable."
    2. Resumption of the Process of Canonization of the Bl. Joseph Oriol, of Barcelona (Spain).
    3. Introduction of the Process of Canonization of the Bl. Clement Hofbauer, C.SS.R.
    4. Decree sanctioning the liturgical cult in honor of the Bl. Pontius, first Abbot of St. Sixtus in Savoy.

17. Cardinal Satolli named Archpriest of the Basilica of St. John Lateran.

20. The Right Rev. John J. Keane, D.D., Bishop of Ajasso, former Rector of the Catholic University of America, received in Papal audience.

Death of the Right Rev. William Fitzgerald, D.D., Bishop of Ross, Ireland.

30. Death of the Most Rev. Edward Charles Fabre, D.D., Archbishop of Montreal, Canada.

JANUARY, 1897.

1. Death of the Rev. Brother Joseph, Superior-General of the Christian Brothers.

2. The Rev. Thomas F. Gambon (Louisville, Ky.), named Domestic Prelate of the Pope.

3. Death of Cardinal William Sanfelice di Acquavella, Archbishop of Naples. Born April 18, 1834; created Cardinal March 24, 1884.

5. The S. Cong. of Rites examines validity of Apostolic Process touching the fame of holiness, virtues and miracles *in genere*, of the Ven. Francis de Montmorency de Laval, first Bishop of Quebec, Canada.

6. Promulgation in presence of the Sovereign Pontiff of the Decree of Approbation of Miracles for the Canonization of Bl. Peter Fourier of Mattaincourt.

8. The Right Rev. John J. Keane, D.D., named Assistant at the Pontifical Throne.

9. Appointed Archbishop of Damascus.

14. Nomination of the Most Rev. John J. Keane, D.D., as Consultor of the S. Congregations of Propaganda, and of Studies; of Cardinals Francis Satolli and Dominic Ferrata, as members of the Pontifical Commission for the reunion of separated Churches.

Death of the Right Rev. John Carroll, D.D., third Bishop of Shrewsbury, England.

15. The Rev. M. J. Lavelle, rector of St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, elected president of the Catholic Summer School of America.

16. Departure of the American Catholic pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Rome, under the direction of the Rev.

William J. Hill, of Brooklyn, N. Y., and of Mr. Francis H. Throop.

19. Installation—religious and academic—of the Very Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, D.D., as rector of the Catholic University of America, before eminent dignitaries of Church and State.

Session of the S. Cong. of Rites, *coram Sanctissimo*, at which the Cardinals, Prelates and Consultors vote: (*a*) on the question so-called of *Tuto*, for the Canonization of Bl. Peter Fourier; (*b*) on the miracles attributed to Bl. Anthony Mary Zaccaria, and proposed for his Canonization.

22. Death of Cardinal Angelo Bianchi, Pro-Datary, Bishop of Palestrina. Born 19 November, 1817; created Cardinal 25 September, 1882.

The Right Rev. John Coffey, D.D., Bishop of Kerry and Agadoe, (Ireland), received in Papal audience.

23. Nomination of Consultors of S. Cong. Indicis: Mgr. Francis Zanotta, the Very Revv. A. Ferrata, P. Doebling and A. Lolli.

26. Appointment of the Revv. Edw. P. Allen, T. M. Lenihan, and J. J. Monaghan, respectively to the Sees of Mobile, Cheyenne and Wilmington.

30. Dr. John Pietri presents to the Sovereign Pontiff his credentials as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Venezuela, at the Holy See; afterwards visits Card. Rampolla, Secretary of State.

FEBRUARY.

4. The Education Bill for Elementary Schools, read the first time in British Parliament, by the Right Hon. A. Balfour. A partial grant of the Catholic claims.

9. The Rev. P. Lacoste, of the University of Ottawa, (Canada), appointed member of the Roman Academy of Letters.

12. The Right Rev. Mgr. Anton de Waal named Consultor of the Cardinalitial Commission of Historical Studies.

The Duke of Norfolk reëlected president of the Catholic Union of Great Britain.

14. Proclamation in presence of His Holiness, Leo XIII., of the Decree of *Tuto* for the Canonization of Bl. Peter Fourier, and of Decree approving the three miracles proposed for the Canonization of Bl. Ant. M. Zaccaria.

19. Cardinal Satolli named Protector of the Monastery of *S. Suzanne alle Terme.*

21. The Rev. Father Fidelis, C.P., (Dr. James Kent Stone), preaches before the Faculty and Students of Harvard University, in Appleton Chapel.

22. Death of the Most Rev. Thomas L. Grace, D.D. Born November 16, 1814; ordained priest at Rome, December 31, 1839; consecrated Bishop of St. Paul, July 24, 1859; raised to rank of Titular Archbishop of Sinnia, September 24, 1889.

23. The name of "Leavenworth" to be resumed by the present diocese of "Kansas City," in the Province of St. Louis, State of Kansas. The name of "Kansas City" for "Leavenworth" was adopted in 1891; but to avoid confusion with the diocese of like name in Missouri, the S. Congregation ordains that the old name be restored.

The S. Cong. of Rites examines a miracle proposed for the Beatification of the Ven. Mary Magd. Martinengo de Barco.

24. Consecration at Philadelphia, Pa., of the Right Rev. Edmond F. Prendergast, D.D., Titular Bishop of Scillio, i. p. i., and Auxiliary Bishop of Philadelphia; at Buffalo, N. Y., of the Right Rev. James E. Quigley, D.D., Bishop of Buffalo; at Dubuque, Iowa, of the Right Rev. Thomas M. Lenihan, D.D., Bishop of Cheyenne, Wyoming.

28. Sessions of Catholic Winter School of America—February 28,—March 21, at New Orleans, La. The Revv. J. T. Mullaney, D.D., M. S. Brennan, M. A. Knapp, O.P., W. Power, S.J., J. F. Nugent, D. S. Phelan, LL.D., and J. L. O'Neill, O.P., lecturers.

—. Bishop Shanley, of Jamestown (N. D.), protests against the existing State law sanctioning divorce.

—. The Rev. Father Fidelis, C.P., (Dr. James Kent Stone) elected General Consultor of the Passionist Congregation for the United States, with residence in Rome.

—. The Rev. Richard Henebry (of Waterford Diocese, Ireland), professor of Gaelic literature in Catholic University of America, proceeds to Leipzig to attend lectures of Prof. Windish, preparatory to opening his course at Washington next year.

MARCH.

3. Secretary of War Lamont, grants permission for erection of a Chapel for Catholics on the military reservation at West Point.

5. Card. Parocchi, Vicar-General of His Holiness, named Protector of the Institute of the Brothers of Charity (*Bigi*), and of the Institute of the Elizabethine Sisters.

6. The Right Rev. Henry Gabriels, D.D., Bishop of Ogdensburg, N. Y., sails for Rome,—*ad limina Apost.*

7. Publication of the Decree of *Tuto* for the Canonization of the Bl. Ant. M. Zaccaria.

8. His Holiness solemnly reopens the Borgia Appartments.

His Em. Card. Parocchi named Protector of the Order of Minors Conventual.

9. The S. Cong. of rites examines the validity of the Apostolic Processes: (*a*) touching the fame of holiness, of virtues and of miracles *in genere*, of the Ven. J. B. Gault, Bishop of Marseilles; (*b*) of a miracle attributed to the Ven. P. Ange de Paul; (*c*) the validity of the Ordinary and Apostolic Processes regarding the Beatification of the Ven. Sister Mary of the Incarnation, Foundress of the Monastery of the Ursulines of Quebec; (*d*) touching the virtues and miracles of Ven. P. Claude La Colombière, S.J.; (*e*) the Beatification of the Ven. Fr. Honoré de Paris, O.M. Cap.

10. The Right Rev. Mgr. Raphael Merry del Val named Domestic Prelate of His Holiness.

11. The Right Rev. Mgr. R. Merry del Val appointed Apostolic Delegate to Canada.

11. Card. Herb. Vaughan received a Papal audience.

12. The Rev. Louis de Parme named Consultor of the S. Cong. of Propaganda for the Affairs of Oriental Rite.

19. Brother Gabriel-Mary elected Superior-General of the Christian Brothers.

22. About one hundred American marines from the ship "San Francisco" attend the Papal Mass, and are received in Papal audience.

25. Thirty American pilgrims assist at the Papal Mass.

26. The Right Rev. Henry Gabriels, D.D., Bishop of Ogdensburg, N. Y., received in Papal audience.

27. The Very Rev. Aug. F. Hewitt, C.S.P., celebrates the golden jubilee of his ordination to the priesthood.

29. The Most Rev. Louis N. Bégin, Tit. Arch. of Cyrene, and Coadjutor of the Archbishop of Quebec, received in Papal audience.

30. The Right Rev. Mgr. Merry del Val publicly received in Quebec.

—. The Very Rev. Edward J. Purbrick, S.J., appointed Provincial of the New York–Maryland Province of the Jesuit Order, to succeed the Very Rev. William O'Brien Pardow, S.J.

April.

2. Secretary of War Alger renews license for the erection of Catholic Chapel on military reservation at West Point, N. Y.

3. The Rev. Albert Lepidi named Master of the S. Apostolic Palace.

6. Transfer of the Episcopal See of Jamestown (N. D.) to Fargo (N. D.).

6. Session of the S. Cong. of Rites, at which the following questions were examined: (*a*) Discussion concerning the virtues of the Bl. Rita de Cascia, of the Order of *Ermites de S. Augustin;* (*b*) Concession and approbation of proper Office and Mass in honor of St. Trophimena, V.M.; (*c*) Concession and approbation of proper Office and Mass in honor of Bl. Ponce Abbé, also the *elogium* for the Martyrology; (*d*) Introduction of the Cause of Beatification of the servant of God, Michael le Nobletz.

7. The will of Miss Winefride Martin probated—by which $150,000 bequeathed to religious institutions in the United States.

8. The Right Rev. R. Merry del Val, Delegate Apostolic,

meets the Archbishops and Bishops of Canada at the Episcopal Palace, Montreal.

—. The Very Rev. Joseph Eigenmann appointed Provincial of the Congregation of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost and the Immaculate Heart of Mary, in the United States.

13. Nomination of the Rev. Leo Dehon, Consultor of the Sacred Congregation of the Index.

15. Nomination of the Right Rev. Mgr. J. Granito di Belmonte, Counsellor of the Apostolic Nunciature at Paris; the Right Rev. Mgr. J. Celli, Sub-Secretary of the S. Cong. of Aff. Eccl. Extr.; the Right Rev. Mgr. J. Aversa, *Minutante*, and the Most Rev. C. Caputo, D.D., Consultor of the same Congregation.

19. Secret Consistory for the creation of four Cardinals, and the preconization of several Archbishops and Bishops, followed by a Public Consistory regarding the canonization of Bl. Fourier and Bl. Zaccaria. Creation of Cardinals: The Most Rev. J. M. Martin de Herrera y de la Iglesia, Archbishop of Santiago of Compostella; born August 26, 1835; the Most Rev. P. Ercole Coullié, Archbishop of Lyons; born March 14, 1829; the Most Rev. J. W. Labouré, Archbishop of Rennes; born October 27, 1841, and the Most Rev. W. M. Romano Sourrieu, Archbishop of Rouen; born February 27, 1825. Bishops preconized: The Most Rev. John Butt, D.D., Tit. Archbishop of Sebastopol; the Right Rev. Samuel Webster, D.D., Bishop of Shrewsbury; the Right Rev. Denis Kelly, D.D., Bishop of Ross; the Right Rev. James Edward Quigley, D.D., Bishop of Buffalo; the Right Rev. Thomas M. Lenihan, D.D., Bishop of Cheyenne; the Right Rev. John J. Monaghan, D.D., Bishop of Wilmington; the Right Rev. Edward P. Allen, D.D., Bishop of Mobile; the Right Rev. Patrick V. Dwyer, D.D., Tit. Bishop of Zoara, Coadjutor Bishop of Maitland, Australia; the Right Rev. J. E. Legal, D.D., Tit. Bishop of Pogla, Coadjutor Bishop of S. Albert, Canada.

20. The Right Rev. Camillus Paul Maes, D.D., Bishop of Covington, received in Papal audience.

21. The Most Rev. Patrick John Ryan, D.D., Archbishop

of Philadelphia, celebrates his silver anniversary of Episcopal Consecration.

28. The Right Rev. Nicolas Connelly, D.D., Tit. Bishop of Conca, Auxiliary Bishop of Dublin, received in Papal audience.

30. Thomas Addis Emmett, M.D., LL.D., receives the "Laetare Medal," of 1897, from the University of Notre Dame.

MAY.

2. The Right Rev. Alfred A. Curtis, D.D., publicly abdicates his See of Wilmington.

8. The Most Rev. John Joseph Williams, D.D., Archbishop of Boston, departs for his visit *ad limina.*

9. The Most Rev. Patrick William Riordan, D.D., Archbishop of San Francisco, administered the Sacraments of Holy Communion and of Confirmation to sixty-two convicts in San Quentin Penitentiary, California.

The Right Rev. John J. Monaghan, D.D., consecrated in St. Peter's Pro-Cathedral, Wilmington, by His Em. Card. Gibbons.

16. The Right Rev. Edward P. Allen, D.D., consecrated in Baltimore Cathedral by His Em. Card. Gibbons.

Death of Card. Camillo Siciliano di Rende, Archbishop of Benevento. Born June 9, 1847; created Cardinal March 14, 1887.

17. A bequest of $150,000, under the will of Colonel Patrick B. O'Brien, received by the rector of the Catholic University of America, to endow three professorial chairs: (1) The P. B. O'Brien Chair of Chemistry. (2) The John O'Brien Chair of Physics. (3) The Richard M. O'Brien Chair of Roman Law.

—. The Right Rev. Patrick Foley, D.D., Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin (Ireland), received in Papal audience.

27. Canonization of the Bl. Anthony M. Zaccaria, Founder of the Barnabites, and the Bl. Peter Fourier, of Mattaincourt, surnamed Apostle of Lorraine.

—. The permission to erect a Catholic Chapel at West

Point revoked by a decision of Attorney-General McKenna.

JUNE.

9. The Very Rev. William H. O'Connell, D. D., rector of the American College, Rome, named Domestic Prelate of His Holiness, Leo XIII.

—. Mgr. Zardetti, Archbishop of Mocissus, appointed Consultor of S. Congregation of Extraord. Ecclesiast. Affairs.

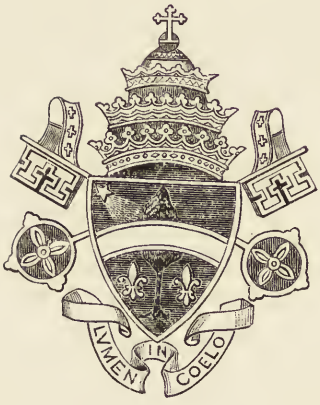
—. Papal Audience the Mt. Rev. John J. Williams, D.D., Archb. Boston.

—. Papal Audience the Rt. Rev. Denis M. Bradley, D.D. Bp. Manchester, U. S. A.

12. Death of the Most Rev. Francis Janssens, D. D., Archbishop of New Orleans. Born, October 17, 1843; elected to See of Natchez, February 18, 1881; promoted to Archiepiscopal See of New Orleans, August 7, 1888.

13,.14. Assembly of the Catholic Union of Missions at St. Charles, Mo.

—. The Rev. John T. Creagh absolves his course in Canon Law at Rome, prior to taking classes at the Catholic University of America next year.



ANALECTA.

EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA DE OPERATIONE SPIRITUS SANCTI IN ECCLESIA.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS
PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPIS EPISCOPIS
ALIISQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIIS
PACEM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA
SEDE HABENTIBUS

LEO PP. XIII

VENERABILES FRATRES
SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Divinum illud munus quod humani generis causâ a Patre acceptum Iesus Christus sanctissime obiit, sicut eo tamquam ad ultimum spectat, ut homines vitae compotes fiant in sempiterna gloria beatae, ita huc proxime attinet per saeculi cursum, ut divinae gratiae habeant colantque vitam, quae tandem in vitam floreat caelestem. Quamobrem omnes ad unum homines cuiusvis nationis et linguae Redemptor ipse invitare ad sinum Ecclesiae suae summa benignitate non

cessat: *Venite ad me omnes; Ego sum vita; Ego sum pastor bonus.* Hic tamen, secundum altissima quaedam consilia, eiusmodi munus noluit quidem per se in terris usquequaque conficere et explere; verum quod ipse traditum a Patre habuerat, idem Spiritui Sancto tradidit perficiendum. Atque iucunda memoratu ea sunt quae Christus, paulo antequam terras relinqueret, in discipulorum coetu affirmavit: *Expedit vobis ut ego vadam: si enim non abiero Paraclitus non veniet ad vos; si autem abiero, mittam eum ad vos.*[1] Haec enim affirmans, causam discessus sui reditusque ad Patrem eam potissimum attulit, utilitatem ipsis alumnis suis profecto accessuram ab adventu Spiritus Sancti: quem quidem una monstravit, a se aeque mitti atque adeo procedere sicut a Patre, eumdemque fore qui opus a semetipso in mortali vita exactum, deprecator, consolator, praeceptor, absolveret. Multiplici nempe virtuti huiusce Spiritus, qui in procreatione mundi *ornavit coelos*[2] et *replevit orbem terrarum*[3] in eiusdem redemptione perfectio operis erat providentissime reservata.—Iamvero Christi Servatoris, qui princeps pastorum est et episcopus animarum nostrarum, exempla Nos imitari, ipso opitulante, continenter studuimus; religiose insistentes idem ipsius munus, Apostolis creditum in primisque Petro, *cuius etiam dignitas in indigno herede non deficit.*[4] Hoc adducti consilio, quaecumque in perfunctione iam diuturna summi pontificatus aggressi sumus instandoque persequimur, ea conspirare voluimus ad duo praecipue. Primum, ad rationem vitae christianae in societate civili et domestica, in principibus et in populis instaurandam; propterea quod nequaquam nisi a Christo vera in omnes profluat vita. Tum ad eorum fovendam reconciliationem qui ab Ecclesia catholica vel fide vel obsequio dissident; quum haec eiusdem Christi certissima sit voluntas ut ii omnes in unico Ovili suo sub Pastore uno censeantur. Nunc autem, quum humani exitus adventantem diem conspicimus, omnino permovemur animo ut Apostolatus Nostri operam, qualemcumque adhuc

1 Ioann. xvi, 7. 2 Iob xxvi, 13. 3 Sap. i, 7.
4 S. Leo M. *ser. II. in anniv. ass. suae.*

deduximus, Spiritui Sancto, qui Amor vivificans est, ad maturitatem fecunditatemque commendemus. Propositum Nostrum quo melius uberiusque eveniat, deliberatum habemus alloqui vos per sollemnia proxima sacrae Pentecostes de praesentia et virtute mirifica eiusdem Spiritus; quantopere nimirum et in tota Ecclesia et in singulorum animis ipse agat efficiatque praeclarâ copia charismatum supernorum. Inde fiat, quod vehementer optamus, ut fides excitetur vigeatque in animis de mysterio Trinitatis augustae, ac praesertim pietas augeatur et caleat erga divinum Spiritum, cui plurimum omnes acceptum referre debent, quotquot vias veritatis et iustitiae sectantur: nam, quemadmodum Basilius praedicavit, *Dispensationes circa hominem, quae factae sunt a magno Deo et Servatore nostro Iesu Christo iuxta bonitatem Dei, quis neget per Spiritus gratiam esse adimpletas?* [1]

Antequam rem aggredimur institutam, nonnulla de Triadis sacrosanctae mysterio placet atque utile erit attingere. Hoc namque *substantia novi testamenti* a sacris doctoribus appellatur, mysterium videlicet unum omnium maximum, quippe omnium veluti fons et caput; cuius cognoscendi contemplandique causâ, in caelo angeli, in terris homines procreati sunt, quod in testamento veteri adumbratum, ut manifestius doceret, ab angelis ad homines Deus ipse descendit; *Deum nemo vidit unquam: Ungenitus Filius qui est in sinu Patris, ipse enarravit.*[2] Quisquis igitur de Trinitate scribit aut dicit, illud ob oculos teneat oportet quod prudenter monet Angelicus: *Quum de Trinitate loquimur cum cautela et modestia est agendum, quia, ut Augustinus dicit, nec periculosius alicubi erratur, nec laboriosius aliquid quaeritur, nec fructuosius aliquid invenitur.*[3] Periculum autem ex eo fit, ne in fide aut in cultu vel divinae inter se Personae confundantur vel unica in ipsis natura separetur; nam, *fides catholica haec est, ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in unitate veneremur.* Quare Innocentius XII., decessor Noster, sollemnia quaedam honori Patris propria postulantibus

1 *De Spiritu Sancto*, c. xvi, n. 39. 2 Ioann. i, 18.

3 *Sum. th.* 1, *q.* xxxi, *a.* 2—*De Trin. l., I, c.* 3.

omnino negavit. Quod si singula Incarnati Verbi mysteria certis diebus festis celebrantur, non tamen proprio ullo festo celebratur Verbum, secundum divinam tantum naturam: atque ipsa etiam Pentecostes sollemnia non ideo inducta antiquitus sunt, ut Spiritus Sanctus per se simpliciter honoraretur, sed ut eiusdem recoleretur adventus sive externa missio. Quae quidem omnia sapienti consilio sancita sunt, ne quis forte a distinguendis Personis ad divinam essentiam distinguendam prolaberetur. Quin etiam Ecclesia ut in fidei integritate filios contineret, sanctissimae Trinitatis festum instituit, quod Ioannes XXII. deinde iussit ubique agendum; tum altaria et templa eidem dicari permisit: atqe Ordinem religiosorum captivis redimendis, qui Trinitati devotus omnino est eiusque titulo gaudet, non sine caelesti nutu rite comprobavit. Multaque rem confirmant. Cultus enim qui sanctis Caelitibus atque Angelis, qui Virgini Deiparae, qui Christo tribuitur, is demum in Trinitatem ipsam redundat et desinit. In precationibus quae uni Personae adhibentur, item de ceteris mentio est; in forma supplicationum, singulis quidem Personis seorsum invocatis, communis earum invocatio subiicitur; psalmis hymnisque idem omnibus praeconium accedit in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum; benedictiones, ritus, sacramenta comitatur aut conficit sanctae imploratio Trinitatis. Atque haec ipsa iampridem Apostolus praemonuerat in ea sententia: *Quoniam ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso sunt omnia; ipsi gloria in saecula*[1]: inde significans Personarum trinitatem, hinc unitatem affirmans naturae, quae quum una eademque singulis sit Personis, ideo singulis, tamquam uni eidemque Deo, aeterna aeque maiestatis gloria debetur. Quod testimonium edisserens Augustinus, *Non confuse*, inquit, *accipiendum est quod ait Apostolus, ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso; ex ipso dicens propter Patrem, per ipsum propter Filium, in ipso propter Spritum Sanctum*[2]. —Aptissimeque Ecclesia, ea Divinitatis opera in quibus potentia excellit, tribuere Patri, ea in quibus excellit sapentia, tribuere Filio, ea in quibus excellit amor, Spiritui

1 Rom. xi, 36.

2 *De Trin.* l. vi, c. 10.—l. I, c. 6.

Sancto tribuere consuevit. Non quod perfectiones cunctae atque opera extrinsecus edita Personis divinis communia non sint ; sunt enim *indivisa opera Trinitatis*, *sicut et indivisa est Trinitatis essentia*[1], quia, uti tres Personae divinae *inseparabiles sunt*, *ita inseparabiliter operantur*[2] : verum quod ex comparatione quadam et propemodum affinitate quae inter opera ipsa et Personarum proprietates intercedit, ea alteri potius quam alteris addicuntur sive, ut aiunt, appropriantur : *Sicut similitudine vestigii vel imaginis in creaturis inventa, utimur ad manifestationem divinarum Personarum, ita et essentialibus attributis ; et haec manifestatio Personarnm per essentialia attributa appropriatio dicitur*[3]. Hoc modo Pater qui est *principium totius Deitatis*[4], idem causa est effectrix universitatis rerum et Incarnationis Verbi et sanctificationis animorum, *ex ipso sunt omnia ;* ex ipso, propter Patrem. Filius autem, *Verbum*, *Imago Dei*, idem est causa exemplaris unde res omnes formam et pulchritudinem, ordinem et concentum imitantur ; qui extitit nobis via, veritas, vita, hominis cum Deo reconciliator, *per ipsum sunt omnia ;* per ipsum, propter Filium. Spiritus vero Sanctus idem est omnium rerum causa ultima, eo quia sicut in fine suo voluntas lateque omnia conquiescunt, non aliter, ille, qui divina bonitas est ac Patris ipsa Filiique inter se caritas, arcana ea opera de salute hominum sempiterna, impulsione quadam valida suavique complet et perficit, *in ipso sunt omnia ;* in ipso, propter Spiritum Sanctum.

Rite igitur inviolateque custodito religionis studio, toti debito Trinitati beatissimae, quod magis magisque in christiano populo aequum est inculcari, ad virtutem Spiritus Sancti exponendam oratio Nostra convertitur.—Ac principio respici oporet ad Christum, conditorem Ecclesiae et nostri generis Redemptorem. Sane in operibus Dei externis illud eximie praestat Incarnati Verbi mysterium, in quo divinarum perfectionum sic enitet lux ut quidquam supra ne cogitari quidem possit, et quo aliud nullum humanae naturae esse

1 S. Aug. *de Trin.* l. I, c. 4 et 5.
2 S. Aug. *ib.*
3 S. Aug. 1ª, q. xxxix, a. 7.
4 S. Aug. *de Trin.* l. iv, c. 20.

poterat salutarius. Hoc igitur tantum opus, etsi totius Trinitatis fuit, attamen Spiritui Sancto tamquam proprium adscribitur: ita ut de Virgine sic Evangelia commemorent: *Inventa est in utero habens de Spiritu Sancto*, et: *Quod in ea natum est, de Spiritu Sancto est.*[1] Idque merito adscribitur ei qui Patris et Filii est caritas; quum hoc *magnum pietatis Sacramentum*[2] sit a summa Dei erga homines caritate profectum, prout Ioannes commonet: *Sic Deus dilexit mundum ut Filium suum unigenitum daret.*[3] Accedit quod natura humana evecta inde sit ad coniunctionem *personalem* cum Verbo: quae dignitas non ullis quidem data est eius promeritis, proptereaque ex integra plane gratia, proptereaque ex munere veluti proprio Spiritus Sancti. Ad rem apposite Augustinus: *Iste modus*, inquit, *quo est natus Christus de Spiritu Sancto, insinuat nobis gratiam Dei, qua homo nullis praecedentibus meritis, in ipso primo exordio naturae suae quo esse coepit, Verbo Dei copularetur in tantam personae unitatem, ut idem ipse esse Filius Dei qui Filius hominis, et Filius hominis qui Filius Dei.*[4] Divini autem Spiritus operâ non solum conceptio Christi effecta est, sed eius quoque sanctificatio animae, quae *unctio* in sacris libris nominatur;[5] atque adeo omnis eius actio *praesente Spiritu peragebatur*,[6] praecipueque sacrificium sui: *Per Spiritum Sanctum semetipsum obtulit immaculatum Deo.*[7]—Ista qui perpenderit, nihil erit ei mirum quod charismata omnia almi Spiritus in animam Christi affluxerint. Namque in ipso copia insedit gratiae singulariter plena, quanto maximo videlicet modo atque efficacitate haberi possit; in ipso omnes sapientiae scientiaeque thesauri, gratiae gratis datae, virtutes, donaque omnino omnia quae tum Isaiae oraculis nunciata,[8] tum significata sunt admirabili ea columba ad Iordanem, quum eas aquas suo Christus baptismate ad sacramentum novum consecravit. Quo loco illa eiusdem Augustini recta conveniunt: *Absurdissimum est dicere quod*

1 Matth. i, 18, 20. 2 I. Tim. iii, 16. 3 III, 16.
4 *Enchir*, c. xxxx.–S. Th. 3ª, qu. xxxii a. 1. 5 Actor. x, 38.
6 S. Basil. *de Sp. S.* c. xvi. 7 Hebr. ix, 14. 8 iv, i; xi, 2, 3.

Christus, quum iam triginta esset annorum, accepit Spiritum Sanctum, sed venit ad baptismum, sicut sine peccato, ita non sine Spiritu Sancto. Tunc ergo, scilicet in baptismate, *corpus suum, idest Ecclesiam, praefigurari dignatus est, in qua praecipue baptizati accipiunt Spiritum Sanctum.*[1] Itaque Spiritus Sancti et praesentiâ conspicua super Christum et virtute intima in anima eius, duplex eiusdem Spiritus praesignificatur missio, ea nimirum quae in Ecclesia manifesto patet, et ea quae in animis iustorum secreto illapsu exercetur.

Ecclesia, quae iam concepta, ex latere ipso secundi Adami, velut in cruce dormientis, orta erat, sese in lucem hominum insigni modo primitus dedit die celeberrima Pentecostes. Ipsâque die beneficia sua Spiritus Sanctus in mystico Christi corpore prodere coepit, ea mira effusione quam Ioel propheta iampridem viderat,[2] nam Paraclitus *sedit super Apostolos ut novae coronae spirituales per linguas igneas imponerentur capiti illorum.*[3] Tum vero Apostoli *de monte descenderunt*, ut Chrysostomus scribit, *non tabulas lapideas in manibus portantes, sicut Moyses, sed Spiritum in mente circumferentes, et thesaurum quemdam ac fontem dogmatum et charismatum effundentes.*[4]—Ita plane eveniebat illud extremum Christi ad Apostolos suos promissum de Spiritu Sancto mittendo, qui doctrinae, ipso afflante, traditae completurus ipse esset et quodammodo obsignaturus depositum : *Adhuc multa habeo vobis dicere, sed non potestis portare modo ; quum autem venerit ille Spiritus veritatis, docebit vos omnem veritatem.*[5] Hic enim qui Spiritus est veritatis, utpote simul a Patre, qui verum aeternum est, simul a Filio, qui veritas est substantialis, procedens, haurit ab utroque una cum essentia omnem veritatis quanta est amplitudinem : quam quidem veritatem impertit ac largitur Ecclesiae, auxilio praesentissimo providens ut ipsa ne ulli unquam errori obnoxia sit, utque divinae doctrinae germina alere copiosius in dies possit et frugifera praestare ad populorum salutem. Et quoniam populorum salus, ad quam nata est Ecclesia, plane postulat

1 *De Trin.* i. xv, c. 26. 2 ii, 28, 29. 3 Cyr. hierosol, *catech.* 17.
4 *In Matth. hom.* i,–II Cor. iii, 3. 5 Ioann. xvi, 12, 13.

ut haec munus idem in perpetuitatem temporum persequatur, perennis idcirco vita atque virtus a Spiritu Sancto suppetit, quae Ecclesiam conservat augetque : *Ego rogabo Patrem, et alium Paraclitum dabit vobis, ut maneat vobiscum in aeternum, Spiritum veritatis.*[1] Ab ipso namque episcopi constituuntur, quorum ministerio non modo filii generantur, sed etiam patres, sacerdotes videlicet, ad eam regendam enutriendamque eodem sanguine quo est a Christo redempta : *Spiritus Sanctus posuit episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei, quam acquisivit sanguine suo.*[2] Utrique autem, episcopi et sacerdotes, insigni Spiritus munere id habent ut peccata pro potestate deleant, secundum illud Christi ad Apostolos : *Accipite Spiritum Sanctum; quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt.*[3] Porro Ecclesiam opus esse plane divinum, alio nullo argumento praeclarius constat quam charismatum quibus undique illa ornatur splendore et gloria; auctore nimirum et datore Spiritu Sancto. Atque hoc affirmare sufficiat, quod quum Christus caput sit Ecclesiae, Spiritus Sanctus sit eius anima : *Quod est in corpore nostro anima, id est Spiritus Sanctus in corpore Christi, quod est Ecclesia.*[4] Quae ita quum sint, nequaquam comminisci et expectare licet aliam ullam ampliorem uberioremque *divini Spiritus manifestationem et ostensionem :* quae enim nunc in Ecclesia habetur, maxima sane est, eaque tamdiu manebit quoad Ecclesiae contingat ut, militiae emensa stadium, ad triumphantium in caelesti societate laetitiam educatur.

Quantum vero et quo modo Spiritus Sanctus in animis singulorum agat, id non minus admirabile est, quamquam intellectu paulo est difficilius, eo etiam quia omnem intuitum fugiat oculorum.—Haec pariter Spiritus effusio tantae est copiae, ut Christus ipse, cuius de munere proficiscitur, abundantissimo amni similem dixerit, prout est apud Ioannem : *Qui credit in me, sicut dicit Scriptura, flumina de ventre eius fluent aquae vivae :* cui testimonio idem Evange-

1 *Ib* xiv, 16, 17. 2 Act. xx, 28.
3 Ioann. xx, 22, 23. 4 S. Aug. *serm.* clxxxvii *de temp.*

lista explanationem subiicit: *Hoc autem dixit de Spiritu, quem accepturi erant credentes in eum.*[1] Certum quidem est, in ipsis etiam hominibus iustis qui ante Christum fuerunt, insedisse per gratiam Spiritum Sanctum, quemadmodum de prophetis, de Zacharia, de Ioanne Baptista, de Simeone et Anna scriptum accepimus; quippe in Pentecoste non ita se Spiritus Sanctus tribuit, *ut tunc primum esse sanctorum inhabitator inciperet, sed ut copiosius inundaret, cumulans sua dona, non inchoans, nec ideo novus opere, quia ditior largitate.*[2] Verum, si et illi in filiis Dei numerabantur, conditione tamen perinde erant ac servi, quia etiam filius *nihil differt a servo*, quousque est *sub tutoribus et actoribus*:[3] ac, praeter quam quod iustitia in illis non erat nisi ex Christi meritis adventuri, communicatio Spiritus Sancti post Christum facta multo est copiosior, propemodum ut arram pretio vincit res pacta, atque ut imagini longe praestat veritas. Hoc propterea affirmavit Ioannes: *Nondum erat Spiritus datus, quia Iesus nondum erat glorificatus.*[4] Statim igitur ut Christus, *ascendens in altum*, regni sui gloria tam laboriose parta potitus est, divitias Spiritus Sancti munifice reclusit, *dedit dona hominibus.*[5] Nam, *certa illa Spiritus Sancti datio vel missio post clarificationem Christi futura erat qualis nunquam antea fuerat, neque enim antea nulla fuerat, sed talis non fuerat.*[6] Siquidem natura humana necessario serva est Dei: *Creatura serva est, servi nos Dei sumus secundum naturam*:[7] quin etiam ob communem noxam natura nostra omnis in id vitium dedecusque prolapsa est, ut praeterea infensi Deo extiterimus: *Eramus natura filii irae.*[8] Tali nos a ruina exitioque sempiterno nulla usquam vis tanta erat quae posset erigere et vindicare. Id vero Deus, humanae naturae conditor, summe misericors praestitit per Unigenam suum: cuius beneficio factum, ut homo in gradum nobilitatemque, unde exciderat, cum donorum locupletiore ornatu sit restitutus. Eloqui nemo potest quale sit opus istud

1 Vii, 38, 39. 2 S. Leo M. *hom.* iii *de Pentec.* 3 Gal. iv, 1, 2.
4 vii, 39. 5 Eph. iv, 8. 6 S. Aug. *de Trin.* 1, iv, c. 20.
7 S. Cyr. alex, *Thesaur.* 1. v, c. 5. 8 Eph. ii, 3.

divinae gratiae in animis hominum ; qui propterea luculenter tum in sacris litteris tum apud Ecclesiae patres, et regenerati et creaturae novae et consortes divinae naturae et filii Dei et deifici similibusque laudibus appellantur.—Iamvero tam ampla bona non sine causa debentur quasi propria Spiritui Sancto. Ipse enim est *Spiritus adoptionis filiorum, in quo clamamus : Abba, Pater ;* idemque paterni amoris suavitate corda perfundit : *Ipse Spiritus testimonium reddit spiritui nostro quod sumus filii Dei.*[1] Cui rei declarandae opportune cadit ea, quam Angelicus perspexit, similitudo inter utramque Spiritus Sancti operam ; quippe per eum ipsum et *Christus est in sanctitate conceptus ut esset Filius Dei naturalis*, et *alii sanctificantur ut sint filii Dei adoptivi.*[2] Ita, multo quidem nobilius quam in rerum natura fiat, ab amore oritur spiritualis regeneratio, ab Amore scilicet increato.

Huius regenerationis et renovationis initia sunt homini per baptisma : in quo sacramento, spiritu immundo ab anima depulso, illabitur primum Spiritus Sanctus, eamque similem sibi facit : *Quod natum est ex Spiritu, spiritus est.*[3] Uberiusque per sacram confirmationem, ad constantiam et robur christianae vitae, sese dono dat idem Spiritus ; a quo nimirum fuit victoria martyrum et virginum de illecebris corruptelarum triumphus. Sese, inquimus, dono dat Spiritus Sanctus : *Caritas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum qui datus est nobis.*[4] Ipse enimvero non modo affert nobis divina munera, sed eorumdem est auctor, atque etiam munus ipse est supremum ; qui a mutuo Patris Filiique amore procedens, iure habetur et nuncupatur *altissimi donum Dei.*—Cuius doni natura et vis quo illustrius pateat, revocare oportet ea quae in divinis litteris tradita sacri doctores explicaverunt, Deum videlicet adesse rebus omnibus in eisque esse, *per potentiam, in quantum omnia eius potestati subduntur ; per presentiam, in quantum omnia nuda sunt et aperta oculis eius ; per essentiam, in quantum, adest omnibus ut causa essendi.*[5] At vero in homine est Deus non tantum-

1 Rom. viii, 15, 16. 2 S. Th. 3ª q. xxxii, a 1. 3 Ioann. iii, 7.
4 Rom. v, 5. 5 S. Th. 1ª *q.* viii, *a.* 3.

modo ut in rebus, sed eo amplius cognoscitur ab ipso et diligitur; quum vel duce natura bonum sponte amemus, cupiamus, conquiramus. Praeterea Deus ex gratia insidet animae iustae tamquam in templo, modo penitus intimo et singulari; ex quo etiam sequitur ea necessitudo caritatis, qua Deo adhaeret anima coniunctissime, plus quam amico amicus possit benevolenti maxime et dilecto, eoque plene suaviterque fruitur.—Haec autem mira coniunctio, quae suo nomine *inhabitatio* dicitur, conditione tantum seu statu ab ea discrepans qua caelites Deus beando complectitur, tametsi verissime efficitur praesenti totius Trinitatis numine, *ad eum veniemus et mansionem apud eum faciemus*,[1] attamen de Spiritu Sancto tamquam peculiaris praedicatur. Siquidem divinae et potentiae et sapientiae vel in homine improbo apparent vestigia; caritatis, quae propria Spiritus veluti nota est, alius nemo nisi iustus est particeps. Atque illud cum re cohaeret, eumdem Spiritum nominari Sanctum, ideo etiam quod ipse, primus summusque Amor, animos moveat agatque ad sanctitatem, quae demum amore in Deum continetur. Quapropter Apostolus quum iustos appellat templum Dei, tales non expresse Patris aut Filii appellat, sed Spiritus Sancti: *An nescitis quoniam membra vestra templum sunt Spiritus Sancti, qui in vobis est, quem habetis a Deo.*[2]—Inhabitantem in animis piis Spiritum Sanctum ubertas munerum caelestium multis modis consequitur. Nam, quae est Aquinatis doctrina, *Quum Spiritus Sanctus procedat ut amor, procedit in ratione doni primi; unde dicit Augustinus, quod per donum quod est Spiritus Sanctus, multa propria dona dividuntur membris Christi.*[3] In his autem muneribus sunt arcanae illae admonitiones invitationesque, quae instinctu Sancti Spiritus identidem in mentibus animisque excitantur; quae si desint, neque initium viae bonae habetur, neque progressiones, neque exitus salutis aeternae. Et quoniam huiusmodi voces et motiones occulte admodum in animis flunt, apte in sacris paginis similes nonnunquam habentur venientis aurae sibilo; easque Doctor Angelicus scite confert motibus cordis, cuius tota vis

1 Ioan. xiv, 23 2 I Cor. vi, 19.

3 *Summ. th.* 1ª, *q.* xxxviii, *a.* 2.—S. Aug. *de Trin.* l. xv, c. 19.

est in animante perabdita : *Cor habet quamdam influentiam occultam, et ideo cordi comparatur Spiritus Sanctus, qui invisibiliter Ecclesiam vivificat et unit.*[1]—Hoc amplius, homini iusto, vitam scilicet viventi divinae gratiae et per congruas virtutes tamquam facultates agenti, opus plane est septenis illis quae proprie dicuntur Spiritus Sancti donis. Horum enim beneficio instruitur animus et munitur ut eius vocibus atque impulsioni facilius promptiusque obsequatur ; haec propterea dona tantae sunt efficacitatis ut eum ad fastigium sanctimoniae adducant, tantaeque excellentiae ut in caelesti regno eadem, quamquam perfectius, perseverent. Ipsorumque ope charismatum provocatur animus et effertur ad appetendas adipiscendasque beatitudines evangelicas quae, perinde ac flores verno tempore erumpentes, indices ac nunciae sunt beatitatis perpetuo mansurae. Felices denique sunt fructus ii, ab Apostolo enumerati,[2] quos hominibus iustis in hac etiam caduca vita Spiritus parit et exhibet, omni refertos dulcedine et gaudio ; cuiusmodi esse debent a Spiritu, *qui est in Trinitate genitoris genitique suavitas ingenti largitate atque ubertate perfundens omnes creaturas.*[3]—Itaque divinus Spiritus in aeterno sanctitatis lumine a Patre et a Verbo procedens, amor idem et donum, postquam se per velamen imaginum in testamento veteri exhibuit, plenam sui copiam effudit in Christum in eiusque corpus mysticum, quae est Ecclesia ; atque homines in pravitatem et corruptelam abeuntes praesentiâ et gratia sua iam salutariter revocavit, ut iam non de terra terrani, longe alia saperent et vellent, quasi de caelo caelestes.

Haec omnia quum tanta sint, quumque Spiritus Sancti bonitatem in nos immensam luculenter declarent, omnino postulant a nobis, ut obsequii pietatisque studium in eum quam maxime intendamus. Id autem christiani homines recte optimeque efficient, si eumdem certaverint maiore quotidie cura et noscere et amare et exorare : cuius rei gratiâ sit haec ad ipsos, prout sponte fluit paterno ex animo, cohortatio.—Fortasse ne hodie quidem in eis desunt, qui

1 *Summ. th.* 3ª, *q.* viii, *a. 1 ad 3.* 2 Gal. v. 22.

3 S. Aug. *de Trin.* l. vi, c. 9.

similiter rogati ut quidam olim a Paulo apostolo, acceperint ne Spiritum Sanctum, respondeant similiter: *Sed neque si Spiritus Sanctus est, audivimus.*[1] Sin minus, multi certe in eius cognitione valde deficiunt; cuius quidem crebro usurpant nomen in religiosis actibus exercendis, sed ea fide quae crassis tenebris circumfusa est. Quapropter quotquot sunt sacri concionatores curatoresque animarum hoc meminerint esse suum, ut quae ad Spiritum Sanctum pertinent diligentius atque uberius populo tradant; sic tamen ut difficiles subtilesque absint controversiae, et prava eorum stultitia devitetur qui omnia etiam arcana divina temere conantur perscrutari. Illud potius commemorandum enucleateque explanandum est, quam multa et magna beneficia ab hoc largitore divino et manaverint ad nos et manare non desinant; ut vel error vel ignoratio tantarum rerum, *lucis filiis*, indigna, prorsus depellatur. Hoc autem propterea urgemus, non modo quia id attingit mysterium quo ad vitam aeternam proxime dirigimur, ob eamque rem firme credendum; verum etiam quia bonum quo clarius pleniusque habetur cognitum, eo impensius diligitur et amatur.—Nempe Spiritui Sancto, quod alterum praestandum esse monuimus, debetur amor, quia Deus est: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, ex tota anima tua et ex tota fortitudine tua.*[2] Amandusque idem est, quippe substantialis, aeternus, primus amor; amore autem nihil est amabilius: multoque id magis quia summis ipse nos cumulavit beneficiis, quae ut largientis benevolentiam testantur, ita gratum animum accipientis reposcunt. Qui amor duplicem habet utilitatem neque eam exiguam. Nam tum ad illustriorem in dies notitiam de Spiritu Sancto capiendam nos exacuet; *Amans* enim, ut Angelicus ait, *non est contentus superficiali apprehensione amati, sed nititur singula quae ad amatum pertinent intrinsecus disquirere, et sic ad interiora eius ingreditur, sicut de Spiritu Sancto, qui est amor Dei, dicitur quod scrutatur etiam profunda Dei*[3]: tum caelestium donorum copiam nobis conciliabit largiorem, eo quod donantis manum ut angustus animus contrahit, ita

1 Act. xix, 2.

2 Deut. vi, 5.

3 I. Cor. ii, 10—*Summ. th.* 1ª 2ae, q. xxviii a 2.

gratus et memor dilatat. Curandum tamen magnopere ut iste amor eiusmodi sit qui non in cogitatione arida externoque obsequio subsistat, sed ad agendum prosiliat, refugiat maxime a culpa; quum haec Spiritui Sancto, peculiari quodam nomine, accidat iniuriosior. Quanticumque enim sumus, tanti sumus ex bonitate divina; quae eidem Spiritui praesertim adscribitur: hunc benigne sibi facientem is offendit qui peccat, quique ipsis eius abusus muneribus et bonitati confisus, quotidie magis insolescit.—Ad haec, quum veritatis ille sit Spiritus, si quis ex infirmitate aut inscitia deliquerit, forsitan excusationis aliquid apud Deum habeat; at qui per malitiam veritati repugnet ab eaque se avertat, in Spiritum Sanctum peccat gravissime. Quod quidem aetate nostra increbruit adeo, ut deterrima ea tempora advenisse videantur a Paulo praenunciata, quibus homines iustissimo Dei iudicio obcaecati, falsa pro veris habituri sint, et *huius mundi principi*, qui mendax est et mendacii pater, tamquam veritatis magistro crediturі: *Mittet illis Deus operationem erroris ut credant mendacio*[1]; *in novissimis temporibus discedent quidam a fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis daemoniorum.*[2] —Quoniam vero Spiritus Sanctus in nobis, ut supra monuimus, quasi suo quodam in templo habitat, suadendum est illud Apostoli: *Nolite contristare Spiritum Sanctum Dei, in quo signati estis.*[3] Idque ipsum non satis est, indigna omnia defugere, sed omni virtutum laude christianus homo nitere debet, ut hospiti tam magno tamque benigno placeat, castimonia in primis et sanctitudine; casta enim et sancta addecent templum. Hinc idem Apostolus: *Nescitis quia templum Dei estis, et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis? Si quis autem templum Dei violaverit, disperdet illum Deum; templum enim Dei sanctum est, quod estis vos*[4]; formidolosae eae quidem, sed perquam iustae minae.—Postremo, Spiritum Sanctum exorari et obsecrari oportet, quippe cuius praesidio adiumentisque nemo unus non egeat maxime. Ut enim quisque est inops consilii, viribus infirmus, aerumnis pressus, pronus in vetitum, ita ad eum confugere debet qui luminis, fortitudinis, consolationis, sanctitatis fons patet perennis.

1 II. Thess. ii, 10. 2 I. Tim. iv, 1. 3 Eph. iv, 30. 4 I. Cor. iii, 16, 17.

Atque illa homini in primis necessaria, admissorum venia, ab eo potissimum expetenda est: *Spiritus Sancti proprium est quod sit donum Patris et Filii; remissio autem peccatorum fit per Spiritum Sanctum, tamquam per donum Dei*:[1] de quo Spiritu apertius habetur in ordine rituali: *Ipse est remissio omnium peccatorum.*[2]—Quanam vero ratione sit exorandus, perapte docet Ecclesia, quae supplex eum compellat et obtestatur suavissimis quibusque nominibus: *Veni pater pauperum, veni dator munerum, veni lumen cordium: consolator optime, dulcis hospes animae, dulce refrigerium:* eumdemque enixe implorat ut eluat, ut sanet, ut irriget mentes atque corda, detque confidentibus et *virtutis meritum* et *salutis exitum* et *perenne gaudium.* Nec dubitare ullo pacto licet an huiusmodi preces auditurus ille sit, quo auctore scriptum legimus: *Ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus.*[3] Demum hoc est fidenter assidueque supplicandum, ut nos quotidie magis et luce sua illustret et caritatis suae quasi facibus incendat; sic enim fide et amore freti acriter enitamur ad praemia sempiterna, quoniam ipse *est pignus hereditatis nostrae.*[4]

Habetis, Venerabiles Fratres, quae ad fovendum Spiritus Sancti cultum monendo hortandoque placuit edicere: minimeque dubitamus, quin ope praesertim navitatis sollertiaeque vestrae praeclaros in christiano populo sint fructus latura. Nostra quidem tantae huic rei persequendae nulla unquam defutura est opera, atque etiam consilium est ut, quibus subinde modis videbitur opportunius, idem pietatis studium tam praestabile alamus et provehamus. Interea: quoniam biennio ante, datis litteris *Provida matris*, peculiares preces, easque ad maturandum christianae unitatis bonum, in sollemnibus Pentecostes catholicis commendavimus, libet de hoc ipso capite ampliora quaedam decernere. Decernimus igitur et mandamus ut per orbem catholicum universum, hoc anno itemque annis in perpetuum consequentibus, supplicatio novendialis ante Pentecosten, in omnibus curialibus templis et, si Ordinarii locorum utile iudi-

1 *Summ. th.* 3ª, *q.* iii *a*, 8 *ad* 3. 2 *In Miss. rom. fer.* iii *post Pent.*
3 Rom. viii, 26. 4 Eph. i, 14.

carint, in aliis etiam templis sacrariisve fiat. Omnibus autem qui eidem novendiali supplicationi interfuerint, et ad mentem Nostram, rite oraverint, eis annorum septem septemque quadragenarum apud Deum indulgentiam in singulos dies concedimus; tum plenariam in uno quolibet eorumdem dierum vel festo ipso die Pentecostes, vel etiam quolibet ex octo subsequentibus, modo rite confessione abluti sacrâque communione refecti ad eamdem mentem Nostram pie supplicaverint. Quibus beneficiis frui pariter eos posse volumus quos publicis illis precibus legitima causa prohibeat, vel ubi non ita commode, secundum Ordinarii prudentiam, in templo res fieri possit; dum tamen supplicationi novendiali privatim detur opera ceteraeque conditiones expleantur. Hoc praeterea placet de thesauro Ecclesiae et perpetuum tribuere, ut si qui vel publice vel privatim preces aliquas ad Spiritum Sanctum pro pietate sua iterum praestent quotidie per octavam Pentecostes ad festum inclusive sanctae Trinitatis, ceterisque ut supra conditionibus rite satisfecerint, ipsis liceat utramque iterum consequi indulgentiam. Quae omnia indulgentiae munera etiam animabus piis igni purgatorio addictis converti in suffragium posse, misericorditer in Domino concedimus.

Iam Nobis mens animusque ad ea revolat vota quae initio aperuimus; quorum eventum summis precibus a divino Spiritu flagitamus, flagitabimus. Agite, Venerabiles Fratres, Nostris cum precibus vestras consocietis, vobisque hortatoribus universae christianae gentes coniungant suas, adhibita conciliatrice potenti et peraccepta Virgine Beatissima. Quae ipsi rationes cum Spiritu Sancto intercedant intimae admirabilesque, probe nostis; ut Sponsa eius immaculata merito nominetur. Ipsius deprecatio Virginis multum profecto valuit et ad mysterium Incarnationis et ad eiusdem Paracliti in Apostolorum coronam adventum. Communes igitur preces pergat ipsa suffragio suo benignissima roborare, ut in universitate nationum tam misere laborantium divina rerum prodigia per almum Spiritum feliciter instaurentur, quae vaticinatione Davidica sunt celebrata: *Emittes Spiritum tuum et creabuntur et renovabis faciem terrae.*[1]—Caelestium vero

1 Ps. CIII, 30.

donorum auspicem et benevolentiae Nostrae testem vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, Clero populoque vestro Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die. ix. Maii anno MDCCCLXXXXVII, Pontificatus Nostri vigesimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

EX DELEGATIONE APOSTOLICA.

DE QUASI-PAROECIIS PRO POPULO DIVERSAE LINGUAE.

WASHINGTON, 12 Maii, 1897.

ILLME AC RME DOMINE:—Cum in Statibus Foederatis plures in eodem territorio quasi-paroeciae pro populo diversae linguae erectae sint, quaedam ortae sunt questiones earum jura respicientes in personas quae aut ex parentibus ad has ecclesias pertinentibus natae sunt, aut quae ex exteris nationibus advenerunt, linguam tamen Anglicam callentes. Haec Apostolica Delegatio in re tam gravis momenti satius dixit superiori S. Cong. de Propaganda Fide judicio praefata dubia submittere eo vel magis quod connexa videbantur cum resolutionibus ab eodem S. Ordine die 11 Aprilis 1887 latis. Porro ad tramitem harum resolutionum Emnus ejusdem S. Cong. Praefectus literis sub die 26 Aprilis, anni currentis, Prot. No. 22972, nobis datis declaravit:

I. Filios ex parentibus non-americanis linguam ab Anglica diversam loquentibus, in America natos non teneri cum emancipati sint ad sese jungendos quasi-paroeciae ad quam pertinent parentes, sed jure frui sese uniendi quasi-paroeciae in qua regionis lingua, seu Anglica, adhibetur.

II. Catholicos qui in America nati non sunt, qui tamen linguam Anglicam noscunt, jus habere membra fieri illius ecclesiae in qua Anglica lingua in usu est, nec obligari posse ad sese subjiciendos jurisdictioni Rectoris ecclesiae erectae pro populo linguam propriae nationis loquente.

Haec a me significanda erant A. Tuae dum, omni qua par est reverentia et existimatione permaneo, Amplitudinis Tuae

Addictissimus in Xto,

† SEBASTIANUS ARCHPUS. EPHES., *Del. Aplicus.*

CONFERENCES.

THE AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW proposes to answer in this department questions of general (not merely local or personal) interest to the Clergy. Questions suitable for publication, when addressed to the editor, receive attention in due turn, but in no case do we pledge ourselves to reply to all queries, either in print or by letter.

THE EVIDENCE REGARDING I. JOHN, V., 7.

Qu. The recent decision of the S. C. Inquisition to the effect that Catholics cannot lawfully question the genuineness of the passage in the First Epistle of St. John, v., 7, which reads: "And there are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one," has raised some public taunts against the mediævalism of the Church by the Protestant ministers, who affect to be guided in their acceptance of the S. Scriptures by the "higher criticism."

What are the merits of the case in view of the late pronouncement by the Sacred Congregation at Rome?

Resp. The sneer about Catholic mediævalism, or about "a Church which is self-chained to its old errors" (as the editor of *The Independent* phrases it), comes with somewhat unfortunate grace from the upholders of the "Revised" English Version of the Bible, who at this late day have found that in trusting the so-called reformers of the sixteenth century, Luther, Beza and consorts, for their knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek texts—and for their honesty in rendering them correctly—were sadly in error. Of something like 20,000 changes which the late revisers of the Protestant Bible found it, according to their own statement, necessary to make *in the New Testament alone*, more than half the *textual* changes consisted in a *return* to the approved version of the "mediæval" and "self-chained" Church. That tells a story without need of comment. The passage here in question, first rejected by the Lutheran translators because

it was not found in the Eastern versions examined by Erasmus, is a particularly unhappy choice of material to fling at the Church, for every serious student of biblical criticism knows that there are grave reasons to support the passage, and hence only a superficial mind will sneer at those who maintain its authenticity. Furthermore these would-be judges of Catholic affairs fail to comprehend the economy and motive prompting the action of the S. Congregation, which was founded not for the purpose of defining doctrine, but to check the vagaries of uncertain speculation in matters of faith. The fact is that the late Protestant revisers who proved the Lutheran reformers to have been false in a thousand instances when they attempted to meddle with the Catholic version, are of no authority compared to the tradition which vouches for the Catholic Vulgate; and before we admit that a text of this kind is to be stricken out of the Inspired Books we require much more conclusive testimony than that which is actually offered by the higher criticism.

The actual state of the question is briefly this: A doubt first arose about the genuineness of the passage because it was not found in the early Greek manuscripts and Eastern versions. Erasmus, Sir Isaac Newton, Bentley, Travis, Simon, Griesbach, Scholz and others discussed on both sides the merits of this discovery. The important testimony of the famous "Prologue to the Canonical Epistles," which is commonly attributed to St. Jerome (though there has been controversy on this point also), makes clear that the verse had been omitted through carelessness of certain transcribers. Victor of Capua (A. D. 546), who maintains the Hieronymian authorship of the Prologue, speaks of this fact in unmistakable terms. Dr. Ranke, the editor of the *Codex Fuldensis* likewise attests the authorship as unquestionable. The *Freisingen fragments*, an old uncial MS (400–500), discovered by the learned Dr. Ziegler, of Munich, also contains the verse. Now this copy has been shown to correspond with the old Latin version (Itala) used by S. Augustine, and though it is possible, as Dr. Ziegler says, that the passage may have been interpolated, it is not at all probable,

because the Arians, for whose sake the interpolation could alone have been intended, would surely have protested against such evidence drawn from a spurious text not in their Bible.

The Benedictine edition of St. Chrysostom (A. D. 381) contains an exposition of the same passage, which the Rev. C. Forster, an Anglican minister, ably defends as the strongest addition to the usual patristic evidence. The Sulpician Abbé Le Hir adduces as another witness of the same category St. Claudius Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis (Phrygia), who lived toward the end of the second century, and who clearly indicates the passage in question. The genuineness of these fragmenta is likewise admitted by such authorities as Wescott and Donaldson. These are strong evidences when taken in connection with the hardly less explicit testimony of Tertullian and Cyprian, and the fair right of prescription created by fifteen centuries. To refute all this we are told that Vigilius of Thapsus corrupted the sources, deceiving scholars of his day such as S. Fulgentius, S. Victor of Capua, S. Cassiodorus and countless others both hostile and critical. No; the late revisers were of course scholars; they counted the number and weight of the Greek and Eastern MSS. and concluded that there was not sufficient evidence to justify their *reinserting* the passage, taken out of the Vulgate by men who showed themselves reckless and often faithless in their treatment of the sacred text. If the new revisers were less partial, can we say that they were more reverent in their view of venerable testimony, when they invited such men as Mr. Vance Smith, a Unitarian who professedly denied the divinity of Christ, to act as a member on the committee of revision?

CAN ST. VERONICA BE THE TITULAR OF A CHURCH?

Qu. There are, I believe, quite a number of churches throughout the country dedicated to St. Veronica, especially where the devotion to the Holy Face is popular. Some time ago I ascertained that the name of St. Veronica is not contained in the Roman martyr-

ology, and that many assume that no saint of this name existed until the end of the XVI. century when the Augustinian nun, Veronica de Binasco, by her saintly life gave popularity to the name which had been coined by mediæval writers to illustrate the incident in the Passion of our Lord which records that a holy woman, named Veronica, presented Him with a kerchief on which He wiped His Adorable Face, leaving the impression of the *volto santo* kept as a relic in Rome. The name itself, meaning "true image," seems to lend coloring to this supposition.

Is there any historical foundation for the legend which gives existence to St. Veronica at the time of our Lord?

Is there any authoritative sanction by the Church for the veneration of such a saint, so as to allow the dedication of churches, altars and shrines in her honor?

What is the proper accentuation of the word "Veronica?" I have heard a well-informed missionary say Veronīca, basing his pronunciation on the etymology of the name from the Latin *verum* and the Greek εἰκον.

Resp. The tradition which identifies St. Veronica with the holy matron who presented the kerchief to our Lord on His dolorous way, and who had been previously cured by Him of an issue of blood (S. Math. ix., 20), goes back to Apostolic times, as is very clearly demonstrated by Cirot in the second chapter of his erudite *Origines chrétiennes de Bordeaux*. The saint is mentioned in the so-called "Gospel of Nicodemus," sometimes styled "the Acts of Pontius Pilate." This work, although reckoned among the apocryphal writings, in the sense that it does not belong to the inspired books of the Scriptural canon, is unquestionably very ancient, and may be accepted as contemporary with the later evangelical books of the Sacred Text. It certainly existed before the third century. There we read (Chapt. v., 26) that "a certain woman named Veronica testified before Pilate in behalf of Christ, stating that He had cured her from a bloody issue of twelve years standing." (Cf. also Euseb. Hist. Eccl. vii., 18, who speaks of the same incident.)

From the second century onward there has been a constant devotion, resting on tradition, in various parts of the East,

of Lombardy and France. Though her name is not in the Roman martyrology, it is found in the very oldest calendars of the Oriental Church, the Syrian and many others. The Church of Milan, which follows the Ambrosian rite, has her feast on the 4th of February with a Mass and Office in the Breviary. This is of itself a sufficient refutation of the mediæval origin of the name and legend, as there are abundant accounts which the Bollandists have collected to show the universality and antiquity of the pious belief connecting St. Veronica with the *volto santo.*

As to the interpretation of the name, as meaning "true image,"—from *verum* and εἰκον, we may admit that it is of mediæval origin, or for that matter of modern origin, because in either case it has no foundation in the true etymology of the word, and it is a mere fancy arising from similarity of sound and association of thought. The name is derived from φερω and νικη, and is the equivalent of *Victorina* (Victoria) in Latin and *Sigisberta* in Saxon. It is the name given to one of the descendants of Diagora, all of whom were famous in the Olympic games,[1] and the Abbé Maury points out that it was a common epithet (like Augusta) applied to the princesses or also to cities of Macedonia, Egypt and Palestine, whence it passed into use among Christians to denote the heroic qualities shown in martyrdom or great sanctity. The modifications of *Veronica*, *Beronica*, and *Berenice* are quite in accord with the laws of Greek dialectic changes.

We have then as much authority for assuming the existence of St. Veronica as we have for many other of the early saints and martyrs, namely, an ancient and trustworthy tradition which tells us of a holy Jewish matron by name of Βερενικη (pronounced *Verenike* and latinized *Veronica*) also called *Seraphia* (which is a Hebrew word combining in its root the ideas of "ardor," "nobility" and "image," and may thus be taken as identical in meaning with the epithet

1 See Pindar's Olympiacae Z , edit. Erasm. Schmid: "Post hos, nepotes ex filia stetēre, qui et ipsi de pugilibus Olympicas coronas meruēre, Callipaterae nimirum, vel *Pherenices*, ut ab aliis vocatur."

given her according to the Greek or Roman idiom). This tradition is furthermore emphasized in the "Stations of the Cross" which in their present form have the sanction of Church authority, and may not be altered at will. The fact of the sacred sudarium itself has no other sanction to vouch for its authenticity than this same tradition honored by the whole Church.

Whether altars and shrines in the Western Church should be dedicated to St. Veronica, since her name is not in the Roman martyrology, and we have no Mass or Office in her honor, is a matter which the S. Congregation could determine in the negative; but that would not permit us to doubt the tradition or the lawfulness of honoring her as a saint, as she is honored in the East, in Milan and in many churches of the West, especially in France, where her feast is kept on the 3 February. (See Stadler, *Veronica*, n. 2; and *Pet. Bollandist.* II., p. 236–246.)

THE CORDS OF THE RED SCAPULAR.

Qu. Is there anything clearly certain as to the *color* and *material* of the cords to which the five scapulars are attached? In the December number, 1892, of the REVIEW (page 451) a decision of the S. Congregation is given which allows the "quinque scapularia sive *totidem* sive *duobus* tantum *funiculis* unita." In explanation it is stated that when the five scapulars are joined by *one pair* of cords, these must be of *red wool.* Is this essential, and for what reason?

B. R.

Resp. Whilst the cords connecting the various scapulars may be of any material or color, it is expressly stated in the application for faculties sanctioning the institution of the red scapular, (to the Priests of the Mission called Lazarist Fathers, by Rescript of Pius IX., 25 June 1847, and 21 March 1848), that the same be made of red wool, *joined by cords of red wool.* Hence, if this scapular be among the five—as is usually the case—attached to a single pair of cords, these must be of red wool to comply with the form of its separate institution.

THE TRANSFER OF SOLEMN FEASTS.

Qu. Will you please let me know if there is a general Indult for this country permitting the celebration on Sunday of the solemnity of a feast that falls within the week. And if there is, what are its terms; that is, what rite on the Sunday will hinder its celebration? It seems to be the general practice to celebrate on Sunday the solemnity of such feasts, v. g., the Titular, or the dedication of a church, so I suppose there must be an Indult authorizing it, but I have never come across it.

I notice an answer in the February number of the REVIEW about celebrating the Mass of St. Stephen on the following day (Sunday), and the feast of St. John, which supposes that the practice is lawful, though the only reference given, that I have at hand, is A. Carpo's Kalendarium Perpetuum, where he treats of saying the Mass of a feast on the usual day of the feast itself, although the feast has to be transferred because some feast of higher rite occurs on the same day. In the Society of Jesus we have such an Indult for our saints. If the Indult in question is in one of the decrees of our Plenary Councils, will you kindly give me the place?

Resp. By Indult, April 9 1802, and Decree, June 28 1804, to the dioceses of France was given the privilege of celebrating the solemnity of certain festivals on the Sunday following, whenever they happened to fall on a day other than Sunday. These festivals are: The Epiphany, Corpus Christi, the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul and the Patron of a diocese or of a parish. This same privilege has been granted to the dioceses of the United States for the same festivals, except the Epiphany. The Second Plenary Council of Baltimore: Tit. VII., n. 384, decreeing the celebration henceforth of the Patronal Feast, allowed in "country places and small towns," the solemnity of the Patronal Feast to be transferred to the following Sunday, and this same privilege is allowed also in cities, v. g., in the Archdiocese of Boston, whenever it is judged expedient.

The solemnity of SS. Peter and Paul was allowed to be transferred to Sunday in the Baltimore and other dioceses by special Indult, December 19, 1840, and the same privilege

was granted for the feast of Corpus Christi, December 31 1885 (see Third Plenary Council, page cv.). When, therefore, these festivals fall on a day other than Sunday, the Office and all Masses on that day are of the feast, but, on the following Sunday, one solemn Mass (in the United States a Missa Cantata suffices) is chanted for the feast in question, and all the other Masses of the Sunday follow the regular order of the Sunday.

This *solemnity cannot* take place if the following Sunday is a *Dominica Iæ Cl.*, v. g., the first Sunday of Advent or Lent, or if there happens to fall on that Sunday a feast of greater dignity than the rank of the festival whose solemnity is transferred, v. g., this year the feast of St. Lawrence, in August, as Patron of any Church cannot have the solemnity transferred to the following Sunday, because on that Sunday comes the feast of the Assumption, much greater in dignity. In such a case the solemnity is transferred to the first Sunday not impeded by a feast of higher rank.

The privilege of transferring the solemnity does not apply to any other than the festivals above-named, hence not to the feast of the Dedication of a Church. (Vide Wapelhorst, or De Herdt.)

THE "IMPEDIMENTUM LIGAMINIS" AND THE "HONESTAS PUBLICA."

Qu. For some time past I have had a dispute with one of our priests with regard to the binding force of *matrimonium ratum non consummatum*. I maintain that such a marriage always begets a real *vinculum*, a real *ligamen*, and that the parties to the marriage are prohibited by the *inpedimentum ligaminis* from entering a new marriage. The priest in question says that there is no such thing as *ligamen* arising from such a marriage, and that the only impediment in the way of a new marriage is *honestas publica*.

I believe that in all such marriages there is a real *vinculum*, a real *ligamen*. When this *vinculum* or *ligamen* is dissolved by the supreme power of the Holy See, as interpreter of the Divine Law, then, the impediment of "public honesty" may stand in the way of a new marriage, or it may not. If the man wishes to marry a re-

lation of the wife *usque ad quartum gradum* or vice versa, then a dispensation from "public honesty" must be obtained; but should there be question of marrying one who is not related within those degrees of consanguinity to the first consort, it is nonsense to talk of public honesty interfering.

Hence I maintain that:—1. Wherever there is a real marriage, no matter whether it is consummated or not, the parties to the marriage are prohibited by the impediment *ligamen* from contracting a new marriage, and should they attempt to do so they would incur the impediment of crime.

2. When the impediment *ligamen* is removed by the Pope, there may be question of public honesty interfering with a new marriage, or there may not. It will all depend on whether or not the person in question wishes to marry blood-relations of his first consort.

Ans. It is absolutely certain that *matrimonium ratum non consummatum* begets a real *impedimentum ligaminis*, and consequently the parties to that marriage are not only prohibited from but also made incapable of entering into a new marriage as long as that *ligamen* holds good. On this point there is no difference of opinion amongst theologians and canonists, nor can there be any. For such a marriage being a true Sacrament of the Church must have, apart from the natural law, the character of unity and indissolubility specially attached to it by its Divine Founder, and it must thereby necessarily cause the invalidity of a new marriage if attempted. The fact that a marriage *ratum non consummatum* may be dissolved either by the solemn religious profession of one of the parties, or by a positive act of the Pope, proves only that the impediment may cease to exist, but not that it does not exist as long as the marriage itself exists. We have moreover an explicit utterance from the Supreme authority of the Church, which settles this question; for Alexander III., cap. 3, *de Sponsa duorum*, thus writes to the Archbishop of Salerno: "Consultationi tuae taliter respondemus, quod, si inter virum et mulierem legitimus consensus interveniat de praesenti . . . . non licet mulieri alteri nubere. Et si nupserit,

etiamsi carnalis copula sit secuta, ab eo separari debet, et ut ad primum redeat ecclesiastica districtionec ompelli: quamvis aliter a quibusdam praedecessoribus nostris sit aliquando judicatum." This last sentence contains a theological difficulty; for while we take the true doctrine from one Pope, we cannot admit for a moment that his predecessors have held the contrary. There are different explanations, and all satisfactory, of the above quoted words; but as it would take too much space even to indicate them, and they have, besides, little or no bearing on our present case, we simply refer the reader to Feije's excellent work, "*de impedimentis et dispensationibus matrimonialibus.*" Cap. XVIII., No. 439.

We agree also with our correspondent in what he states about the impediment of *public honesty*. This impediment is undoubtedly created by the *matrimonium ratum non consummatum*, but differs from the *ligamen*, not only because it is merely of ecclesiastical origin, and therefore capable of dispensation, but also because of its *extension* and *duration*. It differs, first, in regard to its extension, because, while the *ligamen* forbids a second marriage with any other person, *public honesty* forbids it only with a relation of one's consort *usque ad quartum gradum*. It differs also because of the duration, for while the *ligamen*, if dissolved by the supreme power of the Church, would no longer prevent a second marriage, it would not be the same with regard to *public honesty*. Hence, no man could validly marry, without dispensation, the sister or cousin of his former wife from whom he had been lawfully separated after a marriage *ratum non consummatum*. The reason of this difference is that the *ligamen* acts by itself and consequently once taken away cannot produce any effect in invalidatiug a second marriage. On the contrary, the impediment of *public honesty* forbids marriage with a near relation of the former consort by virtue of the effect already caused, namely, the *conjunctio animorum*, an effect which still remains after the dissolution of the marriage. We see the same thing in regard to the *sponsalia*, which although lawfully annulled by mutual consent of the

parties, would still invalidate the subsequent marriage between one of the two who had made the *sponsalia* and the brother or sister of the other. In conclusion, we subscribe to the last two statements made by our learned correspondent, adding, however, a few words to each.

1. Wherever there is a real marriage, no matter whether it is consummated or not, the parties to the marriage are prohibited by the impediment *ligamen* from contracting a new marriage, and should they attempt to do so, they would incur the impediment of crime, provided the other conditions for this impediment be verified.

2. "When the impediment *ligamen* is removed by the Pope, there may be question of *public honesty* interfering with a new marriage, or there may not. It will all depend on whether or not the person in question wishes to marry blood-relations of his first consort." This, however, does not mean that the impediment of *public honesty* begins to exist at that time, for it came into existence the very moment that the bond was established.

A. S.

THE ESSENTIALS REGARDING THE BROWN SCAPULAR.

Qu. There is a difference of opinion among some of the clergy as to what is necessary for investing members in the Brown Scapular; also as to whether record of enrollment may be kept in any church, or must be sent to a church in charge of the Carmelite Fathers. An answer through the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW would serve a good purpose.

Resp. For valid investiture in the Brown Scapular it is required: (*a*) that the two parts of the Scapular itself be made of woven wool of a dark brown color, square in shape; the suspending strings may be of any material or color;

(*b*) the Scapular must be blessed *and placed upon* the person to be invested by a priest who has the faculty: this faculty is granted by the Bishop *ex delegatione ad quinquen-*

nium, and by the Superior-General and Provincials of the Carmelite Order *valitura usque ad revocationem;*

(*c*) in blessing the Scapular the prescribed form of the Ritual must be used: the sign of the cross made over it only as in other blessings is not valid (Decr., 18 August 1868.);

(*d*) *each person* must be *separately invested*, although the blessing may be made *in numero plurali;*

(*e*) The Brown Scapular must be given separately, and according to the prescribed form of the Ritual. The faculty of giving the five scapulars together by one short form expired on April 27, 1897, even for Religious Orders and Congregations who had obtained said faculty *in perpetuum.*

Furthermore, whenever there is a Carmelite Convent within a circuit of five miles the faculty of investing in the Scapular cannot be used by any one else. And all such faculties are *ipso facto* revoked in any locality upon the establishment there of a Carmelite Community.

The register of persons enrolled may be kept only by the rector of a church where the Confraternity of the Scapular is canonically erected; else the record of names must be forwarded to a Carmelite Monastery. The Very Rev. Pius R. Mayer, O.C.C., Provincial of the Carmelite Order, (Pittsburg, Pa., corner Fulton and Centre Avenues) has signified through the REVIEW his willingness to give priests the power of enrolling, and other assistance in the spread of this devotion. (Vide AMERICAN ECCL. REVIEW, 1896, Vol. XIV., p. 559; also Vol. I., 1889; et passim.)

A MATRIMONIAL TANGLE.

Qu. John and Mary, both Methodists, and baptized in their own way, marry before their Methodist minister. After a few years of married life, they separate and obtain a divorce. Some time after, John meets Kate, a Catholic; they fall in love, and with a view to matrimony Kate applies to her pastor. Upon inquiry, he suspects the validity of John's baptism, inasmuch as John declares that the minister lead him into the water to about knee depth, and pronounced

the words: "I baptize you," etc., but did not immerse him until after the form was completed. The pastor told them that he considered that he could obtain a dispensation from his Bishop under the Pauline privilege, and then marry them. He failed to obtain this dispensation, and in his disappointment told Kate the Bishop could give some the dispensation, but did not want to favor him; and that if they were married he could obtain the dispensation.

Kate consults another priest about such baptisms, who tells her that they are not recognized in the Church. Acting on this, she marries before a Justice; and her pastor, for whatever reason, fails to get the dispensation.

Now she applies to me, and I consider the case hopeless, or nearly so. Might her good faith and the foregoing advice throw the doubt of John's baptism in her favor?

Were he to come into the Church, I would baptize him conditionally, if not unconditionally.

They were married near Moberly Mission. Might the decree "Tametsi" of Canon Law affect the case? Kate is much put about, and John would become a Catholic.

Resp. The tangle is more apparent than real; and if "her pastor" and the "other priest" had been more theological and less imprudent in their answers to Kate, there would have been probably no tangle at all. Certainly the case was not in its beginning hopeless, and even now we may find a solution favorable to the present marriage, and thus escape the necessity of obliging John and Kate to separate.

Our first step must be to go back to the starting point, and to do in the present what should have been done at the very outset of the whole affair.

A woman, who is apparently free from all impediments, desires to marry a man who is divorced. Two decided difficulties at once present themselves to our mind: the *ligamen* and the scandal that will arise from such a marriage. As to the scandal, it can be avoided in many ways, for instance, by a change of residence or by an official declaration from the Ordinary of the place duly made known to the congregation. The other difficulty, which is after all the principal one,

can only be removed by finding out the validity or invalidity of John's or Mary's baptism. Judging from the statement of the case before us, both John and Mary are probably baptized, and consequently, if no further inquiry be made, we are brought to a full stop. Kate cannot be permitted to marry John. The reason is, because such a probable baptism would carry with it a probable impediment *juris divini*, which cannot be either ignored or done away with by dispensation.

But let us proceed further, and inquire more minutely into the baptism of the parties. If on making this inquiry an essential defect be found either in the baptism of John or in that of Mary, then a solution is ready at hand. For if we ascertain that the baptism of one of the two parties is invalid, the baptism of the other party must be supposed either valid or invalid. If valid, their marriage would have been null and void on account of *disparitas cultus*, and if invalid, we have a clear case, to which the Pauline privilege may be applied upon John's becoming a Catholic.

The fact that they were married "near Moberly Mission" would not, as far as we know, affect the case.

A. S.

BISHOP McQUAID ON "OUR SEMINARIES."

Permit me a few observations on the excellent contribution by the Bishop of Rochester to the burning question of clerical education in the United States, recently published in the REVIEW.

The Bishop has a keen perception of our weakness and of our resources; and that is well, for it makes him speak with moderation. "The great problem is the preparatory Seminary—how to make it what it should be, and how best to do its work." The Bishop solves the problem in his own diocese by making the preparatory school an adjunct to the Cathedral so that "these candidates are under the eye and guidance of the bishop and his clergy from the start." The whole matter is a question of personal zeal and intelligent

interest. The suggestions about examinations are equally to the point, and show what must be avoided to ensure real efficiency in studies. But these and other parts of the Bishop's recommendations in regard to study and discipline will be readily accepted by anyone who is familiar with the subject of training in Seminaries. I merely single out one practice introduced at Rochester which I believe offers serious objections to the maintenance of the ecclesiastical spirit, if considered as an ordinary feature of the management. I refer to the introduction of maid-servants to make up the students' rooms and to act as waitresses in the serving and dining halls. It is perfectly true that every gentleman may have woman-servants about his house without danger of compromising himself or lowering the moral standard of his behavior. The same applies of course to a priest. The very position of master which he holds towards menials is a protection against familiarity; he may have a high esteem of the qualities of his servants and yet maintain that distance above them which prevents their gaining advantage over him in any sense.

But the student in the Seminary is in an altogether different position. The servants do not depend on him, and there are many circumstances which place him in a sort of dependence for favors received or expected from those who have access to the larder, to the outside—his friends, relatives, superiors, etc. Students are often boys, they attain their real manhood frequently only after actual friction with the world when they find themselves obliged to answer the consequences of thoughtlessness, rashness and temporary malice. Moreover the social distance between them and the people who have to make their living by manual service is—I may say, generally—hardly perceptible, despite their high vocation. Conniving between students and servants by which the former obtain some trifling privilege not sanctioned by, or contrary to, rule is the easiest thing in the world. Women have above all else a persistent tendency to pick out favorites, and to show their preferences in the most ingenious ways. The spirit of clan, of family association, even mere adven-

ture into forbidden ground easily beget a mutual attitude between a young man and a woman, which may be most unreasonable and would be regretted in any of its consequences, yet which might entangle a youth and bring about the loss of a vocation. I might multiply reasons which show how the very condition of this relationship between students and servants makes this case wholly different from that of an employer who is safeguarded by his position and by his very liberty of choosing his society, from the partiality, neglect, jealousy and other qualities of servants when simply restricted by outward rules. Ninety per cent. of our students who are in earnest might not be affected by the conduct of a waitress, yet through the weakness and imprudence of one a canker may be grafted in the Seminary which would eat its way of corruption into the whole system, where it could easily be avoided by a less dangerous, though less novel experiment. There are other considerations which make me doubt the fitness of having girls attend to the rooms habitually of ecclesiastical students. The cadets in our military academy whose example has recently been held up for our admiration in matters of discipline, have waiters; they make up their own rooms and their elders see nothing degrading in this practice.

I trust someone else will take up the points of Bishop McQuaid's article on studies, for they deserve full and intelligent discussion, especially the subject of entrance-examination and admission to Sacred Orders.

SMOKING IN THE SEMINARY.

Qu. There appears to be a decided difference between the two heads of Seminaries, Bishop McQuaid and Fr. Slattery, regarding the advisibility of permitting students to smoke. I, for my part, hold with the Bishop that the practice should be restricted, even if it were true that students "will smoke anyhow." But I should like if you could have the subject ventilated in the REVIEW, for it is a practical question. Students who read the ECCLESIASTICAL

REVIEW will make up their minds, one way or another, as to the right or wrong of the practice, and superiors must be prepared to safeguard the rule by reason as well as insistence. What does the editor of the REVIEW say?

Resp. The articles on Seminary training will continue for some time in the REVIEW. Hence our readers will have the benefit of learning what the experience of superiors can impart on the subject. In the meantime we would be glad to hear from others who can afford to give the matter serious thought and intelligent expression.

SPONSORS AT CONFIRMATION.

The Editor AMERICAN ECCL. REVIEW:

Qu. Probably you have seen the comment made by the Milwaukee Catholic newspaper on the statement regarding the necessity of sponsors for the individual *confirmandi*. There is some reason in what is said about the difficulty of having sponsors for each when the number to be confirmed is very large. But is this a sufficient reason for ignoring the express ordinance, not only of the Council, but of the Holy See?

Resp. The above illustrates the modern tendency to make existing practice and convenience the norm of justifiable action. "If the stricter practice prevailed our confirmation exercises would be crowded affairs indeed," says the newspaper theologian. There is no question of "if" and "stricter practice." It is simply a law that each person receiving the sacrament be accompanied by a sponsor who is made responsible for the fidelity of his godchild. This law has been observed for centuries, and has only been legitimately dispensed with because it frequently happened in missions that the number of Catholics available to act as sponsors were fewer than those to be confirmed. The crowded condition can easily be obviated by placing the *confirmandi* in the isle with their sponsors behind them, whilst the Bishop moves along to anoint them successively.

It saves time, is less awkward than obliging them to come into the Sanctuary, and is the common custom in many churches. It merely requires a will to observe the law of the Church, and to get out of a custom.

FATHER HUGHES AGAINST DR. WHITE.

Qu. The article of Fr. Hughes against Dr. White in the last number is exceedingly interesting, although somewhat slow in coming to the main point. But why do you go to Belgium for an answer to an American writer? Have we no men capable of exposing the learned charlatanism of our political philosopher, perhaps I should say—philosophical politician, the present Ambassador to Berlin?

Resp. Fr. Hughes undertook the articles mainly because in order to expose the sophistry and shallow malignity of Dr. White it was necessary to have the genuine text of the writings in reference to St. Francis Xavier which Dr. White pretends to cite and criticise. These are to be found in the hands of the Bollandists in Belgium. Fr. Hughes being at present in the house of the Bollandists for the purpose of studying certain documents referring to his Order, was the most competent to deal with the subject. The interest of his articles will grow as he proceeds. Moreover, Fr. Hughes, who is an American and attached to the University of St. Louis, Mo., being only absent for a time, already answered Dr. White on a previous occasion, and this fact may be recognized in Prof. White's recent work although it did not lead him to be more on his guard.

BOOK REVIEW.

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGIAE DOGMATICAE, auctore R. P. J. Hermann, C. SS. R. Volumen I: Theol. Generalis et Tract. de Deo Uno—de Deo Trino. Pp. 680. Volumen II: Tract. de Deo Creatore—de Incarnatione—de B. V. Maria—de Gratia—de Virtutibus. P. 645. Volumen III: de Sacramentis in Gen. et in Specie—de Novissimis—Indices Generales.—Romae: Ex typogr. Pacis Phil. Cuggiani. 1897. Pp. 634. (Benziger Bros.) Pr. bd. $3.60.

The exposition of a science such as Dogmatic Theology should not, it may be thought, offer a very large scope for diversity of method. The subjects with which it deals are, in the first place, clearly defined propositions more certain, as to the motive of their credibility, than the theorems of exact science. Moreover, when we view these propositions not simply as commanding the assent of the mind, but as laws determining modes of action in the Church or in the individual, we have abundant and well-attested precedent for their interpretation. For three hundred years the Council of Trent has been the practical norm of Catholic belief, to which the Vatican has added only the fuller expression of two definitions, by making them *de fide*. Within three centuries before that we have three Ecoumenical Councils, chrystallizing and unifying the various aspects from opposite view-points of the Apostolic deposit. And thence backward the canons of faith as defined in General Councils mark simply the systematic binding together of the branch work, as the organic growth planted by Christ rapidly developed over the face of the earth.

Despite this fact which appears to make against the necessity of multiplying text books of dogmatic theology, we have had within comparatively recent times such a store of additions in this particular field that the professor in search of a text book for his pupils must feel embarrassed as to a just selection. We have scarcely laid down the new volume of P. Pesch's *Praelectiones Dogmaticae*, when his fellow professor of Dittenhall, the Jesuit, P. Sasse, sends us the first

volume of his *Institutiones Theologicae*, and the publisher of both announces the fourth volume of Dr. Scheeben's work, as completed by Prof. Atzberger. Dalponte, Schmid, Tanquerey have their separate circles among those latest in this field, besides whom we might name twenty more who have published works on general or special dogma without being open to the charge of having needlessly multiplied references on the subject. The fact is, that dogmas, like the formulas of Euclid, are the subject of manifold application, because the reason of their truth establishes the truth of numerous analogous facts and doctrines of religion. It is to discuss this reason underlying dogma which yields the ample scope open to writers upon the science of exact theology. The basal outline for the discussion was drawn long ago, in perfect fashion by St. Thomas. Those who have written after him only improved upon his system by making it accessible to different classes of mind; they made use of new sidelights furnished by the development of historical evidence and scientific demonstration; they found fresh matter to establish more striking analogies, and they sought to bring into closer harmony the moral with the dogmatic, the physical with the super-sensible truths.

P. Herrmann's efforts in this direction are noteworthy for several reasons. Whilst he holds, like all the approved theological teachers since the time of St. Thomas, that the Angelic Doctor is our safest exponent of the *rationale* of law and duty, he takes St. Alphonsus Liguori in all doubtful cases as the interpreting judge. There is an advantage in this. The last (chronologically) of the great Doctors, whose authority has been commended by the Church, St. Alphonsus, is known to be in full harmony with the general conclusions of the greater Catholic Master; in mooted questions he leans toward that side which charity rather than severe justice suggests, mindful withal that charity may never be unjust. We have then in P. Herrmann's work the teaching of the Angelic Doctor interpreted, where it needs distinct interpretation, in the spirit of St. Alphonsus, with due account of what the great theologians of other, especially recent times, have added to the store of theological knowledge.

In his method the author is conservative, that is to say, he avoids as much as he may the polemical issues raised by modern science. And here it is difficult to be justly critical. It has been alleged against the approved theologians of the Catholic Church that they are as a rule too tenacious of traditional views in theology, even

after it has been demonstrated that more liberal views may be held *salva fide*. They are taunted with being backward, with clogging progress among Catholics, and with keeping alive prejudice against the Church, thus preventing valuable accessions to the true fold. There is a flaw in this reasoning, which confounds the wisdom of the world with the wisdom of the Gospel. Knowledge may, indeed, be the accompaniment of both, but that which distinguishes them, that which gives to the one the name of darkness mistaken for light, and to the other true light accounted folly, that is the backwardness, the humility, the unselfish altruism of the cross. If we start with the assumption that the central aim of the human creation is knowledge of things, we err, for the wisdom of the world must go under, because it is hostile to the spirit of Christ. Hence, any alliance with it which yields to it superior claims is overstepping the legitimate mark of our race, into a fathomless abyss. And because this abyss is there, those who train us are careful to restrain the too forward movement. The Apostles, a laughing stock to the philosophers of their day, knew how to chasten and yet make practical the rules of life suggested by the wisdom of the golden age of Greek learning.

But whilst we can appreciate the measured conservatism which arises from the sure recognition of an ultimate aim apart from, and superior to, mere human progress, we should not endorse the principle that views are true because they are traditional. In former times it was the fashion of intellectual men to entertain inquiry and draw inferences regarding things which lie beyond the domain of immediate sense-perception, and which were not fully explained by the dicta of revelation. Thus, to take but one example, the specifications of place, time, manner and effect of the eternal joys or penalties, whilst they may, under circumstances, offer fruitful subject for meditation, are not subjects for positive definitions in the science of theology. The Church states very little on these topics, and what she states authoritatively is more of a negative character, for the purpose of checking the vagaries of theological speculators, than of a positive nature. Even such terms as "hell fire," "torments" and the like, when used in the Canons of Councils, and having apparently scriptural warrant, are capable of a much wider interpretation than men who live centuries later can ordinarily estimate. The whole chapter, *de poena sensus*, comes legitimately to this: That man punishes himself according to the nature of his constitution ; that the perversion of his faculties goes on with those in-

creasing results of deterioration which are already apparent in this life, and that since these faculties (sentient or passive) are inherent in an immortal soul, the results of deterioration are equally inherent ; that the difference between the tortures resulting from the perversion of the faculties in those who are ultimately saved by purgatory, and those who are not changed, is analogous to that which exists between men on earth, some of whom are bettered by suffering and turn their faces to God with longing which grows into perfect love, whilst others become more embittered with malice which grows into the aversion of hate and impenitence. The figures of "fire," "worm," "darkness," "weeping and gnashing of teeth" are simply expressions descriptive of a state which is infinitely capable of deterioration such as is implied in the turning away of the soul from the proper use of its faculties capable of every highest enjoyment and, therefore, capable of every deepest remorse and aversion. The *poena sensus* is identical with *poena damni*, and speculative theology contributes nothing to the elucidation of the dogma by the endless details of the "quomodo."

An exceptionally good chapter is the one which treats *de Ecclesia ;* here the method of our author helps us to understand the grand economy of salvation through the Church. Would that the views advanced could be rendered more popular. It is as though the Good Shepherd, seeing his sheep scattered over a vast desert field, built an enclosure which would lead straight up to the entrance of heaven, so that those who wished to enter could not miss the gate. Then He went to gather the sheep, calling and driving them into this enclosure where He could wash and feed them. Some go freely, others half by compulsion, others blindly stray about, but are caught upon the arms of the Master and saved. But none can safely go aside or turn away from this enclosure. They may reach it after much straying, only at eventide, and droop outside the fencing to be lifted over half dead, yet with the hope of being revived through the charity of Christ. Such is the conception of the doctrine of "no salvation outside of the Catholic Church," which could not justly offend even the weakness of moderate self-love, yet it is rarely so presented by Catholic apologists.

Altogether the work before us has been sufficiently characterized in what is its special merit, namely, as a Liguorian interpretation of St. Thomas. A similar attempt has been made before in the excellent *Cursus Seminarii Claromontensis*, with this difference, that the latter combines the entire range of dogmatic and moral theology.

The fact that P. Hermann's work has been submitted to the Master of the Roman Palace, being published under the jurisdiction of the chief censor in Rome is a guarantee of its orthodoxy.

ANCIENT ENGLISH HOLY WEEK CEREMONIAL. By Henry John Feasey. London: Thomas Baker, 1 Soho Square. 1897. Pp. 246. Pr. 7 shillings.

The publication of an English Ceremonial which recalls from unquestionable sources what was the liturgical practice in the Churches of England in times anterior to the Reformation period, is a valuable contribution to the literature concerned with the question of the Anglican claims to have retained the true priesthood. The work comprises the Lenten season only, but the liturgy of Holy Week cannot be separated in its essential features from the general practice observed by the clergy and people. It emphasizes not alone the sacrificial character of the Catholic ceremonial, but also the penitential spirit, which pervades the liturgical acts, and which was probably the principal source of objection on the part of the so-called reformers. Besides this, the study of the old liturgical forms is very interesting in itself as set forth in the different topics treated under the titles of "The Lenten Array," "The Lent Veil," "The Rood Cloth," "The Creeping to the Cross," "The Burial of the Cross and Host in the Easter Sepulchre," "The Great Paschal," "Easter Eve."

MANUAL OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST. Conferences on the Bl. Sacrament and Eucharistic Devotions, with Prayers for Mass, Holy Communion, the "Hour of Adoration," etc. By Rev. F. X. Lasance.—New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1897. Pp. 631. Cloth, 75 cents.

The members of the *Priests' Eucharistic League* will be glad to add this excellent Manual to their store of devotional books. It has been compiled for the special purpose of aiding them in making the "Hour of Adoration" to which each member pledges himself weekly and it is admirably suited for this end. Furthermore, it suggests means and offers choice matter for propagating the devotion to the Blessed Sacrament among the faithful. Father Lasance

has, at the instance of P. Bede, O.S.B., Director General of the League in the United States, selected from approved sources a number of conferences which present in a succinct manner the doctrine of the Church on the Holy Eucharist. These serve not only for private meditations, but also for instruction to the people. The second part of the Manual contains devotional exercises, prayers for the Forty Hours' Adoration, visits to the Bl. Sacrament and the Sacred Heart, such as are found in our best books for the purpose. We warmly recommend the little volume to the English speaking clergy.

MISSA BREVIS in hon. St. Antonii de Padua: for two voices with organ accompaniment. Composed by P. Ignatius M. Wilkens, O.S.F. Op. 34.—J. Fischer and Bro., New York.

Father Wilkens' church music offers a fine illustration of how feasible—albeit not easy—it is to combine devotional expressiveness, respect for liturgical propriety, and musicianly workmanship in compositions written for performance in our churches. To very many listeners the canons of "Cecilian" music seem needlessly harsh, scholastic, rigorous. To many others, "Italianism" in sacred music is a repulsive as well as an absurd and frivolous profanation. To both of these classes a safe and welcome middle-ground is offered in the grave melodiousness and the correct liturgical character of such compositions as Father Wilkens has made it his pious and successful labor to write. The *Missa Brevis*, although written for two voices, is furnished with an accompaniment written in four-voice style. The soprano touches E flat but thrice in the whole Mass, so that even poor voices could sing it with ease. Despite the limitations with which the composer surrounded his art, he has made this composition sufficiently melodious. It should serve well the necessities of schools, convents and small church-choirs, to whom we specially recommend it. H. T. H.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGICAE DOGMATICAE. Auctore R. P. J. Hermann, C.SS.R.

Volumen I.—Theologia Generalis et Tractatus de Deo Uno—De Deo Trino. Pp. 680.

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LIFE OF ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS. Translated by David Lewis, M.A. London: Thomas Baker. 1897. Pp. 307. Pr. 4/6.

ANCIENT ENGLISH HOLY WEEK CEREMONIAL. By Henry John Feasey. The Same. 1897. Pp. 245. Pr. 7/.

LOVE YOUR ENEMIES. By Rev. Joseph Spillman, S.J. Translated from the German by Miss Helena Long. Second Edition. B. Herder: St. Louis. 1897. Pp. 117. Pr. 45c.

LIBRI LITURGICI BIBLIOTHECAE APOSTOLICAE VATICANAE Manuscripti. Digessit et recensuit Hugo Ehrensberger. Friburgi Brisgoviae, (St. Louis, Mo.): B. Herder. 1897. Pp. 591. Pr. $8.25.

THE MONTH OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT and the Thirst of the Sacred Heart. Trans. from the French of Rev. P. Eymard and Rev. P. Tesnière. By Miss E. Lummis.—Cathedral Library Association. 1897.

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THE LIFE OF CHRIST. By the Rev. J. Duggan. London: Kegan Paul, French, Trübner & Co., Ltd. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros., 1897. Pp. 243.

DISUNION AND REUNION. By W. J. Madden. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros., 1897. Pp. 178. Pr. 80 cents.

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A LONG PROBATION. By Henry Gibbs. The same. Pp. 736.

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PSYCHOLOGIE DES SAINTS. Par Henri Joly. Paris: Libraire Victor Lecoffre, 90 Rue Bonaparte, 1897. Pp. 201. Pr. 2 francs.

THE ROMANCE OF A JESUIT MISSION. A historical novel. By M. Bourchier Sanford. 12mo., cloth, $1.25. The Baker and Taylor Co., New York.

AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

NEW SERIES—VOL. VII.—(XVII.)—AUGUST, 1897.—No. 2.

THE NEW THEORY OF CRIME AND JUSTICE.[1]

PART I.—CRIME AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON.

INTRODUCTION.

THE name of Cesare Lombroso has, during these last ten or twelve years, been frequently repeated, now with commendation vehement and again with disapproval no less hearty, by jurists, legislators, ecclesiastics and philosophers, as that of a man who was bent upon bringing to pass a change in our estimate, and therefore a revolution in our treatment, of crime and the criminal. Nor has Lombroso drawn back from this account of himself; nay, he glories in it. "A revolution?" he would seem to answer, "why should there not be a revolution in our philosophy of crime, now that we have arrived at an essentially new method of regarding society as a whole? The modern man is a disciple of M. Comte or of Herbert Spencer. He is nothing if not inductive and scientific. He no longer puts his trust in

1 Cesare Lombroso: "L'Uomo Delinquente, in rapporto all Antropologia, alla Giurisprudenza ed alla Psichiatria." Volumi I., II., III. Pp. xxxi., 652, 576, 677. Con. Atlante. 5a Editione. Torino, 1897.

metaphysical systems, woven of moon beams and hypothesis. He has discarded theology and broken with religion. He is secular and secularist in every sense of the word. To him there is only one order of existence conceivable—the present—which is altogether made up of phenomena nor has any transcendental elements. If, then, he contemplates all other details of the social organism under this 'positive' aspect, how can he exclude from its range, or leave to the old metaphysicians, divines, and civilians, that particular set of energies, real, but misdirected, which have been hitherto known as crimes? Are they not factors in the world of human activities? Let them, if such they be, receive the due of all factors. They must have laws and conditions of their own—their averages, periods and latitudes in the moral universe, their causes and consequences, their flourishing seasons and times of decay. Crime, in short, is a branch of psycho-physics; and it requires to be examined into, like any other social phenomenon, like health and disease, or riches and poverty; like commerce, or trade, or finance. A revolution, therefore, if you please; but one which was inevitable, and which may prove to be a step in the direction of human progress."

THE PREVAILING MISCONCEPTIONS.

To this effect I seem to hear Signor Lombroso pleading, on his own principles, which are those of Positivism—for a new exploration into the depths and dark places where chaos opens its enormous jaws, as if to swallow down the social order. Most men are willing to pass by these dismal phenomena with averted glances, happy so long as the authorities keep them down to a certain level, or, not succeeding altogether in that design, at all events keep them out of sight. To the ordinary civilized being, crime is an accident of which he reads in his newspaper; it has no more significance than any other accident may claim; and he does not wish to pry into its laws or conditions. It is a world which lies beyond his horizon, less patent to him by far than the world of dis-

ease, or perhaps even the world of insanity; for he would not deny that by some unlucky chance he might catch typhoid fever or go out of his mind; but he cannot fancy himself ever committing an offence which would bring him to the Assizes. And when this same average citizen is set down in a jury-box, still he does not change his point of view; he gives his verdict according to the evidence (we will suppose), but still without philosophizing; and he eats his dinner afterwards with a tranquil mind, and forgets the culprit whom he and his eleven neighbors have found guilty, and have sent to penal servitude or the scaffold.

Nor is the barrister that accuses or defends much more inquisitive, as a rule, than the juryman whom he addresses at such a wearisome length. In his eyes, also, crime is the chance occurrence which enables him to make a speech and his livelihood. Trained up in the law, he is seldom a philosopher. Once in a way some ardent loving soul, such as the late Montaguh Williams, cannot dismiss the matter from his thoughts when the Court has risen; he endeavors to trace the condemned man back to where he came from, or onward to the place whither he is to be sent. But these are exceptions. And as the judge is taken from Bar to Bench, we cannot be surprised if he, too, for all his sense of duty, is content to administer the law as he finds it, without searching into its origin, or measuring its effects, or asking society how it comes about that he is ever passing sentence—at least up to 40 or 50 per cent.—on the same criminals. It would be interesting to learn whether prison-reform, in any single instance, has been due to the efforts, or is assignable to the teaching, of judge, jury, or legal practitioners, since the days of Howard to this moment in which I am writing. Be that as it may, the general statement is not open to question that law, as such, concerns itself hardly at all with the genesis of crime; by law it is taken as a subject matter in existence, as a datum on which to proceed. What is meant by a criminal in distinction from a non-criminal, except that one has been convicted of breaking the law, and the other has not been convicted, our courts seem never to have asked. There

is infinite description, indeed, of high crimes, misdemeanors, felonies, and the rest; occasional talk about responsibility, and outside the precincts of the legal enclosure discussion, now and then, as to the ends of punishment. But the *corpus delicti* which is the criminal himself escapes observation. He is taken for granted. As yet there has been no science of the delinquent, or investigation into the causes that bring him forth.

A CHANGE OF METHOD JUSTIFIED.

Hence, perhaps, the confusion admittedly reigning on a subject of the utmost importance to mankind. "In no two countries," observes Mr. Morrison, Chaplain of Wandsworth Gaol, "is the criminal law exactly the same; in no two countries is crime classified in the same way; in no two countries is the criminal law administered in the same spirit; or regarded in the same light by the population." That there should be marked divergencies in establishing what I may denominate the scale of crime, so far as popular opinion is concerned, will not be surprising; but that legislation should be so much a matter of guesswork; and the criminal class have been only of late years, and in a small proportion, submitted to the tests and the observations of science; this undoubtedly shows the disadvantage attendant upon a mere abstract, forensic, and disconnected method of reviewing social phenomena. The change which Lombroso advocates is, therefore, abundantly justified, so far as it proposes to substitute a clear and definite inquiry into the nature of the criminal, for theoretic psychology and mere tradition.

FROM THE OBJECT TO THE SUBJECT OF CRIME.

It is a change from the study of the object, to examination of the subject. It does not inquire, in the first place, what this man has done, but what he is. It proceeds from the individual to his acts, instead of treating "De actibus humanis in genere." It is concerned with his physical

structure, his height and weight, his brain, his countenance, his hands and feet; with his emotions and habits; with the language he employs and the companions he frequents; with his writing, his singular tattoo marks, his favorite literature, his arts and crafts, his standing in society, and with the confessions which he sometimes, or often, or seldom makes. It goes back to his pedigree on both sides; it draws up, so far as attainable, the *dossier*, or "human documents," of his kinsfolk to the fourth and fifth generation; it studies him, in short, as a product of heredity, and as a person who is *solidaire*, as the French would say, of his whole tribe. Darwin has expatiated on the descent of man; Lombroso would relate, even if unable to account for, the descent of the criminal. And when he had thus analyzed and summed him up positively, next he would submit his delinquent to the method of comparison. He would set him between *homo sanus* and *homo insanus*, and note the resemblances and differences. To Lombroso the criminal is a species or kind of his own—a class which must needs have its characteristic marks, physical, mental, moral and social. These, when brought home and distilled, as it were, into the proper formulæ, will give his definition—not, however, an abstract statement which can be fitted upon every one who falls under the dominion of the law; but a practical guiding rule, to be applied only by examining on recognized principles and by methods which allow of improvement, each individual as he comes up for trial.

FREE WILL, DETERMINISM AND M. TAINE.

But precisely at this stage, an objection which the reader has, I dare say, been disposed to entertain from the beginning, will demand consideration. "How," it may be asked, "is all this minute examination of structure, physique, and temperament, as if bearing on the question of crime and guiltiness, compatible with belief in man's moral freedom? Crime is an offence against law; it implies deliberation, or 'malice aforethought,' and carries with it responsibility. What have

these things to do with the shape of the criminal's head, or the setting of his ears? Will it be contended that some men, or that any, are criminals born, doomed by nature to violate the ordinances of society, and unable to resist temptation? If so, what becomes of their responsibility? Or can we pretend, in the name of justice, to punish them for actions which they were never free to omit? Is it not, as Edmund says in 'King Lear,' the 'excellent foppery of the world which makes guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and stars, as if we were villains on necessity; fools by heavenly compulsion; knaves, thieves and treachers by spherical predominance; drunkards, liars, and adulterers, by an enforced obedience of planetary influence; and all that we are evil in by a divine thrusting-on?" Such is the alarm taken at a method which would seem to deny in the criminal any power of restraining his murderous or cheating instincts. And Lombroso, in fact, does not hesitate to abolish free-will. Though extremely unlearned in all that concerns metaphysics, he is, emphatically, a necessarian; so much so, indeed, that I think it may save time and obviate later discussion, if I set down here a translation of M. Taine's remarkable creed as to the nature of the human mortal, in which, beyond a doubt, Lombroso would acquiesce. M. Taine writes as follows in his treatise *De L'Intelligence:* "With the help of these examples, we may form an idea of our mental mechanism. We must put aside words like 'reason,' 'intelligence,' 'will,' or 'personal power,' nay, even the word 'ego,' as we put aside 'vital force,' 'medicative force,' 'vegetative soul.' These are literary metaphors, useful at the most as brief and summary expressions to denote general states and converging effects. What does the observer see, as a physiologist, in the living system? He sees that there are *cells* of divers sorts, capable of spontaneous development, and modified in the path of that development by the concurrence or the antagonism of neighboring cells. What, again, does the observer see, as a psychologist, in the thinking subject? He sees that, over and above sensations, there are *images* of divers sorts, primitive or subsequent, endowed with certain

tendencies, and modified in their development by the concurrence or the antagonism of other images simultaneous or adjacent. As the living body is a polypus of cells depending on one another, so is the mind a polypus of images depending on one another; and the unity resulting is, in every case, a harmony and an effect.[1] Everyone of these images has a force peculiar to itself, and tends spontaneously to a state which would be hallucination, false memory, and other illusions of madness. But it is resisted by another sensation, or image, or group of images. . . . And that equilibrium is what we know as the condition of waking reason. Whenever it has been overthrown by the excess or defect of one of its elements, we become either wholly or partially insane."[2]

MECHANIC THEORIES.

I would beg the student to keep this luminous declaration before him. Short as it seems, it will furnish a key to the arrangement and drift of Lombroso's two thousand pages. It must be understood in an exclusive sense, as denying that the individual, so-called, the mental and physical "polypus," who is only an "ego" metaphorically speaking, has any power to choose between the images which present themselves, or can direct the cellular movements of which he is victim. All, at last, is mechanism, and wheels acting within wheels, now to produce the results that we name virtue, and now their opposite,—vice, or crime, or folly, according to its kind. Free will does simply not exist, on this showing. And such is one extreme, whereby man sinks down to an automaton moved by springs within himself, over which he has no control.

THIS A REACTION FROM DESCARTES.

Every Catholic is aware that a doctrine so unphilosophical and pernicious runs counter to the definitions of our faith. Perhaps, however, not so many have been led to observe

1 *I. e.*, not a cause.

2 De l'Intelligence I, p. 123-4.

that, in this modern form, it is a recoil and a reaction against another extreme, certainly false, and, as experience has shown, not more favorable to our philosophy,—I mean the system of Descartes. That system has wrought immeasurable disaster, not only in the schools of metaphysicians but upon the public mind. For by its misconception of the unity which exists between spirit and matter in our organism, it has opened a yawning gulf which still seems to divide observant science from traditional religion. Confining myself to the question in hand, I remark that on Cartesian principles man, strictly speaking, is said to be "an intelligence served by organs"; he is like a bird in a cage, or, as Plato described him, like an oarsman in a boat,—himself independent and utterly alien from the mere habitat which is his body, and the instruments which he employs to do his will. It follows that he must exercise the same unlimited freedom in governing his sensations, his motions, and his bodily activities, that he exercises when dealing with the world outside. His freedom is not relative but absolute, not within limits and under circumstances, but infinite and universal. Such, too, is the popular notion of man's liberty; a sharp line is drawn separating the insane from the normal, without degrees of shading, or allowance for intermediate twilight regions, or taking into account the experience of doctors, priests, or attendants on the sick, who know, for they have seen it with their own eyes, that self-control and freedom of the will, though most assured realities, are liable to endless modifications, and in each individual have a determined character. But while the multitude and the Cartesian agree in dressing up this abstract phantom, this mere *ens rationis*, and assigning to it attributes which the concrete man does not possess, our Catholic schools, following the lead of Aristotle, decline to argue about the spirit as if it were a *substantia separata*. They have always upheld the teaching of common sense and every-day experience, which, in technical language, amounts to this, that the living man is one composite substance, a being at unity with itself, and one principle of action,—in brief, "anima est forma corporis substantialis." In this manner

it is allowable or rather necessary to insist on the conditioned, relative, and finite terms within which any one of us puts forth even his highest spiritual energies. There must be physical antecedents;—sensations, images, and groups of images,—before we can exercise our deliberate choice, or attempt the virtue of self-control. Thus much we grant to M. Taine and his disciples. But, on the other hand, some power of self-control we do possess, enough, indeed, to constitute the average man a moral being, who must answer to the law as to his own conscience for what he does. We hold, therefore, a middle course between these two extremes, neither agreeing with Descartes when he seems to make of the spirit a pure intelligence living its own life within but apart from the organism, nor refusing with the mere phenomenist to recognize a sovereignty,—constitutional, but not despotic, as Aristotle would say,—in virtue of which the "ego" has power to inhibit or to grant the solicitations of its various faculties. But within limits, we say again; else there is no possibility of comprehending how the normal state of sleep, and the abnormal state of insanity, do, as we see, suspend for a time, or utterly take away, the exercise of choice and discretion in our acts.

WE ARE FREE, BUT LIMITED.

Had Lombroso given ear to the Catholic principles, and looked into that chapter "De Actibus Humanis" which illustrates them, he need never have taken on himself the superfluous burden of a theory as detestable as it is inconsistent. For, to quote the grave Bishop Butler, "it is to be observed that this Necessity does not exclude deliberation, choice, preference, and acting from certain principles, and to certain ends: because all this is matter of undoubted experience, acknowledged by all, and what every man may, every moment, be conscious of." And therefore, "though it were admitted that this opinion of Necessity were speculatively true; yet, with regard to practice, it is as if it were false, so far as our experience reaches; that is, to the whole of our

present life. For the constitution of the present world, and the condition in which we are actually placed is as if we were free."[1]

Free, indeed, we are, but under circumstances, as a painter is free to design, and to fill his canvas with, figures or landscapes according to his choice; yet he will paint in one characteristic style and not in another; he will be dependent on training as well as genius; nor can he dispense with colors and camel's hair brushes, or call up his inward vision and fix it on the passing wind. He is limited in every way but one, for it remains in his power to leave the canvas a white untinctured surface as he found it. Now we shall not be calling this power in question if we examine what sort of picture he would paint, supposing that he painted at all. Moreover, schools of painting exist in which, while we cannot pretend that everyone who comes out of them will keep the manner he learnt therein, yet similarity enough is sure to be preserved, so that we can fairly speak of that tradition as a real thing, and pass judgment accordingly.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF LAW-BREAKING.

Hence, although we insist on free will as essential both to human nature in its ordinary adult condition, and to the idea of morality, we shall be prepared to listen when evidence is brought, first, to prove that crime is subject to averages or statistics (and thus, in one form or other, falls under the conception of social law), and again, that there is a type, a class of men and women, whose predispositions lay them open beyond their fellows to the solicitations, physical or psychical, upon which crime follows. There may be zones of delinquency, and delinquents born. It is a question of fact which cannot receive a solution prior to experience. What experience, then, have we to go upon? Lombroso begins with a dissection of the individual. But by way of entering more easily into a difficult and debated subject, I prefer to glance abroad and to touch upon the great masses

1 Analogy, Part I., ch. 6.

of shade lying over Europe which, by their very distribution, point to some regular sources of criminality. Not all crimes are committed in all places, nor by all professions, nor in every class, nor equally throughout the year; nations and countries have their particular offences, as they have a weather and a climate of their own; and when we open the atlas, or chart, which Ferri has with infinite pains drawn up for our inspection, and which Lombroso copies, we perceive, after a little study, how strangely defined and almost palpable its evidence may be.

HOMICIDE.

These maps are a painful but conclusive argument. Were crime the chance-medley which law and popular prejudice concur in supposing, it would be impossible to construct its geographical distribution upon a scheme, or to divide into well-marked provinces the categories under which it falls. What are the facts, however? Both in space and time it is amenable to system. If we begin with homicide, for example, we find that in a given series of years, while it varied from 5 to 8 per million in Great Britain, it amounted to 14–17 in France, to 23–26 in Austria, to 74–77 in Spain; and that in Italy it reached the enormous proportion of 95 to 98, between 15 and 20 times the number in Britain. But if we fasten upon Italy alone, all does not exhibit a uniform depth of shadow. Simple homicide falling below 60 in the million lessens that shadow over the whole of Lombardy and Venice; while it grows in Tuscany to 120; reaches in certain districts of the old Neapolitan kingdom 180; and in Reggio and on the southern Sicilian coast exceeds the appalling number of 240. Turn to France. In the Celtic West, homicide is rare, less than 3 per million; among the Ligurians of the Mediterranean Riviera, it becomes more than 10; in Corsica it reaches 200. In Spain we may travel along a broad irregular track, beginning at the Central Pyrenees, narrowing considerably some hundred miles further down, then leaping out until it stretches to the sea,

and at last blackening the entire breadth of the land as if with a sable scarf, and everywhere within these clear but varying limits yielding over 150 homicides to the million. Manifestly, some influence which plays havoc with the law forbidding murder prevails, as if it were a pestilence, in Sicily and the south of Spain. Is it race, or climate, or lack of education or economic distress, or bad government? That is the problem to be investigated; and we have taken a step towards the solution when we recognize the geographical figure of the crime.

CENTRES OF DELINQUENCY.

But we may apply the same test by inquiring whether all sorts of delinquencies reach a similar height where homicide is rampant; or again, whether every kind of homicide prevails in a given area. Then we perceive that areas always exist; but that each has its offences peculiar to itself. As again, in Italy, the crime called vendetta is many times more frequent in Romagna on the Adriatic, and in Reggio which looks towards the Tuscan Sea, than anywhere else in the Peninsula. Assassination ravages Sicily and Sardinia, but is absent, comparatively speaking, from Lombardo-Venetia. Theft, also, has its proper domain, so curiously varying that the chart is a conglomerate of black and white patches, like a counterpane; but observe, they are always patches, not a sprinkling of individuals at random. Even more minute specifications hold good; the use of unlawful weapons, of poison, or drowning, as means of homicide, can be mapped out; and according as we put the question, our chart moves its shadows up and down, sometimes cutting as with an instrument one distinct portion of the country from all the rest, and exhibiting its shape as in alto-relievo. Some striking instances may be given.

"In all regions of Italy, and almost in every province," says Lombroso, "villages are pointed out as having furnished an unbroken series of delinquents in a special kind. Thus, in Liguria, Lerici is celebrated for its cheating; Campo-

freddo and Masson for homicide, and Pozzolo for highway robbery; in the Lucca district, Campanori has its assassins; in Piedmont, Cardé has its rural thieves; . . . so too, Pergola near Pistoja, insomuch that 'thief' and 'Pergolese' are all one . . . Sant' Andrea and Ferreto are well known for the men being addicted to homicide and the women to petty defalcations. And in southern Italy, down to 1860, Lora, Melfi and S. Fele were nests of brigands, as, in Sicily, Partinico and Monreale." This prevalence of special crimes on one spot is due, adds Lombroso, to the qualities of the race which dwells there. It is matter of history that Pergola was settled by gypsies, Masson by Portuguese homicides, and Campofreddo by pirates from Corsica, whence this last neighborhood preserves in its dialect fragments of the Corsican and Genoese.[1]

But the village of Artena in the Roman territory holds undisputed its bad pre-eminence, dating as far back as 1155. The proportion of woundings, murders and assassinations is six times larger than in the rest of Central Italy; for open assault it is even thirty times as much. And if theft reaches the measure of 47 per hundred thousand elsewhere, in Artena it comes up to 177. Meanwhile, since 1852, according to Sighele, the names of the culprits always have been the same, —father, son and grandson carrying on the immemorial tradition. For in 1557 Paul IV., that stern Caraffa, had put to the ban all its inhabitants, giving license to any one who would to slay them and lay waste the village, "that henceforth it might no longer be the nest and shelter of infamous robbers." Unhappily, the Artenesi seem to have escaped their doom.

Sicily deserves, and would richly reward, the most ample investigation from a criminal point of view. It has a wealth of terms signifying murder, conspiracy and the "evil life," —the *Mala Vita*. In common Italian *malandrino* signifies a ruffian; but in Sicilian merely a man "whose blood is warm within him," as Gratiano says. Of late years, New

1 Lombroso, iii., 24 seq.

Orleans has taught Americans the precise meaning of the words *maffia* and *camorra*. In Sicily they are ancient, and have always been well understood. Now the head and front of *malandrinaggio* is in a single valley, the Conca d'Oro, or Golden Shell; and there, says Prof. Crudeli, the Berber and Semite clans from the opposite coast of Africa settled down, time out of mind. Its inhabitants still wear the Arab features; they are "sober, patient, hospitable, secret, shy, cunning, superstitious, proud, vindictive and bloodthirsty." In other words, they have brought from the desert and the burning South a character which is utterly different, as the statistics prove, from that of their Aryan neighbors in Messina and Catania. Is, then, crime an accident in these *malandrini?*

The tables which I am regretfully compelled to pass over show, as already hinted, a marked variety within Italian limits; simple homicide falls to 27 per million in Emilia; ascends in Umbria, which is no great distance away, to 102; in Calabria springs up to 246; and tops the record in Molise with 286. First in the ranks of crime march Semites and Latins, next Germans, then Celts, and last of all the Slav populations round about the Venetian border. And significant surely it is that, in the murderous districts of the South, spots like Beneventum and Salerno have a comparatively peaceful story to tell, with marked falling off in the list of serious offences. Now these people are Norman by descent, tall and fair, with blue eyes, reminding the student of Robert Guiscard and mediæval rovers who first assailed St. Gregory VII., and when they had taken him prisoner knelt for his blessing. Centuries upon centuries have passed away; but the Norman blood keeps cool, and assassination is not among its instincts.

RACE AND CRIME IN EUROPE.

Summing up with Ferri, it appears that all over Europe the demarcations of race in criminality lie as follows: The Latins are at the bad extreme as regards murder in every form, but especially with violence, and also as regards infanticide,—deeds of cruelty; while the Teutons are at the

good extreme. But, on the other hand, Teutons and not Latins are prone to suicide and subject to insanity,—their want of equilibrium turns against themselves. Or to anticipate the conclusions at which by and by we shall see Lombroso arriving, the crimes of Northern races indicate greater intelligence, an advanced civilization, large urban centres, and, if we describe these things under the name of progress, a further stage in development. Thus they would be crimes attending on evolution as its shadow, and all issuing forth as the consequence of an over-excited brain. But Latin crimes would be atavistic, the outcome not of development but of arrest and relapse; we might describe them as survivals not of the fittest; as maladaptations to the modern *régime*; as primitive, or mediæval, or barbarous; and the outward signs of a lack of sensibility accompanied with loss, or absence, of self-control. The high-water mark is reached when, in Naples or Palermo, societies which have murder for their object flourish not only during seasons of political excitement, but from age to age; when public opinion screens the assassin, juries absolve him, and a criminal rate fifty times that of England excites no indignation and rouses no attempt at reform. "The weakness of Italy," said Ferrero, an exceedingly acute philosopher, "is in the knees and the feet." But none of those who live in the South regard that weakness; for it has ever been so. We conclude, therefore, perhaps in spite of ourselves, from these examples, to the influence of race upon crime as direct, permanent, and capable of reduction to diagrams and figures. Speaking broadly, it is not too much to affirm that every people has in its blood a law of predisposition, varying indefinitely of course from individual to individual, but still a law or a tendency, which governs the statistics of evil doing. If there is variation enough to demonstrate some power of resistance,—free-will, as we maintain,—there is also regularity enough to show the presence of motives which in this proportion are not resisted. Or will any other explanation meet the evidence, a few samples of which are now briefly indicated? For my part, I know of none.

THE CALENDAR OF CRIMINALS.

We take a second step in advance. Areas of crime do exist; but is such a thing conceivable as a calendar, an almanac, of crime? It used to be a French saying that in the month of November Englishmen hang and drown themselves. On consulting the tables, we find that November is too cold and foggy, in the judgment of Englishmen, for attempts of this kind—June, July, August, are the suicidal months. But, in any case, the seasons which exhibit a high percentage, whether of delinquencies against the person, or assaults on property, can be distinguished in all countries where a record is kept. The height of summer brings evil passions to a maximum; spring is more favorable to them than the late autumn; and in the depth of winter, except for house-breaking and other enterprises that covet long nights, it would seem as if energy were blunted for ill-doing as for the noblest undertakings of genius. Season, climate, latitude furnish or deny opportunities; in the frozen North, war, rebellions and heroic poetry are alike wanting; no free popular government has ever been established within the tropics; and Lombroso might have remarked on the moral degeneration which attacks like a disease, and too often conquers, such Europeans as have been entrusted with the government of inferior tribes, or have long had dealings with them, and have drunk in their pestilential air.

Another parallel, which is, at the same time, a corroboration, may be drawn from the increase in violence and disorder among convicts at certain turning points of the year, as in June, July and September; while a corresponding decrease has been observed in November and February. And the like is known to occur in asylums, which have their good and bad days, their times of outbreak, and, as one may term it, their weather chart, depending on variations in heat, cold and moisture, on the prevalent winds, and, according to new science as well as old superstition, on the age of the moon. Yet all these influences are liable to be overcome by causes which have a more human aspect, by political or economic

disturbance or prosperity, and, as is evident, by moral discipline.[1]

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS.

In all professions, the most kindly or the most sacred, a measurable quota of evil doers may be found. Taking the Italian statistics again, it would appear that the number of such persons is largest among "day-laborers, domestic servants and operatives,"—a miscellaneous catalogue—being 1 in 183 of all who are found guilty; next, but at a long interval, come the so-called "liberal professions," 1 in 345; then the agricultural classes, 1 in 419; almost on a par with these stand the civil and military *impiegati*, 1 in 428; and far in moral advance of all, the clergy, who contribute to this black list only 1 in 1,047. It is impossible not to stay for a moment and emphasize a testimony, so clear and beyond suspicion, to the much calumniated, despoiled and persecuted order of the Italian priesthood, which, under the new reign of liberalism and freemasonry, has seldom been allowed the common rights of citizens. Whatever, then, may be concluded as touching the present state of things in southern Italy, from the numbers we have given, they do not reflect upon the clergy themselves. Instead of saying, "like pastor, like people," we feel tempted to exclaim, "Nation unworthy of such pastors, rebellious and recalcitrant!" But the inferences which are suggested by this general view, and confirmed in detail as we go down the various trades and modes of life, will occupy our attention later. The French assizes report a like gradation. Though agriculture employs 53 per cent. of the population, it furnishes only 32 per cent. to crime in all its classes. The highest numbers come, as we might anticipate, from those who have no professions—vagrants, beggars, and so forth; or who make their pretended business a cover behind which they exercise their only real trade, the commission, or the preparation and concealment of penal offences. It is worth observing that crimes

1 L. iii., 9.

against property are charged in an extraordinary proportion against "procurators, notaries, ushers and advocates,"—persons in whom familiar acquaintance with law and law-courts has not been able to overcome the spirit of lawless plundering. The military state is responsible, among Germans, it would seem, for much violence and disorder; but in Italy and France it does not go beyond the average, a fact, says Lombroso, as regards his own people, of which Italians may be justly proud. By all means; but we ought not to overlook what he has proved so abundantly, that the rate of misdemeanors among his countrymen will allow of a percentage in the soldier such as elsewhere not even born criminals attain. As a matter of fact, the army, like the nation, contributes to delinquency in a proportion varying with its racial elements.

This disparity of guilt in the professions is borne out by Austrian, German and English tables, as well by the American, and may be taken, therefore, as fully established.

YOUTH, THE SEASON OF LAWLESSNESS.

Our succeeding inquiry goes deeper, and will throw out many filaments in the direction of Lombroso's psychological theories, with which I hope to deal in my second article. What is the age, respectively, of the various criminals who come before a judge and are convicted? On this subject there is no room for hesitation. The official report presented by English authorities, and dealing with the year 1894, has this remarkable statement, which other evidence confirms on every side: "I noticed," says the witness, "last year that the proportion of criminals between the ages of 16 and 21 was higher than at any other age, and that from this point the proportion declined as life advanced. This year we find the proportion between 16 and 21 markedly higher than in 1893, while the diminution of the proportion as life advanced was more rapid than before. The editor of the French statistics, in commenting on the number of criminal young persons in Germany, remarks: 'All the great civilized States of Europe,

with the exception of England, must lament the same increase of juvenile criminals under 21.' I fear that this exception in favor of England has been given under a false impression." The numbers had not, in that year, gone down; but in 1895 there was a clear falling off. And "the most noteworthy features in 1894, as in 1893, are that one-fourth of the persons convicted of simple larceny are children under 16; and more than one-third of convicted burglars are youths between the ages of 16 and 21." [1]

To these data I will add immediately, for reasons to be discussed afterwards, that among European populations, taken altogether, the maximum of *crime* is attained before the age of 30; but the maximum of *insanity* between 30 and 40. The percentage of criminals in England, Italy and Austria who are from 20 to 30 years old varies only from 42 and a fraction to something over 45. During the next decennium these figures run down to 16 in England, 27 in Austria, and 28 in Italy; add another ten years, and we find the proportions to be respectively 8.40, 12.1, and 11.6 in the hundred convicts. What is the significance wrapped up in numbers so unequal? Again it must be concluded, I say, that crime is not simply an accident, since it bears a relation at once so definite and so peculiar in each of these countries to the years of their inhabitants. Thus we seem to have lighted upon the traces of a law, which invites, or rather clamorously solicits, an explanation from science and philosophy. Has the lad of 18 not yet acquired free will? Impossible. Or has the man of 40 profited by experience? In what degree is reform to be hoped from prison-discipline, the silent system, industrial schools, teaching convicts to read, write, and cypher? We stand now in the presence of the entire criminal problem; but its difficulties do not lessen. What figures can be furnished us when we ask how many of these unhappy mortals, at the various ages given, are identically the same men that began as children, with their petty larcenies, their offences against morals, or their deeds of cruelty and violence?

1 See *Quarterly Rev.*, April, 1897.

THE HABITUAL OFFENDER.

It is the great dominant question of the recidive, the habitual offender, the criminal class. In his lurid romance, "Les Misérables," Victor Hugo has canonized the innocent recidive, Jean Valjean, who is not the enemy but the victim of law and order. Lombroso would readily allow—it is a constant asseveration in his teaching—that "the prison is the school of crime"; but though Jean Valjean is much to be pitied, relapsed convicts belong, as a rule, to quite another category. Not many years ago the prison was looked upon by legislators and philanthropists in the light of a moral forcing-house; "nemo malus nisi invitus" appeared to sum up the principles on which, in theory, our new model at Pentonville or Birmingham was to be administered; the aim of punishment was reformation; the means elementary instruction in book-learning; and the result has been—failure! Education, instead of reforming the thief, the burglar, the vagabond, has taught them more subtle methods whereby to compass their ends. And the number of relapsed is greater than at any previous time. In general it may range from 30 to 55, and even to 80 per cent. "All penal statistics," we are told by Lombroso, "are unanimous in establishing the constant and growing frequency of relapse in our delinquents." Take France. The proportion in 1826 was 10 per cent.; it had reached 56 per cent. in 1886. Look at Prussia. The oscillation there between 1871 and 1877 was among the men from 77 to 80 per cent.; among the women from 74 to 84 of recidives. In Austria, the numbers vary, but may run up to 59, and in penal establishments to 74. As regards England, Mr. Morrison says that "our present methods of punishment have exceedingly little effect on a large class of offenders, and were never more inefficient for reformatory purposes than they are to-day. A conclusive proof is the steady growth of what our French friends call recidivism. At present, old offenders form a larger proportion of the prison population than they ever did before. . . . In all such cases imprisonment may be successful

in punishing the offender; but it is useless as an instrument for making him better in character, or a better member of society."[1]

THE HIGH AVERAGE OF RELAPSE.

The English figures, in 1894, bear out this contention to its full extent. There were 84,603 convicted prisoners. Of these, 23,592 had been convicted once previously; 10,790 twice; 7,629 thrice; 5,639 four times; 4,405 five times: 12,092 six to ten times; 9,659 eleven to twenty times, and 10,797 more than twenty times. Add these sums together, and they give us the astounding total, in England, mark you, reader, not in southern Spain or Italy, of 85,206 previous convictions. Now, if we take all those who have been more than ten times in prison, we get a catalogue of no less than 20,456 offenders, who form, beyond any reasonable doubt, the Old Guard of this anarchic host. *These are the criminal class.* These, and their aids, auxiliaries, recruits, commissariat and all the camp followers whom they draw after them; who are sometimes in gaol, then at liberty, but always and everywhere a social danger. And they begin young. The French tables show that of one thousand recidives, 67 were below the age of 16; 204 had not reached 21; 284 were between 21 and 30; and 215 between 30 and 40. Thus, at the mature age of 30, when a man's position in life and permanent character may be looked upon as decided, 55 per cent. of relapses had taken place, from which no hope of amendment could be fairly entertained. Moreover, when we distinguish habitual offenders into groups, it appears that the obstinate criminal belongs to the graver sort; he is a robber, house-breaker, swindler, imposter, moral maniac, hopeless drunkard, or incorrigible tramp; and if in England he is not a homicide, because hanging does not allow him a second chance, yet in Italy, where the punishment of death is no longer inflicted, he commits this crime, though in prison, or on receiving his discharge. Allowing for the high percentage of death in a class so little guarded against disease and accident, as well as for the

1 *Quarterly Review*, ubi supra.

number that escape detection, we may conclude with Tancredi, "that relapse is the rule with criminals as soon as they are free," and Lombroso declares that, in his opinion, the old offender and the born delinquent are one and the same.

THE BORN DELINQUENT.

However that may be, since we have ascertained the existence of a true species, or fixed description, of lawless human creature, who starts at an early age on the career of crime, pursues it, although frequently imprisoned, turns his very education to bad account, and is irreclaimable, the question arises whether he was born or made, or perhaps both the one and the other. We might ask such a question with regard to any widespread social phenomena—as, for instance, how many die in the British Islands of consumption and its allied forms, and whether all have inherited the disease, or in what way they have become liable to it. And we should find a certain number who had it in them from their birth; some, also, who had taken it, though previously sound and free from its symptoms; and among these latter, the causes which laid them open to its ravages would be moral as well as physical, and, in the long run, might turn out to be economic. But the class of hereditary consumptives would present to a physician's eye marked and multiplied characters, not in one part of the system only but throughout. Applying this comparison, we should be ready to travel with Signor Lombroso into his particular subject. There is a class of criminals to be studied by themselves, perhaps 40 per cent. of the whole. What are their characteristics?

HIS MARKS OR STIGMATA.

It will be observed that we put aside, for the present, that other 60 per cent., whom we may term occasional or accidental delinquents. These have fallen under the law's dominion, not because they were ill-adapted to the order of society, or impelled by anarchic, savage or uncivilized in-

stincts, but in a sudden fit of passion which reasonable motives had stirred up, or weakly following a bad example, or from mistaken heroism, or at least beneath the pressure of want and misery. Their case we will look into when we have dealt with the smaller, but far more dangerous, contingent of the rebels to average morality and recognized modes of subsistence. Crime is the abnormal, the eccentric and unmanageable element which preys upon our system of industry, of marriage, of security, amusement and general intercourse, like some foreign and therefore deadly influence that has made its way into it. Nevertheless, criminals are a species of their own, not mere loose individuals subject to no classification. So much we have certainly proved. Since, then, a species they are, it will be possible to set down their marks or differences, to anatomize the points in which they do not agree with the honest citizen, to form some conjecture respecting the motives on which, though under penalties so grievous, they persevere in doing battle against society; and when all these things have been duly weighed, principles ought to be within our compass whereby to judge between the present discipline, admittedly not successful whether as an attempt at reform or as a means of defense, and the penal code, drawn up by Garofalo, which Lombroso has adopted with certain modifications.

HOW FAR CRIME MAY BE DISEASE.

The new system reposes on a theory of crime and a theory of repression. Crime, it is said,—abstracting from the delinquent who merely happens to be such, and is not so instinctively,—marks off a relatively small number of men and women, whose physical, mental and hereditary diagnosis proclaims them to be diseased. Or, in other words, crime is always in the born delinquent a consequence of degeneration; and it is sometimes the equivalent, or, as I may venture to call it, the allotropic form, of qualities which carry with them by necessity disorder into the system, the seeds either of bad health or of bad conduct. There is a type,—the criminal,—

which has definite and recognizable stigmata. It is founded on comparison of individuals, not all belonging to one class in society; neither all rich, nor all poor; scattered among the educated and the ignorant; never perhaps wanting over any extensive district, and apt to be found in large urban centres; but all exhibiting in their make and habit some of the signs which, when accumulated beyond the number of six or seven in a single man, point him out as an instance of arrested development. If we imagine our 40 per cent. of relapses to be one circle, and all those among criminals that have such signs upon them to be another, then these circles will nearly coincide. Whence it follows, according to Lombroso, that crime of the habitual sort is rooted in the nature of such as give way to it, and is *their* nature,—a kind of original sin, peculiar to them in its power and its manifestations. It implies some anomaly, or set of anomalies, the evidence of which is patent, not merely in what these step-children of the race do, but in what they are. And as Lombroso declines utterly to accept the doctrine of free will, he concludes by telling us that the born criminal is not guilty, but an invalid, "malato non colpevole." And crime itself is an inevitable or necessary ingredient of the social system, as of the nature of these individuals.[1]

DOCTRINE OF "SOCIAL DEFENCE."

"Hereupon," says Lombroso, with an indignation as singularly out of place as it is illogical, "I have been told that with one hand I destroy human responsibility, and with the other I abolish the Penal Code. Ma, non è vero niente. I do not allow crime to run wild; on the contrary, I make its repression more certain and secure. The shame attending upon evil deeds freely done, of course, no longer will follow upon mere natural, necessitated impulses which their victim cannot resist; nay, which it is impossible that he should, when they have attained a given force, be desirous of resisting. There will be no shame on his part, and no moral reproof on mine. In this sense, 'tout connaître c'est tout

1 L. Preface xxiv. and *passim.*

pardonner.' But we control molecular movements which threaten an explosion, although in them is neither will nor freedom. On the same principle, we shall check the doings of the born criminal, exactly as if he were some malignant energy that must be met and thwarted. Such is the doctrine of social defence. We cease to talk of punishment and retribution. We abhor the *lex talionis*, which has survived from barbarous ages. We do not aim at reforming those whom experience proves to be incapable of learning self-control. Preventive measures, direct and indirect, we can put in motion. The young criminal, if he is caught soon enough, may be tamed or kept under strict custody. The elder should, perhaps, in extreme cases, be eliminated. When he is suffered to live, he must not roam at large. Perpetual confinement is the only safeguard ; or else a military supervision which will see that he maintains himself, that he does not injure his fellow-men, that as much benefit as his condition allows is derived from his now well-directed action to the society on which he was wont to prey. Short sentences, frequent opening of the prison-doors, pardons from the Crown, amnesties and graces, are all to be done away as among the perennial sources of relapse, and an encouragement to propagate the race of delinquents. If trial by jury is still permitted—and in many parts of the world it is an iniquitous, anti-social institution—there must be likewise set up trial by physicians, who shall examine the prisoner and describe him according to psycho-physical methods. Thus, in short, the new doctrine assimilates crime to insanity, though recognizing some distinction between them as of species comprehended under the same genus. No questions need be raised touching degrees of responsibility ; no excuse admitted on the plea of irresistible impulse, moral mania, or lack of deliberation. The prison will be henceforth an asylum for born delinquents ; and those who are delinquents on occasion, if there be any such, shall be separated from these, and either allowed to go free, or in ways suitable to their disposition, shall be protected from the consequences of so mere an episode in otherwise useful existences."

WE MUST SAY "DISTINGUO."

These are not, to the letter, my author's very words; but I am sure that they do him no injustice. They express, with the brevity which is all I can command, the substance of many hundreds of pages in these great volumes; and, while the denial of freedom is lamentable, and in practice may do more harm than Lombroso with his sentiments can realize, we feel as we are listening, how much requires to be distinguished, to be sifted and sifted again, if we would cast out the evil and keep the good. Never, it seems to me, were social teachers more decidedly under obligation to discern these opposed elements from one another, lest they should, in a haste as little justified as Lombroso's impetuous negations, overlook the beginnings of a better, because more comprehensive, individual, and precise system in dealing with criminals, which is here, I will not say shadowed forth, so much as painted in gross and staring colors. It is a rude, and even a mischievous commencement; but a commencement it certainly is.

Thus Barine has told us that "the conclusions of this new school are immediately visible. The penalties inflicted can no longer be the same; nor the principles in virtue of which our courts pass judgment; nor the scope and purpose of penitentiary systems. The most momentous functions of the social organism must undergo a complete transformation. The new method will be as indifferent as Nature herself; and will display the austerity which is a mark of indifference. It will not be cruel, for it will not any more cherish indignation in regard to the guilty. Him it will either suppress or sequestrate from society, in neither case hating him; the right of defence will be substituted for the duty of punishment, which was a mere survival from the old religious idea of sin. Metaphysicians may enter their protest; but who will mind them? For the will is not free in honest men any more than it is in the dishonest; and we do not rebel against facts but make the best of them."[1]

1 Lombroso, I. xx.

I answer that we shall not rebel against ascertained truths. And the Catholic religion has a philosophy and a power of its own, which out of materials less promising knows how to elicit an ordered life, a scheme of things big with advantage to mankind. With patience, insight, and a little attention to our St. Thomas and our Aristotle, we shall, I dare say, find the true measure in which crime has affinities with disease, and how far the method of social defence is applicable. Lombroso sins by exclusive and exaggerated statements; by ignorance of metaphysics, religion, and history; by premature induction; and by bringing down his immense variety of facts to Spencerian formulas. Against all this we have the means of guarding ourselves. But if, on carefully reviewing the evidence, we see grounds for a change in certain procedures at law, in the management of prisons, and in the training of children, both inside reformatories and outside of them, we shall be none the worse off, although our instruction has been derived from a teacher who mingles wisdom and ignorance perhaps in nearly equal proportions.

I hope, therefore, to deal with the analysis of the criminal in a second paper; and with the doctrine of social defence in a third, which will conclude my present undertaking.

WILLIAM BARRY.

Dorchester, England.

STUDENT LIFE IN ROME.

IN attempting to outline seminary life in Rome, we shall mainly consider the influences which surround the student in relation to his religious or scientific training. It will not be necessary to dwell upon the professedly religious exercises, for as our readers know, these are practically the same in all our Seminaries. In like manner, everyone is familiar with the general course of study, and we shall limit ourselves to speak of its treatment by professors, and of methods of study. Incidentally too we shall have occasion to dwell on the manner in which the students employ the hours of necessary relaxation.

The course of study consists of four daily lectures, one hour each. These are given at the University of the Propaganda, two in the forenoon, from eight to ten o'clock, and two in the afternoon. A feature of these afternoon lectures novel to an American is the fact that the time at which they are delivered is subject to periodical changes. They commence three hours and a half before the "Ave Maria,"[1] which fixes the standard for the general arrangement of the Roman afternoon. Since the hour of the "Ave Maria" varies with the setting of the sun, from five until after eight o'clock, the time for attending class varies accordingly. The object of this arrangement is that the student may avoid the cold of the evening in winter, and the heat of the Italian sun in summer. A walk of an hour and a half, with a visit to the Blessed Sacrament in one of the churches, occupies the time between the close of the lectures and the "Ave." On Thursdays there is a walk of an hour and a half in the morning, and another of three hours in the afternoon. The students also take a long walk on Sunday afternoons. Occasionally tours of a more extended character are allowed, especially when any object of real interest or instruction, such as the catacombs or some historic suburban locality, calls for a longer expedition. The evenings are spent at home in study, and in the ordinary duties of seminary life.

1 The Angelus prayer is simply called the "Ave Maria."

A GROUP OF AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDENTS

COLLEGE OF THE PROPAGANDA, ROME.

Perhaps the most noticeable feature of the system of instruction is what might be called the broad catholicity of its spirit. In the philosophical and theological classes the teachings of the Angelic Doctor form the basis of the professor's work; excepting this there is but little adherence to text books; for the yearly course of lectures represents an experienced instructor's skillful choice of what is best in published works, as well as the matured result of his own original study. There are however some authors which are considered regular class-books, such as Lorinzelli's *Institutiones* for the classes of Logic and Metaphysics; in Canon Law, Solieri's *Praelectiones* and Zitelli's *Apparatus Juris Ecclesiastici*; in "Locis," Hurter, with references to Mazella and Franzelin; in "Moral," Gury with Ballerini's notes as revised by Palmieri. In their respective classes, these furnish the material, but they are greatly amplified and their order is often changed. As a general rule the various class hours are entirely occupied by the professor himself, yet recitations are not infrequent. The taking of notes during the lecture is of course a *sine qua non* to deriving the proper advantage therefrom.

In the principal classes pertaining to the philosophical and theological courses the following professors teach at present: In Logic, R. D. Camillus Laurenti; in Metaphysics, R. P. Peregrinus Stagni, Ord. Serv. B. M. V.; in Ethics, R. D. Raimundus Volpi; in Canon Law, R. D. Franciscus Solieri; in Liturgy, R. D. Monsig. Alfonsus Carinci; in Archaeology, Prof. Horatius Marucchi; in "Locis," R. D. Monsig. Paulus Leva; in Ecclesiastical History, R. D. Joseph Penacchi; in "Moral," R. D. Monsig. Petrus Checchi; in "Dogma," R. P. Alexius Maria Lepicier, Ord. Serv. B. M. V., and R. D. Laurentius Lauri; in Scripture, R. D. Bernardus Colombo; in Mathematics, R. D. Joannes Corti; in Physics and Chemistry, R. D. Monsig. Joseph Buti. These instructors, all men of eminence in their respective branches, add to a thorough mastery of the studies which they treat an intimate knowledge of the spirit and practice of the Church, many of them holding important

positions in the Roman Curia, or in the various administrative Congregations. Their teaching is marked by a constant recurrence to fundamental principles; and the earnest student may receive at their hands a store of knowledge which will eminently qualify him for successful work, and give him a secure basis for any future superstructure. With all this, they place themselves, as it were, at the disposal of the student for the purpose of explaining in detail any difficulties that may arise. It is fortunate that the students are taught to regard these professors at once with great reverence and great freedom, an apparent result of the fact that professors and students alike find themselves in the presence of influences which, while they strengthen what is really good, at the same time brush away, as of no value, that which is merely conventional.

Among the students themselves there are many of exceptional talent, as might be supposed from the fact that they represent the choice of the place whence they come, and the inter-action of so many varying elements of trained intelligence is extremely favorable to the development of broad, comprehensive ideas, while at the same time lessening that tendency to self-assertion in matters of opinion which so frequently shows itself in gifted minds. Besides these general advantages, it may be noted that the cosmopolitan character of his surroundings possesses a peculiar value for the American student, since his own people, the people with whom he will have to deal, is composed of elements similarly diverse; and thus without special effort he may here acquire from an observation of individuals that which should hereafter prove the secret of successful influence upon large masses of society.

To this general process of expansion and intellectual development the system of instruction pursued in Rome contributes not a little. The very absence of class authors, though somewhat embarrassing at first, leads the student to look about for original sources, and to attain gradually a more vigorous and independent method of research. Besides this, the traditions of the great institution which he daily attends

IN THE GARDEN OF THE COLLEGE,
ROME.

INNER COURT OF THE AMERICAN COLLEGE, ROME.

soon become his own, and he is thus brought into close touch with the most advanced religious and scientific thought. Generally speaking, class matter absorbs almost his entire attention, and thus the foundations of a distinctly ecclesiastical culture are laid more deeply than is usually the case where there is greater latitude of action. There are probably few Roman students who do not experience a very appreciable feeling of regret that the limits of their receptive powers prevent them from assimilating the wealth of rich material all around them; yet on the whole students and professors accomplish a vast amount of earnest and effective work every year. Of course these advantages do not force themselves upon one. He must labor hard in order to secure their fruit, while, if he does so, the reward is almost immediate.

At home, in the College itself, there are classes in Italian and in Gregorian Chant, and weekly reviews of Philosophy and Theology. In addition to these, the students about to be ordained are instructed in the details of pastoral theology, especial care being given to the matter of preaching. Physical training is not neglected, a skilled professor being in regular service at the College.

Apart from the pursuit of regular study there are many elements which aid the student in improving his mind even whilst he takes his recreation. Greatest of all perhaps is the vividness with which the great historic issues of the past and the great truths of faith are made to appeal to the dweller in the Eternal City in all their true, calm, absolute reality. There are two Romes here, each in the most distinct and detailed opposition to the other—the imperial pagan city, of which enough has disappeared to show the complete destruction of its guilty power, yet of which enough remains to serve as a stern reminder of divine justice, as well as to attest the once great exterior magnificence that had surrounded these mouldering piles. The other Rome is the city of God reigning above the ruins of Satan's greatest stronghold. It is the mighty living heart of Christendom still pulsing with countless martyrs' blood, the myriad consecrated reliquary

in which earth holds for heaven the sacred remains of those in whose lives every vice has been rebuked, and every virtue is illustrated; it is the enduring trophy of the Nazarene's unending triumph. Like the traveller who from the loftiest peak of some mountain range looks first, indeed, at the vast expanse of sky and cloud which his toil has made as it were his own, yet, wearying of a brightness not to be long sustained, turns his gaze once more upon the cities and rivers of the plain, amid which he has been travelling and to which he must return, so, in Rome, one feels that he has reached all that earth can give of the exterior riches of the Church, and his mind, though indeed it cannot but mount to the glories of another world, must still return to a calm consideration of life and duty in their actual conditions; and before his earthward turning gaze there here arise on every side numberless objects either recalling the most revolting memories of human degradation, or filled with the beautiful recollections of angelic souls glorious with every form and phase of the ineffable sweetness and beauty that flash from the very throne of God upon exhalted human virtue.

To stand upon the Palatine hill amid the ruined palaces of the Cæsars, in fancy to complete their broken arches, and once again to clothe their vast, majestic proportions with the marble wealth that once rendered their whole extent a dream of iridescent splendor, and then to gaze upon the crude, unsightly masses which even in the days of their glory formed their real substance, and which are now all that remain; to reflect upon all this is to behold the traces of the human soul with its inextinguishable longings for what is glorious and magnificent; but it is also to behold it as blinded and groping in a fruitless search. The memory of these vast marble halls is fraught with the deepest dishonor and disgrace of our common nature, yet as we turn our eyes from them we recognize at their very side the signs of the places where Peter and Paul suffered and died for the faith of their Master, and for the sake of those He loved; and together with these we seem to behold a white-robed army of martyrs and confessors whose blood has dyed the

very soil of the city, or whose lives have forever sanctified it, raising shrines and temples on every side to tell us that even here the false maxims of the world have been supplanted by the heavenly wisdom of the Gospel, and to proclaim, among these ruins of the proudest power that earth has ever known, the never-ending kingdom of Jesus Christ.

That such influences exercise a real and efficacious power upon the individual is fully evidenced in the rapid transformation they frequently bring about in the seminarist with whom spiritual development is ordinarily of slower growth. Let us say a word about the discipline and practices which the student follows in the Seminary. The form of government is very simple. The entire discipline of the house is under the immediate control of the rector, who discharges the duties usually devolving upon disciplinarians. The students are divided into "cameratas," or bands, averaging ten members each. At present there are seven of these, each of which is in charge of a prefect and sub-prefect, both taken from the ranks of the students themselves, the usual requirements of sound judgment and exemplary conduct governing their selection. The rule is read once a year by the rector; the strictest obedience to it is required. The prefects are directly responsible to the rector, and every member of the community understands that any manifestation of real unfitness for his position would at once terminate his connection with the College. The simplicity of this arrangement, taken in connection with the known requirements of ecclesiastical superiors, would naturally lead us to find what we might call, in a good sense, the *esprit de corps* prevailing among the students. After the prudent oversight of the superior, the main conserving element of the elevated ecclesiastical spirit of the community is the collective good sense and good will, which, without noise of words, establish and maintain a high standard of community life and feeling. So efficient is this simple system that the interposition of the superior is very rarely called for, and even then for the greater part the cases are those in which the head rather than the heart has gone wrong.

As to the distinctly religious training itself, it differs in nothing from that of the average Seminary. There is a resident spiritual director, and the confessions of the students are heard by two Jesuit fathers who come regularly to the College.

After all the toil and labor there comes a day—and it comes very rapidly in Rome—when, for good or evil, the year's tasks are over. The day on which the vacation begins the students make ready to leave Rome.

On the appointed day all take the train which carries them across the campagna by the side, for leagues, of the ruined aqueduct whose ever succeeding arches frame the fleeting landscape into a multitude of views beautiful with nature's inimitable art. An hour's journey brings the train by a circuitous, ascending route to Frascati, where the students alight and start across the hills to their own home some two miles distant. It is about the fifteenth of July, and they will not return until the twentieth of October.

The American Villa is situated in Grottaferata, a small settlement on the slopes of the ancient Tusculum and about fifteen miles southeast of Rome. The surrounding country is rich in historic interest, and the mountains and villages afford many beautiful views. The Mediterranean sparkles in the distance, and there are glimpses of the Tiber as it steals away to the sea. The Eternal City itself lies far below in the midst of the vast campagna, and one may watch the cloud-cast shadows as they come and go upon the great dome of St. Peter's. Farther on, the bleak Sabines, with here and there a village in their clefts, rise like a massive wall of white from the brown and level plain, enclosing what seems like a vast arena roughly smoothed by nature's hand, in order that all nations might contend on equal terms for the seven-columned throne of universal empire. Over all come cooling breezes from the sea tempering the summer heat, and giving additional life and vigor to the mountain air. Amid these beautiful and peaceful surroundings those who have shared together the toils and trials of the city share also the pleasures of release and relaxation ren-

THE REFECTORY OF THE STUDENTS.

SUMMER HOUSE OF THE AMERICAN COLLEGE,
GROTTAFERATA.

dered doubly pleasing and profitable because guarded and sanctified by the same holy influences which had surrounded so many of their hours of labor. There is no interruption of community life. Prayer and meditation, silence and study, succeed one another in almost the same order and time as before. The long walks in the afternoons and the walk in the morning are the chief variations from home life in the city. Excursions are frequently arranged which occupy the whole day, or at times several days together; however, the seminary discipline is maintained without other interruption.

In concluding our sketch we are conscious of having dwelt rather upon the favorable aspects of the picture. There are of course things to which the American student becomes only slowly accustomed. Indeed, life in Rome's training school would be but a poor preparation for the self-denying ministry of Christ and the exacting requirements of the American mission if there were not. But all know that the road to sanctity and knowledge is not without difficulties whether in Rome or elsewhere. We have noted only the facts and feelings which life in Rome seems most often to impress upon the mind of the ecclesiastical student from beyond the sea. Like all other forces, physical or moral, Roman influences require suitable subjects, but it seems a mere statement of fact to say that to the proper class of students, (and by this we mean those who are considerably advanced in the discipline of mind and heart proceeding principally from intrinsic sources), Rome offers a perhaps unparalleled opportunity for the development of the great qualities which should specially distinguish the ambassador of Christ.

QUIRINUS, D. D.

Rome. Italy.

MODERN MATERIALISM AND ITS METHODS IN PSYCHOLOGY.

"The proper study of mankind is man."

THE poet used his words in the formal sense, and in that sense he wished them to be taken. The proper study of mankind is man *as* man. Man is not merely an animal body with, somehow or other, an attachment of consciousness and memory and attention and speech. But he is chiefly and essentially a spiritual, immortal soul, with the power of abstract thought and with liberty of choice. He is a being capable of distinguishing between right and wrong; capable of discerning his obligations under an eternal, natural law, as well as his responsibility to the eternal Lawgiver for the moral rectitude of his choice. This is the man that is the proper study of mankind. The nerves, the muscles and the bones, all the tissues and the mechanism of the body may form a very interesting study, but they do not constitute the "proper" study indicated by the poet. There is much that hinges upon all this and which is most deserving of our anxious thought at the present hour. The study of man has become a common pursuit in schools, both high and low; but unfortunately this study is of the animal body and not of the spiritual soul. "A little learning is a dangerous thing," and a half-education in the "proper" study, especially when the better half is ignored, is bound to become a disastrous thing. It has, in fact, already become a very disastrous thing.

In the purely secular education, so much clamored for and so much tried, there has been going on, for a long time, a divorcing of the soul from the God to whom it owes the submission of its intellect and will in the obedience of faith and works. In that same education there has been sown and developed a seed of perversion, the eradication of which is going to prove even to us a more formidable task than any of the great educational enterprises which we have heretofore attempted and partially accomplished. It is something more subtle than intangible bigotry or liberal (?) cowardice. It is

the difficulty that arises in the pandemonium where all the forces of error eventually and logically combine, the difficulty which we must always expect to encounter at the point where the logical extremes of false doctrines meet. It is plain materialism disguised under a hundred learned names. It has been growing visibly for a decade of years; and if things go on at the pace they have fallen into, half a dozen years will not elapse before we shall have to struggle with a practical error more plausible, more alluring and more insidious than any we have had to cope with.

I know that there are good easy men who are fond of calling others alarmists; men who are unwilling to concede danger until they are tossed in their beds by the earthquake or until they quake in their stockings as they gaze at the passing of the red-handed mob. And even then, unless their own fair bodies have been bruised or scorched, they will simply say that it was all very extraordinary. Were they to credit distant premonitions, it would disturb their easy, honorable lives; for they would then be in decency bound to show an interest in promoting the establishment of safeguards. Whenever a danger, whether moral, doctrinal, social, political or domestic, will allow them to go into the next world without insisting upon performing the service of translation for them, they speak of it as something that is not worthy of consideration. In their strength of character, their broad, brave wisdom born of personal security is to ignore those distant dangers that they may die out; and to leave things alone that they may right themselves. Indeed, it is well that there are some alarmists; else, under the tutelage of these suave men who are great at dinners and at functions, the world would never have an alarm. The world would be buried in sleep at the advent of every storm.

At this moment, though much silence is kept about the fact, there is a dense miasma of materialism settling down upon our society. And the great silence is the greatest proof of the fact: it is proof that the poison has passed into the blood of the social system. The terror bred of the twenty-five years of war after the murder of Louis XVI.,

drove out the popular materialism which was growing beside the rationalism of the last century. But the spirit of the evil, in abeyance, was nourished in the shadows of the universities, and was biding its time for the occasion which would be offered to it to renew its entrance into popular favor. It found that occasion in the appearance of Mr. Darwin's book upon *The Origin of Species*, in 1859. Covering itself with the hypothesis, and stretching the hypothesis so as to give itself shelter at every point, it became fierce, menacing and aggressive; and, to believe the bulletins issued by its Coryphaei from the seat of war, it had, in about twenty years, captured and demolished every stronghold of faith, dogma and credulity built from the days of Genesis. But there was a very fine war waged upon it in the periodical literature of that day, that is to say, on paper; and on paper it was routed. It was shown to beget so foul and lawless an ethics for the individual, for the family and for society at large that no man was willing to be called a materialist. The doctrinal refutation was triumphant, and the brave defenders of truth retired from the field. But the spirit of materialism was not dead; and being now left with freest scope, it set to work to gather and organize its forces and to specialize the work of its recruits. Extending the formula of the Darwinian hypothesis from the narrow field of "species" to the indefinite range of *all being*, it insinuated itself as the indispensable fundamental assumption for intelligent work in archæology, general biology, zoölogy, morphology, physiology, chemistry, etc. With a single bold stroke it obliterated the differences between contradictory metaphysical and ideological systems. Assuming itself as the starting point, it embraced them all by identifying them with itself and assuming that their variations came merely from the incidental circumstance that they looked at things from different points of view and had committed themselves to different terminologies. Under a new name, "monism," a name as well conciliatory as universalizing, it first intruded itself as a working hypothesis all along the line of the natural, physical sciences; once entered, it was careful to refer to

itself always and only as a fact that was not to be questioned; and finally it so completely appropriated to its uses the broad name of *science*, that in the present common acceptation of the term they alone are devoted to science who are busy seeking for and collating facts for the announcement of some new law governing the manifestation of phenomena in matter.

It is good to follow the rule of dealing with difficulties one by one. Moreover, in selecting the difficulty with which we are immediately to engage, it is wise to make choice of a leading one, the settling of which may perhaps mean the settling of many others. Whoever has followed thoughtfully the history of education will have noticed that every important movement has depended very much upon a name, and that the adequate understanding of the movement depends upon the comprehensive interpretation of that name. Such a name, adopted in our day to signalize a movement whose waves are intended to vibrate to the borders of all science, is "Evolution." The name as so adopted is used in the monistic sense, the one-and-all sense. As so used it has also, so to say, other names concentric, indicative of the subsidiary movements which are integral parts of the whole. Two wide, concentric paths across which the movement has to spread from the monistic centre in order that the name, evolution, may embrace in its simple and identical significance whatever is to be found within the great-circle of science, are those belts wherein the movement is manifested as being occupied with two certain phases of objective reality, human thought and human spontaneity or volition. Turning to the objective, these two phases of the one reality are found very difficult to deal with, yet it is necessary for the entire scheme that they be coördinated as mere mechanical sequences of other phases of the one-and-all that makes up the universe. It has been found impossible to reduce them to the subordination which is necessary for the welfare of the general plan. Hence the tireless efforts at deceit which are made with the view of disposing the public to regard them in the light of the universal, mechanical evolution. Hence the sudden

start into prominence—or degradation—of two studies in the names of which we shall find the key to certain grave theoretical and practical attitudes of minds. And these two names are psychology and ethics.

The scientific study of ethics must necessarily be preceded by the scientific study of psychology. An ethical doctrine can not be reliable, but only false and calamitous, when it is not based upon an absolutely secure psychology. The promoters of the monistic, materialistic, evolutionary scheme have not waited for a certification upon the ground of psychology before trespassing upon the field of ethics. They know well enough that were they so to wait they would have to wait forever. They know that the pseudo-scientific acceptance of their ethics will follow very easily if they can bias minds to look upon their psychology as satisfactory without proof; and they know that the strongest popular justification of this kind for their materialistic psychology is a practical materialistic life. Hence it is that they are even now working more or less quietly at an ethics, upon the presumption of a psychology. And, indeed, as we see, the ethics is already manifesting itself practically, a real "ethics of dust." But whilst this most potent argument of practice is being insidiously applied, their greatest open endeavor is spent in familiarizing minds with the psychological tenets necessary to give to the ethics an apparent scientific basis. They have learned by experience that the familiarity begotten of repetition often disabuses men of the dread with which nature inspires them of that which is radically wrong. A multitude of experiments is all that most men demand for the acceptance of a conclusion that does not follow. Hence, "psychology" is the name laureate to-day. We shall not have to wait long to see the diadem transferred to "ethics" or "conduct" which will rule as the Nemesis of all the false philosophies that have come up from the beginning.

It is of prime importance, then, at the present hour, that we turn ourselves to a serious consideration of what is implied both theoretically and practically in the name, psychology, as it is commonly used to-day. It would have been

better had we followed the manœuvres of the enemy during ten years past, and prevented the establishment of the word in the signification which it has received. Psychology, as we used to understand it, was the study of the soul; of the invisible, vital principle, the principle of thought. The soul works with the organs of the body, the brain, the eye, the ear, but it works without them, too, when it thinks. It is the bond of unity in the individual person, and it is by reason of it as bond, as unifier, as source, as vivifier of the body, that all the actions can be predicated of the same identical person. It can work through the body, but it is no part of the body. It pursues its thought in the higher, spiritual order, and, at the same time, in virtue of its superior efficiency, gives the life touch to the animal body.

Pondering over the multitudinous physical changes which the body is constantly undergoing, and the ever varying, shifting moods, impulses, thoughts and emotions, and contradictory desires that are endlessly replacing each the other, we have always felt rationally justified in holding that there is within us something permanent, a something by reason of which we declare upon the testimony of consciousness and memory the continuous identity of self. And we are certain that that which is thus permanent is more radically and indispensably self than any or all of those endless modifications which come and go, and which might have been entirely other than they have been, without change in the identity of the radical principle in which they have been unified. It is this one continuous something which is the bond of unity of all that belongs to self. This it is which is conscious and remembers. All else within us changes. It alone endures. What is it? Whence is it? Whither does it tend? Behold the great questions of psychology!

This conscious root of permanency appropriates to itself the predication of all that can be said of the individual ego in its entirety. It is the root-subject of all that goes on in the ego whether actively or passively; of thought, sensation, volition, emotion, passion, the gravitation and warmth of the body. All is referred to the ego. I think, I will, I

suffer, I move, I hear, I fall, I see, I ride. The very same ego, I, thought, willed, suffered, moved in days gone by. It is the very same ego, the root of identity and permanency, which is the subject of all predications in the past and in the present. It is the same permanent ego, therefore, to which belong radically all these potencies and capabilities commonly called Faculties or Powers.

We have here, then, two great facts, two undeniable and primary facts: the permanent unity of the ego and the variety of its efficiency or capability. In the rational development of these two facts we have the whole science of psychology. What, then, radically, is this conscious self? For it is a very distinct something. What is this foundation, basis, support, this bond, this unifier, this recorder, this SOUL of all that comes and goes? What is this something which at fourscore years with life's span traversed, can look back and proclaim its identity with the child that wept and laughed and planned and felt its grievous wrongs, three-quarters of a century before? We call it soul. The work of psychology consists essentially in eliciting the unprejudiced reply of reason to three very definite questions about this soul: What? Whence? Whither? The answer to the first question supplies the groundwork for the answers to the second and the third. The data for the answer to the first question have to be supplied primarily, mainly, essentially, indispensably, by the testimony of the conscious self about itself.

Now, all who have studied psychology in its integrity know that consciousness gives testimony to a two-fold manifestation of activity on the part of the ego. In the one kind of activity, as manifested, matter enters as a necessary auxiliary. In the other, matter is necessarily excluded by the very terms in which the manifestation must be expressed. These two phases of activity in which the permanent principle and root of the conscious ego manifests itself, are called sense-life and spirit-life. In each of these again we have the two correlative spheres of cognition and appetition. There is thus a sense-cognition and a spiritual cognition; a sense-appetition and

a spiritual appetition. Pure sense-cognition and pure sense-appetition are of the animal order and are found in the brute animal. Pure spiritual cognition and pure spiritual appetition are of a higher order, the intellectual order, and are found in man but not in the brute. Matter is necessarily excluded from all participation in any and every act of purely spiritual cognition or appetition. Matter, then, cannot be the principle or part of the principle from which the act of spiritual cognition or appetition proceeds. What is the consequence of this? Which is the distinctive activity of the root-principle of the conscious ego? Is it the sense-life or is it the spirit-life? It must be the spirit-life. For, the one and same identical ego which acts with and through matter, acts also in such a way as to exclude matter absolutely from any participation in its act. One and the same root-principle of the conscious ego which is absorbed in abstract thought and which wills the things of which there can be no sense-cognition does also exercise sense-perception through the organs of the body which it vivifies. Consciousness testifies to the identity of the ego seeing and the ego thinking. There cannot be two distinct individuals in the ego that sees and the ego that thinks, although the ego that speculates repudiates matter from any participation in its operation, whilst it demands a certain intimate coöperation of matter in the act of seeing, which cannot be exercised without the vivified organ. Which then is the distinctive activity of this root-principle of the identical ego. It must be the activity which it exercises without the instrumentality or intimate coöperation of matter. For, if it can act without matter, and it does act without matter as we see, matter cannot enter into its essential constitution. This root-principle, therefore, this unifier, this bond of identity of the ego, this permanent something in the midst of unceasing change, this same subject of all predications in the past and in the future, this SOUL, must be something into the constitution of which matter does not enter; for, if matter entered into its very nature, it could not be free from matter in its act.

We have here a very clearly defined, immovable, unchangeable basis upon which all truly scientific psychological work must rest, to which it must always bear an assignable relation, and the fundamental necessity of which it may never presume to call in question if it would be regarded as scientific work at all. And yet what do we find? Anyone who has paid attention to the movement, I cannot call it progress, of education, must have observed, when considering this matter of psychology, a very fatal decadence in the methods pursued, in the psychological knowledge acquired and in the resultant mental fitness for philosophical studies in general. To this have we come that, at this hour, the name, psychology, is understood by most of those who use the term to indicate the study of the phenomena of animal life. This something or these dozen somethings which are called psychology make no profession of anything beyond the observation of animal functions as found in man and as illustrated and paralleled in the purely sense-life of brutes. In most cases psychology is understood to be nothing more than a conglomerate of physiological facts. Of course, a certain knowledge, a broad and not minutely detailed knowledge of physiology where it touches upon the perceptive organism, the nervous system and the senses, is useful in working towards the great issues of psychology. But the wonder and the misery is, that in many instances a minute investigation of the nerve-apparatus has been allowed to usurp the place and the name of the science to which such investigation is only subsidiary, and even as subsidiary necessary only in a limited degree. And when at times the study does try to rise a little above mere physiology and the investigation of nerve-action, when it does attempt to formulate laws of attention, and laws for the false judgments that so often follow sense-perception, particularly vision, it does not yet become psychology, it does not become philosophy. It always fails to touch, indeed it dreads to touch the root-principle and subject of all these sense-manifestations, and when it does not deny the spiritual soul, it turns away from the thought of so intangible a thing as being fit to serve

merely for speculations that are the most unwarranted waste of time.

"Psychology" has become what is called a popular study, that is to say not necessarily a favorite study, but at all events a common study. As such it is popularly or commonly supposed to consist in observing the details of sensation, attention, intention, muscular response, popular misjudgments regarding the objects of certain sense-perceptions, etc. All that is demanded of the scholar is that he have the use of his senses, sight, hearing, touch, etc., that he apply these senses by observation to the phenomena presented, that he cultivate the power of attention, and that he store the results away in memory as best he can. Psychology, so understood, is very easily taught in varying degree all the way along the educational scale from the kindergarten to the university; and in proportion to the time given and the pupil's capacity, the science can be carried off in fractional bits from the dozen facts to the thousand. Hence it has come to pass that nearly every youth of a few years' schooling is supposed to have made a course of psychology!

In all this experimentation upon the transmission of impulses along the nerves, what has become of the great questions? The great questions, the truly philosophical questions, are at best overlooked, ignored, pronounced intangible and useless. So that instead of the rational, metaphysical science, instead of the truly exalted speculative science, we see in psychology, as it is almost universally taught, nothing more than a classification of material phenomena which is put upon a level with that multitude of classifications of matter for which and the dignifying of which our age of clay has wished to arrogate exclusive right to the name of SCIENCE. We know very well that in the study of psychology it is necessary, to a certain extent, to consider the data, visible, tangible, or otherwise sensible, which *accompany* thought, either as being the *occasion* of it or as being *occasioned* by it; but we have to be careful to the last degree never to make the *accompaniment* stand for everything and thus to ignore the supra-sensible conscious principle to whose activity it is

only an accompaniment. The consequence of the misuse and popularizing degradation of a consecrated philosophic name is, that any nerve-experimenter may to-day pose as a psychologist, and the youth of the period is being indoctrinated with a materialism which saps the font of all those religious and moral principles which are so essential to the individual and social welfare of mankind. For, we cannot escape the conclusion, that, if man as a perceptive being is only a net-work of nerves and if the material brain is the principle of thought, then there is no moral law and the restrictions of society are an unbearable tyranny over the individual instinct. It may be well to note, here, that it is under the particular name of psychology that the educational publications of the day run riot. The lowering of the name, the final liberation of a science from the control of musty metaphysicians, the pell-mell rush after the novelty and the sudden demand for "psychological" primers, outlines, elements, compendiums, as a substitute for spelling, grammar, history, literary and other antiquated fundamentals in a liberal education, have emboldened many to the effort of collecting all sorts of curious facts from the domain of neural physics, and to the enterprise of putting their collections upon the market under the successful label of the hour, "psychology." It is said that during the past year no less than three hundred "psychological" contributions were made to the literary flood.

Every one is now psychologist. Every one who can make an experiment on the nerves is competent to write an article on psychology, and finds no difficulty in getting a magazine to publish his article. The popular credulity is amazing. The daily papers, fully abreast of their business, cite startling facts from unknown experimenters, which are superseded by facts still more startling, on the morrow; and the people read and believe and are ready for anything. Within the twelve-month a certain popular science monthly printed an article which dealt chiefly with the utilizing of the "Roentgen" rays for photographing the image on the retina. This image was spoken of as the "idea." But the article

was not content with photographing the idea. It had to go to the length of photographing the universal idea. Now, according to the article the universal idea was photographed in this wise: Several persons looked through tubes which converged to the centre of a sensitized plate upon which the picture was to be taken. Each of the persons thought of "cat." The theory was, that as each one thought of "cat," choosing an individual cat *ad libitum*, there was produced upon the retina a cat-image by the outward process, as there would be by the inward process during the real visual perception of a cat. This image on the retina was the idea. It was possible to photograph this image by means of the X-ray. The photograph would be the photograph of an idea, of the idea of a cat. In the case under consideration there were several persons looking into tubes which converged to the same spot upon a sensitized plate in the camera. The Roentgen ray was applied so as to light up the several cat-images and the several images were reproduced upon the plate in a "composite." This composite was the photograph of the universal idea. This wonderful discovery produced no little stir amongst those who owned cameras; for, they could not do the trick. When the writer of the article thought the matter had gone far enough, he informed these anxious psychologists that his story was altogether of the Jules Verne order. The wonder ceased. But the wonder still remains. For, not one of all the critics called attention to the purely materialistic terminology in which the experiment was presented, nor to the purest of pure materialism in the conclusion announced. It would be almost impossible to make a critical commentary on the article, which is but one illustration taken at random out of ten thousand to show the magnitude of the task of correction which has been already set for us. We see here the insidiousness and the depth of the danger which lies in the path of those who are thirsting for or who are obliged to apply themselves to the pursuit of "popular science." The article in question was nothing more than a bubble on the surface of a tide which is sweeping through the channels of education. Where shall

we have to begin in order to stem this tide before it becomes a roaring torrent? How might we even approach in order to pierce that little bubble which, like every quackery, was floating securely under a Greek name as the bearer of a significant message from the toilers in the realm of "science." You might deny a fact. But that would be very little. The masses you have to deal with are accustomed to deny to-day the facts that were discovered yesterday. You will have to make each mind a *tabula rasa*, and begin from the beginning to write the truth upon it. But here you have the fundamental difficulty that the minds you must enlighten will still cling to their first principle: "Blessed are they who have not believed because they have not seen."

A condensed paper, such as this is, allows no room for the multiplication of examples. I shall be content with one more fact, as an illustration of its general import. Less than forty moons ago I chanced to be in a great metropolitan centre of education. Whilst there I received from a leading lady educator a note of request for information regarding the formation of a class in ethics. As the need for information was urgent, and as it could not be supplied satisfactorily by means of a few hasty letters, a day was arranged for an interview. In the interview I learned that the following points had been determined upon for the future class:

1. There was to be no text-book;

2. There was to be no Professor to deliver lectures;

3. There was to be no course of principles, no building from a foundation;

4. The intention was, to study ethics in literature;

5. Certain supposed ethical topics were to be discussed in the meetings. These topics were Love, Faith (sic), Courage,—and others;

6. These topics were to be discussed as found in certain books;

7. The list of books presented to me contained Robert Elsmere, etc., etc.;

8. Mr. X., Ladies' Philosophical-Lecturer-in-ordinary-on-the-Unintelligible was to be the guiding spirit of the class;

9. The members did not yet know how the class was to be carried on, for they had not yet held their first meeting. It was all an experiment, and they did not know what it would come to;

10. My personal aid to the organization of the class, I was told, was to consist in the suggestion of certain wholesome books.—Whereupon, I did suggest certain chapters of wholesome novels which were of a higher order of literature than any on the list.

With the suggestion my coöperation ended—not so the interview. I held in my hand a little book on ethics. I forced the conversation into ethics. In this way I elicited many questions. I answered promptly each time by referring to the book with which I happened to be familiar; and this I did in order to indicate that all these questions were answered very definitely in print. In a few minutes I discovered that Madame knew nothing whatsoever of ethics, not even the meaning of the name. Then I insisted upon the necessity of proceeding logically in a matter so important, until at my first hiatus, I was suddenly staggered at the announcement gravely and sweetly made: "I do not know much about logic, but I have been teaching psychology for six years!" Now here is the pertinent fact, that Madame, who knew not how to distinguish a demonstration from a sophism, and who knew not that there are essential fundamental principles upon which all true ethical science must be based, was stumbling through a materialistic text-book, unable to detect any of its sophistry, powerless to guard the unsuspecting youth committed to her care against the bestial ethics which was to be the natural outcome of their materialistic psychology. Now Madame was a Catholic; but her energies were swallowed up by the all-devouring daily exigencies of a great system. I spoke wonderingly of the matter to one who is thoroughly acquainted with the situation, and this is what was said to me: "Why, don't you know that they do not want logic? They do not wish to be hampered by the fetters of consistency."

We are, then, confronted by a great problem, the solution

of which is fearfully urgent. Sad though it be to make the avowal, the problem is instantly one of self-defence rather than of conquest. We are living in an atmosphere of poison. It has tainted press and law and politics, home and shop and society, business and amusement. In the ten years just gone by how many are the hundred thousands of those who should be our most sacred care, who have been put to breathe the deadly vapor at the brink of the very pools from which it rises? What then is to be done? And how is it to be done? And who is to do it? I have not come to solve a problem, but to state it; and to state it at the risk of being called an alarmist by some who might help towards the solution. What is to be done is, to fortify our own against the poison. And this is to be done by providing the safeguard. And it is to be done by those who have the responsibility. If any immunity is to be secured, it is to be secured by individual and concerted action according to the circumstances of localities. There are scattered individual workers who are striving nobly in narrow spheres; but how are we to get concerted action? Schools, school-books, teachers, companions, every grade of print—daily paper, magazine, history, general literature—and at the root "psychology," make up a battle-array with which it is necessary to enter into conflict. Wheresoever we do not see an open friend there we may suspect a secret enemy. The name "psychology" has been put into the curriculum in letters so large and so indelible that it were futile to attempt to rub it out. But if the label has to stand, the very least that might be done would be to make it stand for food and not for poison. It is not asking too much to demand that in our own schools the true psychology should be taught alongside of the new psychology. It should not be looking for too much to hope that a right-handed war might be waged upon vile text-books used in schools to which unwise and penny-wise parents will insist upon sending their children. What do we behold every day, those of us who have our eyes open? Youths, girls, children, young men at higher schools and lower schools, at colleges and schools of medicine, are placed

by fond fathers and mothers in the hands of materialistic professors, and they are mute in ignorance for an answer when challenged at the start as to the very existence of a spiritual soul distinct from matter. There was a time, which many of us remember, when girl graduates were supposed to be able to make flowers out of leather, and luscious wax cherries and watermelons which were preserved from dust and teeth by tall glass covers. Many of the old standard accomplishments have fallen into dishonor. Their place has been usurped by ever multiplying new ones. In those ancient days of wax and leather the graduate could spell correctly, pronounce correctly, read aloud intelligently, deliver a literary judgment based on sound principles, and write a very fine letter on paper which would be her social death to-day—for, to-day the paper is the thing. Much has disappeared with the glass covers. It is common for us, now, to hear our graduates loathing the imputation of having been taught to darn a heel or sew on a button, and this even amongst those whose purses are warrant that there is need of a great deal of darning. But now they have learned that they have a stomach and a liver ; yet they do not take any better care of either, though they may come out of school stout materialists, ardent Malthusians in principle, and whatever they please in practice.

What else can we expect? Will we cast children into the fiery furnace every morning and think that they will come back to us every evening as sound as the boys of Babylon? Will we toss them into the waves twice a day in the hope that they will walk every time like Peter? The boys did not make a permanent play-house of the furnace ; and Peter did not go about giving exhibitions on the water. The whole army of materialists, whatsoever be their individual *aliases*, reject precisely the spiritual subject which is the *sine qua non* and the basis of all discussion in the true psychology. They will use the name psychology, but only to register under it a denial of what the name imports in its etymological derivation which has the sanction of history, philosophy and humanity. Sifted to the last, the sum of all their opposition

may be formulated as follows: "We have examined every atom of the human body; we have classified all the operations of the human organism; we have used all the means which human science has put at our disposal in the laboratory and the dissecting room; and we have failed to find a thing which could be called a spiritual soul. Hence we are justified in holding that the affirmation of a spiritual soul is utterly groundless." It is not always thought prudent to say precisely this, and in just so many words; but the ultimate goal of the great propagandism is always to make souls cast aside the truth of their own spirituality and immortality and responsibility, as antiquated mythological dogma built upon unscientific metaphysical abstractions.

Indeed, the men who have usurped the name, psychology, to label therewith all their experimentations upon the material human organism, have seemed to find their most effective weapon against the true psychology in the taunt, that all this metaphysics of the soul is the speculation of minds which are unaccustomed to, unacquainted with physiological and biological research, and are hence incapable of passing any sentence that might be deemed worthy of consideration in the advanced state of physical and experimental science. The metaphysician is thus dismissed with a word of pity. The untutored, the unwary, the thoughtless are caught in the snare; and the metaphysician is smiled at as a harmless dreamer.

The strength of this attack upon the higher and true psychology lies in two positions deftly taken. The first position is, that the spiritual, supra-sensitive soul has not been found with test-tube, balance, microscope or scalpel. The second position is, that those who assert such supra-sensitive soul are not given to the use of the instruments demanded for the investigation of matter, and are, therefore, not worthy of a hearing. What are we to say? Keeping in mind what has already been noted, we may reply: "Yes, you have used all the means at your disposal, with one very remarkable exception: you have failed to use your reason. You have been so engrossed in obtaining ocular testimony to

the results of the application of outside instruments to the human body that you have entirely overlooked the application of your intellect to the inner testimony of your own conscious self." The weakness and presumption of the first position must always be declared boldly and at the beginning by the enunciation of this truth, that all the material instruments known and unknown, and all the sensible observation possible, are inadequate to the work proposed, are utterly of no avail unless their revelations be supplemented by the use of reason.

The second position is, consequently, untenable. Moreover, as they must confess, it leaves the mere material experimenters fully as vulnerable as they would make us out to be. And we do not hesitate to say, that any *sincere*, *intelligent* investigator, if put to an alternative in the choice of means, the alternative of selecting certain multiplied physical appliances on the one hand, or, on the other, of electing his reason with the full testimony of consciousness and the broad humanity that moves unmagnified before his eyes, would undoubtedly prefer the latter. But this second position, that the metaphysician is not usually an expert in the use of physical instruments is, moreover, extremely ill taken, and when put to the test, when put under the fire of straightforward question, betrays its narrowness and isolation. For, how much personal investigation of the material world, including the human body, is really necessary before we may be allowed to indulge in the luxury of using our reason upon the facts? Let us suppose, for example, that you are an intelligent man; that, by careful reading, you have made yourself well acquainted with the progress of many physical sciences, with their methods, their facts and their legitimate conclusions; and that you have found time to make yourself so acquainted, because you did not bind yourself down to personal experiments within the hollow of a single groove. Now, with this preparation, be it that you wish to draw some conclusions, taking for your premises certain invariable principles and, we shall say, the known laws of cohesion, affinity and gravitation. Or, rather, let it be that you wish

to apply the rational test to certain affirmations which have been widely accepted as conclusions. What would you think if, after having discovered that the "conclusions" were arbitrary assumptions without foundation, you should be told that your argumentation was of no value because you had not passed your life with your eye over a microscope? Yet in this single illustration you have the full significance and rational value of all the taunts that the metaphysician is obliged to submit to; you have the entire argumentative worth of so many astounding "scientific demonstrations" that carry the popular audience. Unfortunately, the so-called "popular" mind is against the philosopher, very much as the shiftless liver is against the man of method. In what is called a "popular" audience three-fourths of the auditors are ready for any "conclusion" the lecturer wishes to "draw." There is no fixed truth anywhere along the line from medicine to common-law which the three-fourths will not think themselves privileged to doubt, if only the lecturer says it is doubtful and says so with a "therefore" after a hundred marvelous electrical and chemical experiments abounding in explosions and blue sparks and in many colored bottles whose glistening splendor would dim the glory of any drug store window.

The metaphysician, the philosopher, claims the privilege which cannot be denied him, the privilege of arguing upon the basis of ascertained physical law and *a priori* principle. He claims the privilege of working forward upon the reliable experience of others. His work lies in the coördinating of metaphysical principles and physical laws, with the view of discovering further consequences that cannot be laid bare by the fusing and weighing and dissolving of matter, which cannot be reached by the mere instrumentality of microscope or telescope. He works forward upon known facts and invariable principles with the view of discovering other supra-sensible facts which do not appeal to sense but which can present themselves with their evidence to the supra-sensitive power of intellect. We would not deny the existence of light because it does not appeal to the ear; nor the existence

of odor, because it does not appeal to the eye. Neither may we deny the existence of supra-sensible facts, truths, principles, conclusions, just because they are supra-sensible and appeal not to sense but to reason.

The metaphysician accepts all facts, ascertained facts; all laws, ascertained laws. But he must refuse to take conjecture for fact, or to reason upon theory as though it were law. The facts and laws of physical science he can accept unhesitatingly on the testimony of persons whom he justly regards as authorities in their own departments. He can read their books, and recognize the correctness of their conclusions, without applying himself to the certification of the facts by experimental tests. Yet, with all this, he does not feel himself called upon to take up or pursue, or to accept until it is proven wrong, every new theory of every experimenter. The theories that have withstood the cumulative opposition of the same physical facts they were intended to explain are very very few. To launch a dim theory the certification of which will require experimentation upon the border-land of everything past, present and future; to hang up a great sign, "Hands off the theory until the facts are in;" then to go on building up columns of facts, pertinent and impertinent, *ad indefinitum;* to secure immunity, moreover, and prestige by adding the the alphabet to one's name; and finally to bequeath to posterity a theory the mention of which will be a pass-word into fame for all who choose to go forth with pick and spade and mallet to quarry out some facts from the untold æons;—all this, we confess it, may be simpler far and more enticing than to be tied down to the prosaic toil of reasoning upon the facts that are and the principles that must be.

We have, then, a very immediate need in our education of attention to the fact of the spiritual soul. Nor will the fact be difficult of presentation except in that it will demand precisely that concentration of mind, that effort at thought which actual methods of stringing individual facts unfit the mind for, and consequently render arduous. Before and after and in the midst of the experiments the student can be brought to recognize the serious questions that are involved

in the true psychology. He will soon form a new and higher appreciation of the true science. He will see how different it is from the "psychology" that fills the schools and is occupied with the observation and classification of nervous and muscular movement as connected with the states of consciousness. He will see how wide the latter misnamed psychology with its heaps of material facts aims of the grave issues with which it behooves man to make himself acquainted. When he has clearly before him the true scope of psychology in the legitimate sense of the name, then only will he be able to determine how much of the mass of sensible facts presented by physical experimenters may be of any service to him towards formulating conclusions in the higher and genuine sphere of the science. It is important for him to learn early how the theory of monistic, materialistic evolution not only contradicts the invariable laws of correct thought but how it contradicts those very laws of matter on which so much stress is laid. We are told that the laws of matter as it composes the visible universe to-day are to be taken as the shibboleths by which the intelligence and acquirements of the generations of to-day are to be tested, and yet when we challenge the new teachers to complete the scheme of the visible universe by asserting these laws for the primal eras, we are told that these laws must be rejected for those other days, because the admission of their activity at the first assumed stages would lead us to the confession of an eternal intelligent God and of an immortal spiritual soul,—and these two assumptions with all their terminology have been ruled out of the operations of the scientific exchange.

We may do much to save our own; but the restoration of the science to the plane of dignity which it should occupy in the public estimation is a task from which we may very well shrink. The world at large is itching to-day as it never did before, ever for something new. It is manifesting a downright hatred for fixed principles. It is ready and anxious to throw away any truth which has come to be called old. It stands alert to grasp at any flying theory that is winged with novelty. It counts him a very poor specula-

tor in the babel of science who will hesitate to seize upon any glittering assumption which is presented as a rigid conclusion drawn from facts that are not to be found. Looking out over the wide arena of restless talk in the midst of which we find ourselves, and listening to the ceaseless clatter of tongues proclaiming here a fact and there a fact to be pooled into the theories that are announced in haughty, overbearing, contemptuous language, with every parade of self-sufficiency and all-sufficiency, with sneers at the intelligence of the past and with prophetic forecast of the treasures of revolutionizing truths that are to be unlocked in the future, we feel that our voices would be unheard in the wild clamor, and that, beyond saving ourselves, there is nothing for us to do but to close our lips in the universal din and wait in patience for the sane judgment which the future will pass upon our days.

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THE TRANSFIGURATION OF OUR LORD.[1]

THE Transfiguration is intimately connected, in the synoptic account of the Gospels, with the announcement of the Passion and that of the glorious *Parousia.* It contrasts with the former and preludes the latter, crowning the Galilean ministry now near to its end, with a halo of brilliance made of the calm prevision of the dark days that were about to begin and the dazzling hopes of the future triumph. It marks the instant when Jesus, after the rather saddening experience of His preaching, shows His

1 Matt. xvii., 1–13. Mark ix., 1–12. Luke ix., 28–36.

soul filled with the thought of His necessary death, and prepares Himself to accomplish the supreme act of His divine programme, "to lose His life in order to save it," to enter through death into eternal glory, to insure the future welfare of His work, the salvation of the world, the complete coming of the Kingdom of God, by the sacrifice of His life to the will of the Father in Heaven.

In the Messianic career of Jesus, the Transfiguration marks a solemn turning-point, like the baptism and the temptation.[1] At the baptism the Messianic consecration, in the desert the deep intuition of the aim to be attained and stumbling blocks to be avoided, on the Mount of the Transfiguration the full consciousness of the approaching sacrifice and the firm resolution of accepting it and at the same time the certitude of the triumph to be secured by this sacrifice. The deep psychological meaning of these three turning-points, if we may say so on such a subject, made them to some extent inexpressible in the language of men. Hence come the difficulties which arise in the evangelical narratives where an attempt has been made to describe them. But these difficulties bear only on the external details of the facts; they do not affect the substance nor do they cloud in any way the luminous teaching which they contain.

Six days after the confession of Peter and the incidents or the instructions connected with it,[2] Jesus took with Him the three of His disciples who were most closely linked to Him in heart and thought, Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, James and John. The precision of the date is certainly intended to express the intimate connection which exists, as well from a real and historical as from an ideal and logical standpoint, between the Transfiguration and the first mention of Our Saviour's death. St. Luke says "about eight days" instead of "six days." We can hardly say that such a vague indication is a deliberate correction of the one given by the other two Synoptics, as if the Evangelist designed to include

1 Schanz, Markus, 286.

2 Matt. xvi, 13–28; Mark viii., 27, ix., 1; Luke ix., 18–27.

in his reckoning with the interval of six days, both the day which preceded them, on which the confession of Peter took place, and the day which followed them, the day of the Transfiguration. It is much more probable that St. Luke derived this information from another source, or that he simply reproduced with more or less accuracy the indication of St. Mark. Jesus brought the three chosen ones up "unto a high mountain;" St. Luke says simply "the mountain." According to the third Gospel it would seem that the scene of the Transfiguration was in Galilee on the mountain where Our Lord selected His Apostles.[1] The circumstances of the prayer which the Evangelist emphasizes and of the night spent on the mountain, establish between the two situations a perfect analogy. In St. Matthew the "high mountain" recalls that of the temptation.[2] But this time Jesus is no longer on the height, beset by the image of earthly glories; He is there now absorbed in the thought of His coming death; and in the anticipatory splendor of His eternal triumph. To judge from the immediate context, according to both St. Matthew and St. Mark, the mountain of the Transfiguration should be sought for in the neighborhood of Cæsarea which our Lord is supposed to have left only later on.[3]

St. Matthew does not mention expressly the return to Galilee, and one might suppose he did that on purpose because he did not want to determine the site of the mountain, or at least to locate it in a pagan country. But the indications of St. Mark are very precise. If we ought to consider as historical and not merely didactic the connection of facts in the second Gospel, the scene of the Transfiguration has to be located on some peak of the Hermon range to the south of Cæsarea.

According to an old tradition going back at least to the time of Origen[4] and for a long while favorably received in

1 St. Luke vi., 12. 2 Matt. iv., 8.

3 St. Mark ix., 30, and viii., 27; Matt. xvi., 13, and xvii., 22.

4 In Ps. lxxxix., 13; Migne, Patr. gr. 12, 1547.

the Church, the scene of the Transfiguration was Mount Tabor. It is well known that in the *Gospel to the Hebrews*, Tabor was the mountain of the Temptation, and very likely there is in St. Matthew some relation between these two mountains. It might be said that the account of the Transfiguration is connected not so much with the confession of St. Peter as with the prediction of the Passion. It is not sure that the facts are arranged in that passage of St. Mark according to their real, rather than in a didactic order. It might be that in the primitive Gospel the narrative of the Transfiguration was not so intimately connected with the journey to Cæsarea. But these probabilities are not sufficient to give an incontestable basis to the tradition concerning Tabor. It were better to follow the line traced by St. Mark, noting however that the commentator may and ought to abstain from absolute conclusions on a point which is completely omitted in the documents. Since the Evangelists did not designate by its name and its geographical location the mountain of the Transfiguration, very rash would be the exegetist to think that he could complete their information.

Whilst Jesus was with the three disciples on the mountain He appeared transformed, His face shining with such brilliance that it could be compared to that of the sun on which our eye cannot gaze; His garments white as the dazzling snow. St. Mark and St. Matthew say nothing about the precise moment of this marvelous transfiguration ; St. Luke implies that it was at night.[1] A solitary mountain top, silence and darkness are just the proper setting for this glorious manifestation. The disciples were gazing on Jesus and the glory of His future coming. Beside Him, in the same flood of glory, glistening with a divine radiance, were two men, Moses and Elias, speaking with Our Lord. The most illustrious representatives of the Old Testament adored the Son of Man ; the Law and the prophets paid their homage to the New Covenant. Jesus, Moses, Elias spake together of the death which the Messiah had to suffer at Jerusalem. Sublime interview!

1 St. Luke ix., 37, and vi., 12 ; xxii., 45.

The idea alone overwhelms our minds, astonished as we are to hear revealed in four words the whole plan of Providence for the salvation of human-kind.

Moses had alluded to the Messias;[1] Elias was to be his forerunner.[2] It was believed even that both of them would reappear together immediately before the last judgment and the manifestation of the Kingdom of God.[3] That belief is easily accounted for by the fact that Jewish tradition represented Elias as not having known death and Moses himself as being buried not on earth but in Heaven.[4] They are probably the two witnesses spoken of in the Apocalypse, who in the last days of the world will be killed by the beast and then rise from the dead. They stand here as witnesses of the fulfillment of prophecy in Jesus, in Jesus indeed suffering and dying, before they give testimony to His glorious advent. Their very presence in the company of the now glorified Saviour preludes their final reappearance and insures the triumph after sorrow and death. This presence is highly significant in itself at the moment when Jesus shows Himself ready to enter upon His *rôle* as the suffering Messias. This is the reason why St. Mark and St. Matthew do not otherwise indicate the object of their conversation with Our Saviour. St. Luke did express it in formal terms either as a kind of compensation for having passed over in silence both the question asked by the disciples about Elias when descending from the mountain and the answer when Jesus declares that His Passion had been announced by the prophets, either because he found an indication in the oral tradition, or in the primitive Gospel.[5] The same evangelist points out a trait which is found again in the history of Our Saviour's agony at Gethsemane, where the three chosen ones accompanied their Master. Peter, James and John were

1 Messianic interpretation of Deut. xviii., 15.

2 According to Malach. iii., 1. 3 Apoc. xi., 2–3.

4 A tradition connected with Deut. xxxiv., 6.

5 II. Pet. i., 15–18, where the same word ἔξοδος is employed, v. 15, and notice that this Epistle does not seem to be dependent at all on St. Luke.

weary and oppressed with sleep; yet they struggled against it whilst Jesus was praying, and so they could see the Transfiguration of Jesus and the appearance of Moses and Elias. Perhaps St. Luke meant to say that the apostles yielded to their need of sleep during the prayer of Jesus, and that when they awoke from their slumber their eyes opened upon the spectacle just described.[1] At least, the apostles are supposed to be in a state of semi-stupor from which they are aroused by the dazzling rays. This descriptive trait which visibly contrasts with the narrative common to the three synoptics shows that St. Luke pictured to himself the scene of the Transfiguration in a manner analogous to that of the Agony, and that he was thinking of the latter when sketching the former. Such a *rapprochement* ought not to be a matter of surprise: the Agony is the last great act which precedes the catastrophe; it is a natural sequel to the Temptation and the Transfiguration, relating to and completing both of them, being in its symbolic reality the supreme victory over the last and most frightful of all temptations, as well as the definite acceptation of the approaching sacrifice which was to produce immediately immense and eternal results.

According to the spirit of the narration we have to suppose that Moses and Elias appeared to the apostles with the characteristic features under which they used to picture them from the narratives of the Old Testament. And now occurs to St. Peter the idea of affording a shelter to the divine Master and His two heavenly visitants: "We are here very opportunely," he says to Jesus, "to make three tents, one for Thee, one for Moses and one for Elias." The common interpretation "We are well here" seems to be less natural in the circumstances in which St. Peter does not desire to show how deeply interested he is in the spectacle, but rather his readiness to help the heavenly visitants. He does not say "It is good for us to *remain* here" but: "It is good for us to *be* here" for the reason which he

1 It seems that the Greek word διαγρεγορήσαντες can be interpreted in this sense.

adds immediately. The idea of Peter has seemed as strange to the Evangelists as it may seem to us. St. Mark insinuates that it happened to strike the Apostle who expressed it without any further reflection, seized by terror as he and his two companions were. St. Luke gives a more complete explanation. Seeing that Moses and Elias were about to part from Jesus, Peter would delay their presence on the mountain. Still, the proposal remains strange, and St. Luke also says, after St. Mark, that Peter was not knowing what he said. Perhaps it is by anticipation that St. Mark has described them as struck with fear. In the other two synoptists the apostles are not afraid until a radiant cloud encircles them and the voice of God is heard. The exclamation of Peter would be rather one of joy and might perhaps imply the afterthought of keeping Moses and Elias to fulfill the ministry for which they would be commissioned at the end of the world. The evangelists seem to conceive the duration of the appearance as rather short. St. Matthew and St. Mark describe it as a kind of swift vision which gives occasion to the dreamy words of Peter and is then almost suddenly overshadowed by the cloud. Peter does not receive any answer. A cloud enwraps the three heavenly figures, taking them away from the sight of the disciples who remain outside of the cloud and therefore were not, we should suppose, very near to Jesus. The words of Peter have been uttered without interrupting the conversation of the Messias with His witnesses. Whatever the disciples may say or do does not prevent the divine manifestation from going on and being completed before them. In the Old Testament when God wants to address men He hides Himself in a cloud. So Moses had to enter into the midst of the cloud to talk face to face with the Lord.[1] It is the same here; the majesty of God is present in the cloud which deprives the apostles of the supernatural vision. The Heavenly Father's voice is heard: "This is My beloved Son; hear ye Him;" according to St. Matthew, "My beloved Son in whom I am well pleased;" according to St. Luke, "My chosen Son." The

1 Ex. xxiv., 18; xxxiii. 9–11; Job, xxxviii., 1.

word "chosen" is employed as a Messianic title in the book of Henoch. But perhaps the readings "chosen" and "beloved" should be considered as different translations of the same word of the Hebrew Gospel.[1] Moses and Elias have been the interpreters of the Divine Will; but the Law and the prophets existed only in view of Jesus. It is Jesus who is to be hereafter guide and Master. The Old Testament gives testimony of Him; but He, Himself, is greater than Moses, greater than Elias; He is the Christ, Son of God, declared such by His Father. To Him is due the obedience of men. The word which Jesus heard on the day of His baptism is heard now by those whom He chose as His auxiliaries; it will be heard in every age to come.

The apostles are bewildered with fear, according to St. Luke, when the cloud appears; according to St. Matthew, only after they hear the voice. The last indication is doubtless more in conformity with the primitive Gospel. Besides, the cloud and the Heavenly Voice were almost simultaneous. The voice of God falls like a thunder-bolt on the heads of the disciples, seized by terror. All is done in an instant. The voice is silent. The disciples recover somewhat from their terrors, raise their eyes and gaze around: the cloud has vanished; Moses and Elias have disappeared. Jesus alone is with them, just as he was before the miracle which seemed to them as if it were a dream. St. Matthew remarks that the disciples, hearing the voice of God, had fallen prostrate, and that Jesus had come to them and touched them, saying: "Arise, be not afraid." A similar trait is found twice in the book of Daniel,[2] and once in the Apocalypse.[3] The narrative of the Transfiguration is to some extent an apocalyptic scene, analogous to those related in the book just quoted. The reality is full of symbols, and everything happens between heaven and earth, on the point

1 For instance בחירי. A. Resch, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien*, iii., 164, cf. Is. xlii., 1., (Hebrew and Septuagint) and Matt. xii, 18.

2 Dan. viii., 17–18; x., 7–10, 16–18.

3 Apoc. i., 17.

where experimental knowledge borders on vision, if it does not altogether give it its place. St. Luke says that the three apostles "told no man in those days of these things which they had seen." This remark is parallel to what is said in the first two Gospels that Jesus charged them to tell no man until the Son of Man was risen from the dead. The prohibition is expressed almost in the same way in St. Matthew and St. Mark. Jesus made it on the way down the mountain. St. Mark adds that the disciples "kept the word to themselves," that is to say, they observed the prescription of Our Saviour, so that nobody, before the Resurrection of Jesus, heard anything about the Transfiguration. The deep meaning of the latter could not be grasped before Jesus would die and rise from the dead. The three disciples were nevertheless perplexed about the term fixed to their silence; they were questioning what the word "resurrection" could possibly mean in the case of Jesus. They had the general idea of the resurrection of the dead, but did not yet understand that Christ had to die; consequently they could not see how He could rise from the dead. Their minds being troubled about the possible circumstances of the last advent, they asked a question of Jesus about Elias. One would say that they hoped to receive the solution of the question which troubles them in the answer to another difficulty which they know is somewhat connected with the same object. The question, in the Gospel of St. Mark, is introduced by the indirect interrogative: "The scribes say that Elias must come first!" But the question is easily implied, and corresponds to the direct interrogation of St. Matthew: "Why then do the scribes say that Elias must come first?" It is not very easy to see in what the difficulty of the apostles does consist. Has it a direct relation with the scene of the Transfiguration, or is it simply connected with the idea of the great Messianic advent which they supposed to be near? If there is any allusion to the recent appearance of Elias do the disciples estimate this visit too late because they believe that the kingdom of God began with the preaching of the Gospel, or too transient, because Elias parted without fulfilling the functions attributed

to him in the preparation of the glorious kingdom? It seems that the Gospel text connects the question of the disciples rather with the appearance just described; but on the other hand, the disciples, owing to their state of mind, could hardly think of any other than the glorious advent. They know that the end is near, and yet Elias does not come to fulfill his *rôle*. He has appeared just for one instant, and then departed. Therefore he will not do what the Scribes say, quoting from Malachi.

The answer of Jesus leads to a broader as well as to a more spiritual and real idea of the kingdom of God. The *rôle* of Elias is exactly what the Scribes say, to restore all things for the last judgment. Elias has come; but the bad dispositions of men did not enable him to fulfill entirely the mission which the prophets assigned to him. Instead of hearing him and doing penance "they have done unto him whatsoever they had in mind." So it is with the advent of the Messias which cannot be now in glory, but must needs be for a time in suffering and death. This was predicted likewise by the prophets and the fate of Elias had been foreseen. Since our Lord speaks of John the Baptist—another Elias,—he alludes to the persecutions directed against Elias which were a type of the Precursor's fate.[1] The teaching contained in the answer of Jesus is precisely that which is brought out by the whole narrative of the Transfiguration.

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1 Schanz, Markus, 292.

THE RELATIONS OF THE PASTOR TO THE SUNDAY SCHOOL.

In speaking of "the Pastor," throughout this article, I have mainly in view the rectors of large congregations, who have assistant priests associated with them in the government of the flock. It is as referring to such conditions in general that I venture to make the following suggestions as reasonable, useful and, in a measure, necessary requisites to the successful operation of a Sunday school.

LOVE.

It goes without saying that the Christian education of the children should and must be one of the paramount objects of the pastor's life, something he loves as the apple of his eye, an integral and an essential portion of his ministry. This love is needed much more for children who are in Sunday school than for those who attend Catholic day schools, because of the very difficulties that surround the training of those whose instruction is restricted to one day in the week.

GOVERNMENT.

Per se, the pastor should not be the immediate director of the Sunday school. The reasons are these: (*a*) His attention is too much divided by the various cares of the parish, and his time is too much occupied to permit the concentration of mind which this work necessarily calls for. (*b*) He loses in both influence and authority when he is supposed to be responsible for all the details, and to take part in settling the ordinary school difficulties. It is much better that he should be a high court of appeal, whose smile will be a great reward, and whose frown will be something that the children would think it a disgrace to have merited. (*c*) The children are not benefited by being aware that their pastor knows all their shortcomings. (*d*) A reproof from the pastor, no matter how mildly it may be worded, seems to always have about it something severe and wounding; consequently, when he occupies the position of immediate Spiritual Director, he is

obliged either to approve many evils, or to cause bruised and hurt feelings to very many.

I have said that *per se* the pastor should not be immediate head of the Sunday school. But it can happen that no other course will be found advisable. He may have no assistant who loves the work, or who has ability for it, whereas his own aptitude may be extraordinary. In such a case it is by all means desirable that he take the place himself. But he will find it worth his while to train an assistant to the work as soon as he can. It will save him a great deal of drudgery, and the results are likely to be larger.

VISITS.

Nevertheless, the pastor should be identified with the work of the Sunday school. There is no need that he be present at every session, nor at the whole of any session; but he should visit the school personally at least every two or three weeks, if only for a few moments, to prove his deep interest in all the work that is being done. He should also make a special point of attending the various entertainments, the closing exercises, and sometimes at least, the reading of the reports.

ENCOURAGEMENT.

The effect of intelligent encouragement is wonderful. We all stand in need of it, whether we be spiritual directors, superintendents, teachers or pupils. A word or a smile will often be sufficient. But it is a great mistake to omit these helps. Good work should receive its proper meed of commendation and reward. Little favors, medals, premium books, and once in a while, excursions are very useful.

PROVIDING SUITABLE ACCOMMODATIONS.

The room or rooms in which the Sunday school session is held should be well ventilated, lighted, heated and furnished. Everything that makes the school room comfortable and beautiful helps the work along. When possible, it is well to

have the classes divided from each other, but unfortunately this is rarely among the things that can be.

EXPENDITURE.

The pastor should be willing to spend a reasonable amount of money for the Sunday school. All needless expenses should of course be avoided, but the work cannot be done well when performed in a parsimonious spirit. It is hard to see how the best results can be obtained unless the catechisms and other books be given free. There is something, certainly, in the objection that what people get cheaply they are liable to hold cheaply. But the custom of our day is to make general education as cheap as air or water. It looks like good policy, to say the least, to put no embargo, no prohibitory tariff, upon religious instruction. The books in the Public Schools are free, and also those in our best Catholic day schools. Besides, the expense of providing catechisms is as a rule very small.

Should teachers be paid? The answer to this question is that everything should be done that is necessary to secure efficient work. In cases where there is a Spiritual Director who is a thorough pedagogue, and who has at his command superintendents capable and energetic, there seems no good reason for paying any one. But if these be not at hand, it seems foolish to hesitate about paying a small salary when there is question of getting good talent. What can be important? Keeping shingles on the roof? Even this is not as essential as keeping the faith alive among Catholics. And religious instruction is the most fruitful of all means to this end.

REPORTS.

The pastor should insist upon getting, regularly, detailed reports of the progress of the Sunday school. Three such manifests in the year will not be too many. They should touch the total register, the average attendance, the age of the children, the aggregate number of lessons

known and missed, the number who have left, and the reasons therefor; the number of teachers and of teachers' meetings; the progress made by each grade during the term; an estimate of how many children in the parish are neglected as far as their religious instruction is concerned, and also suggestions regarding ways and means of improvement. These reports are of great value. In fact all constant progress depends upon them. They fix responsibility. And responsibility is the most powerful of all stimulants. They show clearly whether or not the proper work is being done and with what success. The examination of conscience is not a more powerful means for personal improvement, than is this making of reports for improving Sunday school work. Besides, the report supplies an excellent basis of communication regarding affairs of the Sunday school between the pastor and the Spiritual Director. Without it they cannot know each other's mind on various points. This habit of making reports is not suggested for the purpose of giving the pastor any extra domination over his assistant. It would be well if the pastor, in his turn, were obliged to make a report to a Diocesan Board, which, with its inspectors, would have the authority and the duty to report upon and compare all the schools of Christian Doctrine.

EXHORTATION.

The duty of the parents with regard to their children's religious instruction should be a frequent theme of the pastor's sermons and addresses to the people. Fathers and mothers should be taught to send the children in time, to make sure that the lessons are prepared, to look upon the missing of the catechism lesson as the most injurious of all failures. Special insistence should be made on the point of the children remaining at the Sunday school for a good while after their First Communion and Confirmation. There would be little difficulty in creating a public opinion that would keep practically every boy and girl under religious instruction until the age of seventeen years has been attained.

PEDAGOGY.

Even though the pastor be not obliged to act as Spiritual Director of the Sunday school, it is of much advantage if he have an intelligent idea of all the details which render the instruction and management of the school efficient. The reading of educational works, papers and magazines, is of great assistance in this respect. They often contain much chaff; but there is a good deal of wheat in them also. And if they did nothing more than keep the mind intent upon educational subjects, they would render assistance that is invaluable.

These are the principal aids the pastor of a large parish can render his Sunday school. At another time I hope to say something of the office of the Spiritual Director in the work of the Sunday school.

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DR. WHITE'S EVOLUTION: THE GENESIS AND STRUCTURE OF HIS LEGEND.[1]

WE have observed before that the gentleman, whose creation in the literary and historical world we have been considering, and that with emotions of astonishment, if not of admiration, is in every sense of the term an evolutionist. He is so pronounced in this order of development, that, not only himself, but everything which comes near him, has to undergo the process of evolution, however remote it may have been before from enduring that painful operation. Miracles have been made an evolutionary product of imagination; and the great sample of modern times, presented in the life of St. Francis Xavier, has shared the common lot.

But here a strange phenomenon arrests our vision. It is that the gentleman himself, while treating this precise topic, does not evolve beyond his original texts. He has deteriorated considerably; not only in other parts and proofs since his former edition; but notably in the great positive proof, extracted by Dr. Douglas a century ago from the pages of Joseph Acosta. Dr. Douglas, the Protestant Bishop of Salisbury, the Rev. Le Mesurier, Hugh Farmer, Peter Roberts, down to the Rev. Mr. Greer, vicar of Templebodane and chaplain to Earl Talbot the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, had left the proof from Acosta in a much better condition than we found it to be in with Dr. White, before we paid our last compliments to the rudimentary creature.

With Dr. Douglas the fable stood thus: He would adduce "conclusive evidence that, during thirty-five years from the death of Xavier, his miracles had not been heard of. The evidence I shall allege," said he, "is that of Acosta, who himself had been a missionary among the Indians. His work, *De Procuranda Indorum Salute* was printed in 1589—

1 See the July number, p. 42, "Dr. A. D. White's Legend about St. Francis Xavier."

that is, above thirty-seven years after the death of Xavier; and in it we find an express acknowledgment that no miracles had ever been performed by missionaries among the Indians. Acosta was himself a Jesuit, and therefore from his silence we may infer, unexceptionably, that between thirty and forty years had elapsed before Xavier's miracles were thought of."[1]

At first blush it might appear that Dr. White does not deteriorate notably from his original. He too accepts of the Protestant theologian's logic so far as to consider "silence" an "express acknowledgment." Dr. White is even more forcible just here, and with reason. He thought that a general question about the rarity of miracles in modern times authorized him to apply the very expressive terms, "positive evidence—direct testimony" to the proof from Acosta. Here there is no deterioration, either in the affirmation which is rather an improvement, or in the logic, which is on a par. Nor again was there any deterioration in assuming that, if one man was silent about miracles, therefore no miracles had ever been wrought; nor finally in suppressing texts and falsifying Acosta generally. So far there is no degeneration in Dr. White; no devolution; none of what evolutionists call Catagenesis. He is equal to his ancestor of a hundred years ago.

But in other respects he degenerates marvelously. Dr. Douglas had said: "No miracle heard of during thirty-five years;" Dr. White drops down unconscionably to nineteen years, to four years, to two years, to no years at all. Dr. Douglas had it: "No miracle;" Dr. White has it: "Quite a number." If we had the ear of Professor Cope just for five minutes, we would urge on him strongly the propriety of substituting this live instance of catagenesis for his old fossils of the rudimentary teeth of the fœtal whale, and the legs with which the boa cannot run away, and the wings with which the ostrich cannot fly. Here we have rudiments running down visibly before our eyes.

1 Quoted by us in the *Catholic World*, Oct. 1891, p. 22.

§ 1.

Says Dr. White: "Two or three things occurred" during Xavier's life; and he goes on: "For example." Then he gives three occurrences as examples. There are more than three, even in Dr. White's opinion; because these three are given only by way of "example." Since he wrote his first edition, he has found out even more. For then, when he came to the third, he put down "finally." There was no harm in that; it was the last example he meant to adduce; so without prejudice he might say "finally." But he thought prudence the better part of valor; and, to be quite safe from the side of any punctilious critic, he changed "finally" into a safer word: "Again." From this we infer that he had more "examples;" and still more facts.[1]

So he had. It appears that he finds Melchior Nuñez, Provincial of the Jesuits in the Portuguese dominions of Asia, reporting three, only two years after Xavier's death. It appears that De Quadros, Provincial of the Jesuits in the distant country of Ethiopia, "had heard of nine miracles, and asserted that Xavier had healed the sick and cast out devils;" this was in 1555, only three years after Xavier's death. It appears that "the next year, being four years after Xavier's death, King John III. of Portugal, a very devout man, directed his viceroy Barreto to draw up and transmit to him an authentic account of Xavier's miracles, urging him to do the work 'with zeal and speedily.'" Again, only ten years after Xavier's death, "the Jesuit Almeida, writing at great length to his brethren," reports miracles through the relics of Xavier.[2] Nay, during all these ten years, he admits that, as he pleasantly expresses himself, "abundant legends had already begun to grow elsewhere."[3] All this evidently is within the term of those thirty-five years, during which Dr. Douglas had said, not a

1 Dr. A. D. White's "Warfare of Science with Theology," vol. ii., ch. xiii., pp. 6–7.

2 Ibid. p. 12.

3 Ibid. p. 9.

miracle was heard of. Dr. White is a little recalcitrant in the face of his master.

Nor is that all. He is more liberal still. As he harps upon "contemporary documents" so much, we are naturally inquisitive to learn what he means by the term "contemporary." And, upon examination, we are taken aback at the large margin he allows us. He grants that witnesses or documents will be contemporary if they fall within any of three meanings which he assigns to that word.

First, Xavier's own writings, or the letters of his associates, are contemporary. In this sense, the word or its equivalent figures some dozen times within a few pages,[1] as we observed before.

Secondly, he gives us the idea of contemporary in such a phrase as this: "[Xavier's] associates during his life or during several years after his death."[2] And again he says: "Until about ten years after Xavier's death," the letters of the missionaries continued; and he describes them as "men who were supposed to be in the very thick of these miraculous manifestations."[3] He even goes so far as to recognize in the same category those who were "immediate successors of Xavier;" for he speaks of "the missionaries who had been co-workers or immediate successors of Xavier in his Eastern field;"[4] and thus he brings in the Jesuit Almeida. More than that, he allows that a man, who had never been in the East, and who was writing "nineteen years after Xavier's death," could be not only contemporary, "but the highest contemporary authority on the whole subject;" for that is how he describes Joseph Acosta.[5]

Thirdly, he gives a still wider meaning to the idea of contemporary. He mentions as witnesses "the natives upon whom he [Xavier] had wrought his miracles," and he joins with them at once "their children and grand-children." This testimony of the natives, their children and grand-children, he considers so good, that he merely distinguishes it from any written testimony of theirs, which, he says, they

1 Ibid. pp. 6–9. 2 P. 8. 3 P. 9. 4 P. 12. 5 P. 9.

could not give; for "certainly the ignorant natives of India and Japan did not commit any account of his miracles to writing."[1] This may be true, and it may be false. But all that we take note of is, that the oral testimony of children and grand-children is grouped by him with that of the natives on whom Xavier wrought his miracles. As the witness of these natives is contemporary, so he implies that the witness of their children and grand-children is contemporary likewise.

Now, we are quite aware that the Doctor never meant all this. But we are grateful nevertheless. These admissions escaped him when he was trying to make a point against somebody or something. But, having escaped him, they are ours; and we are thankful all the same. We might just take occasion here to remind him that it is very necessary, for him especially, to have a good memory. Memory alone would not make up for logic; but his logic will never march at all without the support of a very tenacious memory.

Hard as this is on Dr. Douglas, it is harder still on Dr. White, as we shall now see.

§ 2.

We come to the legend. Its foundation is given in these precise terms: "No account of a miracle wrought by him [Xavier] appears either in his own letters or in any contemporary document."[2] A dozen times this statement, in whole or in part, comprehensive or particular, is repeated by the Doctor, to make sure the web and woof on which the legend must be woven.

But let us pause a moment. The Doctor himself gives us accounts of miracles from "contemporary documents," or else oral witnesses; and that in the three orders covered by the term, "contemporary." First, he gives three from Xavier himself, merely by way of "example." Secondly, he reports miracles from Nuñez, Deyro, Father Pablo de

1 P 17. 2 P. 6.

Santa Fé, De Quadros, Almeida. Thirdly, he observes that Barreto, viceroy of India, was engaged by the King of Portugal to draw up "authentic accounts;" and he seems to imply that Barreto gathered "treasures of grace." What becomes of the Doctor's thesis, that "no account of a miracle wrought by him appears either in his own letters or in any contemporary document?"

The valiant author is ready. That was no slip of his. He has a witness on the stand prompt to deny each and every miracle reported by no matter whom. That witness is himself. It is true that he, living in the nineteenth century, does not enter into any of the categories of "contemporary" with St. Francis Xavier. But that does not matter.

He delivers his documentary witness in this style: "Only the most earnest devotee could claim anything like divine interposition" in the three examples derived from Xavier's own account. "They were few and feeble." "These were entirely from hearsay." "It was reported vaguely." They were "abundant legends." It was "an afterthought." It was "a subsidiary legend." As to John Deyro, who "said he knew that Xavier had the gift of prophecy," this man "Xavier himself had reprimanded and cast off for untruthfulness and dishonesty." A capital witness that, we should have thought; still not so good, it appears, as the Doctor himself! With regard to Barreto's official reports, the Doctor's own contemporary evidence despatches all of them, before they have time to get into writing: "We may well imagine," he says, with his usual imaginativeness, "what treasures of grace an obsequious viceroy, only too anxious to please a devout king, could bring together by means of the hearsay of ignorant, compliant natives through all the little towns of Portuguese India." This is very severe on little towns. Maybe the witness in a big town, like New York, would always be much more unimpeachably true! In short, it was all "thought of little value by those best able to judge."[1] So, too, has thought the Doctor; and he is emi-

1 Pages 6, 9, 12, 13, 17, 18.

nently able to judge. And Emanuel Acosta only wrote his commentaries "as an afterthought, nearly twenty years after Xavier's death!" Exactly; the Doctor is writing his commentaries, as an afterthought, nearly 350 years after those events.

We will submit it to the reader whether we were justified, on a former occasion, in stigmatizing the assumption which underlies all this, by saying, in face of the Doctor's refusal to accept sworn witnesses: "This will be quite consistent with the rest of his demonstration, and with the original assumption underlying all, which is that we are, on no account, to demur to his own testimony, albeit he is not a witness, nor is he sworn to deliver the truth."

Thus then the Doctor has rebutted, with his own testimony, the witness of all the world. That is not all. He has another witness—the Roman Catholic Church. This is startling. Yet the gentleman has his witness ready; and he produces it.

"In 1562, Julius Gabriel Eugubinus delivered a solemn oration on the condition and glory of the Church, before the papal legates and other fathers assembled at the Council of Trent;" but, "while he alluded to a multitude of things," he made not the remotest allusion to St. Francis Xavier's miracles. More than that: Julius Gabriel Eugubinus wrote letters to the foremost of the fathers assembled at Trent; and he says not a word about St. Francis Xavier's miracles. Worse still: "We have also a multitude of letters written from the Council by Bishops, Cardinals, and even by the Pope himself, discussing all sorts of Church affairs, and in not one of these is there evidence of the remotest suspicion that any of these reports, which they must have heard, regarding Xavier's miracles, were worthy of mention."[1] This is getting serious; for, of course, the Council of Trent was like the office of an editor, who is receiving his telegrams and sending them down post-haste to the compositor for the earliest morning edition of the daily paper on the glories of the

1 P. 13.

Church! But the Doctor has not finished. He charges right into the thick of the enemy, and says that Julius Gabriel Eugubinus "gives a Latin translation of a letter, 'on religious affairs in the Indies,' written by a Jesuit father twenty years after Xavier's death," "from a field very distant from that in which Xavier labored;" yet no "allusion appears" to the miracles wrought by Xavier—and this from a Jesuit father! All this he proves in a note, full of gravity: "For the work referred to, see *Julii Gabrielii* [sic] *Eugubini orationum et epistolarum*, etc., *libri duo* [*et*] *Epistola de rebus Indicis a quodam Societatis Jesu presbytero*, etc.:" Venetiis, 1569. The *Epistola* begins at fol. 44.[1]

Let us pause to draw breath, wondering the while, where in the world the erudite Doctor ever discovered his little book of Julius Gabriel Eugubinus, which has enabled him now to unearth the Council of Trent and betray that assembly to mankind?

Alas, poor Doctor! We could take him into the Vatican Archives and show him, not a little second-hand book, but 140 great folio tomes of speeches and acts of the Council of Trent. We would undertake to show him, not one speech of Julius Gabriel Eugubinus, but a hundred and fifty speeches by many others besides Eugubinus, wherein there is not a word about St. Francis Xavier. We could show him letters, another "multitude," and all of them original, not printed in a second-hand book, in which there is never a word about the miracles of St. Francis Xavier. We could exhibit letters from Bishops and Cardinals—all with the same sad qualification. One thing we could not show him—we humbly confess it—we could not show him letters, neither a "multitude" of them, nor even one, "written by the Pope himself from the Council." That passes our powers. We think it would transcend the abilities even of the Bollandists and of all the students together in the Vatican archives. It will take an ex-professor of history at Cornell University to dive so deep into history, and to become such a man of mark, as to find

1 P. 13, 14.

letters written from the Council of Trent by a Pope who was never there! The erudite world has not the equal of Dr. Andrew Dickson White in legendary lore. There he is without a peer.

But, seriously, is that all he knows about the Council? Then, if he did find his little second-hand volume, what about the translation, the grammar, the parsing? Has he done with Julius Gabriel's Latin what he did with Joseph Acosta's? And has he treated the Latin translation of the letter, written by a Jesuit Father, away "in a field very distant from that in which Xavier labored," with the same accuracy, fidelity and scrupulous regard for truth, with which he signalized his performance on the other Jesuit writing in Peru, 12,000 miles away from the East Indies?

Considerations like these, and others of a graver order still, however much beneath the notice of the ex-professor of history and the present Ambassador to Germany, have acquired such a control over more ordinary minds, that we fear a mutual understanding is hopeless on the present question. Our ordinary minds are not yet prepared, any more than a certain judge was, to admit as juridical evidence the plea of that spirited criminal who, when pressed too hard by eye-witnesses, professed and propounded to the court, as Dr. White is now doing to us, that "for every one of the witnesses they could bring to testify that they had seen him commit the crime, he could bring ten to testify that they had not seen him commit it." We are not yet prepared for this manner of demonstration. Dr. White is too spirited for us. So we must concede to the Doctor without reserve all the glories and emoluments of his little second-hand volume on Julius Gabriel Eugubinus.

§3.

But he shrieks, and twelve times does the shriek rend the air: "No account of a miracle wrought by him appears either in his own letters or in any contemporary document." And he turns upon us in a monitory note, full of severity: "This statement was denied with much explosive emphasis

by a writer in the *Catholic World* for September and October 1891, but he brought no *fact* to support this denial. I may perhaps be allowed to remind the reverend writer that since the days of Pascal, whose eminence in the Church he will hardly dispute, the bare assertion of even a Jesuit Father against established facts needs some support other than mere scurrility."[1]

We feel humbled and intimidated. Not only Dr. White and Alfred Maury, but Pascal is now upon our hands. We must try to excuse ourselves.

Will then our "bare assertion" be humbly allowed to stand, if we adduce in support of it the testimony of Dr. A. D. White? He supports it for us by giving us first three contemporary facts; then nine; then the whole series of Barreto's contemporary facts, reduced into verbal processes for service at Rome; then the series of "ten great miracles,"[2] selected by Cardinal Del Monte from a great number juridically examined over again, and all taken from the sworn depositions of eye-witnesses and ear-witnesses contemporary with Xavier. Will this support from Dr. White satisfy Dr. White? Or will he discard even that? We had indeed adduced a long page and a half of eye and ear testimonies to Xavier's gift of tongues, all taken from the official document, called *Relatio super Sanctitate et Miraculis Francisci Xaverii.*[3] But we do not pretend to defend ourselves, except where Dr. White supports us; the more so, as our tastes differ so much from his in many respects. For instance, he makes merry over the "pious crab,"[4] which brought back to Xavier the crucifix lost overboard. Now we, on the contrary, would almost speak reverentially of a "pious crab," in comparison with an impious man; we should prefer any day to have a crab's "piety" rather than a human being's impiety. For of the impious man it has been said: "It had been better for him he had never been born;" and that has never been said of a crab, still less of a "pious" one.

1 Ibid. p. 6.

2 Ibid. p. 14.

3 *Cath. World*, Oct. 1891, pp. 30–2.

4 P. 20 text and p. 21. note.

And does the Doctor now fly to Pascal for protection against the consequence of his own revelations? He should not have made them. He should have kept to his originals, to Dr. Douglas and the vicar of Templebodane, and all the rest of them—he ought to have prevaricated, he ought to have done so stoutly, and clung to his prevarication stubbornly. Then he could have stood alone, as Pascal has stood, since he perpetrated his feats in that line two centuries ago.

And what is this "Church," in which Pascal is so eminent? We did not know the Doctor had any Church. He told us so in his Introduction, that he had risen against all Churches and against all "sweet reasonableness." We had taken him to be a Voltairian of the latest generation, that is, evolved through Darwinism. We had our reasons for this. Finding that he blasphemed in every chapter, that he ridiculed the Bible from Genesis to the Apocalypse, that he dragged the name of "the Lord Jesus Christ," as Renan, as Strauss, drag that sacred Name in the mire, we had reasons for putting him down as a Voltairian of this latest generation, which, having neither faith nor science nor literature any more, recognizes no other principle than that of making money, and making books to make the money with.

This gentleman should not charge us with "deliberate misrepresentation."[1] No, he does not charge us with it; he says he will not; for he is too much of a gentleman. So are we. We will not charge him with deliberate misrepresentation. We consider that his word always carries with it voucher enough for the sincerity, fidelity and truth which distinguish him. We only say that, to establish his libellous accounts of St. Francis Xavier and of the Church of Rome generally, he ought to have made deliberate misrepresentations, he ought to have stuck to them stoutly, and then he would have needed no Pascal to support his sinking spirits. But he will call this again "scurrilous." We cannot help that. We do not stand sponsors for anything that the Doctor says; nor for any name he gives to any creature in heaven or on earth;

1 P. 17, note.

nor for his long drawn-out blasphemy against the Creator of heaven and earth.

But, as the author of the *Warfare of Science with Theology* takes things quite pleasantly and lightly, our readers, too, will take a pleased interest in learning, by what possible process he has ever managed to build up a legend on the shifting sand he has chosen, where, if he finds a solid footing at all, he must needs cede it to the cause he has undertaken to demolish.

It is a very simple and easy process. It is that of infallible assurance. He makes eleven or more declarations—we might say in his own apt terms, he makes them "with explosive emphasis"—that Xavier says nothing, that Xavier's associates say nothing, that Xavier's contemporaries say nothing, etc. Why Xavier himself, being a Saint, should say nothing about his miracles and gifts, we thought an easy matter of explanation, when we wrote six years ago; and the learned Bollandist says a word upon that subject in his recent article.[1] But, as to the associates, whom the Doctor harps on so much, he should have told us who they were. How many of them travelled with the Saint on his solitary and lonely journeys from one part of India to another, from India to Japan, from Japan back towards India? We are not aware that any troop of associates waited on the Saint. History is not aware of it either. We find that the few scattered Jesuit missionaries, oftentimes as lonely as the Saint himself, are quite reserved in communicating the first news they receive of the wonderful deeds reported.

Cries the Doctor: His fellow-missionaries never say a word! If they did not, what has that to do with "established facts?" But they do; and the Rev. Bollandist gives quite a series of them.[2]

But, says the Doctor, the great "typical collection" of letters, given by Emanuel Acosta, contains no account of miracles: "The letters in it were written by Xavier and his

1 Analecta Bollandiana, tom xvi., pp. 57-8.

2 Anal. Boll., as above, pp. 58-60.

associates not only from Goa, which was the focus of all missionary effort and the centre of all knowledge regarding their work in the East, but from all other important points in the great field. The first of them were written during the Saint's lifetime, but, though filled with every sort of detail regarding missionary life and work, they say nothing regarding any miracle of Xavier."[1] We are prone to imagine that the Doctor found this collection alone, as representative of all other collections, and magnified it duly; just as he found Julius Gabriel Eugubinus alone as representative of the Council of Trent, and amplified him accordingly. He pretends indeed to know something of other collections; for he adds: "The same is true of various other collections published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." This is like his knowledge of the correspondence issuing from the Council of Trent, and of the "Pope writing from the Council." We leave him here in the hands of the learned Bollandist, who shows him where he might have made a fuller selection.

All that we remark on is the fidelity of the gentleman, who, telling his readers that "the first of these [letters in Emanuel Acosta's collection] were written during the Saint's lifetime," does not tell them how many there are in Acosta to answer this description. One would think there was a legion of them. Out of forty, there are just five, besides two from St. Francis Xavier himself. He says: they are "filled with every sort of detail regarding missionary life and work."

Let us just see. Two of the five are from Paul the Japanese, in one of which he gives an account of his own life and conversion to the faith; and in the other, which, as it stands in Acosta, is an extremely short note, he speaks about the conversion of his family. Two are from Cosmas Torres; the first about his own vocation to the Society, the other about the missionary labors in Japan, whither he had gone with St. Francis Xavier. Finally, there is one from

[1] P 8.

Juan Fernandez, written again from Japan to St. Francis Xavier himself! That is all ; and this is the "typical collection," which, by what it does not contain, is to gainsay what other collections do contain.

Emanuel Acosta himself did not give it forth as a "typical" collection, if by "typical" the Doctor means complete. He made a selection, not only of letters, but of parts of letters, for fear his book should be too large ; and he reduced all the substance of the entire Indian correspondence into a preparatory commentary, where everything might be found, without the desultoriness of epistolary style. The Doctor seems to have seen something inconvenient, with regard to miracles, in this commentary of Emanuel Acosta ; for he refers very lightly to it at the end of his legend, saying: "commentaries written as an afterthought nearly twenty years after Xavier's death."[1] This was quite an afterthought of the Doctor's, at the end of his legend. We would recommend to an historian like him the little effort of forethought, which would consist in reading the very first pages of the book he is consulting. There on the reverse of folio 5, he could have read, in the dedicatory espistle of the Latin translator, addressing Cardinal Truchses: "It seems to me that Emanuel, whose work we translate, was both prudent and faithful in retrenching what seemed not so necessary, and then condensing all the rest into a brief commentary, to put in readiness and at hand, whatever seemed most worthy of written record, for such as desired to be informed of the state and progress of Indian affairs, under the aspect of religion." And the translator says, that he too has retrenched further, without prejudice to the substance.[2] The translator addresses the Cardinal from Rome, 15 Kalen. Decembris MDLXX. This is the identical edition which our author has consulted

1 P. 17.

2 Rerum a Societate Jesu in Oriente gestarum, ad annum usque a Deipara Virgine MDLXVIII., commentarius Emanuelis Acostae Lusitani, recognitus et latinitate donatus : accessere de Japonicis rebus epistolarum libri iiii., item recogniti, et in latinum ex Hispanico sermone conversi. Dilingae, apud Sebaldum Mayer, anno MDLXXI.

in the Royal Library at Munich.[1] But the hurry he must have been in while consulting it in a foreign library was like the hurry he must have been in when writing his ill-digested chapters on ocean steamers or on the Nile. And other considerations must have made him anxious to shut the commentary up in the most expeditious manner possible.

For, on folio 4, is the letter of John III. to the viceroy, enjoining on him the citation of competent witnesses,[2] the drawing up of authentic verbal processes from the depositions,[3] and moreover the entering of the whole process itself into the public records.[4] The witnesses are to be cited from all the regions where there are any persons thoroughly conversant with the facts,[5] and they are to reply to the interrogations under oath.[6] After giving the letter, Acosta goes on to say: "On the arrival of the King's letter in India, the ministers executed the orders with care, and sent to the King such an amount of information, exactly sifted and certified, that it would take too long for us to rehearse all here."[7] Nevertheless to a series of miracles and prophecies he devotes folios 8 to 12.

It is just in the same way that Cardinal Del Monte, in the Papal Consistory of January 19, 1622, introduces the miracles thus: "Out of many miracles which are contained in the processes, and were wrought during life and after death by the Servant of God, Xavier, we have selected these few." And he gives ten of those wrought during life, and thirteen after death; the first of these latter is Xavier's body remaining incorrupt after death, of which we shall hear more anon. Then the Cardinal goes on to "Miraculous Predictions,"

1 P. 11, note.

2 Idonei testes.

3 Tabulas publicas seu authentica instrumenta.

4 Ipsamet iniquisitio in publica monimenta recte atque ordine referatur.

5 Omnibus istis in regionibus, quicunque earum rerum probe conscii extiterint.

6 Jurati ad interrogata respondeant.

7 Fol. 4 verso: ita multa probe comperta atque explorata miserunt, ut singula hoc loco persequi nimis longum sit.

saying: "Of the miraculous predictions of this Servant of God, we shall report some of the more principal ones;" and he recounts seven.[1] And, before he comes to these selections, he puts on record, in the true style of that canonical jurisprudence in which was cradled the civil jurisprudence of Christendom, the series of official processes, now issuing in this summary Relation. The steps were these:

Sixty years after Xavier's death, "when the fame of his sanctity and miracles was in the mouth of the whole Christain world," Paul V., yielding to the supplication of the Society of Jesus, commissioned the Cardinals of the Congregation of Rites to take cognizance of and examine[2] the original processes, drawn up by the Ordinary of the Indies, of Goa, of Cochin, of Bazain and Malaca, at the instance of John, King of Portugal; and determine the preliminary question, whether the fame of Xavier's sanctity and miracles, and the devotion of peoples to him, was such as to warrant further steps. First, Cardinal Pamfili, then after his death, Cardinal Lancelot, presided over this preliminary investigation, conducted by three Auditors of the Rota, whom Del Monte names, and two notaries, one succeeding on the death of the other. The articles regarding the alleged fame of Xavier were produced by a legitimate procurator. Twelve witnesses were examined on this general question of Xavier's fame for sanctity and miracles, *cum interrogatoriis et servatis aliis de jure servandis.* The original processes were produced; they were faithfully interpreted; they were acknowledged to be in form. Finally, the Sacred Congregation of Rites, on the report of Cardinal Lancelot, decided the preliminary and general question in the affirmative, and that now an examination could be instituted on the particulars. Wherefore, Paul V. issued another rescript, commissioning the same three Auditors to resume the cause, examine all the acts and processes;

1 Relatio facta in Consistorio secreto, coram S. D. N Gregorio Papa XV., A Francisco Maria, etc. S. R. E. Card. A. Monte, die xix Januarii, MDCXXII., super vita, sanctitate, actis canonizationis, et miraculis, B. Francisci Xavier, Societatis Jesu. Insulis, MDCXXII. Pages 32–60

2 Super recognitione processuum . . . inquirerent et referrent

despatch official and authoritative letters,[1] as had been done in the former stage, to the Archbishop of Goa, to the Bishops of Pampeluna, Bayonne, to the Bishop of Cochin, to the Bishop of Malacca, or their respective Vicars. Meanwhile, the case was begun over again at Rome, in the particular or special investigation; and other witnesses were cited and examined according to legal forms. The report came back from the authorities commissioned at a distance, and were faithfully interpreted, were producedand examined. Then, at the instance of the procurator of the Society of Jesus, speaking in the name of the King of Spain, and of many other Princes, and of the whole clergy of India, the cause was advanced to a new stage. Many assemblies of the Sacred Congregation of Rites were held; and, taking up point after point in the premises and all the processes, the three Auditors declared that everything therein was legitimate and legal, that the witnesses for the depositions had been duly and rightly examined, and that the evidence stood, *esse in forma probanti;* and that all the virtues and actions of Xavier had been investigated in all particulars, *per particularia dubia.* And a report thereof was made to the same Paul V. This report his successsor, Gregory XV., returned to the Congregation, which then in many sessions "diligently and accurately discussed the assertions and conclusions of the Auditors, and unanimously decided: That all the aforesaid processes were authentic and valid; as they also decided: That all the proofs contained in those processes, regarding the sanctity, excellence of faith and striking miracles[2] of the Servant of God Francis Xavier, were legitimate and sufficient. Now if Your Holiness judges them to be so, and to suffice for canonization, I will proceed to what remains to be said in the third place, giving a brief sketch of his miracles in particular."[3]

In all these canonical processes, special notice is to be taken of one person and his functions. That is the *promotor*

1 Litteras remissoriales et compulsoriales.

2 Praeclaris miraculis. 3 Card. Del Monte, above, pp. 28–32.

fidei, popularly called the "devil's advocate," who allows no jot or tittle to pass without challenge. The achievements of this individual are famous. He does with causes what grand inquisitors did with heresies. Probably all great men of the courts who have mounted to the Cardinalate and to the Papal Throne have signalized their abilities here. Benedict XIV., himself *promotor fidei* at one time, gives instances of their exceptions in his well-known treatise on Heroic Virtue; and we cited an example from him when we wrote before,[1] of an exception taken by Picenino to the proof of St. Francis Xavier's Gift of Tongues, which, as Benedict XIV. added, "Cardinal Gotti vigorously refuted," and conclusively. Whether for the performances of the "devil's advocate," or for the verbal processes of the testimonies, we could alike refer Dr. A. D. White or any one else to the printed volumes which are to be found at large libraries, especially throughout Europe. We have under our own eyes now some five hundred such volumes.[2]

Dr. White seems to have had this Relation of Cardinal Del Monte in his hands.[3] His purpose in quoting the Cardinal's list of ten miracles would appear to be chiefly for the sake of making merry at the expense of the "pious" crab. The rest he was in too great a hurry to see. Possibly he was writing "in a boat on the Nile"[4] at the time. He consulted Emanuel Acosta in the library at Munich. He was in a very great hurry. He slammed the book, and ran away from the library with the identical notion which he had carried into the library with him; and then he went and wrote "on an Atlantic steamer."[5] It is a pity his readers, too, are not on an Atlantic steamer, or in a boat on the Nile!

§ 5.

We ought now to follow the Doctor through the imaginative construction of his legend, growing from Maffei to Tur-

1 *Cath. World*, Oct. 1891, p. 28.

2 In the library of the Bollandists.

3 P. 21, note.

4 Dr. White's Introduction.

5 Ibid.

sellini, to the "life of Vitelleschi," to Bouhours. But, as all the imaginative foundation of the legend has disappeared, it could afford us nothing but amusement. Our instincts put restraints upon us here; and our space puts still more. We quoted Maffei textually, and we quoted Tursellini textually, showing that they themselves contradicted the Doctor's gratuitous assumptions in their regard. But they were necessary for his legend. So we find them in his book with the same libels pinned to them which the Doctor's ingenuity had devised for them in his article. We told him there was no Life of Xavier written by Vitelleschi. He changed his text accordingly; but appended thereto a comic interlude, if not rather something tragic, which perhaps merits a word here.

In the former edition, he had spoken of the Life written in 1622, "by Father Vitelleschi;"[1] he had said again: "Vitelleschi, in his Life of Xavier."[2] Now Fr. Vitelleschi could have written no life in 1622. He had been General of the Society during seven years already; and a General can find no leisure for writing Lives. We said to the Doctor: "Who is Vitelleschi, that wrote a Life of St. Francis Xavier? There is no such person and no such Life."[3] Hereupon, in his new edition, the Doctor has done something which we do not altogether like. In each of the two places, he slips quite a different phrase into the text, saying of the Life, that it was "published under the sanction of Vitelleschi."[4] Now we have no objection to that; for it was to put the gentleman on the right path that we vouchsafed our friendly criticism. But the note, which the gentleman adds here—that is what jars on our critical sense. He says: "The writer in the *Catholic World*, already mentioned, rather rashly asserts that there is no such Life of Xavier as that I have above quoted;" and then he expands at some length. Now really we had never made any such rash assertion; for the gentle-

1 *Popular Science Monthly*, May, 1891, 6 p. 2 Ibid. p. 7.
3 *Cath. World*, Sept. 1891, p. 845.
4 White's *Warfare*, etc., ibid. p. 15.

man had never made any such quotation. We could not deny what he had not yet written. We denied only what he himself has now denied, by introducing so quietly that agreeable change into his text. He is free to introduce changes into his production. We would exhort him to put in many more. He may even do so surreptitiously. We have no objection to all that. The only open question between the Doctor and mankind generally is upon the propriety of basing an attack upon a surreptitious and masked manœuvre of self-justification. As to the rest of his expansive note, that we "have evidently glanced over the bibliographies of Carayon and De Backer, and not finding it there under the name of Vitelleschi have spared ourselves further trouble," by which remark the Doctor retorts our own argument against his whole manner of composition; to this our only rejoinder is, that there is no need of resorting to Dr. White's methods, in order to answer Dr. White. Since he now favors us, in his new edition, with the full title of this "Life of Fr. Vitelleschi," we recognize it as the sketch by Fr. Soprani. There is such a book. And, if as good use be made of it in future, as we augur for Joseph Acosta in the library of Cornell University, we may congratulate ourselves on the very best results.

He takes up Bouhours, who wrote 130 years after St. Francis Xavier's death; and he devotes about three pages to the "evolution of legend" in Fr. Bouhour's popular Life. It is to be regretted that the Doctor does not find a biography of the Saint written in the year 1897. We believe it would have added a complete stage to his edifice. Having at hand to-day the huge mass of processes, which were already available in Bouhour's time; possessing besides the immense literature on the Saint now at the world's disposal; a modern writer could strike out on a line of his own, make new detours through all that material; he could with literary art adjust new combinations in assorting it, and make special features salient by the situations he selected in it; and he could do all this, with such effect, well known indeed in the literary world of biography, that the same ignorant passer-by, who had thought before that no new life could be written

effectively of a great personage, would cry out afterwards: This is all so new, it must be legend! Who knows but a biographer may yet supply the Doctor with a new stage to his edifice?

Let us give an example, and close with it, of this "wavering" line, as the Doctor speaks, or this "growing" plant, as the Doctor terms it, or this "evolution" to which he is so devoted.

Telling how the story of the resurrections wrought by Xavier had grown and wavered, betwixt one author and another, he had said in his first edition: "In 1622, at the canonization proceedings, three were mentioned; but by the time of Father Bouhours there were twenty-five."[1] Whereupon we remarked: "Charming! As if the twenty-five had evolved out of the three! In 1715 (that is, nearly a hundred years later still), the number was not twenty-five but twenty-seven, recognized, says D'Aurignac, by the court of Rome at that date; but of the twenty-seven 'fourteen had been wrought within a few years' previous to this date of 1715." D'Aurignac continues: At the same date, 1715, 'the Bishop of Malacca had authenticated eight hundred miracles in his diocese alone.' "Our legendary evolution," we continued, "imagines that all had developed out of an original small stock, an original suggestion, so to say, of protoplasmic legend."[2] It was thus we replied to the Doctor. In the new edition, the gentleman drops down rather seriously from his original "twenty-five" to "fourteen!"—as we might express our selves in Miltonian phrase, "plumb down he drops!" He says: "In 1622, at the canonization proceedings, three were mentioned; but by the time of Father Bouhours there were fourteen—all raised from the dead during his lifetime—and the name, place, and circumstances are given with much detail in each case."[3] We should have thought that pretty good. Not so the Doctor, who thinks it very bad to be in a quandary. So he issues

1 *Popular Science Monthly*, May, 1891, p. 8.

2 *Cath. World*, Sept., 844.

3 White's *Warfare*, etc., p. 17.

out of it by means of a monitory note to us. Whenever Dr. White is in brankruptcy he issues monitory notes. He says: "The writer in the *Catholic World*, already referred to, has based an attack here upon a misconception—I will not call it a deliberate misrepresentation—of his own by stating that these resurrections occurred after Xavier's death, and were due to his intercession or the use of his relics. This statement of the Jesuit father is utterly without foundation, as a simple reference to Bouhours will show." Then he flourishes a long list of Bouhours' pages in our face.

We understand the Doctor perfectly. We should like him indeed to be scrupulous about the truth; but, with the three passages now before the reader, we think it unnecessary to formulate our own impressions on that estimable and delicate virtue. All that we say now is, that, if he will just add the fourteen which he has discovered so minutely in Bouhours, to the fourteen which D'Aurignac supplied, he will arrive at twenty-eight, pretty near D'Aurignac's number, and sufficiently different from Dr. White's original twenty-five to recommend its insertion in the third edition of his valuable legend. It will introduce another "wavering" line of beauty into the varied imagery which already adorns it. As to the arithmetic involved, we have nothing to do with it. D'Aurignac will supply the figures; but Dr. White is the expert there: first, twenty-five; now, fourteen; probably, twenty-eight to-morrow.

There was once a poetic fiend whom a poetic genius described thus:

> As in a cloudy chair, ascending rides
> Audacious; but, that seat soon failing, meets
> A vast vacuity: all unawares,
> Fluttering his pennons vain, plumb down he drops
> Ten thousand fathom deep, and to this hour
> Down had been falling, had not . . .

The rest of the quotation we shall see in sober prose, when the Evolution so far considered, and the Devolution which followed, shall enter into its third edition. In the mean-

time, we shall assist the Doctor in his perilous career with some directive principles of criticism. Of them in our next.[1]

THOMAS HUGHES, S. J.

Brussels, Belgium.

1 To help the Doctor in his arithmetical development, we beg to supply him with some new figures, though at the cost of introducing him to a new book, with unknown risks to ourselves. The advocate who spoke in the public consistory before the Pope, nine days after Cardinal Del Monte's oration in the secret consistory, expressed himself thus: "Now the miracles wrought by him [Xavier], both during life and after death, were so numerous, so varied and so brilliant, that Xavier may certainly be said not to have fallen short even of the great Apostles themselves. To pass over other categories, the dead who were brought back to life, number in the Acts not fewer than twenty, although in the Relation produced before Your Holiness only four of them are mentioned," etc. Jam vero miracula per illum tum viventem, tum vita functum, patrata divinitus, tam multa, tam varia, tamque insignia sunt, ut profecto Xaverius nihil fecisse minus a magnis Apostolis affirmari possit. Certe mortui ad vitam restituti, ut caetera taceam, quamvis in relatione habita coram Sanctitate Vestra quatuor tantummodo numerentur, tamen non pauciores quam viginti in Actis proferuntur," etc. Oratio Nicolai Lambeccari Consistorialis aulae advocati, etc., etc., coram SSmo. D. N. Gregorio XV. in publico Consistorio etc., die xxvii. Januarii, MDCXXII: Romae, Barthol. Zanetti, etc. MDCXXII. In 4to., pp. 1–22: page 18.

ANALECTA.

LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE

De Privilegiis Americae Latinae.

LEO PP. XIII.

AD FVTVRAM REI MEMORIAM.

Trans Oceanum Atlanticum ad alteram orbis partem divinae providentiae benigna dispositione per Christophorum Columbum aperto itinere, Ecclesia Dei multa ibi mortalium millia reperit, quos, ut suum munus atque opus erat, a latebris et fero cultu ad humanitatem et mansuetudinem traduceret, ab errore et superstitione ad communionem bonorum omnium, quae per Iesum Christum parta sunt, ab interitu ad vitam revocaret. Quod quidem salutare munus, ipso vivente adhuc repertore Columbo, ab Alexandro VI. Pontifice Maximo decessore Nostro inchoatum perpetuo caritatis tenore ita Ecclesia insistere perrexit, pergit, ut temporibus nostris ad extremam usque Patagoniam sacras suas expeditiones auspicato protulerit. Campus enim spatio interminatus, cessatione ipsa atque otio ferax, si diligenter subigatur et colatur, fructus edit laetos atque uberes, cultorumque laboribus atque industriae optime respondet.

Quamobrem Romani Pontifices decessores Nostri nullo non tempore destiterunt ad Americae culturam novos operarios summittere, quos ut acrius elaborarent praestantioresque ab opere suo fructus demeterent, singularibus facultatibus et privilegiis auxerunt, atque extraordinaria auctoritate et potestate corroborarunt. Quibus freti Missionarii, lumine religionis catholicae per Americae regiones longe lateque diffuso, brevi interiecto annorum spatio, in iis praesertim locis ubi novi incolae ab Europa commigrantes, nominatim

Hispani, domicilium sibi sedemque stabilem collocaverunt, templa excitarunt, monasteria condiderunt, paroecias, scholas aperuerunt, dioeceses ex potestate Summorum Pontificum constituerunt. Ex quo factum est ut Americae magna pars ab avita religione novorum incolarum et ab origine eorum linguae haberi et dici possit America Latina.

At illud proprium est humanarum institutionum et legum, ut nihil sit in eis tam sanctum et salutare quod vel consuetudo non demutet, vel tempora non invertant, vel mores non corrumpant. Sic in Ecclesia Dei, in qua cum absoluta immutabilitate doctrinae varietas disciplinae coniungitur, non raro evenit, ut quae olim apta erant atque idonea, ea labens aetas faciat vel inepta, vel inutilia, vel etiam contraria.

Quare antiquis privilegiis temporis decursu vel ex parte abrogatis, vel alias ut plurimum insufficientibus, singulari Maximorum Pontificum largitione, aliae adiectae sunt facultates sub determinatis formulis, vel singulis Americae Latinae Episcopis deinceps delegari solitae, vel pro extraordinariis quibusdam casibus et determinatis regionibus concessae, quarum series si antiqua privilegia numero et extensione superat, difficultates tamen quae sunt circa naturam, vigorem et numerum eorumdem e medio non tollit. Ad haec amovenda incommoda decessor Noster sanctae memoriae Pius IX. datis ad id similibus litteris die 1 Octobris anni MDCCCLXVII. plura ex antiquis privilegiis pro Republica Aequatoris ad triginta annorum spatium confirmavit, seu quatenus opus fuerat denuo concessit.

Quum vero ex monumentis ecclesiasticis Americam Latinam respicientibus, quae magna peritorum diligentia collecta atque investigata sunt, probe constet multa ex privilegiis Indiae Occidentali concessis partim haud vigere, partim in dubium esse revocanda ; Nos qui Americanas gentes egregie de Ecclesia Romana meritas singulari amore prosequimur, ad tollendas in re tanti momenti perplexitates et angustias animi, quae Episcopos illarum dioecesium aliosque, quorum interest, non raro exagitant, totum dictorum privilegiorum negotium deferri iussimus speciali Congregationi Venerabilium Fratrum Nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium ; qui post

maturam deliberationem novorum privilegiorum catalogum, exclusis catalogis, summariis et recensionibus in conciliis provincialibus vel aliter editis, conficiendum censuerunt, confectumque Apostolica auctoritate probandum.

Nos igitur re mature perpensa, pro ea, quam gerimus de omnibus Ecclesiis sollicitudine, eorumdem Venerabilium Fratrum Nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium, ne Clerus et populus illarum regionum anteactorum privilegiorum memoria et usu penitus privati maneant, sententiam tenuimus et quae infra recensentur privilegia pro omnibus Americae Latinae singulisque dioecesibus et ditionibus de Apostolicae potestatis plenitudine ad proximum triginta annorum spatium hisce ipsis litteris concedimus. Quare, quod bonum, felix, faustumque sit et universae Americae Latinae Ecclesiae benevertat, mandamus, edicimus:

I. Ut electi Episcopi in Americae Latinae ditionibus commorantes postquam promotionis litteras Apostolicas acceperint, nisi aliter in praefatis litteris praescriptum sit, a quocumque maluerint catholico Antistite, gratiam et communionem Apostolicae Sedis habente, accitis et assistentibus, si alii Episcopi assistentes absque gravi incommodo reperiri nequeant, duobus vel tribus presbyteris in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutis, vel Cathedralis Ecclesiae Canonicis, consecrationis munus accipere valeant.

II. Ut Concilii Provincialis celebratio ad duodecim annos differri possit, reservato Metropolitae iure illud frequentius, prout necessitas postulaverit, celebrandi, nisi aliter per Sedem Apostolicam postea ordinatum fuerit.

III. Ut Episcopi Sacrum Chrisma, quod ex indico etiam, vero tamen balsami liquore fieri potest, et Olea Sacra conficere possint iis sacerdotibus adstantibus qui adstare potuerint, et, urgente necessitate, extra diem Coenae Domini.

IV. Ut adhiberi possint Sacra Olea etiam antiqua, non tamen ultra quatuor annos, dummodo corrupta ne sint, et peracta omni diligentia, nova vel recentioria Sacra Olea haberi nequeant.

V. Ut pro omnibus et solis regionibus seu locis, in quibus magnae distantiae causa vel ob aliud grave impedimentum

perdifficile sit Parochis vel Missionariis ad Baptismum conferendum aquam Sabbato Sancto et Pentecoste benedictam ex fontibus baptismalibus, ubi asservatur, desumere et secum circumferre, Ordinarii, nomine Sanctae huius Sedis, concedere possint Parochis et Missionariis supra dictis facultatem benedicendi aquam baptismalem ea breviori formula, qua Missionarios in Peruvia apud Indos Summus Pontifex Paulus III. uti concessit, quaeque in appendice ad rituale Romanum legitur.

VI. Ut si propter defectum temporis, improbamque defatigationem, aliisque gravibus de causis perdifficile sit omnes adhibere caeremonias pro Baptismo adultorum praescriptas, Parochi et Missionarii, de praevio Ordinarii consensu, uti possint solis ritibus, qui in Constitutione Pauli III. "Altitudo," diei 1 Iunii, MDXXXVII. designantur. Insuper ut in iisdem rerum adiunctis Ordinarii nomine Sanctae Sedis concedere valeant Parochis et Missionariis usum ordinis Baptismi parvulorum, onerata in usu huiusmodi facultatis eorumdem Ordinariorum conscientia super existentia gravis necessitatis.

VII. Ut in omnibus et singulis ditionibus Americae Latinae, nulla excepta, omnes sacerdotes tam saeculares quam regulares, quamdiu in praefatis ditionibus moram duxerint, et non alias, singulis annis die secunda Novembris seu die sequenti, iuxta rubricas Missalis Romani, qua nempe commemoratio omnium fidelium defunctorum ab Ecclesia universali recolitur, tres Missas singuli celebrare possint et valeant, ita tamen ut unam tantum eleemosynam accipiant, videlicet pro prima Missa dumtaxat, et in ea quantitate tantum, quae a Synodalibus Constitutionibus seu a loci consuetudine regulariter praefinita fuerit; fructum autem medium secundae et tertiae Missae non peculiari quidem defuncto, sed in suffragium omnium fidelium defunctorum omnino applicent, ad normam Constitutionis Benedicti XIV. Pontificis Maximi "Quod expensis" diei XXVI. Augusti, MDCCXLVIII.

VIII. Ut omnes fideles annuae Confessionis et Communionis praecepto satisfacere possint a dominica Septuagesi-

mae usque ad octavam diem solemnitatis Corporis Christi inclusive.

IX. Ut omnes fideles lucrari possint indulgentias et iubilaea, quae requirunt Confessionem, Communionem et ieiunium, dummodo servato ieiunio, si loco inhabitent, ubi impossibile prorsus vel difficile admodum sit Confessarii copiam habere, corde saltem contriti sint cum proposito firmo confitendi admissa quam primum poterunt, vel ad minus intra unum mensem.

X. Ut Indi et Nigritae intra tertium et quartum tam consanguinitatis quam affinitatis gradum matrimonia contrahere possint.

XI. Ut Indi et Nigritae quocumque anni tempore nuptiarum benedictionem accipere possint, dummodo iis temporibus, quibus ab Ecclesia prohibentur nuptiae, pompae apparatum non adhibeant.

XII. Ne Indi et Nigritae ieiunare teneantur praeterquam in feriis sextis Quadragesimae, in Sabbato Sancto, et in pervigilio Natalis D. N. I. C.

XIII. Ut praeterea Indi et Nigritae absque ullo onere, seu solutione eleemosynae uti possint indulto, quod Quadragesimale dicitur, et quo fideles respectivae dioecesis seu regionis ab Apostolica Sede donantur; ideoque carnibus, ovis et lacticiniis vesci possint omnibus diebus ab Ecclesia vetitis, exceptis quoad carnes diebus in superiori paragrapho XII. notatis.

XIV. Ut quandocumque in causis tam criminalibus, quam aliis quibuscumque forum ecclesiasticum concernentibus a sententiis pro tempore latis appellari contigerit, si prima sententia ab Episcopo lata fuerit, ad Metropolitanum, si vero prima sententia lata sit ab ipso Metropolitano, ad Ordinarium viciniorem absque alio Sedis Apostolicae rescripto appelletur: et si secunda sententia primae conformis fuerit, vim rei iudicatae obtineat, et executioni per eum, qui eam tulerit, demandetur, quacumque appellatione non obstante: si vero illae duae sive ab Ordinario et Metropolitano, sive a Metropolitano et Ordinario viciniore latae, conformes non fuerint, tunc ad alterum Metropolitanum vel Episcopum ei,

a quo primo fuit lata sententia, viciniorem eiusdem provinciae appelletur, et duas ex ipsis tribus sententias conformes, quas vim rei iudicatae habere volumus, is, qui postremo loco iudicaverit, exequatur, quacumque appellatione non obstante. Cum autem recursus ad Apostolicam Sedem etiam omisso medio, sive ante, sive post sententias iudicum inferiorum, semper integer manere debeat, ad normam iuris, in usu huius privilegii omnino servandae erunt sequentes conditiones : 1° Ut in singulis causis salva maneat cuique litiganti facultas ad hanc Apostolicam Sedem etiam post primam sententiam recurrendi ; 2° Ut in singulis actibus expressa fiat Apostolicae delegationis mentio ; 3° Ut causae maiores sint eidem Apostolicae Sedi reservatae ad normam Sacri Concilii Tridentini ; 4° Et quoad causas matrimoniales ea custodiantur, quae in Constitutione Benedicti XIV., cuius initium " Dei miseratione," praestituta sunt.

Abrogatis deletisque Auctoritate Nostra Apostolica omnibus et singulis Indiarum Occidentalium privilegiis quocumque nomine vel forma ab hac Sancta Sede prius concessis.

Contrariis quibuscumque etiam speciali et individua mentione dignis non obstantibus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die solemni Paschae XVIII. Aprilis, MDCCCXCVII., Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimo.

A. *Card.* MACCHI.

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE.

Dubia.

DE VALIDITATE ORDINATIONIS—TACTUS INSTRUMENTORUM.

I.

Bme Pater,

Sempronius Sacerdos Regularis, ad S. V. pedes provolutus, humili prece petit solutionem dubii cuiusdam, a quo iam a plurimo tempore, circa validitatem suae ordinationis sacerdotalis, exagitatur. Quum enim in tactu instrumentorum adhibuisset non quidem indices et medios digitos, sed indices et pollices, prius tetigit cuppam calicis ; sed postea, quum

Episcopus formulam pronunciavit, tetigit tantummodo patenam cum superposita hostia super calicem. Itaque, quum res non adamussim processerit iuxta praescriptiones Pontificalis, Theologorumque doctrinam, Orator pro conscientiae tranquillitate suae, petit: quid tenendum de validitate suae ordinationis?

Feria IV., 17 martii 1897.

In Congne Gen. S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab Emis ac Rmis DD. Card. in Republica christiana adversus haereticam pravitatem Generalibus Inquisitoribus, proposito suprascripto dubio praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Emi ac Rmi Dni respondendum mandarunt:

Orator acquiescat.

Sequenti vero die ac feria, facta de praedictis relatione SS. D. N. D. Leoni Div. Prov. Papae XIII. in solita audientia R. P. D. Adsessori S. O. impertita, Sanctitas Sua Emorum Patrum resolutionem adprobavit.

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

II.

Beatissime Pater,

Caius Sacerdos, ad S. V. pedes provolutus, humiliter petit, ut conscientiae suae tranquillitati provideatur, solutionem dubii cuiusdam a quo vexatur, circa valorem sacerdotalis ordinationis. Ex hoc profluit tale dubium, quod in traditione instrumentorum, non omnia processerunt exacte secundum praescriptiones Pontificalis, quum tetigerit tantum patenam et hostiam super calice positam, non autem ipsum calicem etsi ad istum cum digitis tangendum connisus fuisset.

Feria IV., 17 martii, 1897.

In Congne Gen. S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab Emis ac Rmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei Generalibus Inquisitoribus, proposito suprascripto dubio praehabitoque Rrum DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Emi ac Rmi Dni respondendum mandarunt:

Orator acquiescat.

Sequenti vero die ac feria, facta de praedictis relatione SS. D. N. D. Leoni Div. Prov. Papae XIII. in solita audientia R. P. D. Adsessori S. O. impertita, Sanctitas Sua Emorum Patrum resolutionem adprobavit.

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

III.

Beatissime Pater,

Gaspar Sacerdos ut suae conscientiae consulatur, humiliter postulat sequentis dubii solutionem. Quum Orator sacrum suscepit presbyteratus ordinem, quatuor vel quinque insimul erant ordinandi qui omnes certatim instrumenta tangere connitebantur. Meminit se prius talia tetigisse, sed quando prolata est formula, etsi conaretur illa denuo tangere, impeditus fuit a manibus caeterorum: inde timores agitationesque circa suae ordinationis validitatem.

Feria IV., 17 martii, 1897.

In Congne Gen. S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab Emis ac Rmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei Generalibus Inquisitoribus, proposito suprascripto dubio, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Emi ac Rmi Dni respondendum mandarunt:

Orator acquiescat.

Sequenti vero die et feria facta de praedictis relatione SS. D. N. D. Leoni Div. Prov. Papae XIII. in solita audientia R. P. D. Adsessori S. O. impertita, Sanctitas Sua Emorum Patrum resolutionem adprobavit.

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

IV.

DE USU FOECUNDATIONIS ARTIFICIALIS.

Feria IV., die 24 martii, 1897.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. I. habita coram Emis ac Rmis DD. Cardinalibus contra haereticam pravitatem Generalibus Inquisitoribus, proposito dubio:

An adhiberi possit artificialis mulieris foecundatio?

Omnibus diligentissimo examine perpensis, praehabitoque DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Emi Cardinales respondendum mandarunt:

Non licere.

Feria vero VI., die 26 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita Audientia r. p. d. Adsessori S. O. impertita, facta de suprascriptis accurata relatione SSmo D. N. D. Leoni Papae XIII., Sanctitas Sua resolutionem Emorum Patrum adprobavit et confirmavit.

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

E S. CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM.

DE JURE MONIALIUM ACCIPIENDI HAEREDITATEM.

Beatissime Pater,

Episcopus Zamorensis, in Hispania, ad pedes S. V. provolutus, humillime exponit: N. N. Sanctimonialem Ordinis Praemonstratensis in conventu civitatis N., huius dioecesis, ex Constitutionibus civilibus hispanicis ius habet ad haereditatem capiendam, quae eidem contigit ex morte fratris presbyteri recens defuncti. Hinc quaeritur:

1. An praefata Sanctimonialis, posita solemni religiosa professione quam iamdiu emisit, licite in conscientia possit gestiones agere, sive per se sive per procuratorem, ut haereditatem capiat proprio nomine coram saeculari iudice, in bonum tamen totius Communitatis, ut par est; vel potius egeat, ratione voti paupertatis, legitima dispensatione ad praedictas gestiones iuridicas agendas ad haereditatem adquirendam?

2. Dato quod dispensatione egeat: an haec eidem tribui possit a conventus Superiorissa, aut ab Episcopo cui conventus subest: vel necessario, ratione solemnis voti, a Sede Apostolica obtineri debeat?—Demum, posita necessitate recurrendi ad Apostolicam Sedem pro praedicta dispensatione, Episcopus orator suppliciter postulat:

1. Ut praefatae Sanctimoniali facultas tribuatur ad iuridicas gestiones per procuratorem instituendas ac perficiendas

pro haereditate sibi ac proprio nomine capienda, quae in bonum cedat totius Communitatis.—

2. Ut eidem Episcopo oratori sufficiens facultas elargiatur ut dispensare possit super vota paupertatis in casibus similibus ad id ut providere valeat pro urgentia quae regulariter in iisdem occurrit.—Et Deus...

Sacra Congregatio Emorum ac Rmorum S. R. E. Cardinalium negotiis et consultationbus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, super praemissis censuit respondendum prout respondet:

Ad 1^{m} et 2^{m} providebitur in Tertio.

Ad 3^{m} Affirmative pro petita facultate; ita tamen ut haereditas acquiratur Monasterio.

Ad 4^{m} Affirmative pro petita facultate ad triennium, pro casibus dumtaxat urgentibus, in quibus nempe non suppetat tempus recurrendi ad Sanctam Sedem.

Romae, 15 Januarii, 1897.

S. *Card.* VANNUTELLI, *Praef.*

CONFERENCES.

[NOTE.—Owing to the importance and length of the leading articles in the present number of the REVIEW, we have been obliged to curtail the space available for Conferences and Book Reviews.

THE EDITOR.]

THE FACULTY OF RECEIVING THE CONFESSIONS OF NUNS IN THE PARISH CHURCH.

Qu. Does the Ordinary who issues a summary prohibition to his clergy not to receive the confessions of religious who apply to them in their churches exceed his rights?

Resp. Confessors who have the ordinary faculty of hearing confessions, such as it is given to our missionary clergy, have a right to receive in their churches all penitents applying to them. This includes religious without distinction, as is clear from the following declaration of the Holy See made through the S. Congregation for Bishops and Regulars in answer to a proposed doubt:

"Aliquando Moniales aut ratione sanitatis aut alia causa obtinent veniam egrediendi ad breve tempus ex earum monasterio, retento habitu; quaeritur an in tali casu possint exomologesim suam facere apud confessarios approbatos pro utroque sexu *quamvis non approbatis pro monialibus?* Resp.: *Affirmative*, durante mora extra monasterium." (Die 27 Aug., 1852.)

Later (22 April, 1872), a declaration was added by the same authority, that this decision applied to all classes of religious who had made simple vows, so that they might, if need be, confess to any priest properly authorized in his own church and diocese, although not specially approved as a confessor of religious. With Regulars who have parish churches this is a *fortiori* the case since they ordinarily receive the faculty of hearing the confessions of religious through their Institute directly from the Holy See.

Qu. "Item fuit definitum pro Congregationibus Sororum quae vota simplicia emittunt nec clausurae legibus subjacent: Sorores de quibus agitur posse peragere extra piam propriam domum, sacramentalem Confessionem penes quemcumque Confessarium ab Ordinario approbatum."

Whilst it cannot be admitted that a Bishop could legitimately deprive all his clergy of the partial exercise of a faculty which is universal in its character as understood by the supreme authority of the Church, the Ordinary may, of course, reserve to himself for legitimate reasons the right of absolving in *special or reserved cases.* But a reserved case is quite a different thing from a prohibition affecting the right of the confessor as to the personality or state of life unless the latter involve the standing commission of grievous sin. It is as though a Bishop were to prohibit people from receiving absolution not by reason of any sin but because of their color of skin, or their nationality, etc.

On the other hand the Ordinary has the power to prevent the abuse of the right which every religious enjoys under the general law of the Church to select an extraordinary confessor, by prohibiting religious from habitually evading the Tridentine provision which assigns regular approved con-

fessors to each religious community. It would utterly destroy the unity of religious discipline if every member of the community were to follow the direction of a different spiritual guide. Hence the S. Congregation, interpreting the meaning of the Instruction "De Aperitione Conscientiae," answers certain pertinent doubts proposed in the following:

CIRCA CONFESSARIOS MONIALIUM

Decr. d. I. Febr. 1892 super decret. 17. Dec. 1890.

I. An qui concessus est monialibus favor recurrendi ad confessarium extraordinarium *quoties ut propriae conscientiae consulant ad id adigantur*, ita limitibus et conditionibus careat, ut ipsae eo uti queant constanter, quin unquam confessarium ordinarium adeant, et ne ab Episcopo quidem redargui aliquo modo valeant, si rationibus haud probandis aut futilibus ductae fuerint?

II. Confessarii adjuncti, si quando cognoscunt non esse probabilem causam ad ipsos recurrendi, an teneantur in conscientia ad declinandam confessionum sororum auditionem?

III. Si quaedam sorores (imo, quod pejus est, major pars illarum) constanter ad aliquem e confessariis adjunctis recurrant, debetne Episcopus silere, an potius intervenire, aliquo modo procurando ut salva sit sancita in Bulla *Pastoralis* maxima: "Generaliter statutum esse dignoscitur ut pro singulis monalium monasteriis unus dumtaxat confessarius deputetur?"

IV. Et quatenus intervenire debeat, quam inire viam legitime queat? Sacra Congregatio Emorum ac Remorum S.R.E. Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praepositis, propositis dubiis censuit rescribendum prout rescripsit:

Ad I. Negative.

Ad II. Affirmative.

Ad III. Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam.

Ad IV. Moneat Ordinarius moniales et sorores de quibus agitur, dispositionem articuli IV. Decreti *Quemadmodum* exceptionem tantum legi communi constituere pro casibus dumtaxat verae et absolutae necessitatis, quoties ad id adigantur, firmo remanente quod a S. Concilio Tridentino et a Constitutione s. m. Benedicti XIV. incipiente *Pastoralis curae* praescriptum habetur.

I. CARD. VERGA, *Praef.*

J. M. GRANNIELLO, BARN. *Secret.*

ROMAE, I Februarii, 1892.

BOOK REVIEW.

LA FRANCE ET LE GRAND SCHISME D'OCCIDENT. Par Noël Valois. Deux tomes. Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 82 Rue Bonaparte. 1896. Pp. 406 and 516. 8 vo.

This is an important utterance on a subject to which the author has given careful study for many years, and which continually derives fresh interest as an historic study from every new attitude of the reigning dynasties towards the Holy See. Few writers have so thoroughly analyzed and understood the character of Charles V. of France, or given us a more satisfactory sketch of the condition of the Church toward the end of the year 1378, than has been done by M. Valois. To some extent he manages to vindicate France from the charge of being principally responsible for the great schism which followed upon the residence of the Popes at Avignon. He points out that Italy and Germany were incapable and unwilling to offer any real aid to the papacy, or to save its name from ignominy, whilst France politically, diplomatically, and as a military power, represented protection of the interests of the Catholic Church in the true sense of the word. The reader who follows our author through the vast field of his sources can hardly fail to be convinced that the case made out by M. Valois rests upon a strong basis. He has studied the Roman documents bearing on the subject, that is to say, those principally which pertain to the reigns of Urban VI. and Boniface IX. These were not sufficiently known even to scholars previous to the opening of the Vatican Archives. Nor is it a question simply of studying the *Registra*, recently transcribed; these have their difficulties which call upon the student to complete the *lacunae* from various other sources. The papers drawn from the archives which had been kept at Avignon, are much more numerous, and must indeed puzzle the historian who aims at treating the question from any but the most general point of view. The Bulls of Clement VII. (Robert of Geneva), known as *registres avignonnais*, because they remained there until 1784, comprise seventy volumes, form of course only a fraction of the

matter offering itself for examination on this topic, and though there is much duplicate MS. in the archives, the extent to which search must be made to distinguish copy from original is considerable. Besides the papal documents there are the declarations, memoirs, consultations, *casus*, private letters of that period published long ago by François du Chesne, Egasse du Boulay, Baluze, D'Achery, Martene, and more recently by Döllinger, Lettenhove, the abbé Gaijet and the indefatigable Jesuit Father Ehrle, all of which material, and much more, must be taken into account when we wish to treat justly even one of the leading characters of that eventful period to which Clement VII. belongs. The national libraries of France had already been ransacked for evidence which threw light upon the studies of Bréquigny, Tardif, Delisle and other French writers of national history. But our author has delved deeper into the old chronicles and found much that is new, and much that corrects wrong impressions created by such chronicles as those of the Religious of *Saint-Denys* or the allegories by Mézières and by Bonet, which passed for history under pretentious titles like *Judicium Veritatis in causa Schismatis.*

Other Italian and French sources were the state archives of Milan, not very rich in themselves, but indicating other finds which would complete the accounts of Muratori and Tartini. Naples and also the Provence, the history of which is in some respects intimately bound up with that of the Neapolitan Kingdom, furnish vouchers for the accuracy of our author's account. He goes to the archives of Spain and Portugal, of Germany and Flanders, of Brittany, Hungary, Denmark, and manages to find some unpublished documents even in England, poor as it is in accounts referring to this period.

But let the reader convince himself of the sterling qualities possessed by our author; for no student of modern history can pretend to obtain so complete a view of the whole question, as is furnished by the present work, even were we to allow its Gallican bias, which is wholly justifiable in view of the position taken by controversial historians of other nationalities.

LOGIC AND METAPHYSICS. By the Rev. Louis Jouin, S.J., St. John's College, Fordham, N. Y. Pp. ix., 263.

Fr. Jouin is too well known a veteran in the field of Catholic philosophy in this country to require any word of introduction to

the readers of this REVIEW. His *Compendium Logicae et Metaphysicae* and his *Elementa Philosophiae Moralis* have long been familiar to students of philosophy, especially to those who have sat at the feet of the master in "Old Fordham." His present manual in English follows very closely the corresponding Latin compendium and has consequently the same qualities to commend it—a brevity and terseness which just hold the thought from gliding into obscurity. The essentials of philosophy are all here packed and arranged with that neatness and precision of which only those who are used to dealing in such goods have the mastery. In the hands of a teacher familiar with scholastic philosophy the work will make a serviceable class manual.

THE LIFE OF OUR LADYE, Scriptural, Traditional and Topographical. Compiled from approved sources by M. P. Benziger Bros.: N. Y.; London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1896. pp. 182. Pr. $1.25.

The neatness and simplicity with which this blue-mantled booklet has been dressed wins for it a reading, and reading, the client of Mary will find his devotion strengthen. No apology is needed for adding one more to the Lives of the Blessed Virgin, provided the addition quicken and foster love for the Mother of God. This the present little work will do. In easy strain the story is told from her birth to her Assumption. The facts are gathered from the Gospel narrative and supplemented by the teaching of the early Fathers with just enough of topographical setting to make the *compositio loci.* The devotional practices of Blessed De Montfort and an account of the Confraternity of our Lady of Light are given in the end. The make-up of the volume commends it as a gift-book.

CATENA EVANGELIORUM sacerdoti meditanti proposita.—Lovanii: J. B. Istas, typographus-editor. 1897.

P. Louis Delplace, S.J., gives us a new volume of Meditations wihch were originally designed for the use of the ecclesiastical students of the American Seminary at Louvain. The subject-matter embraces the entire life of Our Lord, arranged from the harmony of the four Gospels. The points are briefly explained within a compass of two pages for each meditation, so as to suggest matter for half an hour's fruitful consideration. A great advantage is to be found in the method adopted by our author, according to which he

confines himself to a close elucidation of the Sacred Text, following the historic order of evangelical events. Thus, the cleric obtains a fund of practical knowledge from S. Scripture, which will be of much service to him in the office of preaching. Indeed, for priests who realize the value of the Latin language as a medium of concentrated Catholic thought and feeling, which may be expanded in the familiar instructions given to the faithful, we know of no better meditation-book than this. The exegesis of the work is as sound as the method is practical, for the author has drawn from excellent sources, such as Corluy, Cornely, Knabenbauer, Hummelauer, Méchineau and others of equal eminence as interpreters of the Sacred Volume. The Jesuit Order has produced nearly all our standard works on the art of meditation, and this last one is certainly among the best.

ELEMENTA PHILOSOPHIAE SCHOLASTICAE, Pars I. Auctoribus Fratribus Scholarum Christianarum. Ex Typis N. Y. C. Protectory, Neo Eboraci. 1897. Pp. 192.

Brother Chrysostom, who modestly merges his personality in the community of the Christian Brotherhood, has written these elements of philosophy for the use of his pupils in Manhattan College, in which he has been for many years a professor. The work is in the strictest sense a text book. The essentials of Logic and Ontology are here, and we might add the quintessence of Cosmology likewise, for the latter section is exceedingly brief. The author's aim throughout has been to put these essentials in briefest shape compatible with clearness and distinctness. There is not a superfluous sentence, scarcely a word that could be spared in the book. Though thus compact the work is not jejune. To the teacher's eye familiar with the general subject-matter the text will appear sufficiently full and suggestive of much more than it explicitly states.

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INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGICAE DE SACRAMENTIS ECCLESIAE. Auctore Joanne Bapt. Sasse, S.J. Vol. I De Sacramentis in genere. De Baptismo. De Confirmatione. De SS. Eucharistia. The Same. 1897. Pp. 590. Pr. $2.90.

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DIE JENSEITSHOFFNUNGEN der Griechen und Römer nach den Sepulcralinschriften. Ein Beitrag zur monumentalen Eschatologie. Von Carl Maria Kaufmann. The Same. 1897. Pp. 85. Pr. 80c.

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AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

NEW SERIES—VOL. VII.—(XVII.)—SEPT., 1897.—No. 3.

THE NEW THEORY OF CRIME AND JUSTICE.[1]

PART II.—THE CRIMINAL AS CONTRASTED WITH THE NORMAL.

TYPES.

I OPEN Macaulay's History of King James II., and I read in his fourth chapter how, on a set day, Titus Oates, the inventor of the Popish Plot, was brought to the bar for trial and judgment. "Westminster Hall," says the historian, "was crowded with spectators, eager to see the misery and humiliation of their persecutor. A few years earlier, his short neck, his legs uneven, the vulgar said, as those of a badger, his forehead low as that of a baboon, his purple cheeks, and his monstrous length of chin, had been familiar to all who frequented the courts of law. He had then been the idol of the nation. Wherever he had appeared men had uncovered their heads to him. The lives and estates of the

1 See A. E. R., August, 1897, for Part I.

magnates of the realm had been at his mercy. Times had now changed; and many who had formerly regarded him as the deliverer of his country, shuddered at the sight of those hideous features on which villainy seemed to have been written by the hand of God."[1]

A great novelist, George Eliot, has chosen another Titus—Tito Melema—for the anti-hero, or "felon-knight," of her Florentine story; and she takes a line of description exactly the opposite to Macaulay's, which was founded on the evidence of wood-cuts and engravings. Piero di Cosimo, the artist, on seeing Tito for the first time, says to him, "Young man, I am painting a picture of Sinon deceiving old Priam, and I should be glad of your face for my Sinon, if you'd give me a sitting." Tito Melema starts and turns pale, whereupon Cosimo explains gruffly that he meant no insinuation, because, "A perfect traitor should have a face which vice can write no marks on—lips that will lie with a dimpled smile—eyes of such agate-like brightness and depth that no infamy can dull them—cheeks that will rise from a murder and not look haggard. I say not this young man is a traitor; I mean, he has a face that would make him a more perfect traitor, if he had the heart of one."[2] And, as the romance moves on to its conclusion, we are brought to perceive that physical beauty and moral ugliness make of this fair Greek sycophant all that Piero di Cosimo had divined in him at first glance.

WHICH FOUNDED ON FACT?

Which of these two delineations does analysis, guided by the most careful inquiry, set down as accurate? Is there any sort of relation between the outward and the inward man—between the features and the character, the light in the eyes and the intention of the heart, the gesture, walk, attitude, and the spirit which abides in its fleshly tabernacle? That some relation there is, proverbs and the popular judgment bear witness. We have also an instinctive feeling, sometimes powerful enough to make us avoid an acquaintance

1 Hist. of Eng., I., iv., 236.

2 Romola, iv., 35.

which might otherwise be to our advantage, but that we cannot overcome our secret aversion, groundless in respect of knowledge and yet awakened by the first encounter with certain persons, as if they gave warning by their very looks of danger in approaching them. Language, too, but especially accent, tone, and the choice of expressions, may prepossess—it is the fitting word,—so entirely against one we have never seen before, as to set us on our guard and throw us back into that mood of unconquerable distrust, or defiance, which is, in a manner, the primitive condition, the state of nature wherein "Homo homini lupus." Anyone who dwells, as I happen to be dwelling, not far from a great high-road running across England, and who sees in the course of years literally thousands of "tramps," or "loafers," lounging on their way to Cardiff, Birmingham, or Liverpool, cannot fail to have noticed among them individuals of this forbidding type, women as well as men, and a melancholy proportion of children. In hospitals, prisons, workhouses, a pattern exists which is at once recognizable as degenerate. And on viewing these outcasts of society, who form a veritable "residuum," we ask the expert whether he knows them to be criminal in a degree which marks them off from the average? Must we look for a high number of delinquents among them? Has every culprit something of Titus Oates in his composition? Or, is Tito Melema the mould upon which assassins, traitors, poisoners, cheats and receivers of stolen goods have been framed? Such is the matter of Lombroso's investigations, pursued in as many as 54,000 instances; a matter difficult and dangerous, yet allowing of some deductions, though to be received with caution, and serving rather as ways into an unexplored territory than as paths and boundaries laid down after an ordnance survey.

CASES EXAMINED.

We have already granted the existence of a criminal class which is roughly coincident with the circle of "recidives." Perhaps it amounts to much the same in logic whether we say that a certain number of individuals form this criminal

class, or that in all these individuals qualities are latent, and may manifest themselves, which betoken predispositions to crime. However, the statements now to be advanced do not depend upon theory; experience has furnished them; and if we go steadily down the list of cases, if we cross-examine the details, and compare the photographs, handwriting and other evidence made accessible to us in these volumes, we can judge and decide with our own faculties how far the new school is right in its conception of the "delinquente nato." Its conclusions, narrated with the utmost brevity, are such as these: Crime, in a proportion that may extend to 35 per cent. of all the condemned, and to a still larger section of their different categories, must be looked upon as the outward and inevitable result of what we now call "atavism." How do we define atavism? It is nothing else than arrested development, or the survival in modern days of a type of human physique, and consequently of human ethics, which at some earlier stage was normal and the average. We can determine its marks, or stigmata, on the one hand by ocular, scientific and measured inspection of those whom the law incarcerates, and on the other by comparing with these grown men and women, savage tribes and civilized children—classes that never were developed up to our standard, or that by reason of their tender age have not arrived at it. Moreover, the insane furnish materials for comparison, inasmuch as they are frequently criminal, and are subject to impulses over which they have no command. Again, the phenomena of epilepsy—a dreadful, but instructive subject—throw light upon the genesis in the brain of actions executed by the hand; so that, when the whole course of argument is reviewed and summed up, Lombroso concludes, not indeed, as we might hastily imagine, that the criminal, the insane, and the epileptic are all one species, but that all have the affinities of divers species arranged under the head of degeneration from the normal. In other words, while the majority of any given nation in the civilized Western world have reached a development of sense, intellect and affectivity, which corresponds with the law and custom of that people,

some are to be found who remain at the childish, or the savage period of existence, being subject to impulse, destitute of self-control, not capable of entering into the moral ideas upon which education is built, and therefore enemies by nature to the majority with whose sentiments they have little or nothing in common. Civilization is Jacob, and the born criminal is Esau. But Esau had his characteristics, plain and evident to the observing spectator. He was a son of the wilderness, a nomad, a marauder, a creature of impulse, who could not look forward or keep down his appetite; who would sell the future for present pottage, and then break out into unavailing lamentation; who cherished long memories of vengeance, but was liable to fits of tenderness; and who could not bring himself to dwell in cities, or take to traffic, or exercise a sedentary profession. This parable has its fulfilment still, Lombroso would say, in the rebels to law and order whom we chastise (but how little to their reformation!) as felons, social birds of prey, and genuine anarchists.

WANT OF AFFECTION IN THEM.

The moral, or rather immoral, stigmata which are thus indicated, connecting our delinquents with lower forms of humanity—with Polynesians, negroes in their native habitat, Central and South Africans, with the barbarian tribes of history as painted by Herodotus, Tacitus, Strabo and others, cannot be denied. They strike one as much less open to question than the obscure and precarious data, especially the anatomical, with which Lombroso has somewhat encumbered his first chapters. Passion, impulse and violence do mark the savage temperament, while by no means incompatible with treachery and cunning, though utterly at variance with the moral government of oneself. And that all great crimes exhibit an intense selfishness will probably be granted. I do not speak of political or religious crimes, which stand in a class quite distinct from the rest, but of delinquencies committed in the ordinary way against persons and property. These are, in a very high degree, self-regarding; the criminal looks upon all others simply as instruments of his own grati-

fication. He can direct, it may be, a large and even complicated number of details to the end which he has in view; but that end is not social; no, not even when he belongs to a company of brigands or a gang of thieves. He is always wanting in the instinct which prompts us to act in view of the whole. That idea has not made a home for itself in his mind; therefore he is cruel, or lascivious, or preys upon his fellows, without so much as a thought of compassion for what they must endure if he is to enjoy. And that such is the character of unformed human creatures needs no demonstration, for we must all, at times, have observed it with pain or astonishment in children up to their riper years, and I daresay in others who, without being criminals, are characterized by an intense degree of self-absorption. It is on this fundamental trait that Lombroso fixes,—I think with good reason,—as explaining the apparently complex or even contradictory phenomena which meet us in the born delinquent. He is not, as the poets feign, always troubled before committing his hurtful deed, or haunted by Furies when it is done. Nothing strikes the observer so forcibly as the lack of concern, the indifference and lightness of temper, the want of seriousness and absence of remorse, in criminals who have deepened their offence by atrocious circumstances. The more terrible, the less human, may be what they have executed, so much the less do they seem affected by its memory. Not the guilty, but the innocent man, who is threatened with oncoming madness, finds his sleep disturbed by nightmare; and the newspapers are constantly recording with how impassible a spirit the assassin lies down and slumbers by his victim, when the crisis of murderous instinct has been dissipated by action. We must ever allow for exceptions and anomalies in a province so obscure. But this rooted insensibility where motives are present which would influence the average man in every fibre, and this deadness to impressions of heart-shaking novelty, occur so often among the worst convicts, that we cannot decline to seek out their cause. May we figure to ourselves the born delinquent as one whose system does not react to moral

stimulus, chiefly by reason of his defective nervous organization? Is there, to speak with the late Professor Huxley, a "physical basis" of crime? We are to safeguard free-will, and the argument leaves on one side those 60 per cent. who display no stigmata, or not any of decisive consequence, under Lombroso's inspection. But none will deny that some criminals are insane. What is the evidence touching their physique? Is there no lesion, or defect, in the fearfully delicate brain tissue, which they have inherited by crossings innumerable during more generations than we can pretend to reckon?

CRIMINAL VARIES LARGELY FROM THE AVERAGE.

"How variations arise we do not know," said Darwin; yet we do know that from the nature of the case they must arise, since no human being is the exact copy of either parent. Variation is the law of descent. What we term an average is an abstract, round about which as a centre individuals revolve, some approaching, others receding, and in a ratio most unequal. Now the modern school contends that the delinquent, when he is such on instinct, varies definitely and largely from the type of his contemporaries. I say largely, because though but a few anomalous points may be visible on the surface, yet these, by the law of correlation, are sure to be reproduced, or imitated throughout the system; for, as we agreed with Aristotle, man is one organic whole. Thus it happens that, supposing a dense head of hair is among the frequent stigmata of criminals, as it is, the absence of hair from the face and body may be expected; and this, too, is common. Or again, high and prominent cheek bones will be correlated with deep wrinkles in the lower part of the features, with powerful jaws and irregular teeth; and autopsy has revealed a series of corresponding phenomena, that is to say, which tend towards the bestial type, in the brain of such criminals, for example, simplicity of the sutures, massive bones, and precocious maturity of development, or, in other words, early termination and arrest in the human stage of progress. But these things mark the

lower tribes of men. So, too, qualities which betray another and less refined scale of feeling, combined with superior degrees of quickness in sight, or hearing, or smell, when found in the delinquent, put us in mind of the savage. And in both they are repeatedly found. The criminal has been tested by ingenious experiments which, with due precaution, make it clear that he is far less sensitive to pain than is the normal citizen or soldier. He does not feel, either actively or passively, with the same acuteness; but his eyesight is better than theirs; when he is injured he heals more rapidly; he is more excitable or more obtuse to impressions in a marked degree; and he has no steady courage, though capable of explosive and violent action. Moreover, between the two sexes, whether among criminals or the uncivilized, there is decidedly more assimilation and less difference than among average Europeans. This remarkable peculiarity may be seen, without searching for it, in any numerous collection of photographs which depict either species.[1]

INCAPABLE OF PROLONGED ATTENTION OR EXERTION.

Coming to the subject of attention, the most important quality, as every good teacher is aware, by which one pupil stands distinguished from another, it seems that the delinquent is not capable of it in a normal measure, but is flighty, feather-headed, and easily distracted. He cannot bear monotonous labor; he is a bad workman, passing from this occupation to that on the spur of the moment; lazy at all times when not under the spell of his peculiar passion; careless of to-morrow; as vain as he is idle; apt to regard his delinquencies in the light of heroic exploits, nay, boasting of them or writing them down in his diary at the risk of being found out; emotional, and yet absolutely cold to the persuasions of pity or sorrow; and while forgetting much that he has perpetrated in defiance of law, ready to invent, to "pitch a tale," to lie with circumstance, and when he is convicted of his falsehood, attempting a fresh set of delusions, but by no means changing color. Perhaps the

1 L. I., 138–307.

most curious experiments recorded in this book are those which prove that the criminal never blushes, though charged home with his ill-doings or rebuked in the hardest terms. Praise him, nevertheless, for anything in which he takes pride, flatter his vanity, and the movement of his pulse, as registered at that very instant, shows him to be keenly affected. Garofalo has drawn the "delinquente nato" in a series of negations; he has no sense of shame, no feeling of affection, no intuition of probity; these things are to him the merest hearsay, just as they would be to an infant less than two years old. The range of motive they imply may be likened to a keyboard and set of keys which are wanting in this imperfect instrument. So that, whereas Lombroso defines the criminal to be an invalid among men, we should rather look upon this kind in the light of a monster which falls below human nature into some embryonic and unfinished state. He is duty-blind, as others are color-blind; the law which says "Thou shalt," and "Thou shalt not," speaks to deaf ears in such a one; nor does he ever charge himself with perversity, like Medea, in those often quoted words: "Video meliora proboque: deteriora sequor," since he never has beheld the better virtues nor understands their dialect. Can this portent exist? I am of opinion that the facts which go towards proving his existence are not to be gainsaid. Every priest has perhaps known specimens from the class of incorrigible or hopeless recidives now under consideration, ranging through an extensive territory where differences shade off by degrees not easy to fix, from the mere idiot who does harm aimlessly and at random to the deliberate, cold-hearted, cruel-eyed, treacherous Frankenstein, whose delight is in evil and who shows no sign of remorse or compunction. To me the most striking character in the psychology of those I have studied was their "amnesia," their complete oblivion of acts whether fierce or deceptive to which they had given way, almost as if the state of crime were somnambulism, with intervals in which the appetites, being now satisfied, lay still, and memory of the violent period was abolished.

ENEMIES OF LIFE, PURITY, PROPERTY.

By a process resembling the Galton photograph, which compounds into one likeness many superposed outlines, it is possible to figure and express graphically the chief criminal types. We may reduce them to three,—the assailant of life, of purity, and of property, or the cruel, the lascivious, and the cheat. We do not mean, of course, that one kind absolutely excludes the other; yet each has its distinctive marks, as well in mind as in body; and each tends to form a group between whose members a natural freemasonry springs up and is widely propagated. Thus, when public celebrations call to any large centre the light-fingered who prey upon crowds and attend our festal gatherings, all these, though unable to speak one another's language, find out their fellows, and a Hungarian or German thief will gravitate in London to the district where his species abounds and be sure of a welcome. There is no such thing, say the experts, as a League of Criminals, a Black International spread, like the maffia, through both hemispheres. But smaller confederations, in all three kinds above mentioned, arise from season to season, hold together some little while, and then dissolve. The criminal, except he is a prisoner, (and he too, on occasion) tends to be gregarious, though not, as we have seen, a truly social being. His excitable and unsteady temperament, his vanity, his thirst for gratification of the senses, his indifference to politics, literature, business, all drive him into company where he can idle away the hours in drinking, gaming, scurrile talk, and base pleasures. He is a cynic, upon whose countenance trickery, laughter, and the obscene vices write their premature wrinkles. He can be deadly violent but never serious. What he loves is *blague*, as the French call it, or *chutzbah*, to use the modern Hebrew term; in English we may think of the whole disposition as expressing itself by means of "slang," "jargon," and "thieves' Latin." If we take up a dictionary of *argot*, *La langue verte*, in any European tongue, we shall observe, first, that it is an exceedingly composite language, far more so than the literary which educated persons use;

secondly, that it abounds in synonyms, in metaphor and simile, in half words oddly joined together, and in a sort of speaking hieroglyphic; and thirdly, that it betrays poverty of thought and a narrow round of *phantasmata*, in which the human sinks to the bestial, and appetite demands an enormous share.

PRISON INSCRIPTIONS.

Lombroso has contributed a decisive proof,—which, however, was to students acquainted with the ways of crime superfluous,—of the small attention paid to social or meditative themes by the delinquent, in his "Prison-palimpsests." These are the writings and scribblings,—the *graffiti*, as we call them in archeology,—which criminals have traced on the walls of their cells. And in accordance with their jargons no less than their ordinary pursuits, the inscriptions, commonly poor and trivial, often mocking, and once in a way rising to touches of genius, are mostly occupied with revenge, hatred, lamentation over one's own misfortunes, the cravings of appetite, correspondence between prisoners on the means of escape or the incidents of trial, and to some slight degree with superstitious prayers and practices. The criminal is frequently a believer in his native religion; he conforms, and takes up the externals of which he has some vague idea that they will get him out of trouble. But his religion is fatalism, or chance, confidence in amulets, in days, and in observances; it has no spiritual elements, but degrades Christianity until it becomes a fetich; and at Artena, if we can accept the evidence, nay in Paris itself, thieves and assassins get prayers said for their intention (without disclosing it surely!) when they are about a fresh expedition or have had a run of ill-luck. The deity which delinquents thus worship is not a moral being but a force of nature, corresponding to Mercury, god of thieves, or Bhuwani, patroness and queen of murderers; not seen in a definite shape, or distinctly personified; but all-powerful, and worthy to be coaxed into clemency by offerings and petitions. All this we call heathenism in a Christian masquerade.

OUTWARD APPEARANCE OF THESE TYPES.

To return where we have left our three physical types. "Concerning the outward appearance of delinquents," says Lombroso, "many false notions are current. Novelists describe them as men of dreadful aspect, bearded up to the eyes, with a sparkling and ferocious glance, and aquiline beak. More attentive students, for example, Casper, move to the opposite extreme, and can perceive no difference between the honest man and the rogue. Both, however, miss the point. Certainly, criminals there are with large capacity of brain (he gives instances) and physiognomy quite regular, especially among able miscreants and chiefs of brigandage or bands of homicides. . . . But these are exceptions in which an intellect beyond the common is allied, as often happens, with a certain beauty of form. When we compare together large numbers in prison, we find, not always a terrible or deformed, but a peculiar expression, which we soon come to recognize as belonging to a species." He then describes as follows:[1] "Habitual homicides have in their look something glassy, cold and motionless; the eyes are often bloodshot; the nose aquiline, hooked, or as of a hawk, always largely developed; jaws powerful, cheek bones prominent, ears long; the hair thick, dark and curly; beard very often not much; canine teeth large; the lips thin; involuntary winking or contraction on one side of the face, so as to disclose the canine teeth;" —and he has already shown that they are tall fellows, with muscular strength above the average, and an extreme pallor. Many of these signs vary, but the eye is an almost infallible guide to a sanguinary disposition.

"Of the forgers and cheats whom I have been allowed to study," continues our author, "many had an expression fashioned to singular good nature—something clerical about it—which was indeed necessary to throw their victim off his guard. One I knew with the face of an angel, but exceedingly pale, so that he was incapable of blushing, and under

1 L. I., 274 seq.

stress of emotion *turned white.* A few also with distorted features and squinting eyes, but they were lunatics. Many have small eyes which look down habitually, irregular nose, long and voluminous, very dark hair, but not unfrequently grey hair and premature baldness, with a feminine expression." It may be remarked that the early falling off of the hair is taken to be a good sign, morally speaking; and greyness denotes intellect, according to the new school. Idiots, or cretins, it would seem, never change the color of their locks. In general, Lombroso concludes, "the born delinquent has outstanding ears, very abundant hair on the head, little beard, the frontal sinuses prominent (receding forehead), enormous jaws, square or protruding chin, large cheek bones, frequent gesture—he is of a type which approaches to the Mongolian and sometimes to the Negroid."[1]

A single one of these characters, it may be objected, cannot signify much; and are not several of them to be found in perfectly honorable members of society, whom none would dream of charging with delinquencies on the ground of their appearance? Lombroso replies by pointing out, from his tables, that deflections such as these multiply according to the gravity of the offence in our convicts. Slighter criminals showed, under his inspection, from 23 to 36 per cent. of the undesirable pattern. Ferri, dealing with the same class, found 35; with those of a deeper dye, 41. And Penta, whose occupation was with the gravest of all, discovered no less than 94 per cent., who bore these anomalies upon them.

On the other hand, an examination of 400 persons declared to be honest made known one man with criminal type complete; four to six of the bad characters presented themselves in eight of this selection; and 213 had one or other of the peculiarities we have noted. But among the 213, no fewer than 75 had an indifferent reputation, and, unless the charges set down against them were false, must be counted as criminals at large. "Individuals that seemed to me upright," observes Lombroso, "and whom I was bound to reckon as

1 L. I., 278.

such, but who had many of these stigmata, have told me after years of acquaintance that the temper of the delinquent was really in them and did but want the occasion. Thus, one man, rich enough to satisfy all his caprices, said that if he had been born poor, he would have become a thief and a homicide; his two brothers, altogether like him in disposition, did, as a matter of fact, follow that career."

RACES OF CRIMINALS—GYPSIES.

But a demonstration which is not open to cavil, of the "physical basis" of crime, will be drawn from its hereditary character in some well-known races, and in families the record of which is accessible through their long and frequent sojourning in public institutions. There is, if I may so express myself, a secondary original sin, a disease of the mind, which cannot be transmitted unless by means of the organism, and yet, from age to age it yields a bad harvest, the fresh individuals manifesting in habit and proclivities all the vice of their parents before them. "An evil crow, an evil egg," said the Grecian proverb. Rightly, and we may verify that sad experience in all the reformatories and prisons of the world. Be it observed, that the converse, though abundantly true, is liable to many exceptions, "good wombs have borne bad sons," we read in Shakespeare; as, of course, they sometimes must, if variation moves both behind and in advance of the normal. But the "body of sin," which is at once the medium and the material whereby the *status naturæ lapsæ* is inherited, we are apt to imagine as ever one and the same, although surely, since it is something concrete, it comes to each man clothed in peculiar differences. At any rate, prescinding from Catholic dogma, we have seen tribes like the gypsies, to whom, as one observer tells us, "authority, law, rule, principle, precept and duty," are ideas insupportable and things which they spurn from them. The gypsy has no word signifying "thou shalt" in his language. He belongs to a family of born delinquents. He is a thief upon instinct; idle, vain, drunken; a liar and a coward; a cheat, an assassin, a vaga-

bond on the face of the earth; contributing his knavish terms to the slang of all countries; unclean and improvident; not to be tamed or taught by any artifice; with the appetite and the tastes of dogs or hyenas; superstitious but pretty much of an atheist; and revengeful to an incredible degree of passion. With all this, impassible as a Red Indian, but the worst of soldiers. A parallel so minute and so full between the individuals found in civilized society as one in 353, or one in 200, and a whole tribe like this which civilization has never touched, will become intelligible on the lines of relapse and degeneracy, but not otherwise. What the Zingari are now, the ancestors of European nations all were in ancient days, two thousand years ago or more, and so backwards to the prehistoric time. We can understand arrested development when its visible form and image are magnified as on a screen, by this undeveloped race at our doors. But if *they* represent an old embryonic state of morals, is it impossible that a family should survive here and there among advanced nations, in which the type of the Zingaro shall prevail? What says modern history?

FAMILIES OF CRIMINALS AND DISEASED.

The evidence happens to be strong and close at hand. Lombroso gives the pedigree of several such families, for instance, of the Lemaires, the Chrétiens, the Fieschi. But his most conclusive documents are furnished by America and England. Writing on "instinctive criminality" in 1892, Strahan relates the chronicle of a house founded by two sisters, the first of whom died in 1825. Their descendants amounted to 834 persons, of whom 709 had been traced with sufficient accuracy. Of these 709, as many as 106 were illegitimate; 164 were fallen women; 17 were "ruffians," or in some way violent; 142 mendicants; 64 treated for chronic maladies; and 76 criminals, who between them had passed 166 years in prison. The "secondary original sin," which was mighty in all these, cannot well be denied; and its admission carries along with it a "physical basis" of crime.

Still more celebrated are the Jukes, who in 85 years cost the American State more than five millions of dollars. They begin for the purport of this argument with Max Jukes, born about 1720, and Ada his wife, born in 1740, both drunkards and dissolute, and the woman a thief. Their legitimate descendants down to 1874 amounted to 540; their illegitimate, so far as traceable, to 169. Dugdale, who reports the particulars, sums them up by observing that 200 of the Jukes were thieves and criminals; 280 paupers and invalids; 90 fallen women descended from a single drunkard; 300 children deceased prematurely; 400 men infected with syphilis; 7 victims of assassination. Where the brothers gave themselves up to crime, the sisters indulged in disorderly living; the fifth generation were all delinquents or evil women; the illegitimate show relatively a much higher degree of crime than the legitimate; and the figures which denote pauperism make it evident that there is an intimate connection between immorality and diseases of the nervous system, as well as between physical deformities, offences against law, insanity, syphilis and epilepsy, when an infected source has once been established. Moreover, to come down to the practical question that will engage us in my concluding article, the public funds have been called upon to maintain 734 individuals, thus hostile to every interest of society, without deriving from any one of them aught except a painful and hitherto unprofitable experience.

However, it will now be granted, in consideration of the facts which I have summarized—and they are but samples from an immense collection—that crime is not simply an event in the lives of these individuals; it is a symptom, rather, which points to degeneracy and must be taken as one of its forms. Crime is congenital; it may be inherited; and has its seat like any other disease in the blood. It affects the entire system, modifying as a cause the mental habits, disposing of the emotions according to a philosophy of its own, and hindering the growth of those higher nerve-centres to which, by a process beyond our comprehension, the true ethical temper corresponds, and by means of which it is developed.

Up to this stage Lombroso, as I venture to think, has made his footing sure. But he is a bold climber; and when he proceeds to compare all the varieties of degeneration with epilepsy, and at last to identify them in one universal formula, I doubt that many will follow him. An explanation that tends to overlook specific differences runs no small risk of ending in a phrase which explains not even itself.

Still, I am bound to rehearse the steps of his reasoning. I do so with reluctance; first, because the subject is one on which doctors do not seem to be agreed, and secondly, because it is exquisitely painful and depressing. I shall, then, not enlarge upon it more than the strict rules of justice demand.

IS CRIME A VARIATION UPON EPILEPSY?

Our born criminal, as we now conclude, is the victim of malformations which go back to his very origin, have their roots in the soil where he flourishes, and are inherited from drunken or diseased parents, grandparents, and an indefinitely prolonged line of ancestry. Thus do we account for his many cranial abnormalities; for the triangular shape of head and countenance which distorts the human lines of beauty; for his oblique skull, and uneven teeth, and too massive jaws; for his frequent "mancinism," or left-handedness, which implies development of the right lobe of the brain, and is contrary to normal evolution. Again, starting from this anatomical diagram, we proceed to the derangement of functions, weak heart, unhealthy liver, and visceral disorders, accompanied with hysteria, panic fear, emotions stirred up easily upon the surface, but lack of feeling, specific as well as general, and a consequent need of high stimulation before the ordinary reactions are obtained. This combination of excitability with obtuseness may be proved by a series of facts which, until we analyze them into their causes, would seem to be incompatible. On the one hand, criminals, who are liable more than other men to cutting and wounding, recover speedily, and, as is clear, experience less pain than the sensitive, honest citizen. But, on the other hand, among delin-

quents, the proportion of suicides has been set down in England as between four and five times the number among persons at large; in Italy, three times; in Norway, eight times, and in Holland, above ten times. If we add, says Lombroso, the cases of attempted self-destruction, which these figures do not include, we shall have to multiply them by three. What is the explanation? It is, our witnesses would argue, impatience of present discomfort, a low degree of sensibility, caprice, impulse, and *tedium vitæ*,—all effects assignable to diminished vital force and irregular circulation.

"PLACE OF LEAST RESISTANCE."

The normal man is well balanced and consistent in his acts; and while feeling the impulses which outward impressions stir within him, he does not yield at once, but weighs and considers them according to a standard, social, religious, ethical, as the case may be. The criminal is unbalanced; there is always somewhere in his system a weak place, *locus minoris resistentiæ*, to which the impulse rushes, thereby furrowing a track which every new assault will deepen. Amid the endless variety of delinquents, each, it has been observed, perpetrates his offences in a way peculiar to himself, as it were automatically; and, though "recidives improper" abound—that is to say, convicts who fall into crime of a class distinct from their previous misdemeanors,—yet the number is greatest by far of men and women who are always repeating the same felony with identical circumstances. This fact, astonishing at first blush, comes out ever the more unmistakably as the crime is more hideous and inhuman. I have been careful to avoid particulars throughout these pages, which are intended to suggest principles rather than to confuse by over-much illustration; but we may take it as proved that the most dreadful examples of offence against the person tend to become a monomania, under the influence of which all sensibility, thought and purpose fall into one channel, and travel continually along the same course. Our key-word is, then, "the place of least resistance."

"IMPULSIVE MANIA."

Suppose we describe the same phenomena from the side of action, how will they be termed? Is any expression more suitable than "impulsive mania?" When acts appear to be committed with no motive, or one that is plainly futile and inadequate; when there is a "fund of irritation" liable to discharge, like an electric battery, as soon as it is touched; when that wrath suffers no bridle, and its manifestations are extreme in point of brutality, going to lengths unspeakable, yet afterwards ceasing as suddenly as they have broken out, and leaving but a faint reminiscence or none at all; when, moreover, on drawing up a chart of the family to which the delinquent belongs, we perceive crime, disease, and madness completing one another as by a series of equivalences; and when each of these deviations from the normal comes under a periodic law,—what shall we determine upon as the dominant psycho-physical factor which is common to all three? We remember Taine's definition of the mind as "a polypus of images," and how, when no other group is present to "reduce" each set as they rise into memory, these become "hallucinations," and are taken to be real. It would follow that under arrested development, according to its kind, any one series of *phantasmata*, provoked however feebly, might make for the place of least resistance, collect at that spot the whole energy of the system, and precipitate into acts the most tremendous that miserable being who, while in appearance giving play to his faculties with unbounded freedom, was merely a puppet moved by nervous discharges, and powerless to control his muscles or his mind.

THIS ACCOUNT FITS CRIMINAL AND EPILEPTIC.

Whom are we describing in these words? The criminal or the epileptic? So far as general terms convey a picture, it might be this one or that one; the phenomena cannot be

distinguished, except by adding in the delinquent knowledge and deliberation. But, in many cases, we know that deliberation is absent; crime follows like a flash of lightning upon some occasion exceedingly slight. In deeds of violence, from wife-beating to rabid outbreaks of murder, the swiftness and suddenness are marked. Shall we assert that in the born criminal, even where an interval takes place between the forming of the purpose and its execution, a marshalling of images upon the weak place in the brain is going forward, until the battery can hold out no longer and explodes? Then deliberation itself in him would be nothing but the symptom of a storm which was piling up its thunders in secret, or, as Taine might construe the process, which was effacing the less vivid and energetic *phantasmata*, driving them below the horizon, and usurping the whole front of the stage. We have still before us one species, the criminal born, in whose consciousness only the shadow, the simulacrum, of human affections, motives, principles, is discernible, according to Lombroso. There will be then a fixed idea, nourished upon some deep instinct, which by a law corresponding to the rhythm of natural events, presses for satisfaction after repeated warnings, with uneasiness, disturbance of the mind, a sort of "malaise" and disquietude, or, as it is called by physicians, an "aura," the prelude in epilepsy of attacks most dangerous. Criminals are very apt to talk of their "caprices;" and in prison it is frequently known by symptoms of unrest or excitement that something desperate is likely to be attempted. Here, then, we observe a tenacious impulse, bent on gratifying itself, and requiring no motive but only the chance material upon which to work. The moral sense is asleep or extinct, or has never existed. And by way of clinching the argument, we are told that such an impulse as is here described, or concentration of *phantasmata* upon a given point, is in the young, from about 15 to 30, according to race and climate, the antecedent of *physical* passions bursting out into crime; but in persons between 30 and 50 tends to become *psychical*, and has for its result insanity.

THE PARALLEL IN LOMBROSO.

Late experiments have shown, according to Lombroso, Penta, and other physiologists that we may define epilepsy as "the discharge of certain cortical brain-centres when irritated, in persons already predisposed by descent, wounding, or intoxication; which accords perfectly with pathological researches whereby it has been proved that in epileptics, the moral insane and criminals, there is a predominance of frontal microcephaly, as also inflammation of the cortex and of the cerebral membranes."[1]

Upon this account of the disease, anatomically considered, Lombroso builds a vast structure, deriving his materials from far and wide, until he has attained a parallel, complete in all its stages, between the epileptic and the delinquent. Asylums like Broadmoor contain a large percentage, indeed, of criminal lunatics who are subject to convulsions; and these alone have hitherto furnished the data of epilepsy as connected with offences against law. But convulsions need not be present to indicate the existence of this strange and awful disease; nor, if Lombroso is justified in his assertions, will epilepsy in that form be either the most dangerous or the most anti-social. Distinguished by concrete examples into many kinds (whereas it was formerly reduced to one by the folly of abstraction and lack of attention to particulars) it ascends more and more in the prison statistics now put before us. Ottolenghi has found among 250 criminals some 24 epileptics in the first 100 examined; over 35 in the second 100; and in the remaining 50 no fewer than 18, or 36 per cent; When another catalogue of 305 epileptics was dealt with from this point of view, it yielded 300 cases of accused, ranging down the whole gamut of crime—homicides, incendiaries, thieves, suicides, immoral, infanticides, vagabonds, and persons "with no visible means of subsistence." It is ascertained that, even restricting our view to the convulsionary sort, prisoners include from 9 to 50 times as many epileptics as are found among the normal. Adding one large class,

1 L., II., 172.

delinquents born of drunken ancestors, we cannot overlook the intimate connection between *delirium tremens* and epilepsy. The habitual drunkard, or dipsomaniac, exhibits all the characters of uncontrollable impulse, with degeneration in its train; but he is frequently subject to fits, and his delirium is one of the best marked species of hallucination, sometimes lapsing into murder with circumstances of extreme ferocity.

To complete the resemblance, which is ever passing into identity, Lombroso spends several hundred pages in a description of the habitat, the periods, the causes, and the symptoms of epileptic disorders. They coincide, as to their distribution, with the geography of crime; they assail infancy and youth; they are inheritable, and appear side by side with moral or mental disease in the same pedigree; and often "the criminal appetites of one brother will form a complement, in the physician's view, to the epileptic outbreaks of another." But, though this malady involves degeneration, and therefore relapse, of the organism to some less advanced stage, it by no means excludes later influences, such as poor nourishment of the brain, injuries received from blows or accidents, weakness following upon typhoid fever or meningitis, and the like; for impressions may be made upon the individual in this way as deep and lasting as the anomalies bequeathed to him by his forefathers. No less applicable are these observations to the delinquent, who, if not born such, has been enrolled among the forlorn company,—as we know may happen in the case of sound minds diverted to madness,—by a casual distemper, an unhinging fright, or even a stroke upon the head; so that his new character shall be totally unlike the old. It is not by atavism but disease that Lombroso would explain in these related classes the intermittences or contradictions which their sentiments disclose; their idleness, convulsions, and impulses of an individual kind; their cynicism, too, alternating with fits of religious fervor; their disgusting gaiety which soils everything it touches; and their simulation of imbecility at the root of which lurks a true but veiled madness.

EPILEPSY AND GENIUS.

"This disease," remarks Voisin, "destroys the character and brings about the loss of moral judgment; it ruins the intellect by weakening it and inducing dullness or stupidity. and it is the source of depression, ill-humor, hallucination, and delusion." Fisher subjoins that "its prevailing symptoms are abrupt contrasts and unbridled immorality; it is always in extremes." But do not epileptics display remarkable intelligence? Have not some of them figured among men of illustrious and extraordinary genius—Julius Cæsar, Mohammed, Newton and Napoleon, to cite only these? Lombroso, far from denying, has insisted in a special and much-quoted volume, upon this testimony to his favorite doctrine, which ascribes all large deflections from the average and the normal, whether above or below, to inflamed cortical centres. The proof that genius must be abnormal he finds, among other tokens on which I cannot now dwell, in its want of "affectivity," or its exaggerated "altruism." And if we consider man as made up of three strands, which unite in one sound human being when he is truly himself, namely, sense, intellect, and affection, we may take away the last, leaving the other two in various proportions, with crime, or moral insanity, to mark the absence of that supreme governing element, the steady will, which is at once judicious, sympathetic, and careful of the rights and claims of its fellow-mortals. Genius, taken alone, need not be ethically great or good; in painters, musicians, poets, statesmen, and conquerors it has often appeared as a gigantic impulse obedient to no law but its own activity; and in characters like Peter I. of Russia, like Benvenuto Cellini, and Bonaparte, a vast, or delicate, or comprehensive sensibility to their own ideas has been combined with absolute disregard for the life or the happiness of others. All this shadows forth some mysterious principle, which our author, in love with his science and art of the asylum, would simplify into cortical brain disease. But here, upon the borders of a region most obscure, we may pause to look back over the pathway, lying to some extent in less gloomy shadow, along which we have travelled.

THE TWO PORTRAITS ARE TWO CLASSES OF DELINQUENTS.

We began with two portraits, one as unlovely as can well be pictured, the second a creation of the mind intent upon contrasting the inward and the outward man for ethical purposes. Which is true to experience? We may answer that both are true, Titus Oates and Tito Melema. But the beautiful Greek is an exception; he need not be a criminal except by his own choice and gradual yielding to impulses which at first are well under his control. He becomes base; he is not born so. And Titus Oates? Can it be allowed that on his hideous features "villainy had been written by the hand of God?" Waiving theological questions, into which I do not now enter, but convinced that predispositions to crime, as to insanity, exist in this or that individual stronger and more deeply rooted than we see in many another, I submit the evidence brought forward by Lombroso to criticism and just distinction. That there is such a thing as hereditary sin we all admit; and a little experience will make it palpable to us that no two men or women display the same identical scale of virtues or vices in their composition. Each has his own weakness, his own strength; in every one there is a place of least resistance. Children, long before they can observe, and in matters beyond the possibility of imitation, reveal the most decided tendencies, often to mischief, and not seldom to what would be immoral if they could recognize it as such. When the brain is further developed and education by enforced example (the only effective training) has begun to tell upon them, in many these vestiges of the brute disappear. But in a certain number they do not; they survive, and the passage from childhood to adolescence gives them a power, a cunning, and a ferocity out of which spring the crimes that mark those perilous years between 15 and 30. When the family life is made accessible to young people at this age, and they marry and settle down, once more some large proportion of them will have "sown their wild oats," and do not meditate a second season. But others cannot settle down; they live by impulse, excitement and the indulgence of

appetite. Moral government is wanting in them; they contribute nothing to society but trouble; they are unconquerably selfish; their views lie within the compass of their five senses; and they form a class the *differentia* of which is mal-adaptation to the order of the world. Yet, according to their physique and intelligence will be their method of fighting against it. The dull but powerful athlete will try force; the weak but cunning parasite will attempt fraud. The sensual pleasure-seeker, deranged by his vicious habits, will, as opportunity is given, make employment of one or the other. But in every instance of habitual crime, it is not unreasonable to suppose a twist or defect in the organism, and to search for it with the aid of science. We may construct a plan, as Lombroso sketches it, and resume under some universal term like epilepsy, the different species of violence or deceit, beginning with the manifest victim of disease or insanity whose acts have conducted him to prison and thence to Broadmoor, to be detained "during Her Majesty's pleasure." Then we arrive at the delinquent who seems not to be insane, but who, upon examination, is found to have those characteristic signs, physical and mental, whereby he stands aloof from the average man. Now come two other classes, which comprise a majority of the accused and sentenced, those who fall into crime upon occasion, but are not recidives, and those in whom a sudden but adequately justified passion has led to deeds of which they repent as soon as they are done. Shall we explain these, also, by epilepsy? Lombroso endeavors to make out that conclusion; not, as I think, on grounds which will persuade the cautious, nor by arguments of the large and cumulative strength we require in a matter so perplexing. If, however, it can be supposed that in habitual and incorrigible offenders there is a fund of disease—and I know not of any Catholic principle which forbids our thinking so,—the duty at once arises of an investigation into present systems of trial and punishment, so that we may discover how many should be placed in this description, and what means are most suitable to protect society against delinquents, as well as delinquents against their own evil

nature and propensities. That will be the subject of my last article; but I would desire to be looked upon throughout as speaking under correction, and as a reporter, but not necessarily an advocate, of the views I am expounding.

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Dorchester, England.

HISTORY AT CORNELL UNIVERSITY: SOME CANONS OF CRITICISM FOR DR. WHITE'S LEGENDS.[1]

THE interesting author who has afforded us so much entertainment recently with his Warfare betwixt Science and Theology, has also taken us into his confidence. He informs us that he is reserving and nourishing several pious intentions. One is that of writing more at large on St. Francis Xavier. He says: "I have compared, for a more extended discussion of this subject hereafter, a very great number of editions of these and other biographies of the Saint, with speeches at the canonization, the bull of Gregory XV., various books of devotion, and a multitude of special writings, including a large mass of material in the Royal Library at Munich and in the British Museum," etc. And then he speaks of "the pious crab."[2] Another intention of his he confidentially makes known to us, while careering on his fourteenth round, under the bulletin: "From Fetich to Hygiene." He says: "In another series of chapters on the Warfare of *Humanity with Theology*, I hope to go more fully into the subject."[3]

1 See the preceding number for August, p. 184: "Dr. White's Evolution: The Genesis and Structure of his Legend."

2 Dr. A. D. White's "Warfare of Science with Theology," vol. ii., p. 21, note.

3 Ibid., ch. 14, p. 78, note.

We are thankful to the gentleman for his expansive confidence; and we enter fully into his intentions. To show our appreciation, we feel that we should help with our advice. Indeed, as we too belong to Humanity, we might almost venture to think that we have a right to a word. For we live under a representative form of government, and not under a Napoleonic autocracy dominated by Dr. A. D. White. Candidly, we never did like Napoleon. But somehow we like the autocracy of Dr. White still less. For Napoleon, with all his campaigning proclivities, was still a man of several ideas. Dr. White has only one. And, possessed with that peculiar fanaticism which harasses the man of one idea, now that he has discharged his idea at "Theology" from one side—a side, which for some private reason not yet explained he has called "Science"—he threatens another discharge of his very peculiar idea from another side, which, for a reason similarly abstruse, he is going to call "Humanity."

Our advice, which we feel constrained to give, will take its direction, not towards Humanity, nor Science, nor Theology, but towards Dr. Andrew Dickson White; and the direction whence it comes is from what is commonly called "History." We mean history, not legends. And we shall propound it in four canons, duly approved by higher criticism. And, lest it should be too general if only put into formulas, we shall reinforce it with particular instances. These we shall take exclusively from the Evolution of Dr. White's Legend on St. Francis Xavier's miracles.

§1.

We would respectfully submit to the ex-historian of Cornell University these four principles of historical criticism: First, never to make an assumption without first seeing where it will land him; or else he may have to discard it, before he has finished his lucubration. Secondly, scrupulously to correct an evident falsity when once it is pointed out to him; or else, from a falsity, it will evolve into a falsehood. Thirdly, never to quote an author in any language whatever,

not only a dead one like Latin, but neither a living one like French, for what that author does not contain. Fourthly, to be very willing to look palpable evidence in the face without flinching or even wincing; we would even recommend an exhibition of cordiality to such an honest visitor as palpable and manifest evidence. At all events, if cordiality is too much to expect of human nature when under the high tension of a solitary and lonely idea, we would strongly urge the practice of respectful toleration. All this advice would be quite superfluous in the province of real history; but it is not so in the literature of legendary evolution. And we propose to show by instances the practical value of our remarks.

First, the author makes a couple of assumptions to build up his legend about St. Francis Xavier: first, that no biographer finds at any time sources of information which a preceding writer did not use; secondly, and this is the complement of the former, that such subsequent biographer is building up his history only on the published books of those who went before him. Dr. White does not state that he makes these assumptions. It is not necessary that he should, for they constitute the whole skeleton of his legend.

Now, both of these assumptions he has to discard when he is endeavoring to guard some flank or other or to win some advantage. He discards the first when desiring to make capital out of Bouhours; for he says: "Bouhours, writing ninety years after Tursellinus, could not have had access to any new sources. Xavier had been dead one hundred and thirty years, and of course all the natives upon whom he had wrought his miracles, and their children and grandchildren, were gone;" etc.[1] This criterion the author introduces, for the first time, at a point one hundred and thirty years after Xavier's death; therefore we infer that, according to the Doctor's idea, it would have been possible for earlier writers to have had access to new sources. Exactly. Then, what becomes of the evolutionary legend founded on the

1 P. 17.

contrary assumption? Moreover, Bouhours did not live one hundred and thirty years after the processes of canonization; they were only sixty years before, not to mention the facts and miracles concerning Xavier, which were altogether new and were contemporary even with Bouhours. The records of the canonization proceedings could have become public property only within sixty years before; therefore, thirty years after Tursellini. Hence Bouhours had all this mine of eye-witness and ear-witness contemporary with Xavier, all made public property when Tursellini could not use it. What then becomes of the entire upper story of the legendary edifice which is constructed out of Bouhours exclusively, as compared with Tursellini, and with those who were earlier still?

This shows that the Doctor should not have made the other complementary assumption; which is that every biographer builds exclusively on his predecessors. The gentleman himself discards this several times. First, speaking of Tursellini's Life of Xavier, published in 1594, he says that in this Life the biographer "appears to have made the first large use of the information collected by the Portuguese viceroy and the more zealous brethren."[1] Therefore, Tursellini did not build on Maffei; and yet the two are contrasted, as showing the evolution of legend. Secondly, speaking of the resurrection wrought by Xavier, the Doctor says that, in various authors, "the story wavers between one and two cases; finally, in the time of Tursellinus, four cases had been developed."[2] If then the story "wavered," they were not following one another. Again he goes on to say: "In 1622, at the canonization proceedings, three were mentioned."[3] Now the canonization proceedings came nearly thirty years after Tursellini. Hence they certainly were not following the biographers merely; for, instead of Tursellini's four, they include, as mentioned, only three.—That is enough for the Doctor; and the entire skeleton of his legend is discarded by himself.

1 P. 14. 2 P. 17. 3 Ibid.

But it is not enough for us. What does the Doctor know about the canonization proceedings? He has evidently never seen them. He means Cardinal Del Monte's speech, or the Bull of Canonization. But, in these two documents, only a "selection" was made, as both of them expressly say. The Doctor would seem to imply, that only three were to be had; for he says, as against Tursellini's four, only "three were mentioned." But, three pages earlier he himself had said, they were only a selection: Cardinal Del Monte, says he, "selects out ten great miracles," among which are the dead "raised in various places"; that is, miracles 2, 3 and 5, of the ten wrought by Xavier during his lifetime. What does the Doctor mean by all this "wavering" line of logic? Does he know what he is driving at? His general assumptions he discards; and then he discards the particular assumptions, with which he tries to prove them.

§ 2.

The second canon of criticism which we respectfully submit to him is, that he should correct an evident falsity when once it is pointed out to him; or else, from a falsity, it will evolve, after Darwinian fashion, into a falsehood;—we might even add a greater inconvenience still: or else the falsehood will be driven home.

The Doctor had said, in his first edition, that the Jesuit Father Maffei, in the year 1588, published his *History of India*, but, "though he gave a biography of Xavier which shows fervent admiration for his subject, he dwelt very lightly on the alleged miracles." Here in the new edition, to give all the piquancy possible to the falsity he is reiterating, he pins in a special sentence: "But the evolution of miraculous legends still went on." Then, resuming the first edition, he goes on: "Six years later, in 1594, Father Tursellinus published his *Life of Xavier;*" and, after stating that here there was "a vast increase in the number of miracles over those given by all sources together up to that time," he finds it necessary for his legend to say, only two pages further on:

Miracles few and small in Tursellinus became many and great in Bouhours."[1]

Now all this would serve to illustrate our previous canon of criticism, how he assumes, and then drops his assumptions, and has need of a more tenacious memory than he seems to have been gifted with by nature. But we take the passages up as exemplifying our second canon.

We devoted three pages to showing him textually from these authors, that they precisely contradicted him.[2] First, Maffei wrote no biography of Xavier, when he wrote a History of India ; nevertheless, having followed the progress of Xavier in the course of his History of India, the historian closes the episode in these terms : "Others recounted his infallible predictions and miracles—many more, indeed, than we have touched upon, hurrying on, as we have done, to fulfill another purpose."[3] But Maffei, coming only thirty-six years after Xavier's death, the classic period assigned to Dr. White by his original, Dr. Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury, pertains to the groundwork of the legendary theory, the negative basis of "silence" regarding Xavier's miracles. And therefore Maffei must remain. And he does remain, still pilloried to the falsehood on page 14 of Dr. White's new edition.

Secondly, with regard to the "miracles few and small in Tursellinus," we took the very special pains of designating chapter and verse in the Doctor's Tursellini, and showing him recorded there "fifty-one distinct miracles and prophecies, besides summaries of others, all before Xavier's death." We added : "In the following chapter, he recounts nine distinct prodigies, besides summaries of others, all after death. Among the prodigies distinctly recorded by Tursellini are most of those subsequently chosen by the court of Rome for juridical examination, on which to base the process of canonization." Further, we called the Doctor's attention to the *Praefatio ad Lectorem* in Tursellini's edition of 1596, where

1 *The Popular Science Monthly*, May, 1891, pp. 6–7 ; White's "Warfare," etc., vol. ii., pp. 14 and 16.

2 *The Catholic World*, Sept., 1891, pp. 839–842.

3 Lib. xv., p. 668, Edit. Cadoni, 1614.

the author tells of the new acquisitions he has made since his edition of two years before: "a part of Xavier's history, as narrated by those who at the time were in China or Japan." And, to make the Doctor feel quite at home henceforth with his Tursellini, although at the cost of having to turn his legend out of doors, we refreshed his critical sense with the passage at the beginning of Tursellini's sixth book, where a whole chapter is devoted to the question of "the authentic character of the records, the sworn testimonies, the access he has had to them, and other points regarding testimony, truth and fidelity, which it would be quite in harmony with the interests of science to bring before the notice of popular writers to-day, of *vulgarisateurs* in magazines, if only they thought it worth their while to regard such indifferent matters." But, we added, "probably they will not." And our surmise has proved true. We recognize, indeed, that Maffei and Tursellini had to remain, if the Doctor's legend was not to go. Still we must repeat our canon of historical criticism, and, putting it under another form, say to the gentleman, that the end does not justify the means, even in so trifling a matter as conveying the truth.

§ 3.

Our third canon is, never to quote an author for what he does not say—not only if he be a Jesuit writing in Latin, but not even if he be an infidel writing in French.

To satisfy the Doctor's peremptory demand for contemporary testimony, we presented a page and a half of contemporary witnesses for Xavier's Gift of Tongues. The summary contained some nine depositions, beside "several others" for a specific point. It is, says Father Coleridge, the "short epitome of the argument, as summarily presented by the Auditors of the Rota in their chapter on this subject."[1] As to the ingenious objections raised by the Doctor in his former edition, which have now become inepitudes in his present

1 *Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, by Rev. J. H. Coleridge, S. J., vol. i., book ii., ch. ii., p. 173, edit. of 1886.

repetition, we pointed out the exact legal state of the question, and how his very original difficulties were now almost three centuries old! The "devil's advocate" had thought them out, and brought them up against St. Francis Xavier's cause. But we quoted Benedict XIV., telling how Cardinal Gotti had "vigorously" laid the "devil's advocate" low. Dreadful men are those "devil's advocates" in Rome, men of wit, ability and genius; and they can not only detect the remotest shadow of an objection to be made, but they have the ability also to see when it is answered. To pique the ambition of our advocate, who "writes in a boat on the Nile or on an Atlantic steamer," in order that he too might rise to the splendor of a similar performance, we said, with a mischievous little flourish, after giving the contemporary evidence for Xavier's Gift of Tongues: "We may presume that this little specimen of evidence is enough to exercise the acumen of any legal expert."[1]

Dr. White was piqued. So he did three things. First, he left everything just as it stood. Secondly, he found a new argument in Joseph Acosta. Thirdly, as there were all the juridical processes of canonization on the subject, he went over to his little note on Alfred Maury, and "the worthlessness of the testimony to miracles presented during the canonization proceedings at Rome," and he added this significant little etiquette: "pp. 4–7," to his citation from "Maury, *Lêgendes Pieuses.*"[2] Hence we observed before that, besides Dr. White and Pascal, we have Maury on our hands—three entire pages!

We owe Dr. White much. Possibly, the obligation is reciprocal, and he owes us something. But among our obligations to him, we are happy to signalize this little revelation of where he picked up his singular theory about St. Francis Xavier's miracles. The mad idea is Maury's! It may be that of a dozen other mad infidels; but clearly

1 *The Catholic World*, Oct., 1891: "Dr. A. D. White on St. Francis Xavier's Gift of Tongues;" pp. 28-32.

2 White's "*Warfare*," etc., ibid. p. 25.

Maury is one of them. And our Cornell ex-historian has picked up his idea there!

But, first, let us despatch Joseph Acosta. This missionary, writing in Peru, 12,000 miles away from the scene of St. Francis Xavier's recent labors, had heard so much of the Saint's feats in dealing with nations of a hundred different languages, that, speaking of what can be done in overcoming the difficulties of language, if only there is "an ardent love for Christ, if there is industry, and if labor supplies what is wanting to nature," he gives expression to his West Indian sentiments on what he has heard of the East Indies, and says: "In this matter, there is the admirable example of Father Francis Xavier, who devoted himself with such zeal and toil to learning the Malabar tongue, and so much again in learning the Japanese and others widely different from one another, that, if he had been endowed with the apostolic gift of tongues, he could not have spread the name of Christ with more glory in such a vast region of the world."[1] With the habitual reserve of all the contemporary Jesuits, who were too cautious as learned men to make pronouncements until they were certain of their subject, and too wise as Catholics to prejudice the great missionary's standing at Rome by hasty and indiscreet assertions, this far-off missionary just used what he knew and no more. It remained for the courts to place the investigation on the double legal basis, which Benedict XIV. fixes so precisely for the question of the Gift of Tongues, and which he illustrates by the case of St. Francis Xavier.[2] The double basis is: first, the impossibility of the person's having learnt the languages in any natural way; secondly, that, in spite of his not having learnt them by any human means, he certainly showed himself skilled in them, so as to use them on occa-

1 Jos. Acosta, *De Natura Novi Orbis*, etc., lib. i., cap. ix., p. 156. Cologne edition, MDXCVI.—We have treated the whole question of Jos. Acosta in our previous article on "Dr. A. D. White's Legend about St. Francis Xavier:" see this REVIEW for July, 1897.

2 *Benedict XIV., on Heroic Virtue*, vol. iii., p. 226–7; New York and London, Oratorian Series, 1852.

sion. As we have discussed all this matter before, we do not pause upon it again here.[1]

Now we come to Dr. White's brilliant and original argument, that of the "devil's advocate" three centuries ago. He rehearses statements regarding Xavier's Gift of Tongues from the biographers, who, he takes care not to observe, founded their statements on the juridical processes. He says they are all "directly contradicted" by the "plain statements of Xavier himself, and various incidental testimonies in the letters of his associates." Our readers will be amused on hearing, or reading for themselves in Dr. White's book,[2] that "the plain statements of Xavier himself" consist in "constantly dwelling upon his difficulties with the various languages of the different tribes among whom he went." In other words, the preliminary condition for receiving the Gift of Tongues and exercising it upon occasion disproves, according to Dr. White's logic, that he ever received the gift, which was called for by his helpless condition; and the existence of which was proved, generically, by what he actually performed in ten years, and, specifically, by the whole series of ear-witnesses! This is what is called logically an *ignoratio elenchi*, slipping the question, or not understanding what he is talking about. As to "associates," whose "testimonies" he cites, he cites none of them, nor their testimonies; unless he calls Tursellini, who wrote forty-two years after Xavier's death, "an associate." In this case his "wavering" idea of "contemporary" is very liberal indeed, more so than we had extracted from the Doctor on a former occasion. Now he comes to Acosta.

He says: All this is "directly contradicted," by "the explicit declaration of Father Joseph Acosta. The latter historian dwells especially on the labor which Xavier was obliged to bestow on the study of the Japanese and other languages"—of course, Acosta dwells on nothing of the kind, as we have just seen in the quotation—"and," continues Dr. White, "[Acosta] says, 'Even if he had been

1 *The Catholic World*, as above. 2 P. 19.

endowed with the apostolic gift of tongues, he could not have spread more widely the glory of Christ.'" [1]

Is that all? Not another word! But, the "explicit declaration?" Not a word! He has finished with the Gift of Tongues. Is this another "express acknowledgment" from "silence," like that of Dr. Douglas' and Dr. White's on St. Francis Xavier's miracles? Not another word! Yes, he goes on: "It is hardly necessary to attribute to the orators and biographers generally a conscious attempt to deceive." Exactly, Doctor! It is hardly necessary to attribute to you the conscious effort to deceive. The reader can do his part without any attributions from us.

Meanwhile, there was weighing all the time upon the Doctor's genial bosom that dead weight of legal proceedings at Rome, whereof we had given him a pretty full account. He had not touched the question any more in the new edition than in the old one; but, to punish us for the bad temper we betrayed in a moment of pardonable excitement, he completed his little bit of a note, by giving the exact paging of Alfred Maury, "pages 4–7." So, with a heavy heart, we open Maury.[2]

This new acquaintance, from the *côterie* of the ex-historian of Cornell University, is a Voltairian infidel, a light-minded rationalist, whose heroes are "in England, Locke; in France, the whole school of Voltaire; in Germany, Lessing and Kant";[3] and to these he has added himself for the respectful worship of our American ex-historian. He has joined in the merry race of hunting down all the Saints in the Middle Ages, and he undertakes to show a basis of rational "criticism," on which the vast literature of all that

1 White's "*Warfare*," etc. vol., ii., p. 21.

2 *Essai sur les Légendes Pieuses du Moyen-Age*, ou examen de ce qu'elles renferment de merveilleux, d'après les connaissances que fournissent de nos jours l'archéologie, la théologie, la philosophie et la physiologie médicale; par L. F. Alfred Maury, membre de la Société royale des antiquaires de France, etc., etc. "Fallit te incautum pietas tua:" Virgile. Paris, 1843, pp. i.–xxiv., 1–305.

3 Introduction, p. xviii.–xix.

is saintly, supernatural and miraculous, may be reduced to something that a man like him can understand.[1] He begins his arduous work with a psychological study: "Let us represent to ourselves now," says the genius, "what was almost always the case at that epoch, a monk composing the life of a saint." Of course, the monk had nothing to go by; he knew nothing; he had only one idea, that of making a Saint! What will be the first edge, by which this idea will enter into execution? It will be by taking "his Divine Master," and copying Him—"a copy so much the more faithful as his enthusiasm was more live or his ignorance of the history of the saint more blank. In part dupe of an illusion, he invested in the colors of the Gospel recital the facts which, as handed him by tradition [regarding the saint to be manufactured], offered traits of resemblance more or less vague with the facts of the Gospel. Such ought to be (*telle devait être*) the fashion of writing the life of a saint, in those times of profound ignorance and darksome piety (*d'ignorance profonde et de ténébreuse piété*"). How can we deny it? he goes on to exclaim; that is the way biographies are made up now! Then he pursues this "first redaction" of the life of a saint, till it evolves into a splendid "legend properly so called; and new traits of resemblance were added between the saint and Christ." —The gentle reader will please observe that we are quoting Alfred Maury, not Dr. White; otherwise he might be misled by the traits of resemblance betwixt one and the other.

Then this rationalistic brain appends a sage note, about something that "adds," says he, "to the verisimilitude of our explanation." Then he goes back to his wise text. He says: "It is difficult otherwise to assign another cause to this curious fact (of the saint's likeness to Christ), than that which we are about to develop." He says he will not be too despotic in imposing his system on his reader, and in this he is a decided improvement on his posterity in the direction of

1 Preface, p iii.

Cornell; and he adds with frank liberality: "We will leave the reader free to discern in the facts, which we will not examine, the possibility of adapting this kind of explanation to their rational criticism," *dans les faits que nous n'examinerons pas!*[1] He examine facts! not he! He is as wise as his American posterity in this very delicate matter of facts. Then he appends a profound note, referring—not to facts—but to some "very good remark of Strauss," *Vie de Jésus*, etc. The blood of the clan is very thick among this tribe of infidels.

But we must pause. We have already reached the end of page 7 in Maury. And Dr. A. D. White referred us to "pages 4-7:" "For some very thoughtful remarks as to the worthlessness of the testimony to miracles presented during the canonization proceedings at Rome, see Maury, *Légendes Pieuses*, pp. 4-7;" and so he rid himself of our importunity on the value of juridical proceedings. There is nothing in Maury's text. In Maury's notes there is in one place the remark, that miracles were one of the conditions of canonization. In another place, he objects to himself "the imposing authority of testimony;" and says that "proofs from testimony are not wanting to attest all the monstrous fables of the life of saints, and yet what reasonable spirit would admit them to-day!" He expects us to believe his own testimony instead. There is a third note, in which he speaks of a *formule d'usage*, a formula of custom employed with regard to a saint newly canonized; that is to say, the affirmation of a saint's having wrought miracles must be considered as "a formula of custom rather than a literal relation of the facts." But where are the "very thoughtful remarks as to the worthlessness of the testimony to miracles presented during the canonization proceedings at Rome," in view of which very thoughtful remarks Dr. White was dispensed from answering us?

There is not a single word. Dr. White has played us an unpleasant trick in giving us his card of introduction to such

1 Maury, ibid., pp. 4-7.

an idiot as Maury. If Maury had made remarks, he was not worth the card or the introduction. Now, that he has none, Dr. Andrew Dickson White, ex-professor of history in Cornell University, ex-minister to Russia, and now returned to his former post as Ambassador to Germany, may take his idiot back with his card, and keep both.

§4.

The fourth and last canon of historical criticism which we will take the trouble of presenting to this historian of the "Warfare of Science with Theology," is to look palpable evidence in the face, without flinching, or even wincing—unless it be that this is expecting too heroic an exercise of virtue from human nature, placed in his position.

We summoned him to look at the standing miracle of Xavier's body, incorrupt at present in the city of Goa, and exhibited every ten years for the inspection of thousands and tens of thousands. He has in his hands, and he quotes, two books which suffice for showing the pertinence and significance of our challenge. One is Emanuel Acosta's collection of Indian letters, which the Doctor has extolled so much, to the exclusion of every other collection. The other is Cardinal Del Monte's speech in 1622, delivered in presence of Pope Gregory XV., from which the Doctor has taken a whole page of his text. Now, from the reverse of folio 90 of the Doctor's copy of Emanuel Acosta, on to folio 93, there is a most interesting account in the letter of Arias Blandonius, dated Goa, 9 Kal. January, 1554, of the double burial, twice in quicklime, to which the body of St. Francis Xavier had been subjected since his death two years before; and of the condition in which the body remained, till its arrival at Goa, in the sixteenth month after the Saint's death.[1] But as this account is too long for us here, we must content ourselves with only the main features of the miracle, as summarily

1 The Dilingen edition of Acosta's *De Japonicis Rebus Epistolarum Libri*, iiii., 1571, as cited by Dr. White, p. 11, note.

traced by Cardinal Del Monte, and put by him in the first place among the "Miracles after Death."[1]

Omitting the incidents, how the Portuguese merchants, happening to be on the island of San Chan, desired to take the Saint's body with them, but, as they did not wish to carry a corpse, buried the body in quicklime; and then, to their astonishment, when it was time to set sail, found the body and clothes alike intact, and even then hesitated; his Eminence states the main circumstances: That the body was buried in the earth in a wooden box, with quicklime; to the end that, all the flesh being consumed, the bones might be carried to India. Four months later the box is dug up, opened, and the lime being removed, the body is found entirely without any sign of corruption, just as if it had been buried then; the color fresh, the flesh supple, the clothing untouched. Lime is again put into the same box and the body is carried to Malacca, where it is found entire as before. Taken to the church of Our Lady on the Mount, the lime is removed, and the body is placed in a new casket. But the new casket was so short, that the remains had to be compressed somewhat and bent, which all at once caused blood to flow from the shoulders. There it lay till the ninth month after death; and when the sepulchre was opened, the body was found to be just as intact after lying in the ground as it had been after lying in quicklime; and the veil, with which the face had been covered, was stained with fresh blood, on account of the weight of earth thrown in and pressed down in the burial. Then it was splendidly laid out in a new casket, adorned with silk and gold, and was carried, first to Cochin, and afterwards to Goa. When the wonderment and devotion of the people had been satisfied to some degree, during three whole days, "as the miracle surpassed belief, an eminent physician by order of the viceroy inspected and examined the body, and found it incorrupt, full of the vital fluids (*succosum*) and supple, with

1 *Relatio facta in Consistorio*, etc. Insulis, 1622, as quoted by us before; p. 42–3.

the intestines entire and solid, whence through a small wound inflicted there issued blood; and there was no sign of balsam having been used, or oil. The remains were now placed in a special sepulchre to the right of the high-altar. Afterwards, the Vicar-General of Goa and the inquisitor general opened the tomb again, experimented on it (*pertentarunt corpus*) twice and thrice; and found all perfectly incorrupt. [1] The Cardinal then passes on to the second of the miracles after death, which accompanied the previous one; it was that of the sweet odor issuing all the while from the remains.

This is the fact to which we had challenged the Doctor's attention. We had not given the particulars, as we did with the Gift of Tongues; but we were emphatic enough. We had spoken of it under the head of "matters of palpable fact before his eyes; as, for instance, that of the body remaining incorrupt to-day at Goa, which fact is recorded in every one of the documents and authors ostentatiously paraded by him—a fact which is a miracle of the first order, alone sufficient to make everything else credible regarding St. Francis Xavier." [2] We had turned round to taunt him again: "Why does he not take account of the contemporary documents regarding the actual miracle going on of St. Francis Xavier's body remaining incorrupt at Goa, subject to inspection and verification?" [3]

In his new edition, the learned Doctor just happens to bethink himself in one place, in a note, of this irrelevant little matter. After flourishing his great edition of Joseph Acosta, and winding up his other accounts from the side of the West Indian missionary, he recovers as from a fit of abstraction, and says in quite a tone of indifference: "Since writing the above, my attention has been called to the alleged miraculous preservation of Xavier's body claimed in sundry letters contemporary with its disinterment at San Chan and reinterment at Goa." [4] This, of course, and as usual, was not what

1 Ibid. 2 *Catholic World*, Sept. 1891, p. 843. 3 Ibid., p. 848.
4 White's "*Warfare*," etc., vol. ii., p. 10, 11, note.

his attention was called to at all: "alleged," "sundry letters," "contemporary." Well, partial though it be, we shall be content with it; for it will show off Dr. White and the fourth canon of our historical criticism. He then spins out an interminable note. He says: "There is no reason why this preservation need in itself be doubted." That is very good; and, remember, after being buried twice in quicklime, and again in the earth, and being found to bleed even at Goa, sixteen months after death! The Doctor is more accessible to evidence than we had given him credit for. But, lo! he continues: "and no reason why it should be counted as miraculous. Such exceptional preservation of bodies has been common enough in all ages, and, alas for the claims of the Church, quite as common of pagans or Protestants as of good Catholics." Rather hard this—and poor quicklime! He goes on: "One of the most famous cases is that of the fair Roman maiden, Julia, daughter of Claudius, over whose exhumation at Rome, in 1485, such ado was made by the sceptical scholars of the Renaissance." Then, after doting on his "fair Roman maiden" for some time, he flies off to Stade, in Hanover, where "in June of the year 1895, there was unearthed the 'perfectly preserved' body of a soldier of the eighth century." He has not verified it, as usual; but he quotes; and we shall see in a moment the unimpeachable authorities of this learned historian, who is punctiliously strung with the nerves of the very highest kind of historical criticism. He says, "he might mention" bodies preserved at Strasburg; cases of "adipoceration" in various American cemeteries, which, he remarks with wonderful discernment, "never grow less wonderful by repetition from mouth to mouth and in the public prints." Then he does condescend to take one look askance at St. Francis Xavier, at the "especial caution" with which evidence should be received; and he flies off incontinently to "the touching fidelity of disciples;" to St. Charles Borromeo at Milan; to St. Augustine in Africa; to a peacock there; to Sir John Mandeville and iron and the Dead Sea; to feathers there; to St. Simon Stylites living on his pillar in Egypt; to Louis Veuillot and the

"parfum de Rome." Then immediately he subjoins: "For the case of Julia, see the contemporary letter . . . ; for the case of Stade (in Hanover), see press dispatch from Berlin in newspapers of June 24, 25, 1895."

All this is overpowering. We would respectfully say to the gentleman: The question is about St. Francis Xavier's body, buried originally twice in quicklime, buried then in the earth, found bleeding and supple two years after, preserved and visible to-day. The question is not about Julia or the African peacock; not merely about three hundred years ago, nor ten hundred years ago; nor about anything reported "in the press dispatch,—see newspapers." Newspapers! The gentleman has forgotten his discreet observation in the self-same note, about stories which "never grow less wonderful by repetition from mouth to mouth and in the public prints!" Newspapers the authority of an ex-historian of Cornell University, amid the blaze of higher criticism at the end of the nineteenth century, when a man will not accept even eye-witness and ear-witness! And what do the newspapers say about using quicklime as a means of preserving bodies, fresh and supple and bleeding? Flying to the "fair Roman maiden Julia" for help—is it not like that other performance of flying to Pascal for help?

We might perhaps be trespassing on the Doctor's classic qualifications and on his patience, if we quoted here another pagan, besides Julia. Martial has something to say about all this. He complains that he has brought a case of three kids, which were stolen from him; and he has committed the case to an advocate; but the advocate, instead of talking about the three kids, flies off to Cannae, to Mithridates and to the African war, to Sylla and to Marius and to Mucius:

Magna voce sonas manuque tota—
Jam dic Postume de tribus capellis!

"With thundering voice and frantic gestures you rant about all these things.—Now say a word, Postumus, about my three little kids, do!"

Hoc judex sibi postulat probari.

"This is what the court is waiting for."

Here then we part company for the while with this work on the Warfare of Science with Theology. We expect confidently that the REVIEW will not forget the pleasant companionship it has enjoyed with so interesting a subject; and that it will take occasion again to cement its friendship by returning with its best compliments, and doing full justice to so new and entertaining an acquaintance.

With the whole genus of the Maurys and other Postumi before our view, we close our part by observing what they are all about. They go their way with their blushing honors thick upon them, with books, big and little, marshalled before them; and they strive, with the best of the powers that are in them, to quench all light of religion from young and unformed minds or from old and ill-formed minds. And they succeed the better in doing so, the more limited and shallow is the fluid inconsistency of learning and ability, which washes their own barrenness. Their blood-money comes in; and they want more of it; and they write more articles or books, with the *auri sacra fames*. They die as they lived, upon a heap of gold; and, as they say they came from a bestial evolution, so they degenerate into a bestial dissolution.

Meanwhile, nothing escapes their touch, which carries defilement with it, like pitch. That Maury, for instance, whom our ex-professor of Cornell mentions with such distinguished regards, cannot keep his foul fingers from soiling with their touch of infamous impurity the holiest persons who have adorned the annals of humanity; nay, in the same breath he conveys his contagion in a direction holier still. The class of men to which he belongs, turning as they do with the adroitness of apostacy to assault the home of their fathers, have a tact for stinging the noblest instincts of our nature with the subtlety and cleverness of the snake in the grass. They can bite, where the dull sense of another class sees nothing special to nip; and who are too ignorant of all religion ever to have been apostate.

This latter class thrives at present in America. It has not the subtler tact of the decomposed European. Hence

the coarse and gross blasphemy, the dull and almost unconscious impiety, which characterize many American publications. But, if American, possibly it is the better adapted to the American propagandism of impiety and vice. Hence, just as if it were the subtler European impiety in Europe, must we regard with no less attention the American product in America.

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Brussels, Belgium.

AMERICAN RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS.

(*First Paper.*)

THE CONGREGATION OF ST. PAUL.

THE only religious institute of clerics in the United States that is of American origin is the Congregation of Missionary Priests of St. Paul the Apostle, who are commonly called the Paulist Fathers.

It is American by three titles—it was founded in this country, all its first members were natives, and its primary vocation is apostolic labor for the conversion of the non-Catholic millions in this republic.

The Congregation of St. Paul was brought into existence more directly by arrangements made by Divine Providence than by the deliberate plan of any man or body of men, for both its reputed founder and his earliest associates all belonged to a religious order in which they had vowed to persevere until death, and they had no intention whatsoever

of quitting it when they began the proceedings that ended in their separation from it, and in the organization of the new community.

The establishment of the Paulists came about in this way. The American branch of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer was, at the middle of this century, as it is still, directed by men of German ancestry. In 1857 it had five members of American extraction—Fathers Clarence A. Walworth, Isaac T. Hecker, Augustine F. Hewit, George Deshon and Francis A. Baker, all converts. The question of founding a new house as a headquarters for English-speaking Fathers, as a centre of attraction for American novices, as a base for missionary work for the non-Catholic American people, and as a residence in which English instead of German should be the language in common use, came up for consideration. The four first-named priests favored the project (Father Baker's opinion was not asked as he was but newly ordained), the German-speaking Fathers opposed it. Bishop Bayley and Archbishop Hughes separately made application for such a foundation. The Superiors of the Order both here and in Rome declined to grant the request. It appears that there had been some questioning of the motives of the American Fathers. These, unwilling to be considered disloyal and anxious to elucidate the reasons that in their judgment clamored for the new foundation, resolved that one of their number should visit the Superior General and in person lay the matter before him. The choice fell on Father Hecker. He set sail on August 5, 1857 ; he reached Rome on August 26. This act was construed as a violation of the vows of obedience and poverty, and Father Hecker was dismissed from the Order on August 29.

Although stunned by the blow, Father Hecker did not forsake his purpose. Not chiefly for his personal vindication, but for the sake of his associates, who renewed their declarations of adhesion, and for the sake of the cause that he had come to advocate,he appealed from the decision of the General to the Propaganda. Thence the case was transferred to the

Holy Father, who, having committed the matter to the judgment of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, approved their solution advising the seperation of the American Fathers from the Redemptionist Order, with explicit permission indeed to work subject to the local bishops, but with the tacit understanding that they were to continue to live in community and to form a new organization.

At the outset, there had not been any thought of severance from the Redemptorists. The first plan was for the reinstatement of Father Hecker, and the granting of the desires of the other American Fathers through the formation of another Redemptorist body in the United States, as is the case in some countries with other religious communities. Next the suggestion was made to transfer the American priests to the jurisdiction of the Cisalpine (or Neapolitan) branch of the Redemptorists, which was at that time an independent Congregation, and which would gladly have taken them under its care. But as the case dragged along—and it was seven months under adjudication—Father Hecker wrote on October 3 to his comrades:

"I hope God has inspired you with some means of coming to my help. Indeed it is a difficult position, and the best I can do is to throw myself constantly on Divine Providence and be guided by Him. You will remember, and I hope, before this reaches you, will have answered, my proposiuon in my last note—whether or not you would be willing to form an independent band of missionaries to be devoted to the great wants of the country. I have considered and reconsidered, and prayed and prayed, and, in spite of my fears, this seems to be the direction in which Divine Providence calls us. . . . If you are prepared to move in this direction it would be best, and indeed necessary, not only to write to me your assent, but also a memorial to the Propaganda—to Cardinal Barnabo—stating the interests and wants of religion and of the country, and then petition to be permitted to turn your labors in this direction."

The four to whom he wrote—for on September 26 Father Baker had been informed of what Father Hecker was doing in Rome, and had cast in his lot with his brethren—signed a

joint letter on November 17, in which they stated that they preferred, in case Father Hecker was not reinstated, to be separated from the Redemptorist Order, and to be made "immediately dependent on the Holy See, or the Prefect of the Propaganda, rather than anything else; . . . . . called, for instance, 'Religious Missionaries of the Propaganda,' if the Holy Father would make us such. With the rule of St. Alphonsus, and the same missionary privileges we now enjoy, and our dear Father Hecker among us again, we should feel happy and safe. . . . But we wait for the words of the Holy See to indicate our course."

The idea of an entirely new society "which," as Father Hecker wrote late in December to his associates, "would embody in its life what is good in the American people in the natural order and adapt itself to answer the great wants of our people in the spiritual order," grew upon him and upon them as the weary weeks went by, and when the Holy See finally declined to bind them to the Redemptorist rule, but set them at liberty "to apply themselves to the prosecution of the sacred ministry under the direction of the local bishops," they accepted the decision as the will of God.

The decree was issued on March 6, 1858. After refusing to establish a separate Redemptorist organization, as that would be prejudicial to the unity of the Congregation, it dispensed the five priests from their vows, and expressed the hope that they would labor edifyingly in the vineyard of the Lord. It did not, as is customary before dispensations of vows are granted to religious, require them to show that they would be received into some diocese, because the authorities in Rome expected them, with the approval of some Bishop, to form another institute.

As soon as Father Hecker returned to New York in May, 1858, the five priests began to organize the new community. Father Walworth, not being in entire agreement with the others, withdrew to the diocese of Albany and took charge of a parish; he returned to the Paulists in 1861, and remained with them until his health gave way in 1865; then he retired from the Congregation permanently. Father Hecker

was elected the first superior and he, with the remaining three —Hewit, Deshon, and Baker,—drew up and signed a Programme of Rule. It was approved by Archbishop Hughes on July 7, 1858, with the comment that he found no word to omit, to add, or to improve. The outline adopted an order of spiritual exercises similar to that followed by the Redemptorists. It did not insist upon the making of vows, but accepted instead a voluntary agreement to live according to the evangelical counsels. It named *missions* as the chief work, and parish work as a subordinate feature of the external vocation. It looked forward to the enactment of a complete Rule, which, indeed, was drawn up some twenty years later on the basis of that Programme.

In developing his ideas of the mission of the new society, Father Hecker wrote:

"So far as is compatible with faith and piety, I am for accepting the American civilization, with its usages and customs; leaving aside other reasons, it is the only way by which Catholicity can become the religion of our people. The character and spirit of our people, and their institutions, must find themselves at home in our Church in the way those of other nations have done; and it is on this basis alone that the Catholic religion can make progress in our country.

The form of government of the United States is preferable to Catholics above other forms. It is more favorable than others to the practice of those virtues which are the necessary conditions of the development of the religious life in man. This government leaves men a larger margin for liberty of action, and hence for cooperation with the guidance of the Holy Spirit, than any other government under the sun. With these popular institutions men enjoy greater liberty in working out their true destiny. The Catholic Church will, therefore, flourish all the more in this republican country in proportion as her representatives keep, in their civil life, to the lines of their republicanism.

The two poles of the Paulist character are: *First*, personal perfection. He must respond to the principles of perfection as laid down by spiritual writers. The backbone of a religious community is the desire for personal perfection actuating its members. The

desire for personal perfection is the foundation-stone of a religious community ; when this fails, it crumbles to pieces ; when this ceases to be the dominant desire, the community is tottering. Missionary works, parochial work, etc., are, and must be made, subordinate to personal perfection. These works must be done in view of personal perfection. The main purpose of each Paulist must be the attainment of personal perfection by the practice of those virtues without which it cannot be secured—mortification, self-denial, detachment and the like. By the use of these means the grace of God makes the soul perfect. The perfect soul is one which is guided instinctively by the indwelling Holy Spirit. To attain to this is the end always to be aimed at in the practice of the virtues just named. *Second*, zeal for souls ; to labor for the conversion of the country to the Catholic faith by apostolic work. Parish work is a part, an integral part, of Paulist work, but not its principal or chief work—and parish work should be done so as to form a part of the main aim—the conversion of the non-Catholic people of the country. In this manner we can labor to raise the standard of Catholic life here and throughout the world as a means of the general triumph of the Catholic faith.

I do not think that the principal characteristic of our Fathers and of our life should be poverty, or obedience, or any other special and secondary virtue, or even a cardinal virtue, but zeal for apostolic works. Our vocation is apostolic—conversion of souls to the faith, of sinners to repentance, giving missions, defence of the Christian religion by conferences, lectures, sermons, the pen, the press and the like works; and in the interior, to propagate among men a higher and more spiritual life.

Many other communities lay the main stress on community life as the chief element, giving it control as far as is consistent with fundamental individual right; the Paulists, on the contrary, give the element of individuality the first place and put it in control as far as is consistent with the common life.

A Paulist, seeing that he has so much individuality, should have a strong, nay, a very strong, attrait for community life ; he should be fond of the Fathers' company, prefer them and their society when seeking proper recreation, feel the house to be his *home* and the community and its surroundings very dear to him ; in the routine of the day all the community exercises and labors are, in his judgment, of paramount obligation and importance."

The religious vows, which were not definitely rejected at the beginning of the Congregation's career, were finally laid aside for the voluntary agreement. Concerning this decision Father Walter Elliott, in his admirable biography of the Founder, says:

"It never entered into the minds of the Fathers to question the doctrine and practice of the Church concerning vows. But personal experience proves the lesson of history—that what religion needs is not so much holy states of life as holy men and women. . . . Father Hecker did not dream that by relinquishing the vows he and his companions in the Paulist community had cast away a single incentive to virtue capable of moving such men as they or had even failed to secure any of the insignia adorning the great host of men and women in the Catholic Church whose entire being has been given up to the divine service. 'The true Paulist,' said he once, 'should be fit and ready to take the solemn vows at any moment.' . . . Neither Father Hecker nor any of his associates had the least aversion to the vows. On the contrary, they had lived contentedly under them for many of their most active years and it will be remembered of Father Hecker that he never found them irksome, had never known a temptation against them. The question which arose was a choice between two kinds of community —the one fast-bound by external obligations to the Church in the form of vows, placing the members in a relation of peculiar strictness to the Canon Law; or other kind, in which the members trusted wholly to the strength of Divine grace and their own conscious purpose never to give up the fight for perfection; which of these states would better facilitate the action of the Holy Spirit in the present Providence of God; and which of them would tend to produce a type of character fitted to evangelize a nation of independent and self-reliant men and women? The free community was chosen. . . . What has been said in this chapter, besides serving to exhibit Father Hecker's principles as a founder, will be, we trust, a sufficient answer to the silly delusion which the Paulists have encountered in some quarters—that their society tolerates a soft life and supposes in its members no high vocation to perfection; or that the voluntary principle allows them a personal choice in regard to the devotional exercises, permitting them to attend or not to attend this or that meditation or devotion laid down in the

Rule, as 'the spirit moves them.' This is as plain an error as another one which had much currency for years and which is not yet everywhere corrected—that the Paulist community was open to converts alone and received none others."

Hardly was the new society organized than it was set to work. Homeless as it was it planned a season's campaign of missions, its members living where they could, even for a time in an ordinary boarding-house, during the temporary pauses in their apostolic labors. It also began the task of forming a new parish. A welcome had been offered to it in half a dozen dioceses, but it clung to New York. Its firm supporter, Archbishop Hughes, gave it a location. The four priests began to quest for funds. Personal friends, of whom the chief and most generous was Mr. George Hecker, the brother of the superior, himself also a convert, made the first contributions; then collections were taken up in some of the nearby places in which the Fathers had given missions, especially in the down-town parishes of New York; next circulars were sent broadcast to the clergy and the earliest response of encouragement, together with a handsome donation, came from the Jesuit rector of Georgetown College. A payment was made on some of the lots of their present headquarters at Fifty-ninth street and Ninth avenue, which was then in a suburban wilderness, among unopened streets, market gardens, and clusters of cabins perched picturesquely on masses of rock. Father Hecker called his territory "shantyopolis." The corner-stone of the church and convent was laid by the Most Rev. Archbishop on Trinity Sunday, June 19, 1859. The house was completed and blessed on November 24 of that same year, and the chapel was dedicated on the following Sunday. The Paulists were then constitutionally and materially established.

The activity of the Paulist Fathers in the fulfilment of their external vocation has radiated chiefly in eight directions:

1. In the preaching of missions. When only three priests of the nascent Institute could be spared for this work, they went up and down this country and Canada, and from 1858

to 1865, when Father Baker's death temporarily suspended these apostolic operations, they preached eighty-one missions, delivered uncounted lectures and special sermons, and received into the Church hundreds and hundreds of converts. As soon as new recruits were enlisted under their standard—and the first of these was Father Robert B. Tillotson, who joined them in the autumn of 1859, and the next was Father Alfred Young, who came to them from the diocese of Newark—they utilized them to push this work. From 1870, when it was regularly resumed, up to the present time, they have given very close to one thousand missions in all parts of the country and only God knows the number of the converts that they have been the means of leading to the truth.

2. In zeal for the house of God. Their church soon became noted for the attention paid in it to the public offices of religion, for rubrical exactness in ceremonies, and for the splendor of its decoration on the occasions of great feasts.

3. In the reform of church music. They early introduced into their church the Gregorian chant; they have trained choirs of boys and men; they have promoted congregational singing; and they have published books of hymns, Masses, etc., for the spread of devotional music.

4. In opposition to intemperance and the liquor traffic. They have carried on an unrelenting warfare against the drink habit, the custom of treating and the saloon. Their propaganda in favor of sobriety has been exerted through sermons, through tracts, through letters to the public press, through articles in their own publications, through petitions to the Legislature, through action at the polls, through persuasion made to rum-sellers to forsake the dangerous business, through advice given in the confessional, and through the formation of total abstinence societies, and through the establishment of the Temperance Publication Bureau with its periodical called *Temperance Truth*. This persistent, Briarean, powerful and enthusiastic opposition of theirs to one of the most ravenous occasions of sin prevalent in our country and our people, fostered esteem for the cardinal virtue of temperance, edified our Puritanical neighbors,

strengthened the cause of total abstinence, and smoothed the way for part of the legislation and of the pastoral letter of the last Plenary Council of Baltimore. It was also like a courier heralding the coming of the letter of approval by the Holy See of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America.

5. In the elevation of sermonic standards and literature. The Paulists have put forward their best orators to preach the sermon at the High Mass in their church on Sundays, and these preachers have been directed to make a thorough preparation for the task. The result has been that crowds, Catholics and Protestants, from within the parish and from outside it, have flocked to their pulpit every Sunday, sure of hearing an earnest sermon painstakingly delivered.

Beginning with 1861, a volume of the Paulist sermons was printed every year for seven years, and some time later three volumes of the famous *Five-Minute Sermons for Early Masses* were sent out from the press.

6. In the apostolate of the press. This was the great hope of Father Hecker. He saw that where a speaker could address his thousands, a writer could lay his argument before millions, and that where a priest would not be allowed to enter or be listened to, a leaflet or a book would be read through. So even while he was yet a Redemptorist he wrote two treatises—*Questions of the Soul*, and *Aspirations of Nature*,—to give his reasons for his faith to his non-Catholic brethren. He early began to use the printing-press, therefore, in the interests of religion, for the Congregation was as yet hardly three years in existence when the first collection of Paulist sermons was issued in book form. He even planned for an associate Congregation of women to co-operate with the priests in many ways, but principally in the apostolate of the printed word.

The Fathers started the *Catholic World* magazine in April, 1865, which has been a great, respected and influential representative of Catholic doctrine and rights before the American people.

They organized the Catholic Publication Society in 1866. They designed it as a missionary enterprise to publish works

for the instruction of Catholics and the enlightenment of non-Catholics, at cost or even less, to be scattered like leaves in winter over the whole country. They induced the Second Plenary Council to adopt the Society and to pass a decree directing the Bishops to establish branches of it and to take up a collection for it annually or make other suitable provision for its development. It did produce tracts, pamphlets and books of great service to the cause of religion, of which millions of copies have been disseminated among the people, but not receiving the support that had been anticipated for it, it was turned over entirely to lay management and a year or two ago it finally collapsed. But out of its ruins has arisen the Catholic Book Exchange, which is doing the same work on a purely missionary basis.

They founded *The Young Catholic* in 1870, an illustrated bi-weekly, which was intended to do for the children what the Paulist magazine was effecting on a larger scale for the parents. It was the first of its kind in the United States and has held its own up to the present day, even in competition with a half dozen welcome rivals in its chosen field.

They projected the establishment of a first-class Catholic daily newspaper. In 1871 a prominent journal in New York, a member of the Associated Press, could have been bought for $300,000. Father Hecker was eager for its purchase. He and his associates had secured more than half the price of it when his health broke down and the scheme was abandoned.

They inaugurated a publishing department of their own in 1892. They have a large printing office, with editorial room, composing room, press room, stock room, bookstore, etc., at 120 West Sixtieth Street, in New York City. There they get out their magazine, their young folks' paper, temperance literature, tracts, the calendars that are for free distribution in churches, the *Missionary* (of which more will be said later), and a growing list of two dozen volumes—of biography, sermons, doctrinal works, etc.

7. In preaching of missions to non-Catholics. This work, which is most in accordance with their distinctive vocation

—for it was a saying of Father Hecker's: "I would help Catholics with my left hand but Protestants with my right hand,"—was begun in the diocese of Detroit, with the approbation of Bishop Foley, in September, 1893. Eight missions were preached in Michigan in nine months, mostly in public halls, which were largely attended by non-Catholics, removed myriads of prejudices, and brought about a number of conversions. They were accompanied with the free distribution of leaflets and books.

In 1894–5, a similar apostolic campaign was carried on in the diocese of Cleveland, with even better attendance of non-Catholics, more converts, and a larger use of literature. Moreover, a band of three diocesan priests was set apart by Bishop Horstmann to carry on this special work throughout the diocese.

In 1895–96 a like crusade to non-Catholics was preached in the diocese of Pittsburgh. The movement was greatly aided by the receipt of a letter of approval from the Holy See. Although that region is notorious as a hotbed of bigotry, many conversions were made. So needed and so fruitful was the mission that Bishop Phelan appointed two of his devoted priests to continue it indefinitely.

Since then diocesan missionaries to preach the faith to non-Catholics have been set at work by the Bishops in the dioceses of New York, Grand Rapids, Baltimore, Wilmington, Charleston, Brooklyn, Richmond, Wheeling, Kansas City, Dallas, Galveston, and San Francisco, and the Vicariate of North Carolina.

8. Finally, in the publication of *The Missionary* and in the formation of the Catholic Missionary Union.

The Missionary is a 16-page, illustrated quarterly, started in March, 1896, and designed to arouse zeal for conversions and to raise money for missionary expenses. Its price is one dollar a year. Its success has been wonderful. It has stirred up wide-spread enthusiasm for the conversion of America, and it has already brought in sufficient funds for the support of six missionaries in those parts of the country, especially West and South, in which the Catholics are

too few and too poor to supply the cost of missions to their neighbors.

The Catholic Missionary Union supports missionaries who are engaged in giving missions to non-Catholics. It announces that $500 will support a missionary priest for a year; that $100 will supply him with missionary literature; that $25 will pay the expense of a week's mission; and that $10 will hire a hall. Its membership is composed of persons who make an annual donation to its funds; or who become simply subscribers to *The Missionary;* of those who, through promoters, agree to give ten cents a month to the good cause; and of children in Sunday schools, etc., who contribute five cents a month to the same evangelistic work.

The task of the conversion of America is too huge for the Paulists alone. They are, as yet, only thirty-five men, while the non-Catholics in this republic alone, not to speak of British America, number about fifty-eight millions. They can only apply themselves to the undertaking with almost single-minded devotedness. They expect to co-operate with their brethren of the priesthood, to be used as pioneers or as a light brigade, content themselves to clear the thickets of prejudice and to break up the prairie clods of ignorance, leaving to others to reap the harvest. They seek to labor in conjunction chiefly with the diocesan clergy, as being more numerous, more widely distributed, more permanent in residence, better known to the non-Catholic people, and more akin to the Paulists themselves, than are the members of the regular orders. They desire, also, the aid of the laity, who are the relatives, the friends, the neighbors of the Protestant multitude, and who by contributing money, by distributing literature, by advertizing the missions among their acquaintances, and by other means, can mightily promote the movement. They have even considered the advisability of employing some of these as lecturers, having reasons to believe that, with proper safeguards, some educated lay gentlemen could serve religion in this way with eminent success.

The Paulists now have a church, pastoral residence, novitiate, parochial school and publishing house in New York

City; a house of studies at the Catholic University near Washington; and a church and residence in San Francisco, that was entrusted to them by Archbishop Riordan in 1895, and at which are stationed five Fathers.

They number at present thirty-five Fathers, twenty-one students and fifteen postulants.

Their superior, up to his death in last July, was the Very Rev. A. F. Hewit, D.D., the son of a Congregationalist minister, who came from Calvinism *via* Episcopalianism to the Catholic Church; who was trained in the religious life by the pious Redemptorist Order; who held up the arms of Father Hecker from the day that the latter first set out for Rome until the Congregation of St. Paul was founded; who had the same spirit and the same views as that Providential man, and who became his successor after his demise, in 1888.

The Paulist Congregation is not stagnant. Not in purpose, in numbers, nor in good works, is it quiescent. It is steadily moving forward, according to its means, its opportunities, and the coöperation of the rest of the Church in the United States, towards the consummation of its apostolic vocation—the conversion of non-Catholic America.

ST. JOHN'S SEMINARY.

(Collegeville, Minnesota.)

FIFTY years ago Minnesota ceased to be a wilderness. Its bountiful resources invited settlement, and in a short time towns sprang up with a marvelous rapidity. Energetic settlers from the East busily set about developing the latent wealth of the North Star State; there was a considerable inflow from the border provinces of Canada, and, above all, a powerful stream of immigrants from various parts of Europe, particularly from Germany. The principal settlements were founded along the chief water-courses, while a great number of those who were either disinclined, or who lacked the resources to locate in cities and towns, plunged into the forests or scattered over the promising prairies of the extensive territory.

By far the greater part of the population were Catholics. Here, then, was a new missionary field presenting rich prospects, but great difficulties. The settlements were far apart, and the life of the missionary was indeed fraught with sacrifices. Besides the white settlers, there were several Indian tribes whose spiritual interests needed attention.

As early as 1842, the venerable Father—now Monsignor—Ravoux visited the southern portion of the State in behalf of the Indians, and the services of the apostolic Father Gaultier, who left Minnesota in 1844, fill an illustrious page in the history of the pioneer period of the State. The growth of population necessitated a supply of priests to minister to the spiritual wants of the congregations so widely scattered—from the St. Croix to the Red river, and from Iowa to Manitoba.

In 1851 the diocese of St. Paul received its first Bishop in the person of Mgr. Joseph Cretin, who brought with him two priests from Europe. During his administration the tide of immigration was at its height. A great number of immigrants, mostly Germans, came to settle in the central section of the State, in the district of which Stearns county forms a part. It now became the duty of the Bishop to provide a

sufficient number of priests; and since the settlers were almost exclusively Germans, he deemed it prudent to secure priests who could speak their language.

But a few years before this time the Benedictines had made a home in Pennsylvania. Early in 1856 Bishop Cretin cordially and urgently invited the superior, Abbot Boniface Wimmer, to extend the field of his activity to the West. The invitation was duly considered at St. Vincent's, and in April of the same year the late Father Demetrius Marogna, O.S.B., accompanied by two seminarians, set out for the new country, arriving at St. Paul, May 2. Later in the month, the missionaries departed northward to take possession of the place for which they had originally been destined—Sauk Rapids, one of the earliest settlements in the State.

Subsequently they settled near St. Cloud, on the western banks of the Mississippi, and made this point the basis of operations. Their existence was now assured, for the Bishop of St. Paul wrote late in 1856, while the bill petitioning for a charter for St. John's Seminary was pending in the Territorial Legislature: "I wish very much that the Rt. Rev. Abbot of the Benedictines in the United States, Mgr. Boniface Wimmer, may establish a monastery of his Order in Stearns county. We shall neglect nothing to ensure the full success of the undertaking." The erection of a college, or seminary, was the first object of Father Demetrius' solicitude. It was necessary to have additional laborers in the vineyard of the Lord; and it was highly expedient that young men of good promise be selected from among the people and prepared for the sacred ministry. Moreover, the perpetuity of the monastic establishment could not be better provided for than by training candidates in the monastery. There were very few seminaries in the Middle and Western States in that day, and St. John's enjoys the distinction of being the pioneer Catholic institution of its kind in the Northwest.

The act of incorporation of St. John's Seminary passed the Territorial Legislature, and was approved by the Go-

vernor on March 6, 1857. Now the members of the community felt themselves firmly established and they set about organizing a college. On November 10 of the same year, the doors of the humble institution were opened to receive students. Five youths from St. Cloud and the neighboring settlements formed the attendance in the classical department during the first year, and one professor superintended their studies.

Owing to some disagreeable litigation in which the St. Cloud property of the Order was involved shortly after, the College was transferred to St. Joseph, but in 1859 it was once more transferred to St. Cloud and was presided over by Father Alexius Roetzer. He was succeeded by Father Anschar Frauendorfer, who retained the office until 1863. During the Indian troubles which distressed the settlers in 1862, classes were entirely suspended.

Under the administration of the first Prior, Father Othmar Wirtz, it was resolved to transfer both monastery and college to what was known as the "Indian Bush," near the present Collegeville station, ten miles west of St. Cloud. A change in the original charter was necessary for this purpose and this was made by an act of the State Legislature, approved February 6, 1864, amending the previous act. By this amendment the Order was authorized "to establish and erect an institution or seminary in Stearns county, to be known by the name and style of St. John's Seminary," whereas the original charter bound the institution to the St. Cloud property.

The contemplated transfer was effected immediately upon the approval of the act. A log building had been erected on a small farm in the Bush by Father Benedict Heindl in 1859, and this all but imposing edifice served as a monastery and college; the latter at that time boasted twenty students. How they were all comfortably domiciled in those limited quarters is a mystery and a source of wonder to those whom the complete accommodations of the present day can hardly satisfy. Father Wolfgang Northman († 1876) was President at this period.

The administration of Prior Othmar terminated in 1865; he was succeeded by Prior Benedict Heindl, who determined to remove the establishment to its present location, on the shores of one of the most picturesque lakes in these regions. A stone building, 46 by 50, was erected in 1866; the corner stone was laid by the late Bishop Thomas L. Grace, of St. Paul, on July 28 of the same year. If any regret over the change of location from St. Cloud was felt, it was now unavailing, for the buildings at that place were destroyed by fire, February 20, 1866.

The monastic community had by this time attained such growth, that upon petition of Abbot Boniface Wimmer the Priory was raised to the dignity of Abbey by Pope Pius IX., with Abbot Rupert Seidenbusch—later Vicar Apostolic of Northern Minnesota—as its first Abbot.

Upon the completion of the stone building the community took up their quarters in it and in the summer of 1867 welcomed their first Abbot. The Abbey was styled "St. Louis on the Lake," while the college retained its charter name. At a later day the abbey also adopted the name of St. John's.

With increased, though still modest facilities for accommodating a larger number of students, an auspicious beginning was made in the autumn of 1867. Up to this time the curriculum of the Seminary included the classical course only. This course completed, the candidates for the Order entered the novitiate at the Mother house, St. Vincent's, Pennsylvania, where they pursued their philosophical and theological studies for three years, after the year of probation had expired.

Most of the priests attached to the abbey performed missionary duty which enforced continuous absence from the institution for a long time. For the purpose of organizing something like a permanent staff of professors, requisition was made upon St. Vincent's for additional volunteers, and with encouraging success. Now it was possible to open departments for Philosophy and Theology. From the second annual catalogue, issued 1869, it appears that in this year

the first classes were organized. In the autumn of the same year seven candidates for the Order who had just completed their novitiate, and five seminarians of the diocese of St. Paul were enrolled. Two professors taught Moral and Dogmatic Theology, Ecclesiastical History and Philosophy.

The institution was not at that time, nor subsequently, officially characterized as a diocesan seminary, but the fact that it was the only school of the kind in the extensive diocese explains why it received patronage. The course of instruction was confined to the branches which are deemed essential to qualify priests for the mission. There was a dearth of priests and the demand had to be met as speedily as possible.

When the Vicariate Apostolic of Northern Minnesota was established in 1875, Abbot Seidenbusch was selected to be its Vicar. He placed into our Seminary the students who were preparing for the ministry in his Vicariate. Thus in the school-year of 1875--6 there were seventeen diocesan seminarians in attendance.

Abbot Seidenbusch was succeeded in the abbatial dignity and presidency of the Seminary by Abbot Alexius Edelbrock (1875--1889), under whose administration the course of studies taught in the Seminary was substantially extended, while the attendance grew steadily. He secured from the present Supreme Pontiff, Leo XIII., on June 16, 1878, a privilege authorizing him and his successors in office to create such of his subjects, who, after studying Philosophy two years, Canon Law one year and Theology four years, are found worthy, Doctors in these sciences.

The rapid development of the country and the growing popularity of the educational institution conducted by the Benedictines of St. John's, soon told on the inadequacy of the buildings. Abbot Alexius Edelbrock increased the building by a magnificent addition of 400 feet, five stories high, and equipped with accommodations of a modern type. The Seminary was provided with ample quarters in the new extension.

Abbot Alexius Edelbrock retired from the abbatial position in 1889; in the year following, Abbot Bernard Locnikar († 1894) was installed. Like his predecessor he had in the infant days of the Seminary been deeply interested in developing the divinity course, and now he was anxious to exercise personal supervision over the work. He introduced several important modifications in the exercises and discipline of the seminarians.

Abbot Bernard Locnikar passed to the eternal reward of his labors in November, 1894, and was succeeded by Abbot Peter Engel, who for fifteen years previous had taught Philosophy in the Seminary. Conscious that the exigencies of the present day called for a more advanced training of candidates for the sacred ministry, he has taken steps to make improvements in several directions.

The foundation of the *Collegium Anselmianum* at Rome by the munificence of Pope Leo XIII. had induced Abbot Bernard Locnikar, in 1893, to send a member of St. John's Abbey to qualify for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy at that College. He returned after two years, having won the title, and to-day is employed in our Seminary as professor of that science. The present Abbot, well aware of the advantages offered for study in the Eternal City, sent another member of the community to the *Anselmianum* in 1895 to qualify in Theology.

The diocese of St. Cloud, comprising but a slight portion of the former Vicariate, was organized in 1889. Its bishops, the Most Rev. Dr. Otto Zardetti, now titular Archbishop of Mocesso (Mugiur), and the lamented Mgr. Martin Marty, O.S.B., sent the majority of their diocesan seminarians to St. John's. The establishment of St. Thomas' Seminary, which was two years ago merged in the new St. Paul Seminary, provided an institution for the education of the clergy of the St. Paul province. Hence our Seminary depends for its attendance—besides the regulars—upon students, either sent by the diocesan Bishop or from neighboring provinces having no seminaries of their own.

This, in mere outline, is a history of the first ecclesiastical

seminary in the Northwest. From insignificant beginnings it worked its way onward and upward despite the difficulties that, like so many institutions of a similar character, it was obliged to confront. Without any endowment, without any public support, but with an unfaltering trust in the goodness of God, whose protection was so clearly upon the enterprise, this institution sprang from the soil in which it had taken root. The priests who issued from its humble class-rooms have rendered precious service in the interests of souls during the pioneer period. Many have gone to their eternal rest, many are still bearing the burden of the day, and two have been deemed worthy of entering the ranks of the American episcopate, the Bishops of Jamestown and Winona.

From 1867 to 1896 the institution had prepared for the sacred ministry :

Secular priests, ...	122
Regulars (O.S.B.), ...	82

This sketch would be incomplete without some reference to the present condition of the Seminary.

By an act of Legislature in 1883, the charter name of the institution was changed to "St. John's University," but the designation of Seminary has always been retained for the ecclesiastical department. The institution conducts a classical college (with a preparatory course) attended by about 150 students ; a commercial college with an attendance of 50, and from 1885–1896 it also conducted an Industrial School for Chippewa Indian boys. The attendance in the Seminary at present is 45 ; of these 25 are seculars and 20 regulars. The secular seminarians represent six of the Western dioceses.

The ecclesiastical course up to this time has comprised but four years: the great demand for priests made a short course imperative, and the work accomplished by the candidates equipped at our Seminary testifies to the adequacy of their training to meet the requirements of the mission. The authorities, however, realize that the demand for priests is not now so pressing as it was at an earlier date ; also that the clergy should have an education of a superior standard and

in branches in which some proficiency will be expected on account of the dangers menacing the faith at the hands of infidels, sceptics and pseudo-scientists. With a view of elevating the present standard, it has been resolved to adopt the five years' course in the autumn of the present year. Heretofore, two years were devoted to Philosophy and three to Theology, the second of the former coinciding with the first of the latter. The new course will comprise two years of Philosophy independent of the three in Theology.

In the matter of text-books, it has been the constant endeavor of the Faculty to keep in touch with the best, most recent and serviceable authors. Thus at various periods, Konings, Gury and Lehmkuhl were used as texts in Moral Theology, until Sabetti was adopted as better suited to circumstances in our country; Perrone's *Praelectiones Dogmaticae* were recently replaced by Hurter; in Philosophy, Tongiorgi and Sanseverino were abandoned in favor of Card. Zigliara; in Church History, Darras, Wouters and Alzog have been superseded by Brueck, and in S. Liturgy, Wapelhorst's *Compendium* has preference over older and more voluminous authors. Other texts are Cornely's *Introductio in S. Scripturam*, Schmidt's *Patrology* and Frassinetti's *Pastoral Theology*.

The school year consists of ten months, divided into two terms, beginning respectively in September and February. Lectures in Theology and Philosophy are given daily, while the remaining branches are taught twice, and some, three times a week.

The prospective seminarian is supposed to have completed the classical course, the usual requisite exacted by seminaries. Our classical course consists of six years, and embraces the following branches: Latin, Greek, English, German, Mathematics, History, Rhetoric and Composition and Christian Doctrine. Music, Modern Languages, Physics and Chemistry are accessory branches; and singing is obligatory for all students preparing for the priesthood.

In addition, it is expected that his conduct has been commendable, that he has presentable papers, or testimonials,

and that he stands under the patronage of some diocesan Bishop to whom the authorities can report concerning his progress and conduct.

Life in the Seminary is ordered upon the plan adopted by most institutions of the same character. The seminarians occupy quarters entirely separated from the collegiate departments. Each student has a room, appropriately furnished, while a community room is set aside for the common exercises. The immediate supervision of discipline is committed to one of the priests of the Order who officiates as Prefect.

The time of rising is 5.30. Morning prayers are followed by Mass at 6 o'clock. The seminarians are expected to receive Holy Communion every Sunday and on Feasts of Obligation. They also observe the first Friday in honor of the Sacred Heart. After Mass a plain breakfast is taken and then follows a half hour's meditation in the community room. Recitations occupy two hours in the morning and usually two in the afternoon, which allows ample time for study. Before dinner a short time is spent in the chapel for particular examen; and after the meal all make a visit to the Blessed Sacrament. Evening prayers, examen of conscience and a visit to the Blessed Sacrament conclude the exercises of the day.

During all solemn functions they assist with the members of the monastic community in the sanctuary; and are frequently called upon to serve in the various offices at the altar. This affords a good opportunity of practising the ceremonies according to the prescriptions of the Church. They also assist the monastic choir in chanting Vespers on Sundays. The Roman Vesperal is used at this service so that the seminarians may familiarize themselves with Gregorian Chant, in which instructions are given during the week.

The stress of mental application is apt to tell upon the physical constitution of students. The inconveniences arising from the severities of the climate, characteristic of Minnesota, are guarded against effectually by the interior equipment of the buildings. The house is heated by steam, the rooms are spacious, bright and cleanly. Ample time is

allowed for recreation on the extensive grounds which, especially in summer, cannot easily be surpassed for romantic beauty.

These slender details convey but an inadequate idea of the Seminary which has furnished priests for the mission for nearly forty years past. In the face of many adverse circumstances it has survived; substantial and important improvements were made as the means allowed and the times exacted; but above all and at all times, due care was taken to surround the students with those salutary influences that help to mold the priestly character. Life in a monastic institution, frequent occasion to witness and take part in ecclesiastical ceremonies—and to this we point with pardonable pride, that in the observance of the prescribed ceremonial and in the cultivation of the recognized music of the Church, this institution has done, and is doing, its duty conscientiously,—separation from worldly distractions and a reasonably strict routine of daily exercises, are advantages which no seminarian can enjoy without bearing with him into the service of the Church a spirit which will render his ministrations fruitful.

P. ALEXIUS, O.S.B.

ANALECTA.

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE STUDIORUM.[1]

DOCUMENTA[1] AD ERECTIONEM,

Facultatum Theologiae et Juris Canonici in Seminario Mexicano pertinentia.

1. Decretum Episcopale erectionis. 2. Epistola S. C. Studiorum circa hanc erectionem. 3. Decretum erectionis duarum facultatum. 4. Decretum approbationis Collegii Doctorum. 5. Decretum approbationis Constitutionum. 6. Tabula synoptica referens materias, annos, dies, etc. 7. Statuta utriusque Facultatis.

1. DECRETUM.

ILLMI AC RVMI ARCHIEPISCOPI MEXICANI D. DR. PROSPERI M. ALARCON DE UNIVERSITATIS ERECTIONE, VI FACULTATUM APOSTOLICARUM.

Quandoquidem veram solidamque scientiam Christi Sacerdotibus summopere necessariam esse in comperto apud omnes est, idcirco omnem curam omneque studium in id multo abhinc tempore contulimus, ut studiosa iuventus in nostro Conciliari Seminario ea scientia imbuatur, quae apprime confert ut strenui Ecclesiae ministri haberi, fideique catholicae adsertores conspicui informari queant. Hinc, nulla intermissa ope et labore, Theologicam in primis Scientiam

1 These documents bearing upon the organization of the Mexican Ecclesiastical Seminary are inserted here in connection with the series of articles on the seminaries in the United States now appearing in this REVIEW. They show the lines of solid clerical training followed in our sister Republic, and should have a special interest for the directors and professors of our own seminaries.

curavimus purissimae Sti Thomae doctrinae accommodari, iis selectis auctoribus, qui eius *inconcussa et tutissima dogmata*, miro ordine et perspicuitate tradunt. Professores autem huius Theologicae Scientiae conspicuos selegimus, ut in scholis tum matutina tum vespertina per quadriennium uberiorem tractationem, Scholasticorum vestigiis insistentes, haberent. Circa Philosophiam autem, planum est ipsam cum Theologia arctissimo vinculo devinctam, ad eam tamquam pedissequam sternere viam, eiusque per plures annos studium absolvi debere, ut ea maturitate et sedulitate fiat, quam res abstrusissimae sibi vindicant. Hoc animadvertentes, triennium huic studio debere tribui decrevimus. Quoad Ius vero Canonicum, ut plenior uberiorque scientia habeatur, praeter Institutionum Canonicarum studium, Decretalium etiam scholas matutinam pariter ac vespertinam a distinctis spectatissimisque professoribus habendas ereximus. Ne quid vero stimuli studiosae deesset iuventuti, quae in spem Ecclesiae succrescit, utque praemiis ad altiora subtilioraque studia alliceretur, nil antiquius aeque ac optabilius habuimus, quam suppressae temporum iniuria Universitatis Mexicanae defectui occurrere. Hac de causa enixe ab Apostolica Sede iterum iterumque facultatem efflagitavimus academicos conferendi gradus. Res autem adeo prospere successit, ut conatus votaque nostra plene expleta ac superata videamus. Nam SS. Pontifex Leo XIII. lubentissimo animo nostris precibus annuens, summa qua pollet auctoritate, facultatem Nobis elargitus nuperrime est, Constitutionibus a Nobis propositis rite adprobatis, Universitatem erigendi in nostro Seminario, gradusque academicos, tam in S. Theologia, quam in Iure Canonico, apostolica concedendi facultate, una cum Collegio Doctorum, ab eodem S. Pontifice pariter cum omnibus iuribus et privilegiis ad id muneris adprobato. Quapropter, facultatibus Nobis per Apostolicas litteras concessis, rite utentes, Doctorum pleno habito conventu, canonicam erectionem Universitatis Mexicanae decrevimus, ac, ut pro erecta in Nostro Seminario Conciliari, ab omnibus per hasce praesentes litteras haberi volumus et statuimus.

In quorum fidem hasce litteras manu nostra subscriptas et sigillo nostro munitas dedimus.

Mexici, die 3ª Martii, 1896.

PROSPER M. ALARCON, *Archiep. Mexic.*
MELESIUS VAZQUEZ, *a Secret.*

Loco ✠ sigilli.

2. EPISTOLA S. C. STUDIORUM CIRCA HANC ERECTIONEM.

Illme. ac Rme. Domine,

Rite ad hanc S. Studiorum Congregationem pervenerunt litterae sub die 14ª Februarii nuper elapsi, quibus Amplitudo Tua eamdem S. Congregationem certiorem reddit, ita noviter fuisse reformata studia istius Seminarii Mexicani, ut pluries petita a S. Sede tandem concederetur facultas, gradus academicos conferendi sive in S. Theologia, sive in Iure Canonico. Hunc ad effectum nomina indicat Amplitudo Tua septem Professorum, qui laurea doctorali insigniti sunt, ut ex eisdem Collegium Doctorale constitui possit.

Profecto per huiusmodi studiorum reformationem Amplitudinis Tuae sollicitudo, quam maxime, laudanda est: et statim S. Congregatio haec debitas de more pertractationes aggredietur, pro petita Facultate Theologica in isto Seminario erigenda.

. . . . . .

Unum nunc restat Amplitudini Tuae significandum et est: posse quidem sicut Mediolanensi Instituto et aliis concessum est, tribui privilegium etiam mexicano, ut iuvenes qui in Seminariis regionis, studiorum cursus expleverint ad gradus promoveri possint: sed una tantummodo sub conditione, si nempe ratio studiorum in huiusmodi Seminariis prorsus conformis inveniatur ac in mexicano. Utinam Episcoporum regionis animi collatis simul consiliis in id conspirarent, ut nempe clericorum studia uniformi ratione in Seminariis reformentur et releventur. Propitia nunc prostat occasio, erectio videlicet Collegii Theologici Mexicani, quod in locum suppressae Universitatis constitueretur, si sub praefata uniformitatis studiorum conditione, etiam ex aliis Seminariis iuvenes ad gradus promoverentur. Sed de his commonere oportebit Episcopos, eosque in vota ut conveniant movere; quod si opportuna dexteritate et prudenti ratione Amplitudo Tua compleverit, rem gratiorem iucundioremque SSmo Patri et huic S. Congregationi Vestrisque Dioecesibus utiliorem effici haud posse firmissime affirmare non dubito.

Haec pro meo munere Amplitudini Tuae erant significanda, cui interim omnia fausta in Domino feliciaque adprecans mei devotionis sensus libentissime profiteor.

Romae ex Secret. S. Cong. Studiorum, die 30 Martii, 1895.

Amplitudinis Tuae *Addictissimus Servus,*

IOSEPH MAGNO, *a Secretis.*

3. DECRETUM ERECTIONIS DUARUM FACULTATUM.

Ex audientia SSmi, diei 14 Decembris, 1895.

Ne clerici in spem Ecclesiae succrescentes ulterius persentiant detrimentum subversionis Universitatis Pontificiae, quae tertio ab eius fundatione accidit saeculo in Mexicana regione, iampridem Illmus ac Rmus Mexicanus Archiepus enixe rogavit, ut facultates Theologiae ac Iuris ecclesiastici in Seminario Dioecesano canonice erigerentur atque ad easdem tuendas regendasque, Collegium simul institueretur doctorum cum privilegio conferendi gradus academicos iis, qui scholas rite celebraverint.

Quum ex monumentis nuper ad S. Congregationem Studiorum missis constet Facultates Theologiae Iurisque Canonici reapse in Seminario Mexicano esse nunc institutas ad normam ceterarum, quae honorem canonicae erectionis iam ab Apostolica Sede recepere, ac insuper antecessorum copia atque praestantia spem faciat fore, ut disciplinarum amplitudine ac puritate, apprime floreant; Summus Pontifex Leo XIII., cui nil antiquius est, quam sacras disciplinas ubique promovere, earumque studium magis magisque fovere, attentis peculiaribus circumstantiis in audientia diei 14 Dec., votis Mexicani Archiepi annuens iubere, dignatus est, ut praedictae facultates apostolico robore fulcirentur.

Mandatis igitur Summi Pontificis morem gerentes, decernimus atque statuimus ut Facultates Theologiae ac Iuris Canonici in Seminario Mexicano nunc existentes, veram ac proprie dictam habeant erectionem una cum Collegio Doctorum, quod frui ac gaudere potest privilegio conferendi in iisdem Facultatibus gradus Baccalaureatus, Licentiae ac Laureae iis dumtaxat, qui sedulo scholas frequentaverint et honorem graduum, praevio examine, promeruerint, servatis adamussim Constitutionibus huic decreto adnexis et a S. Congne Studiorum rite approbatis. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae e Secretaria S. Congregationis Studiorum die 14ª Decembris, 1895.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*
IOSEPH MAGNO, *a Secretis.*

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4. DECRETUM APPROBATIONIS COLLEGII DOCTORUM.

Ut Collegium doctorum Facultatis Theologiae ac Iuris Canonici nuper erectae in Seminario Mexicano, nunc primum componatur, Sacra haec Studiorum Congregatio, utendo facultatibus a Sanctis-

simo Domino Nostro Leone Papa XIII. benigne tributis, concedit Rmo Archiepiscopo Mexicano, ut eidem Collegio aggregare possit et valeat R. D. Aristaeum Aguilar, doctorem in S. Theologia et Iure Canonico, R. D. Iosephum Mendez, doctorem in S. Theologia, R. D. Franciscum Plancarte, doctorem in S. Theologia, in Iure Canonico et Philosophia, R. D. Leopoldum Ruiz, doctorem in S. Theologia, in Iure Canonica et Philosophia, R. D. Ioannem Herrera, doctorem in S. Theologia, in Iure Canonico et Philosophia, R. D. Antonium Paredes, doctorem in S. Theologia et Iure Canonico, R. D. Philippum Pineda, doctorem in S. Theologia et Philosophia, R. D. Franciscum Orozco, prolytam in S. Theologia et doctorem in Philosophia, R. D. Emmanuelem Solé, professorem emeritum in S. Theologia, de quorum praestantia ac morum integritate et religionis zelo satis constat; sub conditione tamen ut cum haberi poterit copia doctorum, Collegium theologicum distinctum omnino efformetur a Collegio Facultatis Iuris Canonici iuxta normas quae in Constitutionibus, a Sacra hac Congregatione rite approbatis, continentur. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae e Secretaria S. Congregationis Studiorum die 16ª Decembris, 1895.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*
IOSEPH MAGNO, *a Secretis.*

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5. DECRETUM APPROBATIONIS CONSTITUTIONUM.

Quum Episcopus Mexicanus Constitutiones nuper conditas pro Facultate Theologica ac Iuris Canonici exhibuerit, efflagitans, ut Pontificia auctoritate roborentur, Sacra haec Studiorum Congregatio, postquam eas maturo subiecerit examini, utendo facultatibus a "*SSmo Domino Nostro Leone Papa XIII.*" benigne tributis, nonnullis emendationibus inductis, approbandas atque confirmandas esse censuit, prout hoc decreto approbat, atque per decennium sancit, ut experientiae detur locus. Quocirca Facultatibus Theologiae ac Iuris Canonici in Mexicano Seminario uti liceat praefatis Constitutionibus huic decreto adnexis, quarum exemplar in tabulario S. Congnis asservatur, ut hinc frui possint omnibus iuribus ac privilegiis, quae in ipsis continentur, dummodo religiose serventur. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae e Secretaria S. Congregationis Studiorum die 14ª Decembris, 1895.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*
IOSEPH MAGNO, *a Secretis.*

6. TABULA SYNOPTICA.

SCHOLAE SUPERIORES—FACULTAS THEOLOGICA

MATERIAE	ANNI	DIES	HORAE	TEXTUS	ALUMN. NUMERUS
Theol. Dogm. antem.	Quatrienn.	Quotidie exceptis diebus Iovis et festis.	Ab 11 ad 12 a.	Mazzella. De Augustinis	Tres supra triginta
Theolog. Dogm. pom.	Item		A 3 ad 4 p.	Billot.	
Theologia Moralis	Bienn. 2um		A 4 ad 5 p.	Gury. Ballerini	Item
Scriptura Sacra	Bienn. 1um	Lun. Mer. Sat.	Item	Cornely	Quinque et quadr
Historia Ecclesiastica	Bienn. 1um	Mart. et Ven.	Item	Wouters	Decem
Lingua Hebraica	Annus 1us	Item	A 9 ad 10 a.	Vosen	Item
Liturgia Sacra	Quatrienn.	Lun. Mer. Sat.	Item	De Herdt.	Sexaginta
Cantus Gregorianus	Item	Diebus Iovis	Horis a Rect.	Magister Coralis	Item
Eloquentia Sacra	Item	Item	assignandis	Franciscus Mauri, S. I.	Rector Seminarii alumn. designabit
FACULTAS IURIDICA					
Institutiones Canonic.	Integer annus	Quotidie exceptis diebus Iovis et festis.	A 10 ad 11 a.	Tarquini, Sanguinetti	Duo de viginti
Schola Decretalium a.	Biennium		Ab 11 ad 12 a.	Santi	Eiusmodi scholae anno futuro aperientur.
Schola Decretalium p.	Item		A 4 ad 5 p.	Idem	
PHILOSOPHIAE DISCIPLINAE					
Aritmetica, Algebra	Annus primus	Quotidie exceptis diebus Iovis et festis.	Ab hora 9 1/2 ad 10 1/2 a.	Conteras	viginti tres
Geometria, Trigonom				Idem	
Logica et Ontolog. ant.			Ab h. 8 ad 9 a.	De Maria	
Item pom.			Ab 4 ad 4 p.	Idem	
Linguae Graecae—Annus ultimus.			Ab 4 ad 5 p.	Xenophon et Homerus	
Metaphysica Specialis. Pars II.			Ab hora 9 1/2 ad 10 1/2 a.	De Maria	
Physica Experimentalis	Annus alter	Lun. Mer. Sat. Mart. et Ven.	Ab 3 ad 4 p.	Drion et Fernet	Annis proxime futuris eiusmodi scholae aperientur.
Ethica			Ab 8 ad 9 a.	Tongiorgi	
Chimia			Item	Langlebert	
Historia Patria		Quotidie exceptis diebus Iovis et festis.	A 4 ad 6 p.	R. Tirsus, R. Córdoba	
Historia Naturalis			A 9 ad 10 a.	Langlebert	
Metaphysica Specialis Pars II — Theod.			Ab hora 11 ad 12 a.	vel Delafosse De Maria	
Cosmographia	Annus tertius	Lun. Mar. Sat. Mart. et Ven	A 3 ad 4 p. Item	Anguiano Langlebert	
Geologia					
Historia Univers.		Quotidie ut supra.	A 4 ad 5 p.	Sánchez Casado	

7. STATUTA UTRIUSQUE FACULTATIS.

CAPUT I.

De origine et institutione Facultatis S. Theologiae et Iuris Canonici in Seminario Mexicano.

Iam ab initio Hispanicae dominationis in hac regione Mexicana primus Pro-Rex Antonius Hurtado de Mendoza Universitatis Mexicanae fundamenta iecit; quae tandem a Carolo V., Hispaniarum Rege, per decretum d. 21ª Septembris anno MDLI. erecta est, eique iura et privilegia Salmaticensi donata consociavit.

Clemens VIII., Pontifex Maximus, Bulla, anno MDXCV., concessa, titulo Pontificiae insignivit.

S. Catharinam Virginem et Martyrem Universitas coelestem sibi Patronam elegit.

Tertio a fundatione exeunte saeculo anno MDCCCXXXIII. suppressa, iterum restituta a Reipublicae Moderatore Antonio Lopez de Santa-Anna anno MDCCCLIV., desiit cum Restitutoris regimine.

Excmus ac Rmus D. Dr. Pelagius Antonius de Labastida y Davalos, probe noscens bona quae, Universitate suppressa, clerus Mexicanae Dioeceseos amiserat, tanto malo occurrere volens, gradus academicos in suo Seminario conferendi facultatem a S. Sede humiliter et enixe flagitavit. Facultas ad decennium benigne concessa est per Breve Pii P.P. IX. f. r., die 30 Ianuarii, MDCCCXXII. Per iniuriam a Gubernio Civili expulsis Patribus, S.J., quibus tunc temporis Seminarii regimen erat commissum, usus Pontificiae concessionis minime est factus. Rebus compositis et novo efformato Doctorum Collegio, Excmus ac Rmus D. Dr. Prosper Maria Alarcon praedecessoris vestigia terens, iterum atque iterum a S. Sede postulavit erectionem Facultatis S. Theologiae et Iuris Canonici, quae tandem a Leone P. P. XIII. concessa est anno MDCCCXCV. decreto S. C. Studiis praepositae.

Facultates hoc modo canonice erectae S. Thomam Aquinatem, Doctorem Angelicum, ab eodem Leone XIII. communem omnium scholarum Protectorem edictum, sibi in praecipuum Patronum elegerunt, peculiari cultu prosequendum, a cuius doctrinis minime recedendum, praeter S. Catharinam V. et M. cui primitus Universitas Mexicana dedicata fuit.

CAPUT II.

De Moderatoribus Pontificiae Mexicanae Facultatis.

I. Mexicana Facultas Theologica ac Iuris Canonici regitur summa Apostolicae Sedis auctoritate a Magno Cancellario una cum Collegio Doctorum.

II. Magnus Cancellarius, veluti natus, est Excmus ac Rmus D. Archiepiscopus Mexicanus pro tempore existens, cuius erit quotiescumque sibi videbitur, Collegium congregare, omnibus conventibus praeesse, agenda proponere, candidatorum examinibus, sive publicis, sive privitis interesse, de eisque una cum examinatoribus suffragium ferre. Ipse etiam apostolica ex auctoritate ius habet conferendi gradus academicos et diplomata remittendi una cum Collegio Doctorum, cuius personam gerunt Pro-Cancellarius, Studiorumque Praefectus.

III. Pro-Cancellarii electio et confirmatio a Magno Cancellario fiet hoc modo: Collegium Doctorum per vota secreto significata, tres e Collegio designabit, Magno Cancellario praesentandos, ut e tribus eligat ipse quem sibi melius placuerit et confirmet, cum facultate ternam propositam reiiciendi, et novam electionem indicendi. Ad ternam efformandam sufficiet pluralitas votorum relativa.

IV. Pro-Cancellarii munus erit Magnum Cancellarium absentem in omnibus supplere, ipsoque etiam praesente, poterit candidatorum examinibus interesse, de eisque suffragium ferre sicuti alli examinatores.

V. Studiorum Praefectus, a Pro-Cancellario de consensu Magni Cancellarii designandus erit. Praefecti munus est de iis, quae ad studia pertinent, invigilare. Poterit igitur scholas perlustrare, professores negligentes commonere, ut scholasticae leges serventur curare; Collegium Doctorum, quoties opus fuerit congregare ad graviora scholastica negotia definienda, praemonito Magno Cancellario; Statutis academicis insistens ad examina candidatos admittere, diem indicare, examinatores designare, eorum suffragia excipere. Praefecti item studiorum est, invigilare, ut in singulis disciplinis sana doctrina, eaque amussim catholica tradatur, et ut a Professoribus ea, qua fieri poterit, soliditate, perspicuitate et diligentia lectiones habeantur.

VI. Electio Pro-Cancellarii et Praefecti studiorum a S. Studiorum Congregatione confirmanda erit.

CAPUT III.

De Studiorum Ordine et Ratione.

§ I. *In Theologica Facultate.*

VII. Cursus Theologicus quatuor continenter annis perficitur.

VIII. Integro quatriennio duplex quotidie (*diebus festis et Iovis exceptis*) habetur lectio Theologiae Dogmaticae; altera matutina, altera vespertina, tractatibus Theologiae scholasticae ita distributis, ut absoluto quatriennio, omnes fuerint expleti. Hisce lectionibus una simul interesse tenentur omnes, qui gradibus academicis insigniri volunt, cuiuscumque tandem anni sint.

IX. Primo bienno praeterea candidati navare debent explanationi S. Scripturae et Historiae Ecclesiasticae, quae alternis vicibus habetur iisdem diebus ac Theologia Dogmatica. Hisce expositionibus interesse tenentur, simul coniuncti, qui ad primum et alterum annum pertinent.

X. Altero biennio pro S. Scriptura et Historia Ecclesiastica Theologiae Morali vacatur ab alumuis tertii et quarti anni.

XI. Alumni tertii anni operam pariter navabunt Institutionibus Canonicis et iuris publici ecclesiastici, quae traduntur iisdem ac Theologia Dogmatica diebus.

XII. Qui vero primo anno sunt inscripti tenentur insuper interesse scholae Linguae Hebraicae, quae alternatur cum schola Liturgiae, a qua nemo theologorum excusatur, praesertim si Theologiae Morali iam studeat.

XIII. Singulis hebdomadis, die Iovis, habentur scholae Eloquentiae Sacrae et Cantus Gregoriani, ad quas quinam interesse debeant, Rector Seminarii designabit.

XIV. Post scholas vespertinas circulus habebitur, cui praeesse debet alumnus a Praefecto Studiorum, respectivi Professoris audito consilio, designandus. In circulo aliquis inter alumnos, in antecessum designatus, disseret supra thesim, quam sibi antea pariter indixerit circuli Praefectus. Continuo vero solvet obiectiones, quas contra ipsam proponet unus vel alter alumnus, item a Praefecto circuli designatus : quae ratio eadem servanda est, cum in designatione Praefectorum circuli pro aliis facultatibus, tum in modo circulos perficiendi, relatione habita ad diversitatem materiarum. Circulus ad semihoram protrahi debet.

XV. Eiusmodi exercitatio vel quid simile saepe coram professore in schola fiet, et ter saltem in anno publice in aula maxima, adstantibus omnibus Collegii Doctoribus.

XVI. Lectiones singulae integram horam perdurare debent.

§ II. *In Facultate Iuris Canonici.*

XVII. Triennio absolvitur studium Iuris Canonici.

XVIII. Annus primus Institutionibus Canonicis et Iuri publico ecclesiastico integer consecratur. Lectiones quotidie traduntur, si dies Iovis et festos excipias.

XIX. Duo insequentes anni studio Decretalium relinquuntur quarum expositio et explanatio cum mane tum vespere a distinctis professoribus quotidie, ut supra, perficietur.

XX. Lectiones singulae horam integram perdurare debent.

XXI. Post scholam vespertinam per semihoram habebitur circulus.

§ III. *De disciplina Philosophica.*

XXII. Cum maxime intersit ad sacras praesertim addiscendas scientias solida philosophiae institutione clericos imbui, philosophiae scholasticae cursus, ceu ad S. Theologiam propedeuticus instituitur in Seminario Mexicano pro clericis, qui ad gradus academicos contendunt sive in S. Theologia sive in Iure Canonico.

XXIII. Ad philosophiae cursus nemo admittitur, nisi in lingua latina per examina in scholis inferioribus peracta et per professorum testimonia rite exhibita, apprime instructus agnoscatur.

XXIV. Philosophiae cursus triennio absolvitur.

Primo anno quotidie, ut supra, tum mane, tum vespere habetur schola Philosophiae Rationalis ad mentem Sti Thomae et explananda erit Logica et Ontologia. Mane vacatur etiam studio illius partis Matheseos, quae complectitur Aritmeticam, Algebram, Geometriam et Trigonometriam. Praeterea habebitur schola vespertina Linguae Graecae.

XXV. Anno altero quatuor lectiones quotidie habentur scilicet: *a*) *mane*—Philosophiae Rationalis (Cosmologiae et primae partis Psycologiae) et Physicae Experimentalis: *b*) *vespere*—Chimiae atque Ethicae alternis vicibus et Historiae Patriae.

XXVI. Tertio anno quatuor pariter lectiones habentur, scilicet: *a*) *mane*—Historiae Naturalis et Philosophiae Rationalis (Absolvi-

tur Metaphysica Specialis et traditur Theodicea) : *b*) *vespere*—Cosmogoniae et Geologiae alternatim et Historiae Universalis.

XXVII. Lectiones singulae ad horam protrahi debent.

XXVIII. Circuli etiam habentur modo supradicto.

§ IV. *Methodus tenenda a Professoribus in praelectionibus tradendis.*

XXIX. In scholis superioribus curabunt Professores, ne alumni satis et abunde sese fecisse credant, si auctores, sibi pro textu propositos, memoriter teneant ; sed suis explanationibus et expositionibus conabuntur illos imbuere cognitione quaestionum tam alte et solide, ut illam, quando opus fuerit, debita cum profunditate, amplitudine et dexteritate, qua fieri potest maiore, casibus particularibus applicare possint. Ideo Professores toto pectore incumbent, ut alumni ad hunc gradum perfectionis deveniant ; quod uti fiat, curabunt quaestiones singulas diversimode illis enunciare et sub diversis verborum formis solvendas proponere. Ideo continuis, assiduis et diuturnis exercitationibus curent, ut discipuli in solutione difficultatum facilitatem acquirant : Sacerdos enim paratus esse debet non modo ad dogmata fidei christicolis clare et enucleate propenenda, verum etiam ad ea contra adversariorum impugnationes sarta tectaque servanda et ad ipsos infideles a suis erroribus advertendos.

§ V. *De Textibus.*

XXX. Pro textu seligantur auctores optimae notae, et in disciplinis philosophicis et theologicis qui sint praeterea conformes principiis et menti Doctoris Angelici.

XXXI. Auctores semel admissi nequeunt per alios substitui, nisi de consensu Doctorum Collegii, qui prohibentur alios admittere, quos minime constet omnino praecellere iis, qui antea habebantur, uberioremque fructum esse discipulis allaturos. Mutationes tamen rarissimae sint.

XXXII. De auctorum textibus, qui in variis disciplinis explanantur, certior fieri debet S. Congtio Studiorum in triennali relatione.

CAPUT IV.

De Graduum Collatione.

XXXIII. Gradus academici tres enumerantur : Baccalaureatus, Licentia seu Prolytatus, Laurea seu Doctoratus.

XXXIV. Ad examen pro Laurea Candidati non admittuntur, nisi expleto Studiorum curriculo ; pro Licentia nonnisi penultimo

studiorum anno finito ; pro Baccalaureatu nonnisi postquam alterum Studiorum annum absolverint, si de theologis agatur, vel postquam Institutiones Canonicas obierint si de canonistis agatur.

XXXV. Examen ad Baccalaureatum et Licentiam orale tantum erit : saltem coram tribus Collegii Doctoribus perficiatur et ad horam integram protrahatur ; ad Lauream tum scriptum tum orale. Scriptum ita fiet : ex thesibus ad hoc propositis tres sortiantur ex quibus candidatus eliget quam maluerit, quaeque argumentum praebebit ad dissertationem latino sermone ex tempore conscribendam, intra spatium sex horarum, absque ullo libri vel scripti subsidio, si Bibliam et Concilium Tridentinum et Vaticanum pro theologis excipias, et corpus Iuris pro canonistis, in loco expresse designato, uno adstante Collegii doctore. (Probatio Candidatorum Iuris Canonici versabitur non supra thesibus sed supra titulis.) Theses theologicae pro experimento scripto, numero erunt quinquaginta ex iis selectae, quae pro examine orali assignantur. Tituli totidem Iuris Canonici ex iis pariter excepti qui pro orali proponuntur.

XXXVI. Dissertatio scripto a candidatis exarata, quinque Doctorum iudicio subiicietur, quorum adprobatio, pluralitate suffragiorum, omnino necessaria est, ut candidatus ad orale experimentum admittatur.

XXXVII. Examen orale fiet saltem coram quatuor Doctoribus Collegii, quibus integrum erit, ex thesibus pro experimento designatis quamlibet eligere, ita tamen ne singuli eamdem eligant.

XXXVIII. In Theologica Facultate pro Baccalaureatu Candidatorum periculum septuaginta quinque theses amplecti debet ; pro Licentia centum ; pro Laurea ducentas. Theses Theologicae pro Baccalaureatu et Licentia assumentur ex tractatibus illo anno expositis : pro Laurea ex universa Theologia Dogmatica centum et quinquaginta, ex S. Scriptura viginti ; ex Theologia Morali viginti ; ex Historia Ecclesiastica decem.—In Facultate Iuris Canonici pro Baccalaureatu puncta septuaginta quinque ex Institutionibus et Iure Publico ; pro Licentia Tituli quinquaginta ex libris Decretalium illo anno explanatis ; pro Laurea centum ex quinque libris et insuper viginti quinque puncta ex Iure Publico.

XXXIX. In Theologica Facultate Candidati ad Baccalaureatum parati esse debent ad theses clare et perspicue exponendas, solidis argumentis firmandas et pervulgatas obiectiones solendas ; Candidati ad Licentiam solvere tenentur etiam exquisitiores : ad Lauream autem Candidatis, ut plurimum, non proponentur theses probandae

vel explicandae, sed solummodo argumentationes in forma, ut perspicue constet, aptos esse quibuscumque difficultatibus enodandis.

XL. Suffragia ab examinatoribus secreto Praefecto Studiorum significabuntur.

XLI. Ut Candidatis gradus concedantur, pluralitatem absolutam votorum favorabilium obtinere debent.

XLII. Examini ad gradus non admittentur qui absque iusta causa saepius neglexerunt interesse praelectionibus. Quinam hac in re negligentes censeri debeant relinquitur iudicio Praefecti Studiorum et Professorum.—Pariter excluduntur qui gradum inferiorem nondum obtinuerint, vel qui quavis de causa aliquam materiam neglexerint, nisi forte excipias Cantum Gregorianum, Eloquentiam Sacram, S. Liturgiam et Linguam Hebraicam, a quibus Praefectus Studiorum rationabili de causa poterit dispensare, audito Seminarii Rectore.

XLIII. Ut extranei ad examen possint admitti, afferant oportet testimonia, quae faciant fidem de studiis quae heic exiguntur, alibi a se cum profectu exantlatis, qui praeterea de consensu sui Ordinarii duobus saltem annis in Mexicana Academia scholas illius facultatis frequentare tenentur, in qua gradus academicos exoptant.

XLIV. Diplomata ad Lauream non concedantur nisi postquam Candidati, in experimentis iam approbati, fidei professionem emiserint, a Pio P. P. IV. et Pio P. P. IX. praescriptam, coram Collegio Doctorum vel coram eiusdem Collegii Doctore, a Magno Cancellario deputato et Praefecto Studiorum.

XLV. Quibus examen male cesserit, redeundi ante sex menses venia minime concedatur. Quod si iterum admissi sese impares ostenderint, venia redeundi postea omnino negetur.

XLVI. Tum in gradibus conferendis, tum in eorum diplomatibus expressa Apostolicae Auctoritatis mentio fiat, ex cuius delegatione gradus ipsi conceduntur.

XLVII. Diplomata ad Lauream, Licentiam et Baccalaureatum praeter sigillum Academiae, ostendant oportet subscriptionem Magni Cancellarii, Pro-Cancellarii atque Studiorum Praefecti.

CAPUT V.

De Collegio Doctorum.

XLVIII. Octo saltem membris Doctorum nec pluribus quam duodecim, Collegium constare debet cum Praeside, qui semper eiusdem Collegii decanus erit; ultimum vero membrum secretarii munere fungetur.

XLIX. Nemo poterit in Collegium adscisci, nisi vitae et morum integritate commendetur, et in aliqua catholica Universitate Doctoris laurea fuerit donatus in ea disciplina ad cuius Collegium contendit.

L. In hac prima Facultatis Mexicanae institutione ob Doctorum defectum, ad decennium permittitur, ut unum Collegium sive pro S. Theologia sive pro Iure Canonico constituatur. Sed ut copia doctorum in posterum suppetat enitendum est, ut duo distincta pro unaquaque facultate constituantur Collegia, quibus suus erit praeses praeponendus ; unumquodque suos habebit conventus, distincta membra et officia sub Magni Cancellarii moderatione et auctoritate.

LI. Novi doctoris in Collegium cooptatio per Doctorum suffragia fiet et eius electio a S. Stud. Congne confirmanda erit. Qua obtenta confirmatione, pleno Doctorum conventu recipietur fidei professione iuxta formulam Pii IV. et Pii IX. coram Praeside solemniter emissa.

LII. Munus Collegii doctoralis est examina habere et ferre suffragium in professoribus eligendis, in collatione laurearum aliorumque graduum academicorum, atque simul cum respectivis lectoribus, in discipulis praemio decorandis exeunte anno scholastico.

LIII. Collegii membra sicut professores tenentur studiorum Praefecto subesse: cum eo programmata sive cursuum sive examinum singulis annis adprobare, in omnibus Praefectum coadiuvare quae ad solidam alumnorum institutionem et profectum spectant: opportuna denique, si quae sint, consilia proponere, quae ad regimen et decus Facultatis magis idonea censuerint.

LIV. Ut tam benemerito Collegio Pio Latino-Americano in Urbe honoris gratique animi testimonium exhibeatur, eique novae adiungantur vires, Rmi huius Archidioeceseos Archiepiscopi incoeptis usque insistentes, valentiores iuvenes, celebrioribus in Urbe Professoribus erudiendos et insigniori laurea donandos, almo illi Collegio adhuc certo committent, ut inde e limine Petri Doctorum et Professorum purior origo habeatur.

Hinc in Professoribus eligendis et Doctoribus proponendis, eos qui illius in Urbe Seminarii iam alumni, inde tum studiorum tum honestioris vitae optima retulerint testimonia, ubi et caetera concurrant, praeferendos Collegium curet.

LV. Quod si doctores non suppetant Laurea insigniti in Collegio Pio Latino-Americano, ceteris paribus, qui in hac Mexicana Facultate Lauream adepti fuerint praeferantur.

LVI. Doctores candidatis experimentum subeuntibus ne nimis faveant ; sed examinandi merito, aptitudini et scientiae unice attendentes iustum iudicium ferant. Unde probatio gravis sit et seria, ut gradus conferendus honore semper habeatur.

LVII. In defectu Magni Cancellarii, Pro-Cancellarii atque Studiorum Praefecti, conventibus praesideat Doctorum Praeses.

LVIII. Si quis inter Doctores a vero desciverit, quod Deus avertat, vel alia de causa noxium Academiae vel Seminario se probaverit, pleno conventu re discussa, Magno Cancellario integrum sit illum expellere.

CAPUT VI.

De Statutis Interpretandis et Applicandis.

LIX. Hisce Statutis expresse derogare minime liceat absque S. R. Congregationis Studiorum venia.

LX. Rei tamen substantia servata, Collegio ea concedatur facultas : *a)*—Ut ex Cancellarii sententia Statuta haec possit interpretari, declarare et cum illis quoque difficultatibus componere, quae forte irrepere possint . . *b)*—Ut peculiares et practicas possit edicere regulas, quibus haec fundamentalia Statuta applicentur, speciatim vero expensas vel exigendas, vel solvendas, solemniaque ad conventus habendos gradusque conferendos aliaque huiusmodi, data opportunitate, decernere.

LXI. De hisce omnibus, deque numero et progressu discipulorum, de gradibus collatis et generatim de totius facultatis statu, tertio quoque anno ad S. R. Studiorum Congregationem Cancellarius relationem mittere curet.

LXII. Qua facta et transmissa relatione, ipse Studiorum Praefectus officium suum (idque etiam faciat Pro-Cancellarius) deponat, omnemque curam Collegio resignet, ut nova habeatur electio. Nihil tamen vetat, quominus officio functi iterum eligantur.

N. B. Annus scholasticus constat decem mensibus, ultimo examinibus relicto.

Datum Romae e Secretaria S. Congregationis Studiorum die decimasexta Decembris, 1895.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*

IOSEPH MAGNO, *a Secretis.*

Loco ✠ sigilli.

CONFERENCES.

THE AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW proposes to answer in this department questions of general (not merely local or personal) interest to the Clergy. Questions suitable for publication, when addressed to the editor, receive attention in due turn, but in no case do we pledge ourselves to reply to all queries, either in print or by letter.

CASUS MATRIMONIALIS,—CUM RESPONSO S. C. S. OFFICII.

(CIRCA MATR. CUM HEBRAEIS.)

Qu. Samuel hebraeus carnaliter cognovit Caiam catholicam, quae postea rem habuit cum Iacobo pariter hebraeo, Samuelis fratre. Deinde Caia concubinarie vixit cum Samuele et crimine gravida, ad prolem nascituram legitimandam, cum Samuele, qui baptismum recepit, in ecclesia catholica nuptias inivit. Quid de matrimonio in casu?

Resp. S. Congreg. S. Officii quaestioni propositae, mense (vide textum Responsi in fine) Iunio 1895,respondit: *Quatenus praevio processu saltem summario, servata tamen in substantialibus Constitutione Benedicti* XIV.—DEI MISERATIONE—*moraliter constet certo de contracta affinitate deque dispensatione non concessa, matrimonium fuisse invalidum. Vide decretum S. Officii diei 26 Augusti 1891.*

Decretum 26 Augusti 1891 (*Vol. XXV.*, pag. 704, *Acta S. Sedis*) est sequens:—"Affinitatem quae in infidelitate contrahitur ex copula tum licita tum illicita non esse impedimentum pro matrimoniis quae in infidelitate ineuntur: evadere tamen impedimentum pro matrimoniis quae ineuntur post baptismum, quo suscepto, infideles fiunt subditi Ecclesiae eiusque proinde legibus subiecti."

Responsum S. Officii quamdam requirit explanationem. Primo loco S. Congregatio affirmat—*praevio processu saltem summario:*

Processus *summarius* seu *œconomicus* discriminatur ab *ordinario* vel *solemni* non ratione *substantiae* sed ratione *formae;* quia leges processuales ad hoc diriguntur ut veritas detegatur vel ad crimen puniendum, vel ad ius suum unicuique reddendum. Hoc autem assequi potest vel regulis iuris naturalis, vel normis iuris positivi, quibus ordo iudiciarius regitur: si primum, tunc habetur processus *summarius:* si alterum, processus erit *solemnis. Santi, lib. II. De Iudiciis.* S. Congregatio in casu summarium processum indulget, apposita tamen limitatione, de qua inferius.

Verum antiquissima in iure est quaestio quoad normas iuris naturalis in processu summario adhibendas. Clemens V. ad hanc definiendam contensionem constitutionem tulit quae est 2ª Clementinarum, *lib. V. De Verborum Significatione*; in dicta Constitutione determinatur quid in processu summario iudex omittere potest aut debet, quidve diligenter oportet inquirat et admittat. *Santi, Prael. I. Can. lib. II. De Iudiciis.*

Secundo loco S. Officium in responso affirmat—*servata tamen in substantialibus Constitutione Benedicti XIV.—Dei Miseratione.* Haec est limitatio de qua supra mentio facta est.—Ex iure antiquo causae matrimoniales agebantur iuxta leges latas in *Clem. 2ª de Iudiciis*, et *Clem 2ª de Verb. Signif.*, nempe iudicio summario (*De Becker, de Spons. et Matrim. p. 440*): at haec legislatio amplissimam nuptiarum dissolutioni viam relinquebat. Benedictus XIV. optime conscius de excessu abusuum in connubiorum dissolutionibus admittendis, necessarium duxit severiorem hac in re legislationem ferre: idque peregit anno 1741 celebri constitutione—*Dei Miseratione.*

S. Officium mandat ut *substantialia* dictae Constitutionis serventur in casu. Substantialia laudatae Constitutionis praecipua sunt *institutio Defensoris vinculi* cum definitis iuribus et officiis, et *necessitas duarum sententiarum conformium* pro declaranda nullitate matrimonii. At in casu S. Officium mandat ut serventur quae de Defensore vinculi statuta fuerunt a Benedicto XIV.: nempe ut Defensor vinculi interveniat in causa, quamvis processus sit summarius.

Ratio huius interpretationis eruitur ex decreto diei 5 Iunii 1889, vi cuius S. Inquisitio constituit non esse necessariam secundam sententiam in illis causis matrimonialibus in quibus *certo constat* inter contrahentes existere impedimentum affinitatis, super quo dispensatio non fuit concessa. En verba decreti—*matrimonium poterit declarari nullum cum interventu tamen Defensoris vinculi, quin opus sit secunda sententia* (Dec. S. U. I. R. 5 Iunii 1889).

Tertio loco S. Congregatio affirmat: *moraliter constet certo de contracta affinitate.* S. Officium his verbis exigit moralem certitudinem de contracta affinitate: quia in casu agitur de impedimento difficilis probationis; ordinarie loquendo in affinitate ex copula illicita testes proprie dicti desunt, et iudex oportet ex complexu circumstantiarum rem definiat et ad moralem perveniat certitudinem; huius tamen certitudinis fines signare praecisos impossibile est: saepissime quod pro uno iudice certum moraliter est, ab altero tanquam dubium censetur.

Tandem S. Officium declarat matrimonium in casu esse invalidum, dummodo dispensatio non fuerit concessa. Iuxta leges canonicas affinitas exurgit etiam ex copula illicita et dirimit matrimonium usque ad secundum gradum inclusive: *Conc. Trident. sess. 24, cap 4.* Caia in casu rem habuit cum Samuele et Jacobo fratribus hebraeis: hinc nonnulli tenent Caiam cum ambobus affinitatem contraxisse quia quamvis lex Ecclesiae non attingat hebraeos, tamen tangit Caiam catholicam. Alii vero hoc negant quia affinitas est quaedam relatio iuridica: et conceptus relationis ambos terminos supponit sub dominio legis; si lex non tangit unum terminum, relatio est impossibilis; quemadmodum in casu in quo viri complices criminis sunt hebraei.—Verum haec controversia dirimitur decreto S. Sedis. S. Congregationi de Propaganda Fide haec quaestio fuit proposita—"Vir infidelis ante baptismum copulam habuit cum infideli uxore alterius, cui annuente muliere fidem de futuro matrimonio acceptante, mortem intulit. 1° Potestne infidelis post utriusque baptismum matrimonium inire cum dicta muliere? 2° Potestne matrimonium contrahere si, quando patrarunt ista

crimina, una pars fuerit Christiana? S. Congregatio die 23 Augusti 1852 rescripsit: Ad 1^m Affirmative: Ad 2^m Negative." Ex hoc responso infertur legem ecclesiasticam quoad matrimonii validitatem attingere infideles *indirecte*, et Christianos *directe:* idque procedit ex unicitate contractus matrimonialis; impossibile siquidem est concipere matrimonium validum ex parte infideli et invalidum ex parte fideli; unde si pars christiana quidquam egit vi cuius iuxta leges ecclesiasticas impedimentum exurgit, impedimentum hoc non cessat quia altera pars utpote infidelis non est sub dominio legis, sed *indirecte* afficit infidelem, quia vi legis pars catholica est inhabilis ad validum connubium ineundum cum altera parte. Idque firmatur ab ipsa lege Ecclesiae quoad impedimentum *disparitatis cultus*: haec lex est pure ecclesiastica imo vi consuetudinis inducta et nullas reddit nuptias inter christianum et infidelem: quamvis infidelis extra legem ambulet; unde dicendum inhabilitatem partis baptizatae *indirecte* afficere infidelem. Quapropter concludendum ex copula illicita inter baptizatam et infidelem exurgere impedimentum dirimens affinitatis.

S. CONGREGAZIONE DI PROPAGANDA FIDE.

Protocollo N. 13290.

Casus matrimonialis.

Roma 10 Giugno 1895.

Illmo e Rmo Signore,

Con lettera del 6 Novembre, 1894, la S. V. nuovamente ricorreva a questa S. C. di Propaganda F. per il caso matrimoniale di un tal Samuele israelita. Questi ebbe carnale commercio con Caia, la quale fu poi in illecita relazione con Pietro, ebreo, fratello di Samuele. Essendo poi Caia vissuta in concubinato con Samuele, per legitimare la prole nascitura, lo sposo dopo che questi aveva ricevuto il battesimo. Proposto questo caso, si domandava se la relazione illecita di Caia con Pietro avesse prodotto l'impedimento di affinità dirimente il matrimonio di Caia con Samuele. Già in altra mia le scrissi che appena mi fosse giunta la risposta del S. Uffizio,

cui si era trasmesso il dubbio, non avrei tardato a comunicargliela. Ora dunque questa risposta mi è pervenuta ed è la seguente, che io trascrivo testualmente.

"*Quatenus praevio processu saltem summario, servata tamen in substantialibus Constitutione Benedicti XIV.*" *Dei Miseratione,*" *moraliter certo constet de contracta affinitate deque dispensatione non concessa, matrimonium fuisse invalidum.*"

Vide decretum S. Officii diei 26 Augusti 1891. Prego poi il Signore che lungamente La conservi e La prosperi. Di V. S. *Devotissimo servitore,*

M. *Card.* LEDOCHOWSKI, *Pref.*

A. Arciv. di Larissa, Segr.

CANONICUS.

THE LIMITS OF THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE POPE.

Qu. I have never been able to draw a clear line of definition on the subject of Papal Infallibility. The teaching of the Church is that the Sovereign Pontiff is infallible in matters of faith and morals (discipline) when he teaches *ex cathedra.* But what determines his teaching as being *ex cathedra?* Does it require a formal declaration on the part of the Pontiff that he wishes to enunciate any particular truth or law as infallible? or, if not, how can we be sure that any one statement of the Pope more than another enjoys the note of infallibility? There are dogmatic definitions, encyclicals which explain and forewarn the faithful, constitutions and decrees which regulate discipline, etc.; all these enunciate dogmatic or moral truth in one form or another. Are these not all truths, and if truths are they not necessarily infallible? and if infallible are they not all equally binding on the consciences of the faithful?

Another question which obtrudes itself here is: Is it admissible that the Sovereign Pontiff could ever be heretical in his expressions on subjects of faith? And how could such expressions be distinguished as heretical since there is no authority above the Pope to judge the degree of his orthodoxy, which by reason of its coming formally from the actual head of the Church, is, it would seem, stamped with the seal of infallibility?

Resp. A teacher who is at the same time a lawfully constituted ruler may utter truth in two ways: first, as one who

imparts to his hearers certain facts or principles for their guidance; secondly, as one who imparts to his hearers certain facts or principles *which he obliges them to accept and act upon* under penalty of exclusion from his tutorship. In like manner the Pontiff may simply *teach* the faithful, and in doing so he gives to them a *safe rule* to follow; or he may define a truth in such a way as to make it universally understood that to deviate deliberately in doctrine or act from such definition is to separate oneself from the fold of the Catholic Church. In the latter case the Pope speaks *ex cathedra*, that is to say, he uses the *full and supreme* authority of his office as teacher and pastor to direct the faithful. At other times he may refrain from using the *fullness of this power*, just as a superior may *advise* his subjects in cases in which he might *command* them; and the subject easily understands that whilst both advice and command rest upon the superior knowledge and right of the party who commands, and binds him to respect the judgment of the superior, nevertheless there is a difference of obligation. "Infallibilitate gaudet Pontifex tantummodo quando *suprema* utitur auctoritate apostolica omnium Christianorum Pastoris et Doctoris," says Mgr. Willemsen in his excellent tractatus *De Infallibilitate Romani Pontificis*, "potest autem Romanus Pontifex docere omnes Christianos *quin utatur tota intentione seu plenitudine potestatis*, seu quin intendat rem infallibili auctoritate definire; quo casu Pontifex loquitur non ut doctor privatus sed ut doctor publicus, attamen haud tota vi supremae auctoritatis. Tunc tradit quidem *regulam tutam sequendam*, non autem necessario infallibilem. Est actus quidem auctoritatis audiendae, non autem actus ex cathedra." (Op. cit. p. 84.)

As to the question whether a Pontiff could be heretical in his expressions, it seems altogether futile. History has hitherto furnished no example of such an occurrence, though there have been allegations of the kind, as in the case of Honorius. If Christ has promised to keep the Church from error through the instrumentality of the Holy Ghost, we may suppose that He will keep the Pontiff, to whom He

has committed the guidance of that Church, likewise from error. And as the weaknesses of members in the Church do not militate against this operation of the Holy Ghost, neither would the personal weaknesses of its head interfere with the divine promise. For the rest, the admission that the Pope, whilst personally peccable, yet in his office as supreme teacher and moderator of the Church is infallible, covers the whole case; nor is there any more difficulty here than there is in distinguishing between the *official* acts of a sovereign and his private deeds, not as a private man but as sovereign.

THE "IMPEDIMENTUM CRIMINIS."

Qu. How are we to understand the word "*formale*" qualifying the substantive "adulterium" in regard to the *impedimentum criminis?* To make my query clearer, I propose the following case:—John and Mary are both Catholics, and both duly married, but perfectly unknown to each other. They meet accidentally at some summer resort, and yielding to a sudden temptation have complete sexual intercourse. Is this "adulterium formale?" Would John be prevented from marrying Mary validly, supposing of course that his present wife and Mary's present husband die, and that all the other conditions of the *impedimentum criminis* are fully verified?

Resp. No! Such adultery is not "formale" as required by theologians, and consequently John could afterwards validly marry Mary provided no other impediment stands in the way. The reason is because the purpose of the Church in establishing this impediment is to check and punish mutual formal conspiracy against the marriage bond. Now, in the above case since neither knew that the other was married, (being, as stated, perfectly unknown to each other,) there could be no mutual formal conspiracy against the marriage bond. John committed formal adultery, thus violating his own marriage bond. Mary also committed formal adultery and in doing so violated her own marriage bond. But neither did John offer any formal injury to Mary's marriage bond, nor Mary to John's. Hence this law cannot be applied to them.

This is moreover the common teaching of theologians and canonists. In fact, Feije, *De impedimentis et dispensationibus matrimonialibus*, Cap. xix., No. 450, having stated the principle that this impediment "oritur propter injuriam uni eidemque matrimonio illatam," logically concludes that "requiritur utriusque (conjugis) circa unum idemque matrimonium scientia." Long before him, Sanchez, lib. 7, *De impedimentis matrimonii*, Disp. 79, No. 31, had taught the same doctrine. Here are his words in regard to a case similar to the above-mentioned: "quia impedimentum hoc institutum est propter injuriam irrogatam ab utroque adultero eidem matrimonio, committendo adversus illud adulterium, data fide futurarum nuptiarum; . . . at in hoc eventu ignorans non infert injuriam eidem matrimonio sed soli proprio."

From this it follows: first, that the word "formale" here has not exactly the same meaning as when we speak of sins; for in the above case both John and Mary have undoubtedly committed not a *material*, but a *formal* sin of adultery, and in going to confession they must accuse themselves of it; secondly, that when both parties are married, as John and Mary are, it is not necessary that each should know that the other is married. For if only one knows that the other is married we have all that is required to incur this impediment. Nay should both be married and both know that the other is married, we would have a double impediment, a circumstance which would have to be mentioned in asking for dispensation. "Duplex est impedimentum criminis," says Feije, *loc. cit.*, "necessario exprimendum in libello supplici, si duo conjugati alter alterius matrimonii scientiam habentes adulterium inter se committant, concurrente matrimonii promissione vel attentatione."

A. S.

THE CONDITION AFTER DEATH OF UNBAPTIZED INFANTS.

Qu. Is it the doctrine of the Church that children who die without Baptism *suffer torment?* Every one who has to deal with would-

be converts must have realized at some time or other how difficult it is to explain the Catholic teaching as commonly understood, without seeming to wound their sense of justice and charity. Mothers who remember the blank of their own minds and their prejudices before the truth came upon them through God's mercy can hardly reconcile themselves to the belief that their dead babes are in pain—without fault for which man's charity would hold his brother accountable. Some words of yours in the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW recently touching close on this subject, lead me to ask for an answer from the same source.

Resp. The terminology of Catholic theology implies that children who die without baptism *suffer loss;* but to suffer loss is not necessarily to suffer torment or pain, unless the sufferer *realizes the loss.* Deprive an infant of its inheritance, it will play and laugh as before, because it lacks the faculty which could make it appreciate the value of the inheritance.

The commission of sin by our first parents *dulled the capacity of the soul* for that enjoyment in heaven which had been its promised inheritance. Christ's Redemption placed at the disposal of man a *certain means to regain that original capacity* for heavenly enjoyment. Now those who for one reason or another do not (or cannot) make use of this means, retain that limited capacity which prevents them from fully enjoying the goodness, beauty and truth of God, for which they had been first created. This means of course a privation of some excellent good, or a loss. *If the soul were to be made conscious of this loss* it would certainly cause a longing and a regret which would be equivalent to suffering; but that longing would also be equivalent to a *baptism of desire which their previous condition prevented them from eliciting.* Is there any reason to suppose that this condition is impossible after death?

If on the other hand the soul that suffers the loss entailed by failing to get the means which lead to the beatific vision (i. e., Baptism—the Key of heaven), does *not* become conscious of the loss, then it cannot be said to suffer pain. "Ignoti nulla cupido."

The condition of unbaptized children after death need not be conceived as differing from that which they possess on earth before they are able to reflect. They are happy because they are in blissful ignorance of what lies before them ; and in this respect there is no apparent difference between the unbaptized and the baptized.

In the infant there is neither intelligent longing nor conscious remorse—only the *capacity* for the one and the other. That capacity becomes effective as soon as a certain cloud or hindrance to its free activity is removed. This removal takes place in Baptism. It acts like the optician's knife which cuts the horny substance that prevents the light from reaching the nerve connecting retina and brain. Without such operation the organ cannot do its work as originally designed, the eye cannot help the soul to enjoyment of beauty; though it may suffer no pain.

If, as some theologians teach, the Expiation of Christ had its direct effect upon all the departed souls, and if the unbaptized children become conscious after death that they possess a capacity for happiness which their necessary condition on earth prevented them from realizing and using, may we not assume that the longing excited by this knowledge will meet the mercy of Christ and bring them eventually to the fruition of His Expiation in the beatific vision?

Thus it might be said that they endure purgatory with the hope of final enjoyment.

Some find a difficulty in the terms used by the Council of Florence "credimus . . . illorum animas qui in mortali peccato, vel cum solo originali decedunt, mox in infernum descendere, poenis tamen disparibus puniendas." Petavius who infers from these words that the Church teaches that children dying without baptism will suffer torment (poena sensus), is thus taken to task by Albertus a Bulsano (*Inst. Theol. Dogmat.—Polem.* vol. vi., p. 5, sect. 3, cap. 3, 1.): "Ipsum (Petavium) hac in re hallucinatum esse theologi communiter judicant; nam si ejus sententia vera esset, plurimi doctissimi et piissimi viri qui contrarium propugna-

runt, circa fidem aberrassent, cum tamen eorum sententiae ab Ecclesia nunquam condemnatae, sed potius approbatae fuerint." Perrone moreover calls attention to the fact that Petavius misread the Council of Florence: "non animadvertit Concilii Florentini definitionem cadere in vocem *mox*, non autem in qualitatem poenarum, de qua tunc non disceptabatur."

Hence the Council of Florence can no more be adduced as defining the belief of the Catholic Church in the *poena sensus* for unbaptized children, than similar expressions found in some of the Latin Fathers. Of these expressions St. Thomas (Quaest. disput. qu. V., *De Malo*, art. 2) says: "Quoad nomen tormenti, supplicii, gehennae et cruciatus, vel si quid simile in dictis sanctorum inveniatur, est large accipiendum pro poena, ut ponatur species pro genere. Ideo autem sancti tali modo loquendi usi sunt, ut detestabilem redderent errorem Pelagianorum qui asserebant in parvulis nullum peccatum esse."

The opinion that children who die without Baptism remain in possession of that participation in God's goodness and love which original sin lessened but did not wholly extinguish (since unbaptized children enjoy it in this life), is clearly stated by St. Thomas: "Deo conjunguntur per participationem naturalium bonorum, et ita etiam de ipso gaudere poterunt naturali cognitione et dilectione." (In II. Dist. 33, q. 2, art. 2 ad 5.)

One thing however must never be lost sight of in this interpretation of the Church's doctrine when we have to apply it in practice: The loss of the graces which assure us of the beatific vision is of such immeasurable proportion as compared to mere natural happiness, that the culpable neglect of Baptism is the direst misfortune outside of hell.

Hence, to make much of the fact that unbaptized children may enjoy a natural happiness is to minimize a most important truth. It was this fact which caused the Fathers to use strong language about the delay of Baptism in the case of infants.

H. J. H.

THE MEANING OF "STANDUM CALENDARIO."

The "Ordo Divini Officii," etc., for this year (1897) published in Paris, by Poussielgue, makes no mention at all of the feast of "The Holy Family;" and on the Third Sunday after the Epiphany, where said feast should have been indicated, St. Timothy, P. & M., is prescribed. Now, knowing that the feast of the "Holy Family" must be everywhere celebrated on that particular Sunday, may I, nay, must I, as a Rev. friend contends, follow the Ordo, on the plea of the well-known Roman decision: "Standum Calendario?"

To do so is, to my mind, tantamount to stultifying oneself, as the omission was clearly an oversight of the publisher of the Ordo.

Please explain the Roman decision "Standum Calendario."

Resp. 1. The Ordo above-mentioned, of which a copy is now before the eyes of the writer, gives the feast of the Holy Family for the Third Sunday after the Epiphany, hence there must be some variations in the editions.

2. The Office of the Holy Family does not seem to be obligatory everywhere, for the Baltimore Ordo says: "ubi fit de S. Familia."

3. The decision "standum Calendario" refers to cases where there exists a *real* doubt as to whether or not the Ordo is right—"in casibus dubiis;" and even though the greater probability is on the side of those few who think the Ordo is wrong—"etiamsi *quibusdam* probabilior videtur sententia Calendario opposita," nay, even if the error were certain, but to some one person only, v. g., to an expert in Rubrical difficulties, but who could not make his case clear to others. Hence, only when there is clearly an error, v. g., a decision, recent or old, against the position of the Ordo, or when the great majority of priests in any locality perceive the error, or when several authors or experts admit the error, is one allowed to depart from the Ordo.

BICYCLE COSTUMES FOR CLERICS.

Qu. Since the use of "the wheel" has become a matter of recognized utility, the question arises: how far may a priest conform to the fashion in dress suited to the convenience of bicycle-riders? The "sweater" and the Roman collar are hardly

compatible forms of dress; yet in some dioceses, at least in the Eastern States, it is statute law to wear the Roman collar and a coat reaching to the knees. In view of this fact some priests maintain that if the bishop permits the use of bicycles he implicitly sanctions the use of a suitable dress, and such sanction takes away the obligation of the diocesan law to wear the Roman collar and long coat.

1. Could such a position be defended?

2. Could a bishop forbid his clergy to use the ordinary bicycle garb worn by the laity, and to retain the Roman collar?

Resp. Though a bishop may *tolerate* the use of the bicycle, even for the purpose of carrying the Blessed Sacrament to the sick, when there is no probable danger of irreverence, it could not be maintained that he thereby implicitly sanctions the use of a dress which in a manner disguises the priestly character, by removing the external marks that distinguish the cleric from the layman. In the first place, it is to be noted that the ordinance regarding the wearing of the Roman collar is not a merely local law in "some dioceses of the Eastern States," but binds wherever the decrees of the Plenary Council of Baltimore are obligatory. The words are very plain: *Stricto praecepto sacerdotibus nostris injungimus* ut tam *domi quam foris*, sive in propria diœcese degant, sive extra eam, *collare quod romanum vocatur gerant.* (Conc. Balt. Plen. III., n. 77.) This ordinance "utendi vestitu idoneo ad distinguendum clericos a laicis," applies alike to regulars and seculars in the United States. Hence it is quite beyond the power of any Bishop to tolerate, by either implicit or explicit sanction, that priests wear the bicycle dress in place of the black coat and Roman collar.

It follows that any Bishop within the jurisdiction of the Baltimore Council not only could, but in all likelihood will, forbid his clergy to don the "sweater," as soon as he becomes cognizant of the fact that there are priests who do so. Such prohibition is in order not only with regard to sick-calls, but for all seasons, since the Council, after prescribing that priests should wear the cassock in the house as well as in the church, adds that when they go out whether it be in the performance of pastoral duty, or for recreation or to travel, they are

obliged to wear the clerical dress. "Cum foras prodeunt muneris vel animi recreandi causa vel in itinere, breviori quadam veste indui licet, quae tamen nigri coloris sit et ad genua producatur, ita ut a laicis distingui possint." (Conc. B. Pl. III. l. c.)

The argument that the ordinary clerical street dress is an inconvenience in riding the bicycle, can hardly be adduced as a serious objection to maintaining the external dignity of the priestly calling. The practice of many respectable laymen and women who do not find it necessary to change the ordinary citizen's dress is sufficient answer; and if the greater convenience were to be made the principal criterion of propriety in dress we should soon run into folly. An American priest, we fancy, may be the priest everywhere in public without arousing any feeling which, like the persecuting spirit of pagan nations, would justify the attempt to disguise his sacred calling. Our religious men and women find no difficulty in maintaining respect for their calling despite the oddity of their dress. If diversions indulged with legitimate openness should draw the attention and criticism of scandalmongers upon a priest, his general conduct among those who know him would be a sufficient defence against serious consequences which might otherwise arise from misinterpretation of harmless recreation. It is questionable moreover whether a priest really succeeds in one case out of a hundred in diverting attention from his sacerdotal character by any attempt at imitating the freedom of lay persons in the matter of dress.

BENEDICTION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT IN CONVENTS.

Qu. We have four or five Sisters here teaching school. When they came they gave me to understand that they had Benediction of the B. Sacrament on Fridays and Sundays where they came from in their convent chapel, but I find it is not the custom in this diocese. Was I right in giving it and may I continue?

Resp. The religious Sisters who teach our schools are entitled to every aid which the devotion to the Blessed Sac-

rament and the kindness of their pastor or chaplain can give them. But for the sake of order and uniformity they should have a form or card upon which the days for Benediction are specified, and this card should be signed by the Bishop, or, under his sanction, by the chancellor. The particular reason for such precaution is that different communities of nuns have special feasts on which they are privileged to have Benediction over and above the days which are specified for all communities by the Plenary Council of Baltimore or by common diocesan statute.

COMMUNION OUTSIDE OF MASS.

Qu. If Communion is to be given *extra Missam*—not in black vestments—must the blessing be given? Is the blessing *intra* missam sufficient? Is it ever to be given when black vestments are used?

Resp. (*a*) If Communion is to be given immediately before Mass, then the "blessing" may be given, as the Rubric makes no distinction of times; but some authors say that it should not be given in case the persons who receive Holy Communion are to remain to the close of the Mass.

(*b*) If Holy Communion is to be given immediately after Mass, then the blessing should be given.

(*c*) When black vestments are worn, the blessing is never given.

COMMUNION WITHOUT FASTING.

Qu. Is it true that Rome has granted a concession in favor of Religious, exempting them from the Communion fast in cases of protracted illness? If so, does the concession carry with it the privilege of receiving Holy Communion whenever the Community does?

Resp. No such concession has been granted. We answered a similar question in the April issue of the REVIEW, pp. 442–443. We said there that as there is no obligation of receiving Holy Communion for those who cannot receive

fasting (except in the case of Viaticum), the Holy Eucharist is ordinarily denied in such cases until the invalid is entitled to Viaticum. There is no new decree nor any departure from this general rule; but, as we pointed out, there may be exceptions. In case of such, application is to be made to the Holy See for the privilege of communicating without fasting, which applications, in form of petitions, must be signed by the Ordinary of the diocese.

THE MISSAL TO BE FOLLOWED.

Qu. Will you please inform me if it is proper for the choir at a Requiem Mass to change from the plural to the singular, according as the Mass is said for one or for many, the line in the *Dies irae*—"Dona *eis* requiem." Some sing *ei*, others *eis*. The Missal has the plural; must we not follow the Missal?

Resp. The proper norm is the Missal. The *Sequence* alluded to is a liturgical prayer, which may not be changed in the prescribed functions of the Church except under sanction of the rubrics, as in the case of the Hymn *Iste Confessor*. The wisdom of this principle is patent. But for it, the time-honored and consecrated formulas of the Church would be at the mercy of individual judgment, of private devotion, and productive of untold well-meaning, perhaps, but misguided innovations, to the loss of that essential character of unity of devotion and of doctrine which is the mark of God's Church. We cannot too jealously guard these traditional prayers of the Church. They are closely allied with and inter-dependent upon the teachings of our faith, so that it has become a rule that *legem credendi statuit lex supplicandi.*

BOOK REVIEW.

THEOLOGIAE MORALIS Institutiones quas in Collegio Lovaniensi Societatis Jesu tradebat Eduardus Génicot, S. J. Duo Volumina. I., pag. 721, II., pag. 876.—Lovanii: Typis et Sumpt. Polleunis et Ceuterick. 1896-1897.

The University of Louvain has for centuries played an important part in the domain of theological authorship. Its champions, whether of truth or of error, have never battled with dull weapons, but always with a keenness of intellect and an incisiveness of methods which have gained for the old city the name of "la ville savante." This is true of Moral Theology as of other ecclesiastical disciplines. Only recently we had occasion to give a favorable notice of an exhaustive treatise *De Matrimonio* by one of the ablest canonists at the University, Dr. De Becker, who belongs at the same time to the special staff of the American College. Simultaneously with Dr. De Becker's work appeared the first volume of the *Institutiones* by P. Génicot, professor at the Jesuit College, where the American students attend the course-lectures in Moral Theology. This volume, besides the introductory tracts *De Actibus Humanis*, *De Conscientia*, *De Legibus*, and *De Peccatis*, contained those treatises in what is called "special" Moral Theology which deal with the "divine precepts," with the topics of justice, right, and "contracts."

One cannot take up P. Génicot's work without becoming at once conscious that he deals with his subject in a thoroughly independent spirit; that is to say, he departs without scruple from the stereotyped repetition of arguments and proofs which have hitherto been largely considered as conditions *sine qua non* in the interpretation of moral science. There is noticeable in the book a marked reduction in the number of customary references which collate the various opinions of theological doctors regarding any given question capable of being discussed from different points of view. A sort of respectable tradition had up to a recent date made it almost obligatory for the author of a theological text-book to multiply citations from writers holding contradictory and contrary opinions, and

the result has more frequently been to arouse doubt, in the mind of the student, as to the fixity of fundamental principles, than to extend the view of the many-sided form in which those principles might be applied. Of course it is well that the student should be made to realize the weight of judgments formed by grave authors of different schools, but when their diversity of opinion is not so much a matter of practical application, as rather of speculative difference, then it becomes a mere pedantry which embarrasses the mind, and leaves the tyro in theology under the impression that there are few questions in moral science upon which doctors agree or need agree. A result of this method is frequently to create misapprehensions and low views of that spirituality which is the life of the *regimen animarum;* and the immature mind of the student is thus lead to select norms for the direction of souls which, whilst seeming to favor a broad exercise of judgment, actually narrow down to an inconsistent individualism the liberty of spirit which marks the acts of a healthy religious life. Men educated under such a system will often quote the name of an author instead of a principle, in order to justify their decisions in the confessional. This is hurtful alike to the spirit of study and to the interest of souls. "*Eos qui Theologiae Moralis studere incipiunt vel occurrentis casus solutionem quaerunt,* parum juvat scire *quis quid dixerit, modo doctrinam practice tutam clare expositam reperiant.*" What the student requires first and foremost is a clear knowledge and appreciation of the laws of right action and of the principles upon which conformity to these laws is determined. The mutual relation of principle and law may require illustration, but anything which goes beyond the bare limits of this purpose should be omitted from the text-book however usefully it may figure in a history of moral controversy.

Another characteristic of P. Génicot's book, or better said, another sequence of the principle already explained that guides him in his teaching, is his habitual preference for reason, instead of the mere authority established by a certain consensus of theologians. Only in cases where neither logic nor the decisions of the disciplinary tribunals of the Church offer a norm for forming a practical judgment, does he, after giving his own view, add the names of prominent authors who are for, and who are against, such views.

This method is eminently satisfactory, and will, we are sure, recommend itself particularly to American students to whom the carrying of cumbersome ballast—even in theology—is always an irksome task. Our seminarists are indeed fortunate in possessing

already good texts for the class-room which have been arranged with a special view to the missionary needs of the country, but there are few persons engaged in the study of moral theology who feel that any single work on moral science completely answers the manifold demands made upon the priest in his missionary office, or as a guide of the spiritual life.

As to the disposition of the subject matter, P. Génicot had necessarily to follow the path suggested by the order and form of things which constitute the discipline of moral action, and of the elements which shape such action to a definite end. Nevertheless, as part of a living organism, the developments of the moral life frequently call for new and discreet coördination, which increases or diminishes their value as responsible acts. Such are the varying phases of the so-called social question; certain new methods in medical practice as a result of experimental science in connection with the functions of the human organism; likewise a more complete analysis than was formerly possible, of certain phenomena which separate the physiological from the psychological elements, etc. On the other hand, the altered conditions of society have brought about a corresponding change in the legislation and legal terminology of the Church to meet the new requirements. Such are the enactments respecting secret societies, the regulations in matter of marriage, dispensations, the censure of books, etc. In regard to the last mentioned topic, we would call attention to the fact that when the first volume of P. Génicot's book appeared the Pontifical Constitution, *Officiorum ac munerum*, had not yet been published, hence the author reverts to the subject at the end of the second volume, where he gives a lucid exposition of the rules laid down by Leo XIII. for the censure of the press. This leaves of course intact the mode of procedure for the examination of books prescribed by Benedict XIV. In the controversy as to whether pamphlets come within range of the positive law prohibiting the printing and circulating of certain books, our author considers the negative a tenable and probable opinion, inasmuch as the language of the Holy See is not explicit upon the subject, whilst in various other places it makes the distinction between *libri*, *folia*, *libelli* and *scripta*. We imagine that in spite of the principle "odiosa sunt restringenda," this interpretation leaves open one very efficient channel for the evil which it is the manifest purpose of the Holy See to prevent, and that upon a purely technical distinction. However it is an open question, and there are grave reasons on both sides.

As the work was written primarily for students who attend the University of Louvain, the Belgian Code and practice at law, both civil and ecclesiastical, is generally referred to, but not without due regard for the legislation of other countries, including the enactments of the Councils of Baltimore. Here one naturally feels the desire that the virtue of conciseness and brevity which throughout distinguishes the writer of the *Institutiones* could have been dispensed with for the sake of preventing misapprehension, as for instance, in the reference to the recent concession with regard to certain secret societies in the United States, where the phrase "sub certis conditionibus tolerari posse ut fideles, ad grave damnum vitandum, permaneant adscripti tribus societatibus Americanis quas S. Sedes reprobavit" really means that the conditions mentioned constitute a sufficient ground for applying to the Apostolic Delegate who may or may not grant the act of toleration, "ut permaneant *adscripti*," but only in the sense of "*nomen* proprium *in catalogis* sociorum *retinere*," without really allowing a continuation of even passive membership.

We earnestly recommend this excellent work to priests and especially candidates in theology for systematic study. The typography and make-up of the work is in every way a model of the publisher's art.

GEOFFREY AUSTIN: STUDENT. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1895.

Here is a book which should be immensely popular with educators of boys and young men, yet which has not thus far received any adequate recognition from those critics who most complain of the dearth of such works in Catholic literature. In some ways "Geoffrey Austin" reads like "Tom Brown at Rugby;" but its lessons are even more noble, reaching both teacher and pupil from the high plain of practical Christianity.

The writer sketches the career of a young student at a private Catholic College in Ireland where boys are being prepared for the English civil service examinations. He draws with masterly hand the portraits of tutors and prominent characters among the students, and sustains the interest of the story throughout not only by the varied incidents of college life, but by reflective side-lights which bring out the past history of certain prominent actors in the plot. The whole presents a picture of youthful

chivalry and of noble impulses, as of youthful folly and inherent meanness. Above all it shows up a false tendency fostered in many of our institutions of learning, not only in Ireland but in America as well. "If in these co-called Catholic colleges," says Charlie Travers, a thoughtful young fellow, when he realized his first experience of self-degradation in life, "they taught us a little more of Christianity and a little less of paganism, perhaps you and I would be better equipped for the battle of life in which we have just sustained our first fall. It is not right to be vindictive, but I cannot help a feeling of contemptuous anger against the men to whom, principally because of their religious professions, our education is committed." The author does not indeed mean to place a low estimate upon the old classical learning, but he contends for a right use of it in illustrating it by Christian principle, or *vice versa*. Austin, the hero of the book, speaks of Mr. Dowling, the tutor in Greek, as a man "who knew how to excite an enthuasiasm, a passion, which after the holy desires of religion is the purest that man can experience," a professor who made the student feel day by day that his mind was growing and developing under the genial and kind influence of his teaching. We learn that the prevailing system of instruction fails to "educate." "It is filling in, not drawing out or developing. It is making the human mind an arithmetical or geographical or historical calendar or register that may be used as a type-writer or a self-adjusting thermometer is used—but the higher faculties of soul?" Nor is the author afraid to indicate the weaknesses which foster in part the false delusion upon which we base our progress in education. One of these weaknesses is a sort of hero worship by which we appropriate the glory of our ancestors, not only in matters of chivalry, art and letters, but even so far as to make their piety a substitute for our want of it. "I have noticed," says a bright and sensible young Frenchman, to some of his Irish colleagues, "that you Irish, whilst continually boasting of your faith and censuring less fortunate nations forget to practice its most elementary yet significant ceremonies. You boast of the antiquity of your faith, but you are ashamed of it;—in your hotels not one in a hundred would dare make the sign of the cross before meals. You pare down and minimize the teaching of your Church to suit Protestant prejudices. We, in France, are one thing or another. We are infidels or Catholics; but you——." Of course there is an uprising among the boys of the Isle of Saints against such an assertion, but the most sensible of them finally admit that

an unpalatable fact may yet be a truth. We trust that such features of outspoken conviction may not in the present case prevent the merits of the book from being duly appreciated. No doubt it is in many respects a matter for regret that, as Cardinal Newman says, we should set ourselves to unlearn the poetry of the world in order to attain its prose, yet such "is our education, as boys and as men, in the action of life, in the closet or the library, in our affections, in our aims, in our hopes, and in our memories."

The author dedicates his book to the "Catholic youth of Ireland in whose future our highest interests are involved." This dedication gives us the key-note to the purpose of the volume, which is only "a prelude to deeper and diviner things." We sincerely hope for the continuation of this interesting and instructive addition to the pedagogical literature of our time.

HISTOIRE DE LA PHILOSOPHIE ET PARTICULIÈREMENT DE LA PHILOS. CONTEMPORAINE. Par Élie Blanc, Prof. de Philos. Aux Facultés Catholiques de Lyon. Lyon, Vitte; Paris, Vic et Amat, 1896, 3 Vol. in 12, pp. 656, 660, 656. 3½ francs chaque vol.

The literature of the history of philosophy outside of the German language is not extensive. Works of the kind written in English are for the most part meagre and unreliable. There is, of course, the well-known history of philosophy by George Henry Lewes. Clever and interesting like all things that ran off from his facile pen, it is impregnated throughout with the author's *a priori* positivism, if one may couple such terms. The portion of the work treating of medieval scholasticism is a farce. One reason why this is so is told us by Mr. Lewes himself. He confesses, for instance, to "only a second-hand acquaintance" with the works of Albertus Magnus. "More than once," he says, "I have opened the ponderous folios with the determination to master at least some portion of their contents; but I shut them again with an alacrity of impatience which will be best comprehended by any one who makes a similar attempt." (History of Phil. v. II p. 75.) Other medieval tomes have not received from the author even as much recognition as this.

Outside of this story about philosophy—story much in the sense the children are wont to express by the term—most of what we have in English has been done out of the German, and carries with it together with the profound, though not always broad erudition of the

original, much of the sand and slate in which the gold of the German professor is proverbially embedded. Überweg and Kuno Fischer and Erdmann and Windelband and Weber and the rest are learned, and not light nor trivial it need hardly be said. They are of value to the student of philosophy, mostly for their copious bibliography, but they either practically ignore or misrepresent, unintentionally we believe, the content and life of Catholic philosophy. Fortunately for the interests of the latter philosophy there is in German a full series of works which cover the entire field of philosophy down almost to our own day. We refer to the histories of Dr. Albert Stöckl. His separate works, on ancient, medieval and modern philosophy, and his general history of philosophy form a monument of which Catholic Germany may well be proud. Part of the latter work has been rendered into English by Father Finlay, S. J. Outside of this translation which covers only the Pre-Scholastic period, there is no work in our own language that does anything like justice to Catholic philosophy, or that makes use of the principles of that philosophy towards a critical examination of out-lying systems. The present writer has, however, been recently informed that some such work is in course of preparation by a competent hand. We trust it may not long be delayed, for it is greatly needed and would make the desired crown to the excellent series of the Stonyhurst Manuals on general philosophy.

The French are not much better off in this line than we. They have a number of serviceable compendia by Vallet, Brin, Carbonel and others; and especially P. Pascal's translation of Card. Gonzalez *Historia de la Filosofia*. The latter is strong in medieval, but incomplete as regards contemporary philosophy. To this not too extended list comes now the timely and solid addition by the Abbé Blanc. The special merit of this most recent contribution to the literature of its subject lies in the full exposition it gives of the philosophic movements of the last three centuries. Somewhat less than half the first volume is taken up with the ancient philosophy amongst the Orientals, the Greeks and the Romans, the rest of the volume being given to the systems of the early Christian and medieval centuries. The second and third volumes are devoted entirely to modern philosophy from the Renaissance down to the present day. The author's aim throughout is to make his readers acquainted not only with systems and schools but with the life and work of founders and disciples. The mere narrative of opinions and enumeration of works would be as uninteresting as valueless to the

average student. The author has therefore been careful to furnish continuously judicious critiques of the philosophical doctrines he describes.

The point of view from which this critical feature is presented is, of course, that of Christian philosophy which alone, as the story of its life and of its relations attests, blends in harmonious synthesis the data of experience, the *a priori* intuitions and principles of reason and the unchanging, universal traditions of humanity, with the content of divine revelation. The inner coherence of this philosophy, the harmony of its outer relations, its normal historical development, justify its being taken as the standard by which to measure the truth and error of the various other products of philosophic thought.

Apropos of this standpoint it may be desirable to let the Abbé Blanc himself give his view of the present philosophical outlook. "Two facts," he says, "stand forth in the field of philosophy in the nineteenth century—facts that dominate all others and embody motives of great hopes. The first is the extreme importance assumed by social philosophy in consequence of the extraordinary development of industry and commerce, and the prodigious growth of population in certain countries. The second is the renaissance of scholastic philosophy which has gained on all sides a large following and is combatting in every language the errors of the times. From these two facts whose importance is attested by their universality there results a third—viz., the new and preponderating influence which philosophy has been called upon to exercise. More, perhaps, than ever before philosophy has become universal. It can no longer remain a stranger to the physical sciences, to sociology, to political economy, to history, to belles-lettres or the arts, and above all not to religion and popular education. Those even who have heretofore opposed philosophy most vehemently and have striven to supplant her by the empirical sciences, have labored for her advancing triumph. And so it has come about that the works of Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer witness to the universality and immense importance of that which their authors strove to debase and destroy. The nineteenth century, whose history, on the one hand, seems adapted to show the impotence of philosophy attests, on the other hand, at once its necessity, its universality, its incalculable importance and the immense service it shall render in the day when, faithful to its mission, it shall demonstrate the perfect harmony of human reason with Christian

faith." (Vol. II., p. 441.) With this reading of the signs of the time and expression of the hope that is in him, the author introduces his history of contemporary philosophy. For the verification of this insight and the justification of this confidence the reader must go to the latter half of the third volume of the work at hand—a work by the way which, together with its wider historical features, exhibits in the concrete and with the warmth of life the abstract truths of the system which the author had summarized in his preceding *Traité de la philosophie scolastique.*

The student will not find here that wealth of fact and speculation he meets with in the histories by Dr. Stöckl, but he will find clear and on the whole satisfactory pictures, often done with a few bold, suggestive strokes, of the efforts made along the march of history by the masters of human thought at solving the ultimate problems of existence and of life, and together with these sketches judicious estimates of their net value in the evolution of the human mind.

The index puts the reader in contact with the work of over a thousand philosophers. To most of these, of course, but little printed space could be allotted. All of them, moreover, have not just claim to the philosopher's mantle. These occupy ground on which others ought to stand. One misses in a broad work of its kind such philosophers as Newman, Ward, Brownson, Barry, to say nothing of Martineau, McCosh, Porter, and other such who have done yoeman service in the cause of sound philosophy. We say *broad* work for the author extends the range of his subject wide enough to bring in writers on apologetics, on the philosophy of religion, of the sciences, of language, of social and economic life, etc.

Still, where one finds so very much that is solid and useful it is hardly fair to grumble that he does not get more. Omissions, moreover, can be supplied in future editions, many of which we trust will be demanded. F. P. S.

LE CHRISTIANISME ET L'EMPIRE ROMAIN DE NÉRON Á THEÓDOSE. Par Paul Allard. pp. xii., 303; **ANCIENNES LITTÉRATURES CHRÉTIENNES: LA LITTÉRATURE GRECQUE.** Par Pierre Batiffol. pp. xvi., 347. Paris: Victor Lecoffre, Rue Bonaparte, 90, 1897. pr. 3½ francs. chaque vol.

We have here the beginnings of one of those large enterprises for the propagation of truth which find their strongest motive and

surest support in the zeal and generosity of Catholic France. The project of Leo XIII., entrusted originally, by his pontifical brief on historical studies, to Cardinals De Luca, Pitra et Hergenröther, pertinent to the publication of a universal history of the Church constructed in accordance with the results of modern critical research, is here inaugurated. The complete design is to be embodied in a series of some twenty-five volumes, containing each from three to four hundred duodecimo pages, and covering the range of subjects comprised in or immediately connected with the broad life of the Church from her birth down to our day. The first part of the program embraces six volumes on such subjects as the beginnings of Christianity, its relations to the Roman Empire, the literatures, institutions and theology of the early Church. Thirteen volumes treating of the churches amongst the barbarians ; amongst the Syrians ; and in the Byzantine Empire ; the Holy See ; the Reformation of the XI. Century ; the priesthood and the Empire ; the formation of Canon Law; medieval ecclesiastical literature ; mediæval theology ; the Christian institutions of the time ; the Church and the East ; the Church and the Holy See from Boniface VIII. to Martin V. ; the state of the Church at the outgoing of the Middle Ages—these deal with the development of the Church's life down to the Revolt of the XVI. century. Some ten additional volumes are assigned to the ecclesiastical history of the last three centuries.

Each of these volumes is entrusted to a recognized authority on the pertinent matter, who will treat his subject in such wise as to meet the requirements and ability of average cultured readers, lay as well as clerical. Each volume will therefore afford a fairly complete survey of its subject, and by aid of suggestions and its literary apparatus will direct the specialist student to further sources and methods of development. The scope therefore of the work places it midway between the smaller and more elementary works of the kind, and the erudite productions of writers like Janssen, Pastor, De Rossi and Hefele. Such is the general character of the undertaking. The mere announcement of its inception ought to enlist in its support every earnest student of history, every cultured reader, every one who desires that the historical life of the Church should be presented to the world in the light of authentic documents and in its veriest truth. The Catholic world has long been eager for just such a history as this promises to be. It remains to be seen what practical encouragement will be held out to ensure the successful progress and completion of the undertaking.

Thus far the two volumes of the series before us have appeared. The first on Christianity and the Roman Empire is from the hand of one who has already reared an enduring monument perpetuating the story of the infant life of the Church. Every student of that period of history, ecclesiastical as well as profane, is familiar with M. Paul Allard's splendid volumes on the Christian persecutions and the Christian slaves. In conformance with the scope of the series the present volume sums up the ascertained results of historical research on the early life of the Church, especially in her relation to the Empire from Nero to Theodosius. The picture is made to stand out in bold relief, yet sufficiently filled out in detail of fact, of cause and effect, to afford a satisfactory conception of the period described. The reader desirous of further information is directed by the full bibliographical index to the original sources and to cognate modern works, many of the latter being within the easy reach of the English-reading student. There is a good index of names appended to the volume, but one misses a table of contents. The omission must have been an oversight.

M. Batiffol, in the second volume at hand, does for the early Christian literature in Greek what Krüger had done for the ancient Christian literature in general, and what William Wright had done for the early Syriac literature in particular.

The period of literature here described extends from the beginning of Christianity down to the reign of Justinian, and falls readily into three main divisions. The first comprises the primitive epistolary works, canonical and non-canonical, the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Acts of the Martyrs and other documents of a strictly historical character ; the prophetical and homilectical ; the didactic, the liturgical, poetical and epigraphical works. The second division extends from Hippolytus of Rome to Lucian of Antioch, and includes the episcopal and synodical writings as well as the works of the Christian schools and doctors of the period. The third division, extending from St. Anastasius to Justinian is rich in Conciliar, historiographical, liturgical, ascetical, poetical, as well as in the then developing works in theology and exegesis.

In elaborating the material the author has taken great pains to build from reliable texts. To this end he has availed himself, though with independent discrimination, of the labors of the most authoritative critics, such as Bardenhewer and Krumbacher of Munich, and especially Harnack of Berlin, who, despite his ration-

alistic assumptions and inferences, has done much towards securing pure texts of the early Christian writers.

Covering, as he does, so large an amount of matter within such relatively small space, M. Batiffol's pages bristle with names and figures, and the fastidious may not be attracted, but the earnest student seeking a compendious statement of the range and character of the Greek Christian writings during the first six centuries, will find the present work of genuine service and the copious bibliographical references will guide to more abundant sources.

LIBER STATUS ANIMARUM. With the approbation of the Most Reverend Archbishop of St. Louis. B. Herder: St. Louis, 1897. $2.00.

A conveniently arranged book of 180 large pages (15x10), with a number of reserve leaves for an alphabetical index of names, stoutly bound in leather. On one side of the page columns are ruled off with the respective head-lines at the top for date of taking memoranda, the Christian and surname of the husband, the Christian name of the wife, of the children, also of others of the household, for residence, occupation, etc. On the other side of the folio place is provided for entries of country of birth, age, whether married or single, if baptized, confirmed, made first communion, Easter Communion, going to school, pewholder, etc.,—and space reserved or remarks. There is also, in the same form, a serviceable pocket census book to accompany the *Liber Status Animarum*—price 25 cents.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

BROTHER AZARIAS. The Life Story of an American Monk. By John Talbot Smith, LL.D. New York: William H. Young & Co. 1897. Pp. 280. Pr. $1.50.

DE RELIGIONE REVELATA. Libri quinque. Auctore Gulielmo Wilmers, S J. Cum approbatione Rev. Episcopi Ratisbon. et Super. Ordinis. Ratisbonae, Neo Eboraci, Cincinnati: Sumptibus et Tpyis F. Pustet. 1897. Pp. 686. Pr. $2 50.

THEOLOGIA MORALIS. Decalogalis et Sacramentalis, auctore clarissimo P. Patritio Sporer, O.S.F. Novis curis edidit P. F. Irenaeus Bierbaum, O.S.F. Cum permissu superiorum. Tomus I. Paderbornae:

J. W. Schroeder. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1897. Pp. 878. Pr. 7½ marks.

COMMENTARIUM IN FACULTATES APOSTOLICAS Episcopis necnon Vicariis et Praefectis Apostolicis per modum Formularum concedi solitas, ad usum Venerabilis Cleri, imprimis Americani concinnatum ab Antonio Konings, C.SS.R. Editio Quarta, recognita et aucta, curante Joseph Putzer, C.SS.R. Neo Eboraci, Cincinnati, Chicagiae apud Benziger Bros. 1897. Pp. 466. Pr. $2.25.

BIBLISCHE STUDIEN; Die Metrik des Buches Job, von Prof. Dr. Paul Vetter. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1897. Pp. 82. Pr. 62 cents.

CATECHISM for the Catholic Parochial Schools of the United States, by the Rev. W. Faerber. With the "Imprimatur of the Most Rev. Archbishop of St. Louis. The same. 1897. Pp. 128. Pr. 25 cents;—per dozen copies net, $2.00.

ABRIDGED EDITION. Pp. 52. 10 cents;—per dozen copies net, 90 cents.

PRINCIPLES OF A GOOD CATECHISM. By the Rev. W. Faerber. The same. Pp. 12.

THE ROMAN MISSAL. Adapted to the use of the laity. From the Missale Romanum. Fourth Edition. R. Washbourne: London. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1897.

NOTES ON THE SACRIFICE OF THE ALTAR. By Thomas Arnold, M. A. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1897. Pp. 90.

MEMOIRS OF THE CRIMEA. By Sister Mary Aloysius. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Bros. 1897. Pp. 128.

JUDAS MAKKABAEUS. Ein Lebensbild aus den Letzten Grossen Tagen Des Israelitischen Volkes. Entworfen Von Dr. Hugo Weiss. B. Herder: St. Louis, Mo. 1897. Pp. 122. Pr. 80c.

APOLOGETICAE DE AEQUIPROB. ALPHONS. HISTORICO-PHIL. DISSERTAT. A. R. P. J. De Caigny, C.SS.R., exaratae.

CRISIS JUXTA PRINCIP. D. THOM. INSTITUTA. Auctore Guillelmo Arendt, S.J. Accedit Dissertat.

SCHOL.—Moralis pro usu moderato opinionis prob. in concursu probabilioris a S. Alph., anno 1755 primum in lucem edita. *The same*, 1897: Pp. 463. Pr. $1.75.

BEITRÄGE ZUR ERKLÄRUNG DER APOSTOLGESCHICHTE. Auf Grund der Lesarten des Codex D. Und Seiner Genossen Geliefert von Dr. Johannes Belser. *The same*, 1897: Pp. 168. Pr. $1.25.

AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

NEW SERIES—VOL. VII.—(XVII.)—OCTOBER, 1897.—No. 4.

AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

II.

THE SISTERS OF CHARITY IN THE UNITED STATES.

(*First Part.*)

ALTHOUGH the Institute of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul in the United States, is joined to the society of Daughters of Charity established in France in 1633, it is of American origin, having been in existence for forty years before it was incorporated into the French organization.

It was founded by Mrs. Eliza Ann Seton, a convert to the faith, who was aided chiefly by the Rev. William V. Dubourg (afterwards Bishop of New Orleans) and other Sulpician Fathers, Archbishop Carroll, the Rev. Samuel Cooper, and the Filicchi brothers of Leghorn in Italy, all of whom co-operated with her in the good work by their advice, encouragement, and money.

Mrs. Seton was a daughter of Dr. Richard Bayley, at one time health physician of the port of New York. She was born in that city in August, 1774, and was

brought up in what was then its high society. She was married in her twentieth year to Mr. William Seton, a merchant, and, like herself, a member of the Protestant Episcopal denomination. She became the mother of five children—Anna Maria, William, Richard, Catherine Josephine and Rebecca.

Some six years after Mrs. Seton's marriage, reverses one after another invaded the prosperity of her husband. These multiplied misfortunes not only scattered his capital but also shattered his health. He was urged to seek recuperation through a sea voyage. Reluctantly he consented to try the experiment, and accordingly resolved to visit Leghorn, where in his youth he had spent some time in a mercantile house and where he had two friends, Philip and Antonio Filicchi, with whose firm he had long had business dealings. Mrs. Seton and their eldest child, Anna, accompanied him. They sailed from New York on October 2, 1803. They reached their destination in safety. But the invalid was too far gone to benefit by sea-air or mild climate, and he lingered only a little more than a month after his arrival in Italy. He died at Pisa on December 27th, and his remains lie interred in the Protestant graveyard at Leghorn.

In her bereavement Mrs. Seton turned for comfort to Almighty God, according to her pious wont, and was not disappointed. He had purposely led her from her home and from her kindred in order to draw her into His own fold and to number her among His chosen people of the new dispensation. She remained a guest of the Filicchis for more than three months after her husband's death, and, during that period, by witnessing the piety of the family, by conversations on points of controversy with Philip and Antonio, by heart to heart talks with Amabile, Antonio's wife, by reading doctrinal books, by meeting priests, by examining the Catholic religion in the concrete in a Catholic country, and by persevering prayer, she made clear the way for light and grace and finally received the gift of faith. She desired to be received into the Church at once, but Philip persuaded her to defer her reception until after her return home, so as

to convince her relatives that her change of belief was no emotional move on her part and that no undue advantage had been taken of her grief.

When Mrs. Seton and Anna set out in April on the backward voyage to America, Mr. Antonio Filicchi accompanied them. He had long wished to see the country and there was use for his visit to promote the business of the firm, but his presence was for the convert a favor from Divine Providence since he was to be her visible guardian angel in her final gropings after truth.

The passage occupied fifty-six days. As soon as Mrs. Seton announced her conversion, a storm of opposition arose against her. The Bayleys, the Charltons (her mother's people), the Setons and all their connections, as well as her other friends, used every means to stay her from her purpose. They pleaded, argued, threatened, cajoled, and reproached her. They sent her former pastor to see her, and he labored with her, drew up for her a written indictment against the Church, and placed in her hands a lot of anti-Catholic books filled with the whole list of vile accusations that have been fabricated against it.

Mr. Filicchi stood by her faithfully. He talked with her, he wrote to her, he procured for her books to refute the Protestant volumes laid before her, he enlisted the interest of Bishop Carroll, of the Rev. Father Cheverus of Boston, and of the Rev. Matthew O'Brien, assistant pastor of New York, he offered her and her children a home in Italy, he besieged Heaven with petitions in her behalf.

So harassed in feelings and so bewildered in mind did Mrs. Seton become, that she determined to abide as she was —neither a Protestant in belief nor a Catholic in practice. As Mr. Philip Filicchi wrote to her, she was resisting the light and acting as if she judged that God was not to be obeyed without the consent of her friends. In this state of spiritual darkness and distress she remained for ten months. Then, finally, she made a definite resolution: she would stake her salvation and the eternity of her children on the very words of Jesus Christ establishing a Church and

promising to be with it always to the end of time. So on March 14, 1805, she went to St. Peter's, in Barclay street, New York, and there, in the presence of Mr. Antonio Filicchi, she made her abjuration before Father O'Brien and was conditionally baptized. Instantly her heart was flooded with peace and her soul, so she said, "seemed indeed to be admitted to a new life."

Now began for the neophite a hundred trials—social ostracism, the enmity of relatives, the loss of a fortune that but for her conversion would have been bequeathed to her, poverty, and the cares of a family of little children encompassed with dangers to faith. To earn bread for her little ones she opened a boarding-house for some of the lads attending a private academy in the northern suburbs of the city. But the venture did not prosper, nor were all the boys fit associates for the little Seton girls, and when the news transpired that the mistress had become a Catholic, some of the patrons withdrew their sons from her charge.

Mr. Antonio Filicchi proved a friend in her need—he cheered her, he helped her with money, he placed her William and Richard in Georgetown College, and from 1806 he and his brother Philip settled on her an annual contribution of $400 for her support.

The indignation of Mrs. Seton's Protestant relatives blazed up afresh when her sister-in-law, Cecilia Seton, then in her fifteenth year, informed them in June, 1806, that she was about to follow Eliza into the Catholic Church. They turned the young girl adrift and abused Mrs. Seton as the siren who had misled her, and they renewed their reproaches when the latter opened her door to give her repudiated kinswoman a home.

Before Mr. Filicchi's return to Italy, in May, 1806, he suggested that Mrs. Seton move to Montreal for the sake of the cheaper living that could be obtained in Canada, of the Catholic community there, and of the possibility of finding refuge in a convent where she would have congenial employment as a teacher, and where she could be with her girls while the boys were sent to the college in the same city.

She liked the idea. She dwelt on it almost as a fascinating dream too good to be true, and in her frequent perplexities she recurred to it as a possible, even if remote, haven of security from her increasing anxieties. One day in the autumn of that same year, she mentioned it to the Rev. William Valentine Dubourg, President of St. Mary's College in Baltimore, whom she met while he was on a visit to New York. But he objected to it. "Why go to Canada?" said he; "there are Catholic girls to teach here. Why not start a school for some of them?" She laid these questions before Bishop Carroll; and, after stating her whole case to him, pointing out especially that if she were to die while her children were young and unprovided for, they would be seized by her relatives and be brought up Protestants, she said: "The embracing a religious life has been, from the time I was in Leghorn, so much my hope and consolation that I would at any moment have embraced all the difficulties of again crossing the ocean to attain it, little imagining it could be accomplished here. But now my children are so circumstanced that I could not die in peace (and you know, dear sir, we must make every preparation), except I felt the full conviction I had done all in my power to shield them from it; in that case it would be easy to commit them to God." Before an answer was received from the Bishop, the opinions of Father Cheverus and the Rev. Dr. Matignon were obtained. They advised her to abandon the Canadian scheme, to consider favorably the suggestion of Father Dubourg, but not to act on it until the Divine Will in her regard was more clearly manifested. "I have only to pray God," wrote Father Matignon in conclusion, "to bless your views and His, and give you the grace to fulfill them for His greater glory. *You are destined, I think, for some great good in the United States*, and here you should remain in preference to any other location. For the rest, God has His moments, which we must not seek to anticipate, and a prudent delay only brings to maturity the good desires which He awakens within us."

The difficulties of Mrs. Seton's situation in New York continued to multiply until the spring of 1808 when, Father

Dubourg being again in that city, she disclosed them all to him, and he said with decision: "Come to us, Mrs. Seton, we will assist you in forming a plan of life which, while it will forward your views of contributing to the support of your children, will also shelter them from the dangers to which they are exposed among their Protestant connections, and, moreover, will afford you much more consolation in the exercise of your faith than you have yet enjoyed. We also wish to form a small school for the promotion of religious instruction for (such) children whose parents are interested in this matter." When she protested that she was deficient in talents, he replied: "We want example more than talents." The Sulpicians then conducted a college for boys as well as a Seminary in Baltimore, and they had some vacant lots which Father Dubourg thought might be utilized as a site for an academy for girls. When he offered as a further inducement to educate her boys at the college, without expense to her and almost under her eyes, she felt sure that Heaven was opening a way for her at last, and she gladly consented to follow it.

Writing to Mrs. Seton from Baltimore in May, Father Dubourg proposed to her to rent a small house for one year, to take at first only eight boarders so as the more easily to establish the spirit of regularity and piety, and to accept only Catholic pupils. "If," said he next, "one year's experience persuades us that the establishment is likely to succeed in promoting the grand object of a Catholic and virtuous education, and if it please Almighty God to give you, your good Cecilia and your amiable daughter a relish for your functions and a resolution to devote yourselves to it, so as to secure permanency to the institution, we will then consult Him about the means of perpetuating it by the association of some other pious ladies who may be animated with the same spirit, and submit all our ideas to your worthy friends and protectors. If they approve of them, a site on our ground will not be wanting on which we may, little by little, erect the buildings which the gradual increase of the institution may render necessary."

Mrs Seton and her children sailed on June 9, 1808, in a packet-ship from New York, the city of her birth which she was never again to see. Baltimore was reached late at night on June 15. They disembarked the next morning, proceeding first to St. Mary's chapel, which on that day was consecrated, and later to the dwelling which had been prepared for them. Bishop Carroll, the Sulpician Fathers, the mother and the sister of Father Dubourg, and some of the prominent Catholic ladies of the city, made her feel at once that she was amongst friends, and, in September, when her boarding-school opened, the number of pupils to which she had limited it, was readily procured.

When the Filicchi brothers heard of Mrs. Seton's move to Baltimore and purpose to establish a school, they congratulated her and authorized her to draw on their New York agents for $1,000, adding that, if she needed more, she need only apply for it, for that, notwithstanding the political and commercial disturbances of the period, they were enjoying greater prosperity than ever before, and cherished the same unalterable good will to assist her.

Two providential events happened in the autumn of that year that further shaped Mrs. Seton's vocation, and tended to bring about the formation of her religious community—the appearance of a postulant and the offer of a sum of money to be devoted to a work for poor girls.

The Rev. Peter Badade, the spiritual Father of Mrs. Seton's school, sent to her her first novice. He was on a visit to Philadelphia and there became acquainted with a young lady, Miss Cecilia O'Conway, who was about to sail for Europe in order to enter a convent. When he told her of the plans and hopes of the new institution, she gave up her contemplated voyage, and, with her father, went to Baltimore and begged to be received as an assistant. She was admitted on the 7th of December, and remained faithful until death.

The money came from the Rev. Samuel Cooper, a convert, who was then studying for the priesthood in St. Mary's Seminary. One morning at Holy Communion in the chapel

there, Mrs. Seton was inspired with the desire to dedicate herself to the care and instruction of poor little girls, and, seeing Mr. Cooper in front of her, the thought came to her: "He has money. If he would but give it for the bringing up of poor little children, to know and love Thee!" Later in the day she told Father Dubourg of the ideas that were in her mind during her thanksgiving. "That's strange," said he, "very strange; for Mr. Cooper spoke to me this very morning of his thoughts being all for poor children's instruction, and that if he knew any one who would undertake the work he would give his money to it; and he wondered if you would be willing to do it!" The good priest was struck at the coincidence of their views, and he requested them separately to think the matter over for a month and let him know the result of their deliberations. At the end of the month each of them separately renewed the offer previously made—the one, to contribute $8,000 to an institute for the Christian rearing of poor girls; and the other, to devote her services to the same great charity. The finger of God was visible. When Bishop Carroll was consulted, he coincided with Father Dubourg, and gave his warmest approbation to the project. Here was the corner-stone of the present institute.

Mr. Cooper insisted on Emmettsburg as the situation for the proposed establishment, and Father Dubourg himself prospected the region thereabouts and bought the land on which now stands the mother-house.

As soon as Father Cheverus learned the glad tidings he wrote: "How admirable is Divine Providence! I see already numerous choirs of virgins following you to the altar. I see your holy order diffusing itself in the different parts of the United States, spreading everywhere the good odor of Jesus Christ and teaching by their angelical lives and pious instructions how to serve God in purity and holiness. I have no doubt, my beloved and venerable sister, that He who has begun this work, will bring it to perfection."

The second postulant was Miss Maria Murphy, also of Philadelphia, who sought Mrs. Seton in April, 1809; and in

the next month Miss Mary Ann Butler, of Philadelphia, and Miss Susan Clossy, of New York, offered themselves to the new sisterhood and were cordially received.

Mother Seton, as she now began to be called, having in her home four candidates for the religious life, accepted the direction of her spiritual advisers to adopt a rule and assume the form of a community. She therefore proposed to her companions to appear in a habit like that which she wore herself—a black dress, with a short cape, a white muslin cap, with a crimped border and a black crape band going around the top of the head and tying under the chin. They first put on this garb on June 1, 1809. A provisional rule was traced suitable to the needs of the house, but no particular institute was copied, and all that was aimed at was regularity in devotions and work, with a tendency toward perfection. No vows were prescribed, but Mother Seton herself, in the presence of Bishop Carroll, privately bound herself for one year to the observance of the evangelical counsels. No name was definitely chosen, but provisionally, at Mother Seton's entreaty, the members of the community were called the Sisters of St. Joseph.

At that time there were only three convents in the United States—the Ursuline, in New Orleans, the Carmelite, in Charles County, Maryland, and the Visitation, at Georgetown, D. C. Only the first and last of these then conducted schools.

Shortly after the adoption of the habit, two more postulants were received—Mrs. Rose White and Miss Catharine Mullen.

About this period, Cecilia Seton, the young convert, who had been so far reconciled to her family as to be received into the home of a married brother of hers, fell seriously ill and was advised to take a sea-voyage. She implored the favor of being taken to Baltimore on a visit to Mother Seton. The eager wish was granted. Her sister Harriet accompanied her. With fond embraces was she welcomed by her sister-in-law. But her weakness still continuing, she was urged to go to some high place in the interior, and so was

easily persuaded to sojourn in the hill-country at Emmetsburg. A coach was hired for the journey. Mother Seton, her eldest daughter, her two sisters-in-law and Sister Maria Murphy (all except Cecilia walking most of the way) set out on June 21st and reached their destination the next day.

The one little house on the sisters' place not being as yet habitable, the party became the guests of Father Dubois, of Mount St. Mary's College, and occupied the log house on the mountain a little above the Seminary.

There, while Cecilia recovered somewhat her strength of body, Harriet obtained grace of soul. After a contest between old ties and conscience, the latter won the victory. A marriage engagement was the last barrier to her conversion; "but," she said, "I cannot remain a Protestant; and if as a Catholic I am rejected by this dear one *I must save my soul.*" She went under instructions until September 24th, when she was admitted into the Church. Her folks in New York were incensed against her because of her conversion, so she remained at the convent. On December 22nd, she died a holy and peaceful death, a victim of fever. She lies buried in the cemetery of the community.

The little community of nine persons moved, on July 30th, from the log house near the college to the small stone building on their own land; and on the same day five sisters, two pupils, and Mrs. Seton's two sons (who were to attend Mount St. Mary's College, which was then a Sulpician institution) left Baltimore for Emmettsburg in a wagon partly loaded with furniture and baggage.

Shortly after the sisterhood was reunited, its superiors reached the conclusion to develop it on the model of the society established by St. Vincent de Paul, and as Bishop Flaget was then about to set out for France, they requested him to procure for them a copy of the Constitution and rules of that institute and to obtain, if possible, the favor of a visit from some of the French sisters to aid the new community of St. Joseph's with their experience and example. This appeal was granted. The book was sent, the sisters were chosen; but the French Government would not

issue passports to the latter, so they had to remain in their own country, and the hope of obtaining object lessons from them of the religious life according to the rule of St. Vincent, had to be abandoned.

As the tenement was too contracted for the sisters, carpenters were soon hired to erect a large two-story log house. While it was going up, no school could be held, only a class for the two boarders and the three Seton girls. The sisters found employment in all sorts of work about the place, in visiting the sick and in teaching the catechism to children of the neighborhood, etc. With the cessation of the school, the income of the community ceased, and as all their funds had been invested in the property, they were soon in a condition of acute distress. Their only bread was rye. Occasionally they indulged in the luxury of salt pork. For lack of tea and coffee they roasted carrots and made a beverage from them, which they sweetened with molasses and drank often without milk. "For many months," one of the sisters testified years afterwards, "we were so reduced that we often did not know where the next day's meal would come from." For their first Christmas dinner there, they had smoked herrings and a spoonful of molasses for each. Their house, too, was exposed and poorly heated and their store of clothing and bed covering was insufficient. They were nearly all sick that winter with colds and fever. These privations and hardships were cheerfully endured by them all in a spirit of penance. Mother Seton was patience personified ; yes, her soul dilated and grew radiant in the experience of that holy poverty that she had vowed. Often in a kind of transport, with her hands lifted up toward Heaven, she would encourage her companions, saying: "O my sisters, let us love Him, let us ever be ready for His holy will. He is our Father. O, when we shall be in our dear eternity, then we shall know the value of our sufferings now!"

"THE ABSENCE OF RELIGION IN SHAKESPEARE."

(FIRST PAPER.)

IT is now several months since an article with this title appeared in the *New World* quarterly, in which its author[1] attempted to demonstrate the thesis contained in the title. So far as we have been able to discover, no answer has appeared as yet, although the challenge was uttered with no uncertain voice, and received a still wider hearing through its repetition by the *Literary Digest*.

It is within the limits of a probable demonstration that Shakespeare was a Catholic; but the motive that impels us to the following answer lies not wholly in this direction. To whatever is great in our Christian civilization the Catholic Church may fairly lay claim, if not immediately, at least mediately. The masterpiece is the artist's, but hers is the inspiration. The hand thrust forth may indeed be that of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob; and the world must have grown even blinder than the patriarch of old if it cannot read the moral of the debt it owes, for all that is best and fairest in it, to the idealizing atmosphere of Christianity. Not without concern, therefore, do we view an attempt to except from the universality of Shakespeare's genius that reverential treatment of things we also revere, which is not the least of the poet's glories.

But the article which we venture to criticise is interesting in yet another light, as illustrating a method of dialectics novel even in the long history of that much-abused art. Externally, the method consists in reducing generalizations to the compass and brilliancy of epigrams, and then proving them by one illustration. Internally, it consists in viewing as a proof what is at best only an illustration; and in regarding as a friend to the thesis an illustration whose whole *bearing* (we use the word both figuratively and literally) proclaims it an enemy. An extract from the article will display the method better than our attempted description.

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The author says: "Only one degree more inward than this survival of a religious vocabulary in profane speech is the reference we often find in Shakespeare to religious institutions and traditions. There are monks, bishops, and cardinals; there is even mention of saints, although none is ever presented to us in person." Of the religious vocabulary he has already given one, and *only one*, illustration, by showing that "when Iago says '*sblood* there is no Christian sentiment in his mind, nor in Shakespeare's." We agree thoroughly with the writer; but we are restive under the strange logic which chooses an oath to illustrate the religious vocabulary of the poet. Now in the extract just quoted we have the startling statement made that the poet's frequent references to religious institutions and traditions is "only one degree more inward than this survival of a religious vocabulary in profane speech!" This generalization does not imply, nor even admit, any exception. It is vast in the ground it covers; it is clear and incisive in its language; it is strong enough to dispense with auxiliary arguments, for—if it be correct—alone it proves the absence of religion in Shakespeare. Here is the first proof of the generalization: "The clergy, if they have any wisdom, have an earthly one." The proof is a new generalization, condensed into the compass of an epigram. Out of the many clergy figuring in the poet's pages, the two following illustrations are selected: "Friar Lawrence culls his herbs like a more benevolent Medea;" and "Cardinal Wolsey flings away ambition with a profoundly Pagan despair; his robe and his integrity to heaven are cold comfort to him." The peculiar logic of these illustrations lies in the fact that, as will be shown shortly, they illustrate precisely the opposite thesis—the presence of religion in Shakespeare. Having thus disposed of the clergy in attractive epigrams, our author continues his proof of the first generalization: "Juliet goes to shrift to arrange her love affairs"—which, let us merely remark in passing, she does not do—"and Ophelia should go to a nunnery to forget hers"—a thought neither Shakespeare's nor Hamlet's, although it is put into Hamlet's mouth in his

feigned insanity. "Even the chastity of Isabella has little in it that would be out of place in Iphigenia"—whereupon issue shall be joined in its appropriate place, while we merely draw attention now to an illustration noteworthy and curious as supporting the very opposite thesis. "The metaphysical Hamlet himself sees a 'true ghost,' but so far reverts to the positivism that underlies Shakespeare's thinking as to speak soon after of 'that undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveler returns.'" Here it is stated that the poet is a positivist; if this can be proved, all the previous, as well as the subsequent, argumentation is a work of supererogation. What is the kind of proof vouchsafed? A *single* illustration—the "undiscovered country"—whose value, not even as a proof but simply as an illustration, depends on the author's misconception of the meaning of a certain word in Shakespeare's time.

Now this kind of dialectics makes very pleasant reading for those who run, but rather unsatisfactory meditation for those who pause. Our author's method is somewhat similar to that of Froude, but by no means identical with it. For while the English historian openly averred that historical sources were like the wooden blocks out of which children can construct any kind of a house their passing fancy may suggest, the Harvard professor nowhere formally—although everywhere implicitly—puts forth his conviction that still more wonderful things can be done with the wooden blocks. Like that thoughtful philosopher of old who carried a brick around with him as a sample and a sufficient description of the house he wished to sell, our author points to a single illustration as the sample of a vast generalization he has made—displays a block where we looked for a house: and although our common sense tells us that the illustration is not solid enough to serve as the foundation of a great fabric, he gravely assures us that the wooden block is solid granite.

I.

In his initial paragraph the author introduces his thesis in an interesting manner: "We are accustomed to think of

the universality of Shakespeare as not the least of his glories. No other poet has given so many-sided an expression to human nature, or rendered so many passions and moods with such an appropriate variety of style, sentiment, and accent. If, therefore, we were asked to select one monument of human civilization that should survive to some future age, or be transported to another planet to bear witness to the inhabitants there of what we have been upon earth, we should probably choose the works of Shakespeare. In them we recognize the truest portrait and best memorial of man. Yet the archeologist of that future age, or the cosmographers of that other part of the heavens, after conscientious study of our Shakespearean autobiography, would misconceive our life in one important respect. They would hardly understand that man had had a religion." The writer states clearly his thesis in the last sentence of this extract. The thesis is so striking as to be almost *bizarre;* and immediately recalls to mind the conviction of a great poet, acute critic and devout Christian, De Vere, who says of Shakespeare: "That he was a devout Christian, no one who appreciates his poetry can doubt; and it is as certain that his religious tone has no sympathy with the sect or the conventicle."

The question at issue is not as to what the poet's religion really was; the critic has stated the question much more broadly: "They would hardly understand that man had had a religion." We are not, therefore, narrowed down to a determination of Church, sect or conventicle; we are confronted with a catholic view of the poet's works and are, at least implicitly, challenged to find in them any evidences or indications of a moral or dogmatic code existing among the children of men. It is not our purpose in this paper to accept such an implied challenge. The critic has spontaneously taken up the burden of proof belonging to his thesis of the Absence of Religion in Shakespeare. Our task is formally a negative one; namely, to inquire into the validity of his argument.

But now to the author's proofs, which, although stated very beautifully, consist less of a coherent argument than of a series of unrelated and gratuitous assertions.

II.

The first argument deals with the religious vocabulary of Shakespeare—not a narrow field of inquiry—which is curiously restricted to the discussion of a single word; and that word, or rather phrase, is an oath, occurring twelve times in Shakespeare and used once by Iago.

The author says: "There are, indeed, numerous exclamations and invocations in Shakespeare which we, who have other means of information, know to be evidences of current religious ideas. Shakespeare adopts these, as he adopts the rest of his vocabulary, from the society about him. But he seldom or never gives them their original value. When Iago says ''*sblood*,' a commentator might add explanations which should involve the whole philosophy of Christian devotion; but this sentiment is not in Iago's mind, nor in Shakespeare's, any more than the virtues of Heracles and his twelve labors are in the mind of every slave and pander that cries "*hercule*" in the pages of Plautus and Terence. Oaths are the fossils of piety. The geologist recognizes in them the relics of a once active devotion, but they are now only counters and pebbles tossed about in the unconscious play of expression. The lighter and more constant their use, the less their meaning."

We agree with the writer that oaths do not argue religiousness either in Iago or in Shakespeare. We do not, however, agree wholly with the geologist in recognizing in them merely the relics of a once active devotion. In the mouths of men like Iago, they may or may not be relics of a youthful devotion; but they certainly are witnesses of the existence of a religious belief that may or may not have passed away from earth. The religious belief and the devotion begotten of it may, and in the case of Christianity at the present day, as a fact, do run *pari passu* with their profanation by believer and skeptic alike. When the

'Varsity man of to-day cries "by Jove," or the beginner in the classics, "dii immortales," the *profanum vulgus* which does not know enough to be profane in this way may be compelled to accept an explanation from the religious geologist to the effect that these phrases are relics of a paleomythic age. But although Christian, Jew and infidel utter with profane lips the Name at which every knee should bend, this fact is no witness against the present belief and devotion founded on that adorable Name. Oaths, therefore, may or may not be the fossils of an individual piety, the flotsam of some shipwrecked soul; but as a rule they have become, through the curious perverseness that leads men to toss most lightly on their lips what they have held most dear in their hearts, witnesses to a present rather than a past belief.

Whether, therefore, oaths be or be not the fossils of piety, the geologist of religions might be justly expected to infer, from some such fossil as "dii immortales," the existence of a polytheistic belief among the Latins at some period of their history. What then should prevent "the archeologist of that future age, or the cosmographers of that other part of the heavens" (if, indeed, as is to be presumed, they know the meanings of words in the copy of Shakespeare it will be their great good fortune to possess) from recognizing, in the oath "'*sblood*," that "man had had a religion" embracing the idea of an incarnate Deity?

But may we not fairly take exception to the author's logical tactics? He undertakes to demonstrate the absence of religion in Shakespeare, and is, of course, immediately confronted with a legion of apparently inimical facts. These he assigns to appropriate categories, one of which is the poet's *religious vocabulary*. He is compelled to formally admit (what everybody who is at all familiar with the poet's works must have noticed), that "there are, indeed, numerous exclamations and invocations in Shakespeare which we, who have other means of information, know to be evidences of current religious ideas." The sting is hidden in the tail of this admission—the phrase, "we, who have other means of

information," implying that the religious vocabulary of the poet is not self-explanatory, but demands *aliunde* information for its proper intelligibility. He then exemplifies this vocabulary by quoting—an oath! The dialectician who is confident of his position always selects the strongest among the instances militating against his thesis, and by demolishing it renders further battling unnecessary. Our author selects the weakest; and having disposed of it to his own satisfaction, calmly turns his back on the hundred stronger opponents that are clamoring to enter the lists with him. We have humored him so far as to consider gravely the instance he has chosen, and have examined minutely the elaborate machinery he has devised for demolishing his man of straw. The virtues and labors of Heracles, Plautus and Terence, fossils of piety and the religious geologist, counters and pebbles—all to demonstrate that an oath does not argue piety! But while we showed a courteous interest in the process, that interest was rather malicious than sympathetic, and was strangely rewarded by observing the man of straw emerge unscathed from the ordeal—for, after all, even "'sblood," weak though it be, really illustrates, as we have proved, the *presence* of religion in the poet. Why could not our author leave the poor little illustration alone? If he had not pointed it out, not even Browning's *Tyrannus* would have thought of selecting it, as we have been unwillingly led into doing, as a proof of the opposite thesis;

> "For the fellow lay safe
> As his mates do, the midge and the nit,
> —Through minuteness, to wit."

True it is that a profane use of a religious vocabulary does not imply piety or religiousness in either the dramatist or the *dramatis persona;* but it is equally true that it does imply a religion. No paraphernalia of argument should be needed to prove that the poet attached no sacred meaning to the irreverence of Iago. A better illustration than that

discussed by our author is the anachronistic use of "'sdeath" by Caius Marcius in *Coriolanus*—a phrase which is quite as significant of Christian belief as Iago's. In this case the poet surely could not have adverted to the meaning of the word he put upon pagan lips. How many people now advert to the meaning of the phrasal word "*adieu*," or appreciate the *Dominus vobiscum*—the devout "God be with you"—contained in a careless "Good-bye?" No general argument for or against piety can be based on the use of exclamations having a sacred sound. A devout Frenchman may utter "Mon Dieu" a dozen times in the day; to him there is no irreverence whatever in it. In the mouth of the American the translated phrase would be an irreverence.

Since, then, the class of religious phraseology, or, to speak more justly, *irreligious profanity* illustrated by our author is so clearly neutral in the argument, why was its discussion judged necessary or even appropriate? Besides, it is apt to mislead a hasty reader into supposing that the religious vocabulary of the poet was confined to words and phrases of this kind. Our author should rather have discussed religious exclamations and invocations such as that of Hamlet, when the ghost first appears to him on the platform at Elsinore—"Angels and ministers of grace defend us!" or such as that of Richard the Third when the phantoms succeed in stirring up in his guilty soul a tardy but terrible remorse—"Have mercy, Jesu!" or such as that of Friar Lawrence, as his old feet stumble over the graves in his terrified haste toward the tomb of the Capulets—"Saint Francis be my speed!" These are religious not only in sound but as well in sense. They are such invocations as the soul makes with conscious purpose in moments of distress. They are recognitions of Heaven's opportunity in man's extremity. In addition to this, they are wholly Christian; the mercy of Christ, the ministry of angels, the intercession of saints, are asserted in them as efficacious dogmatic and devotional facts.

We very willingly relinquish this theme in favor of a stronger and more attractive argument.

III.

Having disposed of the "religious vocabulary" by narrowing it down to the discussion of a single profane illustration, the author next considers the second one of the categories into which the Shakespearean facts inimical to his thesis may be grouped; namely, the frequent reference in the plays to "religious institutions and traditions."

He says: "Only one degree more inward than this survival of a religious vocabulary in profane speech is the reference we often find in Shakespeare to religious institutions and traditions. There are monks, bishops and cardinals; there is even mention of saints, although none is ever presented to us in person. The clergy, if they have any wisdom, have an earthly one. Friar Lawrence culls his herbs like a more benevolent Medea; Cardinal Wolsey flings away ambition with a profoundly pagan despair; his robe and his integrity to heaven are cold comfort to him. Juliet goes to shrift to arrange her love affairs, and Ophelia should go to a nunnery to forget hers. Even the chastity of Isabella has little in it that would have been out of place in Iphigenia."

The author has shown us that profanity is not piety. He now declares that the poet's references to religious institutions and traditions are an evidence of religion only one degree more inward than the profanity. He intimates in another place that he is the first critic who has noticed this fact; and explains the universal oversight of the critical world in this matter by saying that "we need not wonder that Shakespeare, a poet of the Renaissance, should have confined his representation of life to its secular aspects, and that his readers after him should rather have marvelled at the variety of the things of which he showed an understanding, than have taken note of the one thing he overlooked." Our critic is certainly the first to notice the absence of religion in the poet. Several other very eminent critics have, however, noticed and commented on the diametrically opposite fact. We have already cited the opinion of De Vere: "That he was a Christian, no one who appreciates his poetry

can doubt." Coleridge, speaking of the treatment accorded to priestly characters by Shakespeare as contrasted with that given by Beaumont and Fletcher, says: "In Shakespeare they always carry with them our love and respect." Henry Reed, in his too short lecture on our poet remarked: "It is worthy of reflection that whenever a holy subject is touched by Shakespeare it is with a deep sentiment of unaffected reverence."

These three consentient opinions are formal expressions of a deliberate view, and were uttered by men noted alike for philosophic acumen, critical taste and religious sentiment. By what argument does our author recommend his unique and—not to speak it profanely—his somewhat forward and pretentious statement concerning the oversight committed by all the readers of the poet? Again we are able to perceive only generalizations reduced to epigrams and supported not by proofs but by unlucky illustrations that make strongly against his thesis. Let us take his argument apart piecemeal.

He says: "There are monks, bishops and cardinals." Then it follows that there was a religion of which these were —as, by the way, they are still—functionaries and witnesses. By this time, the future archeologists and cosmographers, if they prove to be half as skillful as the modern geologists, ought to be able to construct a complete skeleton out of these significant bones, these *disjecta membra poetae*, collected by our author. From his first argument they will discover that "man had had a religion" embracing the idea of an incarnate Deity; and from the second, that this religion included the idea of the monastic life dedicated to celibacy and religious exercises; included also the idea of a hierarchical order. Our author helps the future thinker by delving for a few more bones, as follows:

He says: "There is even mention of saints, although none is ever presented to us in person." We submit that it is expecting rather much from the dramatist to look for a live saint in his pages. To be sure, the Prince of Morocco considered Portia a "mortal-breathing saint"; but, aside from the fact

that a Moor could not be familiar with the ecclesiastical procedures of beatification and canonization, the language of affection is apt to revel in unwarranted apotheosization. Alas! we must have died ere our sanctity receive official recognition—ere we be "canonized and worshipped as a saint." But Shakespeare does the best he can in the circumstances. He presents to our view saintly characters in the flesh—Henry the Sixth, Queen Katharine, Sister Isabella; he multiplies references to them; and sometimes invokes their aid in prayer.

Our author says: "The clergy, if they have any wisdom, have an earthly one. Friar Lawrence culls his herbs like a more benevolent Medea; and Cardinal Wolsey flings away ambition with a profoundly Pagan despair; his robe and his integrity to heaven are cold comfort to him. Juliet goes to shrift to arrange her love affairs, and Ophelia should go to a nunnery to forget hers." The future archeologist will have gleaned by this time some few additional ideas. The clergy were physicians, like Friar Laurence; statesmen, like Cardinal Wolsey; in short, the learned men of the time: the practice of auricular confession was in vogue; and nunneries opened their doors to maiden innocence.

Lest the reader should think that we have thus far been trifling with a serious argument, we may grant that the airy epigrams of our author have put us in the mood. His thesis was stated too broadly; and it was too easy a task, out of his own mouth to convict him. For, not to speak of the multitudinous references in the ample volumes of Shakespeare, the few short paragraphs we have thus far quoted offer more than sufficient proof that "man had had a religion." But there are some serious charges to be met in this last extract. "The clergy, if they have any wisdom, have an earthly one"—that is to say, in none of the clergy of Shakespeare does a religious wisdom ever dignify his words or his actions. Let us first examine the characters of the friar and the cardinal, to which the author's charge seems to have owed its origin. In the play of *Romeo and Juliet* the friar is indeed first introduced to us as he "culls his

herbs like a more benevolent Medea;" but there is something better than a merely human wisdom in the little homily his spiritual science enables him to preach on a text suggested by his human art:

> Two such opposed kings encamp them still
> In man as well as herbs,—grace and rude will;
> And, where the worser is predominant,
> Full soon the canker death eats up that plant.

"*Grace*" can have here only one meaning—its Christian theological meaning; and the wisdom of the good friar is not human, but heavenly. The sentiment as thus introduced is quaintly appropriate and reverent. It recalls the exquisitely simple homilies suggested to St. Francis of Assisi, the patron of this good friar of Shakespeare, by the song of birds and the play of fishes. It recalls the meditations of another St. Francis—him of Sales—drawn from the wide-opened book of Nature. It recalls the Psalmist's *Litany of Creation*, in which all the works of the Lord are called upon to bless His holy name. Is, then, the wisdom merely human which

> Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks
> Sermons in stones, and good in everything?

Again does the friar appear—this time to join in holy wedlock the "pair of star-crossed lovers." His first words are a recognition of St. Paul's "great sacrament":

> So smile the heavens upon this holy act
> That after hours with sorrow chide us not.

True it is that throughout the play Friar Lawrence moralizes rather as a shrewd human than an ascetical divine—he is the farthest remove possible from the professional canter. He asserts the charity of his habit in deeds rather than in words; in his laborious and unselfish scheming, first, to assure the happiness of his clients, and, secondly, through

the holy union of these "two in one flesh," to bring together the long-warring houses of the Capulets and the Montagues into a happy unity of brotherhood. The friar formally alleges this to Romeo as the motive prompting his interference:

> In one respect I'll thy assistant be;
> For this alliance may so happy prove,
> To turn your households' rancor to pure love.

Apropos, Coleridge loved the character of the friar, to which he applied the graceful epithet of "reverend": "The reverend character of the friar, like all Shakespeare's representations of the great professions, is very delightful and tranquilizing."

From the humble friar we now turn to the humbled cardinal, "who flings away ambition with a profoundly Pagan despair." Our author seems to have given but a hasty glance at the lines in the play which describe the downfall of Wolsey. Had the dethroned statesman ended his celebrated soliloquy with the words: "Vain pomp and glory of this world, I hate ye," his might be perhaps appropriately styled "a profoundly pagan despair." But, just as the friar, when he finds his "best laid schemes . . . gang aglee," calls on St. Francis to be his speed; so, too, the cardinal, when he finds how precarious are the gains of human ingenuity, places his whole future in the care of heaven. Not despair, either Christian or pagan, is the outcome of his sad meditation; a sudden accession of sublime Christian hope turns the tempest in his heart into the peace which surpasseth understanding. His very next words are, "I feel my heart new-opened."

This munificent patron of learning; this enlightened scholar; this affable dignitary and humane gentleman; this man whose marvellous abilities had opened for him a pathway from the lowliest station to the dizziest heights of power; this nobleman of nature, whatever may have been the character and sum of his faults, did not in any respect fall like Lucifer, never to rise again. First of all, he fell not

so much through pride, as through purity; he was disgraced because of his resistance to the imperious lust of his royal master—that hideous, murderous lust condoned, to their everlasting and *real* disgrace, by a people that learned to love the satyr through the affectionate appellation of the "Bluff King Hal." In the second place, the humbled man did rise again on the stepping-stone of his dead self, to higher things. It is not, therefore, in the character of a disappointed politician, but in that of the devout churchman, that to the question of the sympathetic Cromwell, "How does your Grace?" he replies:

> "Why, well;
> Never so truly happy, my good Cromwell.
> I know myself now; and I feel within me
> A peace above all earthly dignities,
> A still and quiet conscience."

To men of noble mould, "sweet are the uses of adversity." Sorrow has chastened, not soured, the cardinal. We must differ with our author in his estimate of the Shakespearean Wolsey. He confounds pious resignation with "pagan despair;" he either ignores or is ignorant of the manifest ways of heaven, which gives milk to babes in the spiritual life, but strong meats to men; which leads gently the weak will, while it throws down, that it may raise up, the heroic soul. Job, sitting on the dunghill and disputing with his Maker, learns lessons he dreamed not of while sitting at judgment in the gate; Saul, of Tarsus, attains to the light of truth through the sudden blindness of his earthly eye; for "whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth." The histories of Jewry and Christianity record many instances of a truth so beautifully illustrated by Shakespeare in his portrait of the afflicted Wolsey. There is no unchastened sentiment put upon the lips of the cardinal: there is no reckless disregard of past friendships, for he sets about finding a way, out of his own wreck, for the faithful Cromwell to rise in; there is no careless disgust with present duty, for he gives to his

follower counsels not of an earthly but of a heavenly wisdom, couched in the most Christian phraseology:

> Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition;
> By that sin fell the angels; how can man then,
> The image of his Maker, hope to win by it?
> Love thyself last; cherish those hearts that hate thee;
> Corruption wins not more than honesty.
> Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace,
> To silence envious tongues. Be just, and fear not;
> Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
> Thy God's, and truth's; then if thou fall'st, O Cromwell,
> Thou fall'st a blessed martyr;

and, finally, there is no pagan indifference to future rewards, for his heart henceforth is set on heaven alone:

> Farewell
> The hopes of court! my hopes in heaven do dwell.

With these last appropriate words falling from his lips, the cardinal of Shakespeare departs forever from the courtly stage; and, as Griffith put it, "died fearing God." If the poet had wished to picture a saintly character, we cannot surmise in what more fitting manner he should have sketched and filled it in. The cardinal vanishes, with a veritable aureola glorifying his head.

We have completed our examination of the two illustrations offered by our author to support his thesis that "the clergy, if they have any wisdom, have an earthly one." Does the wisdom he looks for walk on stilts, broaden the phylacteries and sound the trumpet in the market place? Was the poet called on to label his canvas?

In pursuance of his plan to prove that the frequent reference in Shakespeare to "religious institutions and traditions" is "only one degree more inward" than Iago's profanity, our author next alludes to auricular confession by citing Juliet, who "goes to shrift to arrange her love affairs;" alludes to nunneries, by citing Ophelia, who

"should go to a nunnery to forget hers;" alludes to religious chastity by citing Isabella, whose chastity "has little in it that would have been out of place in Iphigenia." Let us examine the examples in this order.

With respect to Juliet's going to shrift to arrange her love affairs, it should hardly need to be pointed out that she did not do this at all. Her *pretense* of doing it gained for her the perfect privacy she desired, a counsellor in whom alone she could place an implicit trust, a sympathy and advice she sorely needed. She has learned to thoroughly distrust even her old and once faithful nurse, who alas! began to assume an ambiguous character in the easy glibness with which she could praise and dispraise, according as she thought to catch the proper cue, either of Juliet's suitors. And so poor Juliet was forced into apostrophizing the retreating figure of the nurse: "Go, counsellor, thou and my bosom henceforth shall be twain." Now we think the future archeologist might well find food for thought in this chance allusion to a Christian institution which the sin-laden dwellers on earth had surrounded with so splendid a panoply of reverence, of trustfulness, of privacy. Juliet dissembles her horror at the suggestion of the nurse that, although married to Romeo, she should forget him and wed Paris; and she continues the deception by saying:

> Well, thou hast comforted me marvellous much.
> Go in and tell my lady I am gone,
> Having displeased my father, to Lawrence' cell,
> To make confession, and to be absolved.

She recognizes that the mere mention of the talismanic word "confession" will anticipate and disarm all jealous parental suspicion of her real purpose; and although she does not intend, as the sequel shows, to invoke its spiritual ministrations, she has learned to trust wholly the character of her confessor, to rely wholly on his wisdom, his silence and his sympathy in the most delicate affairs of life. To her confessor, then, she flees, as did the Jews of old to the Cities

of Refuge; for she has somehow learned to trust this sanctuary of silence. Our author has therefore dug up another significant bone, out of which the future geologist might construct a living, breathing image as fair as Eve herself.

With respect to Ophelia, it is to be noted that the words of Hamlet do not represent the conviction of the poet or even of the melancholy Dane, who utters them in a feigned insanity. If our author meant to imply that nuns or nunneries received no reverent religious treatment in the poet's pages, we need not search farther than the next illustration—the "saintly" Isabella, as Reed styles her, to utterly disprove the implication.

The author says: "Even the chastity of Isabella has little in it that would have been out of place in Iphigenia"—but that "little" is precisely the difference between natural and supernatural virtue, between earth and heaven. For the essence of virtue lies less in the act than in the motive or intention. The pagan might love chastity as something conformable to reason; the Christian regards it as a strict command of God; while the Catholic "religious" esteems it, in its most rigorous and special sense, as a divine counsel, peculiarly acceptable to God, recommended in the strongest terms by St. Paul, and glorified by the patronage of the mightiest examples—by the Virgin Mother of the Incarnate Word, by the apostles, and by the cloud of witnesses to it in every age and in every clime, throughout the long history of the Church. This well known traditional reverence for the virtue and for those who consecrate it to God by a vow in some religious order, is beautifully illustrated by the words of Lucio to Isabella:

> I hold you as a thing enskied and sainted;
> By your renouncement, an immortal spirit,
> And to be talked with in sincerity
> As with a saint.

In this sympathetic language Shakespeare pays a splendid homage to all those who in the flesh strive to lead the life of

angels. He even seems to go out of his way to picture the conventual restraints and the eternal vigilance of modesty, that are the safest assurance of victory over self. When Lucio's voice is heard without the convent, Isabella, who has not yet taken the veil, asks: "Who's that which calls?" and is answered by Sister Francisca:

> It is a man's voice. Gentle Isabella,
> Turn you the key, and know his business of him;
> You may, I may not; you are yet unsworn;
> When you have vowed, you must not speak with men,
> But in the presence of the prioress.
> Then, if you speak, you must not show your face;
> Or, if you show your face, you must not speak.
> He calls again; I pray you, answer him.

The "cosmographers of that other part of the heavens" must surely marvel at the dwellers "in this house of clay of our earthly habitation," whose pearl of great price was thus jealously guarded. Nevertheless, the chaste Isabella would have "a more strict restraint upon the sisterhood, the votaries of Saint Clare."

Her love for this virtue is again shown in the character of the plea she makes to Angelo for her brother's forfeited life. She does not attempt to minimize the gravity of his sin; she does not point to the thoughtlessness and the temptations of youth, or to the snares set by the devil for unwary feet; but rather speaks of the sin in terms of the utmost horror and detestation:

> There is a vice that most I do abhor,
> And most desire should meet the blow of justice.

And when Angelo rehearses the law, she concedes its justice and sighs out a farewell to her brother's life:

> O just, but severe law!
> I had a brother then.

What is the plea she urges? Only the divine one of *mercy!* And therefore when Angelo would dismiss her and her suit with the unrelenting decision:

> Your brother is a forfeit of the law,
> And you but waste your words—

she only repeats her former plea; urging it, however, with a devotional warmth of language and a pathetic reference to Him who was bruised for our iniquities, such as only the deeply religious heart of a Christian poet could have suggested. Isabella, and through her Shakespeare, take the words of Angelo—"Your brother is a forfeit of the law"—as a human text for a divine homily:

> Alas! alas!
> Why, all the souls that were, were forfeit once;
> And He that might the vantage best have took
> Found out the remedy.

The religious pathos breathing through these lines seems to us to baffle analysis and description. They utter the *De profundis* prayer of all the forfeited souls of men—the "Cry of the Human" the everlasting hope of the world—the very plea which the Saviour Himself "always living to make intercession for us," makes to the Eternal Father.

Isabella next offers a bribe to the incorruptible Angelo. Shakespeare makes it an appropriate one, and describes it in appropriate language:

> Not with fond shekels of the tested gold,
> Or stones, whose rates are either rich or poor
> As fancy values them; but with true prayers
> That shall be up at heaven, and enter there,
> Ere sunrise; prayers from preservèd souls,
> From fasting maids, whose minds are dedicate
> To nothing temporal.

Again, although the intense love she has for her brother should naturally quicken the apprehension of the means of

pardon suggested by Angelo, the Christian modesty that has been a life-long handmaid to her virtue, guards her against his veiled temptation and compels the hypocrite to admit:

> Your sense pursues not mine: . . . .
> . . . . . I'll speak more gross . .

And when finally she understands that the alternative of her brother's death must be her own shame, rather than this—

> Were I under the terms of death,
>
> The impression of keen whips I'd wear as rubies . . .
>
> *Angelo.*— Then must your brother die.
> *Isabella.*—And 'twere the cheaper way.
> Better were it a brother died at once
> Than that a sister, by redeeming him,
> Should die forever.

The end of the scene and of her meditation upon it is:

> Then, Isabel, live chaste; and, brother, die;
> More than our brother is our chastity.
> I'll tell him yet of Angelo's request,
> And fit his mind for death, for his soul's rest.

Finally, the horrid temptation is to assail her in a more irresistible and subtle way. Her own brother, hearing the price of his life, nevertheless pleads with her; cries out, "Death is a fearful thing;" then paints a long and vivid picture of his terrors, and concludes:

> The weariest and most loathèd worldly life
> That age, ache, penury, and imprisonment
> Can lay on nature, is a paradise
> To what we fear of death.

Isabella.—Alas! alas!
Claudio.—Sweet sister, let me live:
What sin you do to save a brother's life,
Nature dispenses with the deed so far
That it becomes a virtue.
Isabella.—O, you beast!
O, faithless coward! O, dishonest wretch!
. . . . . O, fie, fie, fie!

The temptation was subtly put, and tenderly reinforced; and Isabella has finally triumphed! And yet, "the chastity of Isabella has little in it that would have been out of place in Iphigenia?" We can only say, in her own words: "O, fie, fie, fie!"

We have examined, in this paper, the author's references to the "religious vocabulary" and the "religious institutions and traditions" found in Shakespeare's plays. Our next paper will complete our examination of the author's thesis and argument.

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THE NEW THEORY OF CRIME AND JUSTICE.[1]

PART III.—THE CRIMINAL WORLD OF TO-DAY.

METHODS OF PHILANTHROPY.

WRITING in March, 1850, or now more than forty-seven years ago, Thomas Carlyle, after a visit to the "New Model Prison," known as Millbank Penitentiary, gave out in *Latter-Day Pamphlets* his view of the system there established. It was not an Imprimatur; quite the reverse, indeed. "To drill twelve hundred scoundrels by 'the method of kindness,' and of abolishing your very tread-wheel —how could any commander rejoice to have such work cut out for him? You had but to look in the faces of these twelve hundred, and despair, for most part, of ever 'commanding' them at all. Miserable, distorted blockheads, the generality; ape-faces, imp-faces, angry dog-faces, heavy, sullen ox-faces; degraded, underfoot, perverse creatures, sons of indocility, greedy, mutinous darkness, and in one word, of stupidity, which is the general mother of such. . . These were the subjects whom our brave Captain and Prison-Governor was appointed to reclaim to other service, by the 'method of love,' with a tread-wheel abolished. Hopeless forevermore such a project. These abject, ape, wolf, ox, imp, and other diabolic-animal specimens of humanity—who of the very gods could ever have commanded them by love? A collar round the neck, and a cart-whip flourished over the back; these, in a just and steady hand, were what the gods would have appointed them.'"[2]

1 See AMERICAN ECCL. REVIEW, August and September, for Parts I. and II.

2 *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, ii., 47.

Thus, on schemes of prison-philanthropy, the impetuous Carlyle. But if, as it appears, his rapid glance discovered, not merely unfortunate but generate human creatures at Millbank—if their physique meant distortion of mind as well as body, and animal or devil was the right account of them, it is obvious that he would not have differed from Lombroso in judging these twelve hundred to be by nature incorrigible. By nature, I say, not by training, or bad company, or wretched circumstances; for none of these later and secondary influences had given them their ape or dog-like anatomy; they were born "soldiers of chaos," not enlisted by recruiting in the service of Satan. Could not the type be suppressed and wholly done away? Philanthropy had no secret by which to educate or transform a noxious breed; and benevolence would prove itself most beneficent, as Carlyle declared, not when it expanded into a "universal sluggard and scoundrel protection society"—which was clemency run mad—but when it swept the sluggards and scoundrels "into some Norfolk Island, into some special convict colony or remote domestic Moorland, into some stone-walled, silent system, under hard drill-sergeants, just as Rhadamanthus and inflexible as he, and there left them to reap as they had sown." This, he thought, would be doing justice by the criminal and still more by the large, struggling population of honest men and women who, in the year 1850, had, out of their scanty earnings, to provide at Millbank and elsewhere splendid public institutions for these "Devil's regiments of the line;" perfect ventilation, abundant space, and "bread, cocoa, soup, meat, all the various sorts of foods of excellence superlative." It was Collectivism, as we now say, turned upside down; the scoundrels had the best of everything to reward their valiant enterprises, and the honest men not only suffered the loss of their property, but discharged the bill when it was sent home for keeping their enemies in clover.

How shall civilization deal with its criminals? Feed, clothe, educate them? Abolish capital punishment?

Undertake to reform them by doses of phosphorus to the brain, gymnastics, fair water, technical training, ticket of leave on good conduct, indefinite sentences, and, in short, Elmira? Ought you to give the convict a chance by cutting down his term of imprisonment as low as possible, or take him once for all out of the social order which he has violated, and treat him as an incurable, a monomaniac? Evidently, there is need of consummate distinction, and we must go more deeply into particulars than suited Carlyle the austere, and Victor Hugo the sentimental.

CRIME INCREASES FASTER THAN POPULATION.

Our first consideration will be whether crime is increasing, and what sort of crime. Looking simply at the data given us, we cannot deny that in all civilized countries—and England is no exception—the two forms of degeneracy, crime and madness, are growing every year, not in direct but in multiple ratio, of the population. Italy shows an increase five times that of her people; Great Britain certainly some increase, though the figures are debatable, and France, where the nation remains at a level or would decline except for emigrants from neighboring lands, France shows in the half-century ending 1889, a development of 133 per cent. in her convicts. I pass over statistics of other lands which confirm these discouraging statements,—not, however, without taking into account, as Messedaglia warns us, the more effective machinery which civilization employs to find out anti-social persons and keep them in view; but all are agreed, physicians, police, and courts of justice, on the steady and even disproportionate advance of crime and insanity, *pari passu* with a more individual, or less home-staying, manner of existence. Family ties have grown weaker; custom is yielding before caprice; and the young are emancipated at an earlier age. These things, combined with the exigencies of modern life—the strain, the movement, the multiplication of pleasures and intoxicants, the concentration in busy

centres, and the mingling of nations in their lowest as well as their most admirable types—have resulted, on the one side, in a decrease of violence which is everywhere attested save in outlying provinces (Corsica, Sicily, Texas) but, on the other, in a huge development of crimes against property and of crimes against purity. Great cities, with their wide streets, frequented thoroughfares, and police in constant touch with one another, make homicide difficult; and, in fact, London or Glasgow is far more secure than rural districts and isolated villages. But the all-encompassing system of commerce tempts to fraud; and the passion for excitement inflames lubricity. Born delinquents throng to the capitals of civilization; they, likewise, are engulfed in the movement which sets evermore toward these ganglia and brain-centres of the modern world; they are gregarious and corrupt their neighborhood. Not only so. Physiology teaches—and it is a truth too constantly neglected—that all accumulations of whatever sort, when confined within narrow limits, tend by a law which is innate and inevitable, to putrefy. These call forth abnormal cravings; they heighten but oppress the imagination; they take from self-control; they establish a lower standard than many individuals possess in their own conscience; and they create opportunities or solicitations which it requires a strong habit of discipline to withstand. From this point of view, a large city is a commodious prison, governed by the laws of prison life. "The primal instincts," observes Lombroso, "such as theft, homicide, and brutal appetite, which exist hardly in embryo when the individual is alone, and especially when he has had a sound education, grow all at once to giant proportions so soon as he is brought into contact with others." A bare increase of understanding, not accompanied by an equal improvement of the character is, in the opinion of this new and certainly not prejudiced school, a condition which favors criminality, and, above all, offences against morals.

These last years are cited in evidence. Assaults upon the young have grown beyond precedent; so have the numbers

of fallen women and female criminals; and we must add, by way of illustrating the temper which all such phenomena denote, the suicides of juveniles and mere children. Over-pressure taxes the brain; and neglect of religion does not strengthen the character. Again, as I had occasion to write several years ago in another place, "The epidemic nature of crime has often been remarked upon by moralists and magistrates. Weak imaginations reel under the stroke of horrors vividly presented, and mimicry being among the deepest instincts of mankind, there is always danger that one outrageous incident will make many." For none, as I then went on to observe, "who will look into the matter, can question that as civilization advances, the pressure which its complex activities cannot but exert, is telling on weak and fevered brains. The azote, or nitrogen, which tempers while it dulls uncivilized natures, is being rapidly withdrawn from our modern air; and we behold as in a flaming sky the oxygen kindle, burning up the life it should nourish. While the objects of dread and of desire have multiplied a thousand-fold, the brain lags behind; it is more slowly developed, though solicited more than ever; and seems capable only of acting along the lines which experience has furrowed in it. The pulse of humanity beats dangerously quick in our day."

MODERN ATMOSPHERE UNWHOLESOME.

That quickness of pulse which is set up by excitement, not to speak of a certain deceptive versatility and readiness in catching the tone, or the fashion, of society, whether in high luxurious circumstances or in thieves' kitchens, must not blind us to the fact of a corresponding decay, an innutrition and degeneracy, of the old noble thoughts, the ideals and aims, that during more religious periods made up public opinion, even where they did not altogether shape the private conduct. Lombroso declares that the rude and uneducated represent in our modern system the juvenile who is violent because of his new strength, while the rich upper classes are senile and going off the stage, worn out by self-

indulgence, immorality and an overwrought physique. Let us not paint the future in colors so deplorable. But we may take this man's word when he assures us that in countries where "Panama" and the "Banca Romana" have had their day of triumph and disaster, nothing less than "adamantine resolution" is needed to stand against the corruption now prevailing in politics, finance, law, and civil administration. A government so very little reformed is not the one we would choose to deal with our criminals in the interests of society.

IT HAS ITS SPECIAL CRIMES.

Civilization has, therefore, its own crimes, which are favored by its economic arrangements; favored by its elementary education which enables the million to study their *Police News* and *Petit Journal;* by its breaking up of the family and consequent growth of deserted children, of foundlings, of infanticide, and of prostitution; by its indulgence in alcohol and other narcotics; by its overcrowding, which is a sure sign of moral disorder; by its intense competition, wearing out heart and nerves; by its facilities of concealment; its worship of money; its disregard for Christian tradition; its craving to be amused, excited, dissipated in hours of leisure; by its individualism and plutocracy; by its extremes of wealth and want, of overwork and utter idleness; and, to sum up, by the divorce which it makes between the moral character and worldly success. I quote Lombroso while drawing up this indictment; and except on the article of religion, which he does not greatly mind, I am at a loss to add anything of my own. Nevertheless, one conclusion from so large and imposing an array of details occurs to me, viz.: that the multitudes who fall directly under these influences are not, in the first place, delinquents born, but normal, and, as we may presume, reasonable men and women. The evils of which Lombroso complains, not at all too loudly, are evils of environment, pressing from outside upon individuals rather than springing up within them. In a

second, a third generation, their effects, engrafted upon the system, will have made a lodgement in nerve and tissue. No doubt such is the way in which anomalies become our nature from having been an excrescence; but still, it is not the same thing to suffer disadvantages which a change of condition will remove, and to carry about a degenerate intellect dwelling in a plague-stricken body. Hence, while modern civilization admits of reform, and laws adapted to such, ends may protect or renovate a whole people, we cannot hope by any legislative enactments, utterly to abolish the conditions under which criminal types are produced. Limit their sphere of mischief we can, indeed; prevention is often possible; and the right kind of training may be so efficacious with a number of degenerates caught young as at all events greatly to lessen their delinquencies. A bad predisposition need not issue in evil acts; it is a seed, not a fruit; and wise lawgivers will do their utmost to prevent its ever bearing fruit. To so much they are bound by their office:—as regards the environment to see that it be healthy and favorable to virtue, but where the individual is marked for crime to take away the occasion; to strengthen the better elements in his composition; and to treat him always as a minor not come to full use of his faculties, and therefore unfit to be allowed the freedom which minors, in the most democratic polity, are refused.

EDUCATION HAS NOT LESSENED CRIME.

Education, literary and scholastic, has not lessened crime, but in many instances, has enabled the born delinquent to add to his crimes and escape detection. "Knowledge," said the American Seymour, "is an instrument, not a virtue, and may subserve either good or evil." The secularized school, as Lombroso never wearies of telling his readers, is not only "no centre of morality," it is an open source of corruption—to such an extent, that he recommends the doing away with male teachers and introducing school-mistresses everywhere in their stead. But the prison school, whether it gives lessons in the elements or technical instruction, he declares repeat-

edly to be one chief and permanent explanation of the growth of crime. "Beyond question," he writes, "the literary teaching afforded in the prisons of France, Saxony, and Sweden, accounts for the large statistics of forgery committed by their recidives." In Italy "the cut purse and the assassin learn at government cost how to make false keys, murderous weapons, and flash money; they see into the way of fabricating bank notes, and they become expert in lock-picking." The prison school, says our author, explains why there are so many educated recidives, and why they become more numerous. Such is the end of technical education bestowed, as Carlyle insisted so many years ago, on "the Devil's regiments of the line." "Fill your threshing-floor," said he, "with docks, ragweeds, mugworths, and ply your flail upon them—that is not the method to obtain sacks of wheat." No; but where secular education prevails, as in France, crime increases 133 per cent. It is not that more blood is spilt; the immense outgrowth comes from other offences. Thus, outrages on children which were but 83 in 1825 had risen in 1881 to 615; offences against decency were reckoned at 302 in 1875; by 1880 they had reached the terrible figure of 2,592; and we must also bear in mind the scandalous literature with its special name, and the shop-windows crowded with every sort of impropriety, which French authorities leave unmolested. Thefts, in France, between 1826 and 1880, multiplied 238 per cent.; swindling, 323 per cent.; abuses of trust, 630 per cent.; and offences against morals, 700 per cent. Vagabondage, or tramping, is now from four to eight times as common as it used to be; assaults on the police, five times as common; and bankruptcies have leaped from 2,000 to 8,000, while the growth of commerce would, in a less secular or positivist country, have yielded not half so many. "These augmentations," concludes Lombroso, "give us an idea of the influence of culture."

MODERN EDUCATION IS NO DISCIPLINE OF CHARACTER.

Why should they not? It is very seldom that Catholic essayists have it at their command to quote Mr. Herbert

Spencer with approval. But on this subject he is sound and instructive. "Rational education," he lays down in his solemn manner, "based as it can only be on a true theory of conduct, which is derivable only from a true theory of mind, must recognize as a datum the direct connection of action with feeling. [And] this truth, undeniable in its generality, must be joined with the truth that cognition does not produce action." I interrupt Mr. Spencer to observe that it was this latter principle, couched in the language of theology, that Catholics and the Council of Trent upheld against Protestant errors such as, being now reduced to secular terms, have infected and almost ruined education throughout the modern countries. But to continue my quotation: "Have we not here, then, a cardinal psychological truth to which any rational system must conform? . . . Yet we are at present, legislature and nation together, eagerly pushing forward schemes which proceed on the postulate that conduct is determined not by feelings, but by cognitions. . . . Are not fraudulent bankrupts educated people, and getters-up of bubble-companies, and makers of adulterated foods, and users of false trade-marks, and retailers who have light weights, and owners of unseaworthy ships, and those who cheat insurance companies, and the great majority of gamblers? Or, to take a more extreme form of turpitude—is there not, among those who have committed murder by poison within our memories, a considerable number of the educated—a number bearing as large a ratio to the educated classes as does the total number of murderers to the total population?"[1]

This witness is true. And we have seen the reason why "belief in the moralizing effects of intellectual culture, flatly contradicted by facts, is absurd *a priori*." It supposes a direct connection where none is to be found. Nor is moral teaching one whit more effective when it simply means an exposition of the rules of right conduct in school or out of school, unaccompanied by the method of rewards and punish-

1 "Study of Sociology," 351, 358, 363.

ments, that is to say, by felt consequences. "Not by precept, though heard daily," says Mr. Spencer, "not by example, unless it be followed, but only by action, often caused by the related feeling, can a moral habit be formed." Whence he draws this large and momentous conclusion, that "the bettering of conduct can be effected, not by insisting on maxims of good conduct, still less by mere intellectual culture, but only by that daily exercise of the higher sentiments and repression of the lower, which results from keeping men subordinate to the requirements of orderly social life—letting them suffer the inevitable penalties of breaking these requirements and reap the benefits of conforming to them. This alone is rational education.[1]"

TRAINING WITHOUT EXPERIENCE OR SANCTION.

Almost a quarter of a century has elapsed since these words were written, and now comes Lombroso to demonstrate their exactitude and the too fatal disregard of them on the part of legislators, by a tale of crime such as I have unfolded, and could easily draw out to fifty times its length. Is it not time to abandon the frothy commonplaces of liberalism and make ourselves acquainted with psychology? Where is crime most of all upon the mounting hand? In Latin countries, the tables declare—Italy yields a record of murder with which no part of Europe can pretend to compete; and France is rapidly degenerating in mind, manners and morals, to such a point that her numbers would go down and, "la névrose," carry off her old families, did not the Catholic provinces of the West (which are behind Paris and the centre in what we miscall civilization) keep to the plain and healthy tradition they have learnt from their ancestors. Ferrero, pleading in 1894 on behalf of "Social Reform," cries aloud with Taine, as with Lombroso, that the empty classical training, all gone to vocables and literature, to semblance instead of substance, which has for centuries flourished among Italians and French, and which is the whole of their

1 Ibid, 373.

college and university system now, must be deemed responsible for their "government by attorneys," their brood of anarchists, their *déclassés*, their waiters on Providence, their superfluity of idlers, their "dress-coat proletarians," their youths addicted to the most dubious or the most shameful trades, and that "everlasting lie of veneer and rhetoric" on which these unhappy nations live but do not thrive. "Read," exclaims Lombroso, "'*Le Bachelier et L'Insurgé*'", by the ardent Communist, since departed without repentance, Jules Vallès.—it is modern education in an ounce phial of poison. Taine subjoins, "the only fruitful teaching is experience of reality. How do we bring our French lad into contact with life? We shut him up in a *lycée* during seven or eight years—and those the most important and decisive,—removed as far as possible from genuine experience. Then on a fixed day we require him, in front of an armchair, to give evidence that he has learnt '*totum scibile;*' two months later he has forgotten it; but the spring of his mind is broken, he is dried up; expect from such a one nothing great or original; you have made him an automaton; and he will go on turning his wheel." Remark that the anarchist and the bourgeois have been moulded on the same pattern. Both are worn out; neither has a spark of genius; and construction, social or political, is utterly beyond them.

THE SUPERSTITION OF CULTURE ALONE.

To this depth we have not fallen, nor do we mean to fall, in the English-speaking hemisphere. Yet our statesmen and our students believe far too much in the superstition of culture, in books and machinery, in the school as distinguished from the home and the playground. They have subsidized education; they have not organized discipline. They worship intellect as a god—the bare formal intellect which is a spectator of life, not an actor, and still less a hero, a martyr, an enthusiast of virtue and self-sacrifice. How, in the day school, do we propose to train the muscles, the nerves, the will? What is the method—or is there any?—adopted and followed out, whereby feeling and action are, in the language

of Mr. Spencer, correlated, until in our pupils a coherent order of emotions prompting the right social activity, has been firmly established? It is a demand of human biology that each man "shall so live as neither to burden others nor to injure others." How then do we set about teaching the hands, the eyes, the voice, and at the same time the heart, the affections, the conscience, to fulfil this duty of self-support and social justice? I am not meaning to imply that we neglect it altogether; but I do say that a sedentary school education is, and must always be, a very small part of it. The discipline which fits a man for life is not to be found, or given, simply by the reading of books.

REFORM—ENTHUSIASM—RELIGION.

So many avenues of thought open before us when we are standing on this vantage ground that I can indicate only a few of them. Where the school breaks down is in treating children as pure intellect. Between the school house and the home lies the street, which has been overlooked in our modern system, as though it were a mathematical line, or length without breadth. It is just broad enough to lead to destruction. The young criminal, not born such, is made in the street. He is also fabricated on a grand scale in the saloon. All statistics demonstrate the closest connection between alcohol and crime, between the criminal classes and the public house, between the multiplication of taverns and the multiplication of thieves. To prevent the increase of "delinquents on occasion," or manufactured articles for the prison, we must, then, so alter our system of training youth as to exercise their muscles no less than their brains, to control by judicious guidance their amusements, to break up suspected groups at corners and after nightfall, to supply them with social interests, to open a path for every one into some decent occupation, and to lessen the occasions of vice by making the public house a public concern. For all these undertakings religion will furnish motives, strength and enthusiasm. Lombroso perceives, with astonishment, that it has done so in England, at Geneva and in America. But

in his own country the outlook is less cheerful; and so it is in France. The long years of excessive or despotic administration have told fatally on the spirit of the people. They are overgoverned, and officials may do this reforming work or let it alone; no one else, with the exception of a saintly Don Bosco, whom Lombroso lauds and praises, or a chivalrous Comte de Mun, will attempt to resolve social problems by applying himself to them manfully, regardless of government aid or opposition. When, in our English, or German, or American world, we talk of religion as coming to the rescue, we include the Christian rank and file no less than their officers. But in the Latin world it is different. The rank and file have no conception of religious duty which goes beyond saving their own souls, and, at the utmost, bestowing private alms in charity. Such is the situation as a whole, according to Lombroso. Moreover, it has now been severely exasperated by the passion for stimulants which in Italy is almost as high as in Great Britain (3.40 gallons of pure spirits per head, compared with 3.57), and stands at the top of the catalogue in France, (5.10). We do not infer a relatively equal growth of homicide—against this the figures would protest—but we do infer conditions of degeneracy; and the more so that in Latin climates alcohol doubles the unwholesome influences of a burning sun. Lombroso includes the action of narcotics in his genesis of crime, and with reason; but all these particular causes may be summed up under the head of "decadence," which is a name that expresses the French and Italian stage of things much more aptly than the word "civilization."

DEADLY ERRORS IN LOMBROSO.

Not being himself a Christian, and seeing round about him comparatively few traces of religion applied to social phenomena in the way of reform, Lombroso falls back upon a sort of Comtist Utopia, from which to derive his therapeutics or healing measures. Some of these we might anticipate as clean contrary to all that Catholics have ever believed in; and so they are. By way of preventing crime in the married

condition, our philosopher would grant unlimited divorce. He would relax public opinion which, one should imagine, is lax enough already, as regards the morals of youth, and would take away temptation by affording opportunity. On a subject, if possible, more serious, that of suicide, he propounds the desperate view that to aid and abet is no crime, for self-murder opens an escape from violence against others, and we need not suppose any canon of the Everlasting by which it is forbidden. The destruction of offspring in its pre-natal stage seems to him permissible, and in many cases an advantage, socially considered. Infanticide, which presses upon the illegitimate, is in like condition; he says with the Roman general, "et si periissent, vile damnum"; it is a gain, not a loss, from the point of view which he terms "social defence." He is a strong Malthusian; but Malthus talked of moral restraints; Lombroso would employ science. Perhaps we have now seen as much as we can endure of this new morality; and having written over against it "anathema sit," may pass on to measures not so fatally inexpedient. Christians, however, always did warn their enemies that when the dogmas of the New Testament were rejected, in due course its ethical maxims would be cast out. "Social defence," apart from the Gospel, is Paganism.

"PENAL SUBSTITUTES."

Ferri has invented the term "penal substitutes," by way of tracing a method which governments ought to follow in their dealings with crime. These are measures of prevention, in the economic, political, scientific, legislative and educational order; to which Lombroso adds at large the adaptation of law to clime, race and custom. There may be one code for a whole nation as in Italy; but on paper, not in fact; every distinct region understands and administers the law in its own fashion. Hence, it is absurd to keep up trial by jury among Sicilians or Calabrians who turn it against justice, and have not the slightest glimmering of what it means. The system of rhetorical advocacy, dear to lawyers, should be restricted within narrowest limits.

Writing is far more exact than speaking ; it makes a deeper and more definite impression, and it saves time. With one responsible judge, medical examination, and the results certified by the latest scientific methods, a true verdict would be secured, and the innocent would come out free, while the guilty would not escape, as they now do, by collusion, bribery and ignorance. The scandals of the Italian jury-system as described though not exhausted in Lombroso's third volume, surpass anything we have witnessed even in disturbed and lawless neighborhoods, and in periods of political excitement among ourselves. It is manifest that English or American institutions transplanted into Southern countries bear an equivocal fruit; they are foreign to the people, and whether it be the jury, or the ballot-box, or the Parliament, they suffer a sea-change that takes all virtue from them. Now come the abuse of appeals and the abuse of pardons; add to this delay in carrying out the sentence, which may often be suspended—and between 1871 and 1875, was in 47 per cent. of the cases suspended—for more than a year, and at length we begin to perceive why the Italian criminal statistics are so unfavorable. Impunity granted by the jurymen, the judges, and the monarch himself, to persons, some of whom have confessed their delinquencies in open court, will explain these phenomena, which, generated by a decadent civilization, are not repressed by any additional effort on the part of authority.

PROPOSED NEW SCALE OF CRIME AND PUNISHMENT.

Therefore, continues Lombroso, my opinion is that of Beccaria, what we demand are "mild laws vigorously executed." First, it should be laid down as a principle that imprisonment is one chief source of relapse; that a prison cannot fail to be a pest house; and that committal to its infected atmosphere should, so far as possible, be reserved for the class of born criminals. We now know the precise meaning of that term—persons convicted of some serious offence and found, on examination, marked with certain stigmata. Against these, law should henceforth weight the

presumption, instead of supposing them to be innocent until they are proved guilty. And conviction is not, as at present, to follow upon the result—a mere chance, not depending on the criminal—of an attempted outrage; the attempt should be dealt with as if an act consummated. For, evidently, social defence requires no less; it is the attempt which reveals the man's character, and proves him to be an enemy of law and order.

Hence no juveniles should be committed to prison—meaning by such all whose physique is yet unformed, and whose temper has not had time to mature in evil. For them a special system of discipline, with classes and descriptions sifted out, must be instituted; and the devastating Reformatory, which turns into criminals so large a proportion of foundlings, illegitimates and deserted, must be clean swept away. Lombroso admits that the only houses of the kind which are not a disappointment, or indeed a horror, among Italian refuges for children, are those carried on by religious. The government institutions he likens to prison yards; and the account which we read of them is appalling. He would gladly turn over the whole question of strayed and disinherited boys and girls to a system such as that of Dr. Barnardo. All his suggestions are taken from these English schemes; in practice they substitute the cottage for the barracks; they decentralize, and they propose to give these children a home where each can be cared for individually, and is known and loved by his foster-parents. Society would gain by spending on them, since the class of lost infants, though subject to the very highest death rate in the table, does yet supply to Italian prisons 36 per cent. of recidives, and to France 60 per cent. of all the minors arrested. Austria, Prussia, Wurtemberg tell the same tale with varying proportions. We may conclude, says Lombroso, that the majority of foundlings who do not die under twelve take to crime; and of these, again, the larger part are females. A lugubrious prospect extends in that direction, but I have not found room to dwell upon the nature and circumstances of the *donna delinquente.* All I shall say at present is that her

numbers increase with civilization, and are probably destined to increase yet more as school-training and competition with the other sex in business and public life throw women more completely out of their allotted sphere, and make them less satisfied to stay at home. These are the facts; to attempt the philosophy of them just now is beyond my limits. But for children under the new system, manual and moral discipline, with isolation of the corrupt or incorrigible, and emigration carried out under supervision, will comprise the main articles of the policy which Lombroso recommends.

Private Christian effort could on these lines help indefinitely towards a solution of the juvenile criminal problem. First offenders in childhood must, under no circumstances, be sent to prison, but are to be dealt with as subjects for education, according to the principles laid down. Among preventive measures we reckon all that is now so beneficially undertaken in England to protect children from cruel treatment in their own families; and a more stringent obligation must be enforced (as even in England remains to be carried out) upon the fathers of the illegitimate or deserted, so that they shall share in their maintenance when the public authorities have taken them up. Again, we see recommended the suppression of brutal and demoralizing shows, theatres and other places of entertainment; the severest checks upon juvenile, and, indeed, all public gambling, inclusive of lotteries, which are a manifest evil in Italy, France and Germany; and, in brief, a large expansion of municipal duties combined with private reforming and philanthropic enterprise, which would result, not in a Maine liquor law, not in Puritan restrictions on cheerfulness and gaiety, but in the Gothenburg, or some similar, solution of the questions regarding the drink traffic, and in a sort of modern Olympic games, universal and free from "gates" or wagerings, so as to make an open, out-door, healthy life the rule for our millions, both young and old. We seem to be drawing cheques on the millenium in this project of law; but a standard is no small advantage to the legislator, and if he knows in which direction to aim, his arrows will not fall so wide of

the mark as they have done hitherto. For he will be training public opinion, and public opinion is always, in the long run, omnipotent.

WHO ARE THE GOVERNING CLASSES?

Cavour has said, "Either the governing classes will come to the rescue of the disinherited, or civil war is inevitable." In a democracy, the governing classes are the rich, the educated, the clergy, and the press. All who belong to this *Ecclesia docens et regens* have a plain duty toward their fellow-citizens, which they must not put from them under the plea that their riches are their own; that culture has nothing in common with politics; that religion is a private affair; and that journalism means simply a branch of commerce. Now Lombroso is neither a Christian nor a socialist. Moreover, he does not attribute crime to poverty as its direct consequence. The very poor and the criminal class overlap, but are far from coinciding. Yet there can be no reasonable doubt of a certain portentous effect upon the growth of crime which has been due to the capitalist and his system, unrestrained by popular institutions as they now are. Lombroso would have the State, *i. e.*, society in its corporate functions, take up arms against usury, *latifundia*, tyrannous contracts, and the exploitation of women, children, and the destitute by industrial slave-masters. I cannot do more than glance at this aspect of his philosophy; but in the putting down of crime it furnishes the preamble to every decree. With our present economics we foster such causes of delinquency as excessive brain-pressure, drink, insanity, overcrowding, and the single life made compulsory on thousands, nay tens of thousands, who if they had the means of subsistence, would be happy and virtuous in their own homes. Legislation and public sentiment are called upon to remedy this gigantic evil, which is restoring barbarism under the pretence of "freedom of contract" and commercial independence, and is due to economic heresy no less than to the desire of making a fortune in the shortest possible time.

CLEARING THE PRISONS.

As the prison nearly always corrupts and seldom reforms, it is proposed that "occasional" and "pseudo-criminals," or, in other terms, those who are not incorrigible, shall be fined, or admitted to bail during good behavior, but not exposed to the evils of incarceration; and that the ticket of leave shall be abolished. A large, and very large, chapter of legal offences at present is merely convention; it implies no villainy in the subject, but transgression of rules or some slight accidental slip which may occur in the most honorable. For the whole of this second table of the law, either sharp warning or the payment of a fine ought to be sanction sufficient. But where loss to a third person has intervened, the culprit should be bound down to make it good. These changes in law and administration, it is contended, would empty half the prisons; they would hinder much permanent degradation of useful citizens; make the tyranny of the police, which is now a widespread abuse in various countries, almost impossible, and benefit society by diminishing the charges of supervision and the damages incurred by private persons, whom the courts do not compensate for their losses, though affecting to give them redress against offenders.

BUT RECIDIVES NEVER TO BE RELEASED.

We come, at length, to the comparatively small but formidable class of born criminals. These are all recidives, or will be such if given the opportunity. What is the proper method of dealing with them? Retribution, according to the positive school, is not to be contemplated; the *lex talionis* no longer applies. Neither is the old doctrine of example to others a foundation on which Lombroso, Ferri and their disciples would build. With signal and superfluous imprudence they have denied free will. But as the public are convinced of its existence, and never can be persuaded that all crime is uncontrollable insanity, we need not pause to overthrow these anti-metaphysics. We may content ourselves with repeating after Bishop Butler that, "it is neces-

sary for the very being of society that vices destructive of it should be punished as being so; the vices of falsehood, injustice, cruelty; which punishment is, therefore, as natural as society; and so is an instance of a kind of moral government, naturally established, and actually taking place." That I consider to be the true doctrine of "social defence," which distinguishes between the absolutely "insane delinquent," whom we must put under supervision as a safeguard, and the criminal properly so denominated, whom we visit with moral reprobation as having, under what stress of temptation you please short of insanity, yielded to a pressure which he ought to have resisted. Nor is that "disapprobation" a slight or indifferent quality in our judgment; on the contrary, it is the judgment itself viewed in its essence, and gives a distinct coloring to all the execution that follows. We pity the insane; we abhor the criminal. When Mary Lamb, in a sudden fit of maniacal frenzy, stabbed her mother to death, was she guilty of matricide? By no means; she did not intend an action the real significance of which during those terrible moments the unhappy girl was quite beyond seeing or comprehending. And when she came to herself, who would have reproached her with it? The genuine Mary Lamb was one of the kindest-hearted women that ever drew breath. On the other hand, contemplate that Belgian fury, Madame Joniaux, convicted in 1895 of having deliberately poisoned her sister, her brother and her uncle for the sake of their assurance-money. She has the virile countenance, prominent brow, large jaws, thin lips and pallid hue of the born criminal; but she has also presence of mind, a good head for figures, and an untamable spirit, as appeared during her long and severe examination. Now do we not confidently pronounce, with entire reflex certitude, that in the case of Madame Joniaux moral freedom was present, thought, choice and execution, well within her power to take or leave—whereas in Mary Lamb there was none, and consequently no "human act" at all? Here then are two sets of inferences founded upon two opposite kinds of experience; and they completely ruin and make an end of Lombroso's attempted

identification of all crime with insanity. Mary Lamb passed many months in an asylum; Madame Joniaux should have been sent to the gallows. In one case the principle of social defence justified detention; in the other it pronounced and ought not to have shrunk from inflicting the supreme penalty of the law as upon a true delinquent.

SCIENCE RECOGNIZES THE DEATH PENALTY.

Lombroso, unlike Victor Hugo, would, though somewhat unwillingly, retain the punishment of death, and he quotes Taine: "If the criminal impulse be, as it shall appear from the history, the moral, intellectual, and affective constitution of the delinquent, isolated, accidental, and passing, then to pardon him is a duty. But if, as you have shown, creatures exist, human orang-outangs lustful and ferocious, these cannot behave otherwise than they do; they rob, violate, and kill by course of nature. Prove them to be such, and I make no objection to the penalty of death, supposing it to be profitable to the order of society."[1]

The problems which unveil their dreadful features at this conjuncture are among the least manageable that casuistry has ever attempted to solve. It is laid down by our teachers as an axiom that to will the death of the innocent directly, or *per se*, is under no circumstances whatever permitted. But, indirectly, and in defending ourselves, or another, or society, it becomes lawful "cum moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ." On M. Taine's principle, the insane delinquent who had committed a "material" crime, but was not morally responsible, might be left for execution; and this we cannot grant. Will a secularized, positivist State ever act upon it? In justice to Lombroso, I am bound to observe that he does not propose any such extension of the criminal law; his good sense proves too much for his logic. Indeed, we austere men of the North shall probably regard him as more indulgent than wise, for he talks of holding the sword over convicts *in terrorem*, and would not, so far as I can see, eliminate the

1 L. iii., 587.

assassin until he had relapsed, which is allowing everybody one murder who chooses to pay the price of it in penal servitude. However, it is to be a resource *in extremis* against the "orang-outang," and especially as a means of putting down the *maffia* and *camorra*. So much has biology conquered from the vicious sentimentalism of half a century ago, which still dominates the Italian code.

CRIMINAL ASYLUMS.

The new system does not look upon imprisonment as a repaying to society what is due by the criminal, "luere pœnas," in Roman phraseology, but as a sure method against further harm. It is prevention, not retribution. Lombroso would innovate as little as possible in terms; and hence would be satisfied with a modification of article 47 in the Italian Code which might be thus conceived, "If the cause which, in whole or in part, took from the culprit the knowledge of his offence, or which urged him thereto, be derived from a vice or malady having the characteristics of permanence, such as monomania, epilepsy, *pellagra*[1], the liquor habit, meningitis, moral insanity, or the like, the accused shall be detained under care in an asylum appropriate to his peculiar disease, until certified as being now cured." This, in one word, enlarges Broadmoor at the cost of Portland. It substitutes the lunatic asylum, the house of dipsomaniacs, and the hospital, for the prison. And if we confine ourselves strictly to the language of the law proposed, it recommends indeterminate sentences for the fixed periods now in vogue. But remembering all that has been said on the temper and proclivities of the born criminal, it is manifest that a very small percentage of those who went in would ever come out. When criminal lunatics are assigned to Broadmoor during her Majesty's pleasure, that is a euphemism signifying the term of their natural life. Among such delinquents are many who have committed their offence without adequate motive, sometimes with no

1 Pellagra is a disease consequent on eating bad maize or Indian corn, and prevails in many parts of Italy.

motive that can be discovered. These are "morally insane," according to the nomenclature at present in use. How are they ever to be let out upon the world as if cured? Lombroso refers with strong approval to a resolution of the English House of Lords in 1864, which recommended that delinquents after a second relapse should undergo penal servitude for life. This, in combination with his therapeutics, would be carrying out an extensive part of the Italian doctor's system. He describes, also, what the Belgians have undertaken on lines approaching it. There is, at Mexplas, an agricultural settlement, which has been instituted for born criminals and the incorrigible, and which is now the home of 4,500 persons under fit directors, who maintain themselves and are practically the "closed State," well known to students of Fichte. They consist of four classes, —the undisciplined or dangerous; the relapsed and rebellious; the ill-famed who have not undergone indoor punishment; the least criminal, who have not been "interned" more than three times. If any man refuses to work, he is made to fast during three days on bread and water. They are paid with inconvertible paper, not in current coin; and precautions are taken against their spending money outside. The settlement is prosperous; it has reclaimed large surfaces of land, while costing the Belgian State very little. Similar institutions are the beggar-colonies in Holland and Germany; but these do not aim at the reformation of criminals.

CONCLUSION—SYMBIOSIS.

To sum up. Lombroso, following closely in the steps of Garofalo, would reduce the present chaos of laws against crime to a scientific regularity, under these heads: First, absolute elimination of the delinquent, or penalty of death. Second, relative elimination, which would mean transference to a criminal asylum, or transportation to waste foreign lands, or perpetual banishment, or banishment for a time indeterminate, or residence in an agricultural colony and local exile. Third, reparatiou of the harm done, as fines paid to the State or to the party injured, either by deduction

from salary, or a lump sum, or forced labor without imprisonment. Fourth and last, imprisonment during a fixed period, in cases of "exceptional," that is to say, not congenital, delinquency, such as forgery or rebellion, and where no other means were at hand to make up for the absence of reparation and the impossibility of forced labor.

In this way our author is convinced that the criminal disposition, which may now be looked upon as misdirected energy, or "expenditure in the wrong place," could be guarded against, or even turned to advantage. If all crime indicates relapse, or atavism, it implies likewise variation from the type, and, therefore, possibilities of development. Crime, indeed, reveals where the social plague is sorest; but we may gather from the statistics now to hand that in modern life, in urban or civilized centres, it is losing its ferocity and assuming at once a more intellectual and a more sensitive aspect. The nerves are coming into play rather than the muscles. But violence itself, when taken early and allowed free scope in the hazards of adventurous traveling, in pioneer enterprise and the exploration of the unknown, will help the world forward. And if epilepsy has any relation to genius, we can lessen the strength of the disease while we encourage the dedication of rare gifts to social uses. Excitement may become enthusiasm; quickness of feeling is often the material out of which philanthropy has been derived. Elimination of the undesirable must always remain as a sad necessity in this imperfect constitution of things; but science, charity and the growth of a well-balanced social order will prevent the undesirable from increasing their numbers, and will tend, more and more, to diminish their influence. Thus Lombroso concludes, and his last word is "symbiosis," or the adaptation of criminal instincts and powers to the service of an ideal which they attempt to overthrow, but in whose permanent interest they should be tamed, brought under, and, so far as possible, humanized. All which I leave to the reader's judgment, and bid him make the best of it, having now set before him, as faithfully as it was in my power to do so, the main out-

lines and great leading principles of a reform, which by dealing with the criminal first, and with crime as his manifestation, substitutes observant science for *a priori* speculation, and if it has fallen into errors on some points of even vital importance, may yet be the first stage in a more humane and successful handling of the waste products which are now heaped up in our cities, and which are a source of infection to society at large.

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HOW SHOULD WE CONDUCT OUR SUNDAY SCHOOLS?

I.

IN the treatment of the subject that has been assigned me: "How Should we Conduct our Sunday Schools?" I shall regard the priest in the three-fold capacity of pastor of the congregation, having authority over and being responsible for the children of his flock; as superintendent of the Sunday school, organizing it, appointing teachers, assigning them classes and looking after the way in which they discharge their duties; and as a teacher capable of instructing different classes. He must be familiar with the duties of this three-fold order if he would conduct his Sunday school successfully.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of a well conducted Sunday school, taking many congregations as we find them in this country. In it are laid for many of the children the foundations of religion and morality. The religious train-

ing of children has in all ages been justly regarded as a matter of the very first importance. The fact that, from the moment that he comes to the use of reason, the child begins to be accountable to God for his every thought, word, action and omission of duty, and that he will be powerfully influenced in after-life by much of what he learns even before he has come to the use of reason, is sufficient to convince all who feel an interest in his temporal and eternal welfare of the importance and necessity of the earliest possible commencement of his religious education. He will be unable to fulfill the end for which he was created, unless he is taught what the law of God commands and what it forbids; nor then, unless this teaching is made so plain as to be easily understood, and is so deeply impressed as to become, as it were, a part of his nature. "It has been said, and truly," remarks Father Potter,[1] "that the child is father of the man, and no less truly, that, as the twig is bent, the tree is inclined; and most truly and most solemnly of all, that, if we train up a child in the way he should go, when he is old he will not depart from it. It is the universal law, admitting of but few and rare exceptions, that, such as is the child, such will be the man. The impressions which are made in childhood are indelible, for good or for evil, they will hardly ever be swept away; and hence the paramount obligation which rests on the pastor of bringing the dear children of his flock, the children who are to be his glory and his crown, under the influence of religious teaching as soon as they are capable of comprehending it, and of profiting by it. He thus secures them for God, and lays the foundation of those lasting impressions of faith, of piety and of truth, which will bring forth their fruit in due season and gain to God many souls, who, without this early teaching, would wander hopelessly and irrevocably out of the way of salvation."

The belief and practice of all ages has tended to confirm this salutary truth. Pope Benedict XIV. makes use of this forcible language: "We affirm that the greatest part of the

1 *The Pastor and His People*, pp. 219-220.

damned are in hell, because they did not know those mysteries of faith which Christians must know and believe." (*Institutiones* XXVII., n. 28). Such has been the mind of the Church in this country from its infancy. The first bishop of the United States, in the first synod which he convened, November, 1791, decreed (n. 10) that: "Omnis ab animarum pastoribus adhibenda est diligentia, ut ante primam communionem juvenes in doctrina Christiana sint probe educati." And the First Plenary Council held by the Church in this country, in May, 1852, enacted this as its twelfth decree: "Moneant episcopi sacerdotes curam animarum exercentes, ut institutioni juventutis in doctrina Christiana per se operam dent, nec putent ipsis licere quae sui muneris sunt negligere, rejecto omnino in alios onere juvenes . . . fidei morumque principia edocendi." The Second Plenary Council, of October, 1866, re-enacted this decree in the same words; and the last Plenary Council, animated by the same spirit, declares[1] that: "Ad rectores animarum spectat per seipsos pascere gregis sui agnos . . . Volumus ergo, ut rectores ecclesiarum vel eorum vicarii saepius adeant dominicis diebus scholas catechismi . . . praeceptores sacerdotali charactere non insigniti, sive religiosi sive laici, magni equidem sunt adjumento in juvenum institutione." (And to come nearer home, we have the Diocesan Statutes, in which we read: "Vehementer hortamur missionarios ut nullum non moveant lapidem ut juniores in fide instruantur et spiritu religionis imbuantur. Curent ut Doctrina Christiana instruantur, ut in bonis moribus educentur, ut sacramenta frequentent usque a teneris annis, et alia omnia boni Christiani officia peragere discant. Non possumus hujus rei necessitatem exagerare, cum ex ea neglecta maxima mala exorta sint et in posterum orientur, si pastores non curent ea indefessis curis removere.") If I have insisted at some length on the importance of the Christian instruction of the little ones, it is because we will naturally put forth our energies in proportion to the idea we entertain of the importance of the work in which we engage.

[1] Conc. Pl. B. III., n. 217.

II.

The children will not be attentive unless they are fairly comfortable; and hence the Sunday school should not be held at a time when the children are already tired, as they would be at the end of the children's Mass on Sunday.

Again, the pastor cannot work successfully unless he is able to secure the coöperation of the parents. The opportunities of parents, the love they have for their child, the confidence he places in their teaching, the regard he has for their example, the authority they exercise over him, and their ability to shield him from improper influences, place them in a position to instruct him both by word and example, to which no one else can attain. So necessary is the coöperation of parents that, without it, it is impossible to train up a child in the proper manner. It is in their power, in a very great measure, either to confirm or to undo, by their word and example, the work of all others engaged in the training of their children. Yet the pastor will find it difficult, and not infrequently impossible, to secure their coöperation, owing to the ignorance and indifference of so many; and no amount of labor on his part will succeed in arousing some of them from their unaccountable lethargy. But home study and regular attendance, without which the children cannot hope to advance successfully, depend on them.

The parochial school, where it exists, is also a great help to the Sunday school, and is indeed the proper place to train children in the Christian doctrine; for it teaches them daily, while the Sunday school has them but once in the week, and that for a comparatively short recitation. These schools act not only on the principle that the pupil is a child of God, as well as a member of society; but on the more correct principle that he is first a child of God, and then a member of society. For that reason the religious training that is to fit him for the proper fulfilling of his duties to God receives greater attention than the secular learning that is to prepare him for an honorable place among his fellow-men. Not only so, but his teachers and all that meets his eyes,

remind him that he is a child of God, and place a wholesome restraint upon the waywardness of his restless nature ; all of which prepare him for deriving greater profit from the exercises of the Sunday school.

III.

With the children before him the pastor has the material to work on, but he must do this systematically if he hopes to succeed; and in order to do so he must organize his school. He must have suitable rooms, comfortable seats, must appoint his teachers, and arrange his classes, not giving teachers too many children ; and over all he must appoint a competent superintendent, especially if the school is large. In a word, he must not only put the whole machinery in good working order, but must also see that it does work. The securing of good teachers is not an easy task. It may be said with perfect truth that a large number of Sunday school teachers are not worth their room ; and even some of the religious teachers are susceptible of very considerable and necessary improvement. How is the pastor to train his teachers? This can be done most successfully, so far as doctrine is concerned, in the class of perseverance ; for the rest he will have to give them particular instructions.

Let us suppose the school organized, and ready to begin its work. The first point is to secure regular and punctual attendance. This and the adoption of a system of registering the attendance may be left to the pastor's skill, and his knowledge of the particular circumstances of his little flock. But to be successful in the work he and his coadjutors are about to engage in, he and they must form a correct idea of what is meant by teaching catechism. It differs on the one hand from what French writers call catechism, which is rather a lecturing on or explaining the Christian Doctrine, with the asking of questions, and on the other it differs from the mere hearing of a lesson which the children are supposed to have committed to memory.

Teaching catechism, or anything else, consists of two parts: *education* and *instruction.* The former has to do with what is implanted in the mind and heart of man by the Creator; and its duty is to unfold, draw out and strengthen their faculties and powers. The latter is occupied with the collection of knowledge from external sources, and stowing it away methodically in the memory, making the pupil master of a portion of the wisdom of other minds, found in books and other repositories. Neither, it will be seen, is complete without the other; both must go hand in hand, and the more intimately they are blended, the more perfect will be the training. This will be rendered more intelligible by showing its application to the matter under consideration. The teacher labors to instruct the child by causing him to commit the letter of the lesson to memory, and by explaining it to him in such a manner as will make it intelligible; and, this done, he proceeds to educate, by having him give back the knowledge thus acquired, and fix it indelibly on his memory by a judicious use of question and answer. In this way the memory is rendered more retentive; the powers of the mind are developed and strengthened to grasp and comprehend the doctrine contained in the lesson; the affections of the heart are induced to love it, if good, or hate it if evil; and the will is impelled to reduce it to practice in the routine of daily life.

"The next requisite toward the success of all instruction addressed to the young," says Canon Oakeley,[1] "is, that it should be conveyed with the utmost kindness and gentleness of manner and disposition. It is impossible to overrate the importance of these qualities, not merely in their tendency to engage the affection and confidence of the children, but in the power which they exercise over their intellectual nature. Many a child of a timid and diffident character, who, by tender and considerate treatment, might have been encouraged to make the best use of his intellectual powers, has been paralyzed and stupefied by a harsh and overbearing

1 *The Priest on the Mission,* Lecture v., No. 2.

manner on the part of his teacher. The preservation of a kind temper and conciliatory manner, under the temptations to which all teachers are exposed from the dullness of many a scholar, constitutes, of course, one of the greatest difficulties in the work of education . . . There are two mistakes," Canon Oakeley continues, "which we are apt to make in the treatment of poor children under education: The first is to forget that they have feelings; and the second is, to forget that they have characters."

"Do you wish," says the Abbé Dubois,[1] "to catechize with satisfaction. and with almost infallible success? You must really love this divine ministry; if you do not love it naturally, pray God, by the intercession of Mary, to make you love it. And love the children also. Oh, love them tenderly in God and for God. You know whether Jesus loved them. . . . . We bestow our pains so willingly on those we love. . . . . Let your main point be kindness. Let it be known, without a suspicion of doubt, that you love your little flock, and that your greatest happiness is to be among them. . . . . When you give a reproof, go as far as is necessary to produce the effect you wish, but not one degree further; and, even in giving this reproof, let it be seen that your kindness is ever at the bottom of your heart, and that, if your severity has encroached slightly on your kindness, it has not dethroned or expelled it." Father Potter supplements these words of the learned Abbé with the following:[2] "We must begin by gaining the hearts of the children, and inspiring them with a great love for us. If they fear us they will approach to our instruction with repugnance; they will absent themselves as frequently as possible; and, even when they attend, they will do so without interest, and only to avoid punishment. Sweetness and gentleness of manner is the key to the heart of a child. This attaches them to us, while rigor intimidates and repels them. A severe tone, a dark and sombre air, sharp and haughty manner, harsh, injurious

1 *Zeal in the Work of the Ministry*, pp. 497–499. 2 Op. cit., p. 222.

or ironical expressions quickly and effectually estrange them from us, and cause them to lose all confidence in our teaching. Without, then, ever descending to familiarity, or losing sight of the fact that the sweetness so amiable and so becoming consists in a certain serenity of countenance, a grave and dignified affability, and a suavity of voice and manner, which insensibly gain all hearts, the instructor of children will ever strive to attach them truly and deeply to himself, that thus he may win them the more fully and completely to Jesus Christ."

Besides opening and closing the school with prayer, it is well to sing a hymn at the opening and closing of the day's exercises. Says the Abbé Dubois:[1] "Do not neglect hymns; singing pleases children, rouses them, and prevents them from thinking of their play. Try to make them learn a great number by heart; they will sing them instead of bad songs, and this will edify the parish. Collect them together from time to time, at the parsonage or elsewhere, to teach them singing. Make every one sing, except those who, having no ear, might put the others out; and sing only those hymns the air of which is easy for them to catch."

One of the main points to be aimed at in conducting the Sunday school is that of securing the attention of the children during the recitation. It is as necessary as it is difficult. "Let me tell you first," says a writer on the subject of attention, "how you will not get attention: You will not get it by claiming it, by demanding it as a right, or by entreating it as a favor; by urging upon your pupils the importance of the subject, the sacredness of the day, the kindness of their teachers, or the great and solemn character of the truths you have to impart. All these are very legitimate arguments to use with older Christians. You and I, we may hope, feel their force. The sense of these things keeps us thoughtful and silent many a time, perhaps, when we are hearing a dull and unintelligible address. We feel we ought to be attentive, and we make an effort to be so.

1 P. 503.

This is a very valid argument to us, no doubt, but it is no argument to a child. Nothing in the long run, except a sense of fear . . . . can keep a child's attention fixed, but a sense of real interest in the thing you are saying." Two conditions are necessary for securing attention: the body must be in a comfortable position, and the mind must be interested. The teacher cannot reasonably expect children, especially if they are small, to cross their little arms, and sit motionless for half an hour or more; it is impossible for them to do so; he could not do it himself. The restlessness which we often complain of in children is not a fault; it is a constitutional necessity.

The teacher having secured this first condition, will find all else reduced to the single point of interesting the class in the recitation. If he is capable of this he has their attention; if not, it is in vain that he would resort to authority, or appeal to their sense of duty; the fault is not in them, but in himself. It is all reduced to this: interest the children in the lesson, and the livelier the interest, the more profound will be the attention.

In the assigning of lessons the teacher must use discretion, making the lessons neither too long nor too short. If they are too long, some of the children will not be able to commit them thoroughly to memory, will go through the catechism with an imperfect knowledge of what it contains, and will have to be turned back—that measure so distasteful and discouraging to children; and, besides, time will not be afforded for a proper explanation of the lessons. On the other hand, if the lessons are too short, the children will not be urged to put forth their energies properly. But it is better to give a lesson too short than too long; both because the children will have plenty of time to study the whole catechism, and because the explanation of the lessons can be made more full and complete. But in any case it is not advisable to pay attention to the divisions of the lessons as found in the catechism; they are dictated rather by the nature of the subjects treated than by a desire of fixing upon a proper amount to study in a given time. But whatever the length of the lesson

may be, the following remarks of the learned Abbé Dubois should be carefully borne in mind and acted upon. He says :[1] "Make all your children learn the text of the catechism ; it is a matter far more important than is generally supposed. It is even necessary to insist, as much as possible, upon their knowing all the lessons of the catechism, so as to be able to recite them with steadiness, and almost without a mistake. It is thus engraven on their memory; and if, as children, they recite lessons mechanically, and without reflection, at a later period it will be otherwise: aided by reason they will dwell all the more on a crowd of doctrinal points, which are called to mind by the long passages of the catechism never yet forgotten. Never forget this important recommendation."

It is impossible within the limits of an essay like this to speak of the different methods of committing the text of the catechism to memory ; but the teacher should give the children the best advice he is capable of, and should remind them, especially, that a lesson is never learned by simply reading it over a number of times. As pastor of the congregation he should speak to the parents from time to time, on this subject, urging them to assist their children, and instruct them how they may best be able to do so. The study of the catechism is more difficult for children than any other branch of knowledge, because it deals mainly with abstract ideas, which the mind of a child is not as yet capable of grasping. And not a few teachers and the vast majority of parents force the children to the study of it in so ungraceful and stupid a manner that too many of them conceive a dislike for the very sight of a catechism, which makes them long for the time when they may throw it aside forever.

As an aid to the study of the lesson, it is well when the lesson is assigned for the next Sunday, for the teacher to give a brief explanation of it while the children hold their catechisms open and follow him ; and for him, in this explana-

1 Pp. 499–500.

tion, to show the relation of the lesson given with the one they have just recited. In the whole matter of explanation, it is needless to say, that the pastor, as head of the school, will know how far teachers are capable of explaining, and, as a consequence, how far they should be directed or permitted to do so.

IV.

When the session is opened and the actual work of teaching begins, the first thing for the teacher, after having called the roll, is to ask a few questions on the lesson of the last Sunday and the explanation given of it, and thus to come by an easy process to the lesson of the day, showing the relation between them and the gradual development of the system of Christian doctrine and morals. But it is of great importance that he should begin by asking easy questions, because if the first child fails to answer, the others will naturally imagine the question difficult, and may not venture to speak at all. To some persons these remarks may appear trivial, but it must be borne in mind that we are now speaking not only of children in general, but of little children. The teacher next comes to questioning on the letter of the day's lesson; and here it is that the utter worthlessness of so many teachers appears. I shall point out only a few of their most glaring mistakes. Some will have each child stand up by himself and answer his particular lesson, which makes as many classes as there are children in the class. This leaves all the other members of the class unoccupied to waste their time or get into mischief, and it will allow no time for an explanation of the lesson. Other teachers will give the child "the first word" of the answer, and others will supply by complacently reading from the catechism what the children have failed or neglected to learn. Both these teach the children to be idle, and weaken both their memory and their love for study. Still others will begin at the head of the class and ask the children in rotation. These soon train the idle child

to study the questions that will fall to him in the position he occupies in the class, and pay little or no attention to the rest. The motto of the teacher should be: "Never do for a child what, with at least moderate exertion, he could do for himself. Teach him how to study, and then require him to do it." The teacher should ask the question without designating the child that is to answer, and then point to the one who is to give the answer. In this way he will make all in the class strive to know the lesson before they enter the room, and be attentive while they are there.

The explanation of the lesson is essentially necessary, for no catechism is sufficiently clear without it, and some catechisms in use among us contain words and expressions not only beyond the grasp of an ordinary child, but also beyond that of some members of the senior classes. Much might be said on this important subject, but only a few brief remarks can find a place here. The teacher should be careful to explain the *literal* and the *doctrinal* meaning of the words and phrases of the catechism; and should, quite naturally, suit his explanations to the capacity of the class which he teaches. With regard to the manner in which these explanations should be given, the Abbé Dubois gives this wholesome advice:[1] "Be as clear as possible in your explanations, and never pass over a single word of the catechism without endeavoring to make it perfectly understood. Forget, if you can, that you yourself know the things to be explained, and look for their meaning with your children as if you were yourself ignorant of them. Ask yourself often, as you read the clearest parts of the catechism, whether a limited intelligence might still find something obscure or ambiguous. If you do not attend to this, while you think you are instructing, you will not instruct at all; at least your teaching will be defective and incomplete. Catechists are greatly mistaken in thinking the children must understand, because they understand themselves. Assure yourself by the best means in your power that your explanations are tho-

1 Pp. 500, 501.

roughly caught by all the children, and do not pass to other points unless you are quite sure that there is no obscurity left in their minds on any of the points just explained. In order to ascertain that it is so, do not content yourself with questioning those who are well instructed, but address yourself rather to those whose intelligence is but little developed. Vary the language in which you clothe your questions; the sense will be the same, but, the words being different, you will see if the sense is thoroughly understood." And in another place, the same Abbé Dubois adds these remarks, which are no less important: "Here is a very important caution, which we should like to print in large letters on each page of the catechism, in order that the priest (or teacher) who explains it might have it constantly before his eyes: Speak little, and make the children speak much. Almost all catechists are great talkers. This is a crying abuse. Think you in good faith that your little children are following you through that long string of words and phrases where you cease to be catechist to become preacher? Think you that their little minds, which have not, which cannot have, any capacity, are able to follow and comprehend your long arguments and interminable proofs? . . . There is not one of your long and useless explanations which might not be most usefully given, by dividing them sentence by sentence, and by making each sentence the matter of so many questions, to which you would oblige your children to reply. This will keep them constantly attentive and exercise their intelligence marvelously. We repeat it, therefore: Speak little, and make the children speak much."

The teacher should also encourage the children to ask questions; and, granting that some of their questions are irrelevant or otherwise faulty, he should not make light of them. One reason why persons learn more rapidly in childhood than at any other time in life, is that they are not ashamed to ask questions. Questions are a means not only of testing knowledge, but also of increasing it, making it assume a more definite form, and imprinting it more indelibly on the memory. Lord Bacon says: "A wise question is

the half of knowledge ;" and the universal application of it to every species of education is a convincing proof of its utility and importance.

Another point that cannot be passed over in silence is the extreme importance of the teacher inculcating both by word and example the greatest reverence for holy things. If there has been a period in the history of the Church in which it was particularly necessary to insist on this reverence, it is certainly the present. Attribute it to what cause you will, the fact stares us boldly in the face, and cannot for a moment be called in question, that there is in many of our children and youth a most lamentable want of reverence for holy things. It is seen especially in those children who, from necessity or the ignorance or stubbornness of their parents, attend the public schools. They will go through all outward forms with great precision, but the soul, which a lively faith imparts, is wanting ; the most sacred religious ceremonies are to them of as little apparent importance as the every day class drill. In the eyes of these there is nothing sacred ; and it is with difficulty that many of them are persuaded, or forced, to show due outward respect for the most holy mysteries of religion. We cannot close our eyes longer and remain indifferent ; a systematic effort must be made to eradicate this lamentable evil, and the work is, in a great measure, in the hands of the teachers of our Sunday schools. Instruction must go before all to enlighten the minds of the children to the true nature of holy things ; faith must animate the knowledge thus acquired ; but it is the reverence in word and action of the teachers that must act immediately on the children, giving this reverential tone to their language and conduct. I would not have the teacher instruct so much by word as by example in this matter. The eye of the body in children sees more quickly than the eye of the mind ; and actions leave a deeper and more lasting impression than words. Not that inculcating reverence by word is to be underestimated or neglected when opportunities present themselves ; but example is the more powerful of the two, and the less obtrusive.

V.

Besides the regular exercises of the Sunday school, there are others which are periodical. Among these, examinations and contests hold an important place. It is impossible to maintain the interest of the children in the Sunday school without the assistance of an occasional general examination ; and indeed it would be a species of injustice to them to deprive them of the opportunity of occasionally giving their parents and friends a proof of their proficiency by a public examination or contest. However large the children may be, they are still only children, and cannot in many respects be treated as adults. The times at which these are to be held, and the manner in which they can best be conducted must be left to each pastor, who is best acquainted with the particular circumstances of his youthful charge. Intimately related to these examinations is the awarding of premiums, or the employment of other incentives to study ; upon which, although it must be in the main left to the discretion of the pastor, a few suggestions may still be ventured. The question of premiums is one upon which there is, as in most others, a variety of opinions. The following may be taken as a brief summary of the arguments for and against them. In favor of them it is said : 1. That long experience has shown that premiums are useful incentives to study ; if not it would be impossible to account for the almost universal custom of awarding them in every species of competition. 2. The expectation of winning a prize increases the interest of the young in their studies. 3. It promotes useful competition. On the other side it is urged : 1. That the desire of winning the prize causes the pupils to lose sight of the higher motives of study. 2. That the benefits to be derived from the awarding of premiums are necessarily confined to a few. 3. That there is great difficulty in awarding them justly. 4. That unkind and jealous feelings are apt to arise among those who contend for the prize. 5. That the prize is a fictitious and arbitrary reward for diligence in study or propriety in conduct. Having thus stated the arguments, I shall leave each pastor to draw his own conclusion. But, without wish-

ing to make light of the opinions of others, I maintain that, notwithstanding the difficulty of awarding premiums fairly, they are necessary in a Sunday school, especially for the younger children.

VI.

The exercises of the best regulated Sunday school are apt to become monotonous to children, and they should be varied as much as is consistent with successful methods of teaching. It is well to arrange for an outing, or children's picnic, once in every summer season. Treats of this kind are very pleasing to children, especially to those of the poor, and those living in cities. Persons accustomed to the country and its scenery cannot appreciate such amusements at their proper value. But the little ones who live in narrow alleys and small apartments will regard it as a smile of heaven to be permitted to live for one day, at least, that life so congenial to the spirit of childhood. The wealthier members of the congregation should be asked to contribute toward it, and interest themselves in it.

In this age of crazes for libraries, it may not be out of place to inquire what benefit, if any, a Sunday school can derive from the possession of a library. I do not refer to the entertainment it may afford the children, but to the actual profit of such an accessory. While not wishing to decry libraries, I am forced to think that they will be found of very little benefit to a Sunday school as an aid in the acquisition of religious knowledge. Of the children who would make use of them, most probably not one in ten would do so with a view of increasing his religious knowledge, but only for the pleasure the story books afford. So far from helping them, the library would tend rather to distract them from the proper work of the school.

VII.

Supplementary to the Sunday school proper, and of very great importance, is the class of perseverance, as it is called; or the class of those who have completed, or imagine they

have completed, their course in the common catechism, and who have been confirmed and have received their first Holy Communion. On this point the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, after referring to the care with which children should be prepared for the reception of the two sacraments just mentioned, continues: (N. 218) "Satagant rectores, ut pueri puellaeque post primam suam communionem per duos subsequentes annos Catholicam doctrinam suaque munera Christiana melius edoceantur." The class of perseverance will also afford the pastor a splendid opportunity for training teachers to replace those who may drop out from time to time; a matter which often presents great difficulty in the management of the Sunday school.

In conclusion, what has been advanced under the several heads of this essay must be more or less modified by each pastor, owing to the different circumstances in which different schools are found. No suggestions can be made that will be suitable for every school in all the minute particulars relating to its management; and that system only of conducting a Sunday school can be called best, which, under the given circumstances, produces the most satisfactory results.

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Wilkinsburg, Pa.

THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF ST. FRANCIS OF SALES, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

I. HISTORY OF ITS RISE AND PROGRESS.

IN 1848 the first Bishop of Milwaukee, John Martin Henni, returning to America from Rome, paid a visit to the tomb of St. Francis of Sales at Annecy. There, recommending to the saint the needs of his great diocese, he resolved to place under his special protection the Seminary which he eagerly longed to erect, though the outlook at that time seemed to preclude the early realization of such a hope. God was, however, shaping the means to the accomplishment of the great end to which the Bishop had turned his mind and heart.

There was at the time in the diocese of Milwaukee a priest of rare zeal and ability, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Salzmann. He had come to Wisconsin from Upper Austria only the previous year, and though still young, having been in the ministry but about five years, he realized the immense value of a centre where laborers for the extended missions of the diocese might be trained. The Bishop had already, in 1851, opened his own house for the accommodation of some students whom he instructed in various branches of ecclesiastical science. Two years later Dr. Salzmann, together with the Rev. Michael Heiss, who was at the time secretary to Bishop Henni, and another zealous priest, Father Paulhuber, celebrated as a preacher (who had left an honorable position in Ingolstadt, Bavaria, to devote himself to the work of the missions in the New World,) resolved, with the hearty approval of the Bishop, to take up the matter of procuring funds wherewith to build a suitable structure for the Seminary. Shortly after they purchased forty-eight acres of land on the south point of Milwaukee Bay. The Indians called the place Nojoshing. Near by was a settlement of the Third Order of St. Francis, which had been started in 1849 by two priests from Bavaria. At the close of a retreat, held in the parochial residence of

St. Mary's German Church in Milwaukee, Dr. Salzmann made a stirring appeal to the priests in behalf of the contemplated Seminary. He, out of his private resources, contributed one thousand dollars, and the priests, though mostly poor, with one accord pledged their assistance. Three thousand dollars were at once subscribed to the fund for the erection of the Seminary. On the Fifteenth Sunday after Pentecost, 1853, Dr. Salzmann made his appeal to the people of his congregation. The result was that they inaugurated a society among the Catholics of Milwaukee for the purpose of raising the required money. Collections were taken up in all churches. Thus the project was actually under way.

On August 2, 1853, Bishop Henni took the Most Rev. Cajetan Bedini, Papal Legate, who had shortly before consecrated the Cathedral, together with Archbishop Hughes, of New York, who had preached on that occasion, to see the locality where the projected Seminary was to stand. The Papal Legate expressed his admiration, saying that so beautiful a site deserved indeed to be made holy to the Lord. The tract was cleared, and ground broken for the foundation during the following September. Then came, as is usual in such undertakings, the real difficulties which seemed to make progress impossible. The amount of money on hand was soon exhausted. Dr. Salzmann travelled amid snow and rain, day and night, along the Lakes and down the Mississippi, in almost every State of the great valley, collecting for the Seminary. He appealed principally to his countrymen from Germany, but not to them exclusively. His zeal suggested all sorts of methods. Humiliations and rebuffs did not deter him. Bigotry and prejudice brought out the virtue hidden in his soul. Like all good works, this one too had its baptism of tears.

On the feast of St. Francis of Sales, 1854, the Rev. Michael Heiss, who, as Dr. Salzmann used to say, had put his own spirit as well as his heart into the work, spoke eloquently to the people of his Cathedral, on the growing need of a seminary. At this time the students who had been preparing for Orders in the Bishop's house were transferred to

Nojoshing. The cholera had diminished their number and the three who remained were temporarily accommodated in a house of the Brothers of St. Francis living near the site of the future Seminary. Shortly after this, Father Heiss himself took up his abode with the students. The 15th of July, 1855, was finally settled on for the laying of the corner-stone. Dr. Salzmann having in the meantime been replaced as pastor of St. Mary's German congregation in Milwaukee, by Father Paulhuber, devoted himself entirely to the task of securing funds for the Seminary, and on this occasion sought, by every means at his command, to arouse the communities through which he travelled to take active interest in the celebration. Accordingly a large concourse of clergy and laity were on the grounds to assist at the corner-stone laying. Bishop Henni issued a pastoral letter urging the necessity and beneficent results of a seminary. Father Heiss in an eloquent address unfolded the plan before the multitude who listened with eager attention. "The Seminary to be erected here," he said, "is to be a seat of learning for those who feel called to the sublime vocation of the priesthood. It is to be a nursery for the entire West. Future generations will reap the fruit."

The walls of the centre building, facing Lake Michigan, gradually rose on the foundation. On January 29, 1856, the feast of St. Francis of Sales, the structure and a temporary chapel were under roof, and blessed by Bishop Henni. Father Heiss was appointed rector and Dr. Salzmann procurator of the new Seminary.

About this time Bishop Henni attended, as suffragan of the Archdiocese of St. Louis, a Provincial Council held in the metropolitan city. Through the kindly interest of the Vicar General of St. Louis, the Very Rev. Joseph Melcher, afterwards Bishop of Green Bay, Archbishop Kenrick permitted that a collection might be taken up throughout the Archdiocese for the new institution. Thenceforward, until St. Louis opened its own Seminary, St. Francis' enjoyed almost the exclusive patronage of St. Louis. Its professors, students and financial support came to a large extent from

the Archdiocese. Only a portion of the proposed building could be made ready for the first twenty-five students. Subsequently Bishop Henni published another pastoral expressing his thankfulness for what had been done, adding a short history of seminaries, explaining their purpose, and concluding with an appeal for further support. Thus his hope and promise were in a manner fulfilled.

But seminaries are not established and equipped in a year. The material and spiritual elements that enter into their being, as body and soul, require a time to develop. Considering the circumstances of those days, the necessity there was at the same time of erecting churches, schools and charitable institutions of every description, whilst the people belonged for the most part to the poor classes, the success of the men who founded St. Francis' Seminary, notably that of Dr. Salzmann, must appear astonishing.

The Seminary had passed through its most severe trials when, in 1868, the Rev. Michael Heiss was appointed first Bishop of La Crosse, and Dr. Jos. Salzmann succeeded him as rector. There were 203 students in attendance; seventy-nine of them being theologians, twenty-two philosophers, and the rest humanity students. To supply the needs for so large a number required steady resources, which were still wanting. On one occasion, Father Heiss had expressed his fear of failure in answer to an address made by the students on his name's day, when Dr. Salzmann, nothing daunted, revived the courage of all by his wonted eloquence, and, starting on a new collection-tour, soon secured relief. Bishops and priests began to show an active interest in the Seminary by frequent visits, and their attachment and kindly offices were felt in many ways. The students were frequently addressed by noted men, like Dr. Beleke, Bishop Ryan and others on subjects of practical interest to the student and cleric. The latter prelate, then Coadjutor of St. Louis, now Archbishop of Philadelphia, preached at the consecration of Bishop Heiss. He also assisted at almost all the important celebrations of St. Francis' Seminary, and by his eloquent addresses gave new zest to pupil and to teacher.

In the beginning of the school-year 1865–66, several names appear among the faculty that have continued with the Seminary for a long period of its history. Among them I may mention the Rev. Fred. Katzer, now Archbishop of Milwaukee; the Rev. Christ. Wapelhorst, universally known by his *Commentary on the Liturgy;* the Rev. Kilian Flasch, later Bishop of La Crosse; the Rev. Jodocus Birkhäuser, author of the excellent manual of Church History; the Rev. Jos. Rainer, the present rector, and the Rev. Aug. Zeininger, afterwards vicar-general of Milwaukee and domestic prelate to His Holiness. One who greatly aided the institution, not only as a teacher but also by securing funds for its maintenance from various sources, and to whom the Seminary is indebted for the erection of the beautiful Way of the Cross and of a chapel dedicated to our Lady's Visitation, known as the Chapel of the Woods, is the Rev. J. Gerubauer. The chapel he built is now a favorite shrine of Mary's clients far and near.

The lay element among the professors was represented by equally able men, such as Mr. B. Durward, the well-known poet of Wisconsin, Mr. Ries, Mr. John Singenberger, the able composer and promoter of Cecilian music, and Mr. Schultheis, translator of "Spiess' Greek Grammar." Of late years no laymen have been engaged as teachers.

We must not forget to mention here the name of Dr. Rohling, the learned Hebrew scholar and author of numerous works, who taught Moral and Pastoral Theology at this time, but later returned to Prague, in order to occupy a chair in the university of that city.

During the rectorship of Dr. Salzmann, from 1868 to January 17, 1874, when that zealous servant of God gave up his soul, there were additions of buildings and increase of lands, partly by bequests, partly by purchase. Already in 1869 the north wing was completed, and new dormitories and classrooms were provided. It was at this time, too, that Dr. Salzmann opened a Normal School for the training of Catholic teachers in a separate building, some distance from the Seminary. The natural beauty of the grounds, comprising a

tract of land, about 160 acres, makes the two institutions, one for seminarians, another for teachers, a lasting monument to Dr. Salzmann's uncommon zeal and happy foresight in the noble cause of higher education.

He was succeeded in office by the Rev. Christ. Wapelhorst, of the Archdiocese of St. Louis. The merits of this simple and holy priest in behalf of the Seminary of St. Francis are too little known. He built the south wing, with an extension to the old central edifice, in 1875. On January 28, 1876, theologians and philosophers took possession of the new house, thus making the separation of the theological and preparatory departments complete. Each theologian has a room, quite spacious, while the philosophers have a common study-hall and dormitory. The two departments had always been kept distinct, but with some inconvenience, owing to the lack of accommodation.

One of the evidences of the high esteem in which St. Francis' Seminary was held at this time by bishops and priests throughout the West, was the large gathering of the clergy from all parts, on January 29, 1878, to celebrate the elevation of the seminary's patron to the dignity of Doctor of the Universal Church.

The routine life of the Seminary was occasionally interrupted by the participation of its inmates in the notable events of a civil and ecclesiastical character of interest to the Catholics throughout the country. Thus, when Archbishop McCloskey was made a Cardinal, the occasion was celebrated in speech and song, and a congratulatory letter, signed by professors and students was forwarded to his Eminence. National holidays were observed, and continue to be observed, in a patriotic spirit. On June 4, 1875, the Rt. Rev. Mgr. Roncetti, the Papal Ablegate, who had brought the pallium to Archbishop Henni, and the learned and modest Dr. Ubaldo Ubaldi, who accompanied the legate, visited the Seminary, together with a number of bishops and priests.

When Father Wapelhorst resigned in the summer of 1879, to enter the Order of St. Francis in the St. Louis Province,

he left the Seminary in a flourishing condition. The saintly Father Flasch succeeded him as rector, with the Rev. Aug. Zeininger as procurator. The management of temporalities was almost exclusively in the hands of the latter, and continues so even now. To his practical zeal the Seminary owes many improvements, such as the furnishing a rich supply of excellent drinking water by the sinking of an artesian well, in 1879.

The silver jubilee of the Seminary, June 28 and 29, attracted a large number of the hierarchy and clergy, so that the Seminary found difficulty in accommodating its high guests, despite its ample dimensions. Many of the visitors were former students, who had gathered from all parts to honor their Alma Mater. Bishop Dwenger, of Fort Wayne, preached in German; and Bishop Spalding, of Peoria, in English. It was on that occasion that Bishop Spalding read, I think, for the first time before a large body of clergy, his erudite paper on the higher education of the clergy and on the necessity of a Catholic university.

Father Flasch was consecrated Bishop of La Crosse during the month of August, 1881. Father Zeininger succeeded him as rector, and continued in the office until September of 1887, when he was appointed chancellor to Archbishop Heiss, of Milwaukee. During his term the Seminary was fitted with new steam-heating, the old building was remodelled, the high ground in front was levelled, fire-escapes and porticoes were attached, and bowling alleys were built for the students of both departments. The Rev. Dr. E. Zardetti, who remained professor of dogmatic theology to the year 1887, when he became Vicar-General to the Rt. Rev. M. Marty, and also Dr. Simon Lebl, who still holds the chair of philosophy and that of Sacred Scripture, were added to the faculty during Father Zeininger's term. At the beginning of the school year of 1884–85, the theological department was much overcrowded; and although St. Thomas' Seminary, of St. Paul, Minnesota, had been opened in the meanwhile, the number of students in the two departments did not lessen on that account.

When Father Zeininger resigned in 1887, the Rev. Joseph Rainer, who had been professor since 1866, accepted the rectorship, which office he still holds. The Rev. H. Reinhart, who previously had been procurator for five years, was reappointed to that position, which he held until failing health compelled him to resign. May God comfort him in his lingering illness, as He certainly will reward him for his faithful service! The Rev. Edward Sturm, who succeeded Father Reinhart, made many improvements on the grounds and also in the interior. After he had entered the Society of Jesus, the Rev. L. Peshong took his place. During his term an electric plant was set up furnishing power for 600 bulbs; class-rooms were furnished with improved desks, the hall and stage were equipped with suitable electric appliances. By means of tubes, connecting Lake Michigan, 2000 feet distant, with the Seminary, an ample supply of water is obtained for bath, wash and toilet rooms. Thus the Seminary has gradually come to assume an air of comfort in keeping with the spirit of the clerical vocation.

The fact that since St. Francis' Seminary was founded similar institutions have been opened in other parts of the West recalls the question discussed some time ago, as to whether it is better to have a number of diocesan seminaries or only one or two central institutions in different sections of the country. There is, indeed, a proviso of the Council of Trent favoring the separate Diocesan Seminary; but it is a disciplinary measure liable to amendment. Nor can it be denied that many advantages and benefits would be the direct result of centralization. Stronger stimulus for professor and student, higher standard of study, more general sympathy among the clergy of different dioceses would be some. Under proper management, each diocese and province could have a voice in what concerns their highest interest, that of training their priests. The idea is not uncommon in Spain and Germany, where some years ago I had occasion to ascertain the sentiment of the clergy on the subject. In Italy the bishops are occupied with attempts at improving the existing seminaries without adding to their number.

As to the question whether the seminary should be preferably under the control of the secular or regular clergy, I can only appeal to our own experience. St. Francis' Seminary was founded, built and is still managed by secular priests. The professors are not exclusively selected from the Milwaukee diocese, and the Seminary still draws many of its students, with no marked decrease, from other dioceses. The average number now is 225. The original motive which led Dr. Salzmann and his co-laborers to organize the Seminary may have been to provide priests for the German population, but that was not his sole purpose in establishing the Seminary. Its character has been and still is cosmopolitan. If the faculty, particularly in the beginning, had to be recruited from the ranks of priests who had completed their studies in German universities, or who had passed their classical course there, it was simply a matter of necessity or favorable opportunities, always for the best interests of the Church in the locality where the young candidates were one day to do God's work.

About 800 priests have been ordained from St. Francis' Seminary. These are scattered throughout the dioceses of the West; and they minister to the people in their various languages, and it is no slight sign of approval of the good work done by St. Francis' Seminary that three of its professors have become archbishops and eleven of its students bishops.

II. THE SPIRIT OF STUDY AND OF DISCIPLINE.

Walls do not make a seminary. Air, water, heat, light and food, even when excellently distributed, do not determine the great question of practical efficiency of a seminary. The material portion, though necessary, is yet second to the spirit which it is to serve. The spirit prevailing in St. Francis Seminary is, I may say without exaggeration, earnest and thoroughly ecclesiastical. The men who founded the Seminary had infused their own spirit into its discipline and study. Some may have thought it too German. But it must not be forgotten that all, or nearly all, the pioneer work

in this field of education was begun and conducted by men whom we call foreigners. If they did assume the reins it was to serve the Church; and it could not but happen that, having only this end in view, they would in due time adapt their methods to suit the peculiar conditions of the country —for the Church is catholic.

There are two departments in St. Francis' Seminary: the preparatory and the theological including the philosophical, distinct, yet practically under the same roof. Experience seems to indicate that the two departments should be entirely separated. It was probably economy which forced the projectors of St. Francis not to make at once provision for this separation. The course of studies in the classical department is modelled after the German gymnasium, and comprises six years. The ancient classics continue to hold their place of honor in St. Francis' Seminary; due attention is also given to the natural sciences, applied and theoretical, together with the other usual branches of a college course. German is obligatory for two years for all non-German students; and of late a class of Polish grammar and literature has been in operation and is much encouraged. English, however, is the ordinary medium of instruction. At the end of the classical course there is the great examination, extending over all important branches taught during the six years. When the student has passed that he is free to enter the regular seminary course, where he devotes himself to philosophy and theology, at the same time qualifying himself in a special manner for the mission, English, German or Polish, for which he may be destined.

The course of philosophy extends over two years; the first year beginning with the sixth of the classical course. Church History, the higher branches of natural sciences, the geography and archaeology required as an introductory to the study of S. Scripture, Hebrew and instruction in the method of keeping parish books are within the regular programme of studies. There has been in past years some difference of opinion among the Bishops who sent their students to St. Francis, as to what should constitute the essential curricu-

lum of ecclesiastical studies. Some ordinaries who sent students here or adopted them, thought the course too long and expensive in view of what is requisite for the sacred ministry. But of late that difficulty has diminished, and it is the intention of the faculty at present to carry out the programme.

It would accrue to the interest of clerical education in general, if a uniform standard were adopted for the courses preparatory to theology. In regard to students applying to the seminary, who have made part of the requisite studies in other institutions, it is of the highest importance that they be properly examined. The ease with which students, especially from abroad, have in many places been admitted to the study of theology, produces a class of itinerant students who eventually land in the priesthood to the detriment of the Church. The multiplicity of studies, particularly in natural sciences which the seminarian is supposed to master during his course, is another danger against which we must guard the student. He is often trained to became a critic and a specialist before he knows the rudiments of his grammar and rhetoric. The result is superficiality with an aversion for the solid study which makes less show.

The theological and philosophical courses of St. Francis' Seminary are in accordance with the approved and long tried system of seminaries since the Council of Trent, carrying out the special legislation of the Baltimore Decrees. We fail to see any reasonable cause as yet, why our Catholic seminaries should depart from that system.

Classes and class work are supplemented in both departments of St. Francis' by various literary and debating societies under the direction of the regular professors. The rendering of classic plays in English, German and Polish, afford opportunities to the students for the cultivation of the respective languages. There is a theological academy also, to which all students of theology belong. The *Summa* of St. Thomas is its text book. The matter for private and public disputation held at regular intervals, as also for the written dissertations to be furnished by the graduating class,

is taken from the *Summa.* In other branches, for instance in Church History, there are similar exercises. With regard to music and song, it may be said that St. Francis' Seminary is a nursery of Church music in its strictest and widest sense.

The disciplinary management of the Seminary is under two masters of discipline ; one for the preparatory, the other for the theological department. Few additions or alterations have been made since the first rules were drawn up. The development of the moral faculties is considered as important as that of the intellectual faculties, according to a well known axiom of St. Francis of Sales. As an illustration of these two qualities combined, the life of this great Doctor of the Church is continually placed before the students.

Besides the master of discipline in the theological department there is also a spiritual director, who superintends the daily meditations and spiritual reading. The choice of a confessor is left to each student. The annual retreat for the entire Seminary, and the special retreats previous to the ordinations are usually held by religious, sometimes by secular priests. There is an extraordinary confessor, generally a Jesuit father, in attendance each month. Special devotions inculcated are: To the Holy Ghost, to the Sacred Heart, to the Blessed Sacrament and to Our Lady, of which there are sodalities and confraternities. The frequent approach to Holy Communion is encouraged, particularly among the theologians.

For recreation there is ample provision. The extensive woods and large campus of both departments afford room and opportunity for all sorts of exercise. While there are occasionally rival games at ball between the two departments, no outside clubs are ever permitted. The ancient custom of reading at noon and evening meals is still observed, except on Wednesdays, Sundays, holy days and when visitors chance to be at table.

The faculty, as noticed above, is entirely composed of secular priests. A teacher must be, as is admitted on all sides, a man, not only of ability, but of sacrifice. The secular clergy never wanted men who possessed both quali-

ties in a high degree. In the early days of the Seminary, professors' salaries were small; neither do they yet yield a sinecure; and although the number of professors constituting the present faculty is larger than before, each is still obliged to devote his attention to several branches. That circumstance will likely be unavoidable as long as the two departments continue under one roof; although it is to be regretted since it leaves little time for the professors to engage in specialties or in literary work. Nevertheless the faculty of St. Francis' Seminary has furnished its quota of authors. The works of Heiss, *De Matrimonio*, and on the S. Scriptures, the excellent *Compendium S. Liturgiae*, by Wapelhorst; Birkhaeuser's *History of the Church*, and Singenberger's different works on music; Rainer's *Life of Dr. Salzmann*, *Conferences*, etc., are sufficient evidences of an active literary life among the professors of the Seminary.

The present faculty comprises the Very Rev. Joseph Rainer, Rector, Professor of Liturgy, Greek, Latin and German; Rev. Fred. Schulze, Spiritual Director and Professor of Moral and Pastoral Theology and Christian Doctrine; Rev. Charles Becker, Prefect of Studies, Professor of Latin, English, Mathematics and Music; Rev. Joseph La Boule, Master of Discipline for the theological department, Professor of Church History, Latin and French; Rev. Simon Lebl, D. D., Professor of Philosophy, Sacred Scriptures, Homiletics (German), Greek and Latin; Rev. Francis P. Reilly, Professor of Canon Law, Homiletics and English; Rev. Joseph Selinger, D. D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology, Hebrew and Greek; Rev. F. Pommer, Professor of Natural Philosophy, Natural History, Mathematics, German and Drawing; Rev. R. J. Smith, Professor of Christian Doctrine, Greek and English; Rev. B. Dieringer, Professor of Christian Doctrine, Latin, German, History and Music; Rev. Joseph Berg, Professor of Christian Doctrine, Greek, German, History, Arithmetic and Natural History; Rev. Leop. Drexel, Professor of Latin History, Natural History and French; Rev. Louis Peschong, Procurator and Master of Discipline of the classical department. Assistant Professors:

Rev. Paul Schiedel, Professor of German and Geography; Rev. Casimir Gronkowski, Professor of Polish Grammar and Literature.

The reader may be tempted to believe, from what has been said, that, in my opinion, St. Francis' Seminary is without defect. Such an impression I did not intend to give. St. Francis' Seminary is only one among the nurseries of priestly life and character in this country, but among the number, both here and abroad, it holds an honored place on account of the work it has accomplished. I have given its history and its spirit because I believe that it will help us greatly to a mutual understanding as to what our seminaries are doing, and draw out useful suggestions as to their improvement. A better means to this end could hardly be employed than that suggested by the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW in furnishing these papers for its readers.

There are things which we should still desire to see realized in the Seminary of Milwaukee, and which are within its power. Its legal standing, both canonical and civil, could be improved, though I do not indeed consider the power of conferring degrees within the province of a seminary. Then there should be endowments and scholarships; a library building and laboratories. Our wealthy Catholics would contribute, I believe, if the matter were rightly set before them and fitting inducements were offered. All that need not affect our programme of studies. Traditional methods, above all, the lines laid down by the Council of Baltimore, offer a solid basis for improvement in every direction. One thing more: we should regret to see any movement toward abandoning the use of the Latin language in the study of theology. If the student is to keep in touch with antiquity, and in sympathy with the Church, whose life he is to propagate, the language of the Church cannot be neglected. The seminary is but a means to an end, and let it be organized and managed with a view to that end.

JOS. SELINGER.

St. Francis' Seminary,
Milwaukee, Wis.

ANALECTA.

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII. ET E SECRETARIA BREVIUM.

EPHEMERIDES QUAEDAM A SSMO REPREHENDUNTUR PER ORDINARIUM.

Dilecto Filio Nostro Francisco Mariae S. R. E. Cardinali Richard, Archiepiscopo Parisiensi. Parisios.

Dilecte Fili Noster, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Religioni apud Anglos aeternaeque animarum saluti pro munere prospicientes, Constitutionem *Apostolicae curae*, ut nosti, proxime edidimus. In ea causam gravissimam de ordinationibus anglicanis, iure quidem a decessoribus Nostris multo antea definitam indulgenter tamen a Nobis ex integro revocatam, consilium fuit absolute iudicare penitusque dirimere. Idque sane perfecimus eo argumentorum pondere eaque formularum tum perspicuitate tum auctoritate, ut sententiam Nostram nemo prudens recteque animatus compellere in dubitationem posset, catholici autem omnes omnino deberent obsequio amplecti, tanquam perpetuo firmam, ratam, irrevocabilem. At vero diffiteri nequimus non ita a quibusdam catholicis esse responsum: id quod haud levi nos aegritudine affecit.—Hoc tecum, Dilecte Fili Noster, communicare ideo placuit, quia ephemeridem *Revue anglo-romaine*, quae istic evulgatur, praecipue attingit. Sunt namque in eius scriptoribus qui eiusdem Constitutionis virtutem non ut par est tuentur atque illustrant, sed infirmant potius tergiversando et disceptando. Quocirca evigilare oportet ut ex tali ephemeride ne quid dimanet quod cum propositis Nostris non plene conveniat; certeque praestat eam desistere atque omnino silere, ubi eisdem propositis ceptisque optimis difficultatem sit allatura. Similiter,

quando ex Anglis dissidentibus ii certi homines qui veritatem rei de ordinationibus suis exquirere a Nobis sincero animo videbantur, veritatem ipsam a Nobis coram Deo significatam, animo longe alio acceperunt, plane consequitur ut catholici quos supra commemoravimus, in eisque vir aliquis religiosus, agnoscant officium suum. Iam nunc enim nec aequum fuerit nec decorum sibi, illorum hominum adiungi et quoquo modo suffragari consiliis, quod etiam optato religionis incremento possit non minime obesse.

De his igitur rebus quae magni momenti sunt, exploratae prudentiae ac sollertiae tuae, Dilecte Fili Noster, valde confidimus; auspicemque divinorum munerum ac testem peculiaris Nostrae benevolentiae, Apostolicam tibi benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum die v. novembris, anno MDCCCXCVI., Pontificatus Nostri decimo nono.

LEO PP. XIII.

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM.

DE BENEDICTIONE ET IMPOSITIONE SCAPULARIS CARMELITICI UNA CUM ALIIS.

P. Thomas Ioseph a div. Provid., sodalis Societatis Divini Salvatoris, huic S. Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae exponit: Sub die 27 Aprilis 1887, sequenti proposito dubio: "utrum conveniens sit Scapulare B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo, honoris et devotionis causa, separatim potius ac distincte, quam cumulative et commixtim cum aliis quatuor vel pluribus scapularibus benedicere et imponere?" hanc eamdem Sac. Congregationem respondere mandavisse: "Affirmative; et consulendum SSmo, ut Indultum hucusque in perpetuum concessum, etiam Regularibus Ordinibus et Congregationibus, induendi christifideles Scapulari Carmelitico commixtim cum aliis Scapularibus revocetur, et ad determinatum tempus coarctetur, neque in posterum amplius concedatur."

Iamvero plures Sacerdotes, tum Saeculares tum Regu-

lares, etiam post hoc Decretum, Scapulare B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo iam cum aliis Scapularibus commixtum benedicere et imponere solent, ita tamen ut peculiari formula utantur ad Scapulare B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo benedicendum et imponendum ; dicunt enim praedictum Decretum non vetare quominus praefatum Scapulare Carmeliticum, sive ante sive post benedictionem et impositionem, *de facto commixtum sit* cum aliis Scapularibus, sed referri tantum *ad peculiarem benedictionem et impositionem* Scapularis.

Quaeritur itaque ab hac S. Congregatione :

Utrum haec methodus a nonnullis Sacerdotibus adhibita valide et licite servari possit ?

Et S. Congregatio, omnibus mature perpensis, respondit : *Affirmative.*

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis, die ii. Martii 1897.

Fr. H. M. GOTTI, *Praef*,
A. *Archiep.* NICOPOLIT., *Secret.*

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDICIS,

DECRETUM

FERIA VI., DIE 2 IULII 1897.

S. C. Em. ac Rev. S. R. E. Cardinalium a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro LEONE PAPA XIII. Sanctaque Sede Apostolica Indici librorum pravae doctrinae, eorumdemque proscriptioni, expurgationi ac permissioni in universa christiana Republica praepositorum et delegatorum, habita in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano die 2 Iulii 1897, damnavit et damnat, proscripsit proscribitque, vel alias damnata atque proscripta in Indicem librorum prohibitorum referri mandavit et mandat quae sequuntur Opera :

M. Diaz Rodriguez.—" Sensaciones de viaje " (Aldea lombarda, Venecia, Florencia, Roma, Nápoles, Alrededor de Nápoles, Constantinopla) : Paris, Garnier Hermanos, libreros editores, 6, Rue des Saints-Pères. 1896.

"Historia General de la Masoneria" desde los tiempos más remotos hasta nuestra época, por Danton G..·. 18. con un Prólogo por el eminente escritor Don Emilio Castelar—Barcelona-Gracia, D. Jaime Seix y Compania, 1882.

"Der Zukunftsstaat." Ein Trostbüchlein von Canonicus Dr. A. Rohling o. ö. Professor der Exegese an der deutschen k. k. Karl-Ferdinands-Universität in Prag.—St. Pölten 1894. Druck u. Verlag der Pressvereins-drukerei (Franz Chamra). St. Pölten, Linzerstrasse 7.

Civitas futura. Libellus consolatorius auctore canonico Doctore A. Rohling ordinario publico Professore Exegeseos in teutonica cesarea regia Pragensi Universitate Carolo Ferdinandea. S. Hippolyti, 1894. Typis et sumptibus typographiae Societatis typographicae (Francisci Chamra) S. Hyppoliti in via Linciensi 7.

David. L. O.—*Auctor operis*—"Le Clergé Canadien, sa Mission, son Œuvre"—*Montreal 1896*—Prohib. Decr. S. Off. Fer. IV., 7 Decembris 1896: laudabiliter se subiecit, et opus reprobavit.

Quibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro LEONI Papae XIII. per me infrascriptum S. I. C. a Secretis relatis, Sanctitas Sua Decretum probavit, et promulgari praecepit. In quorum fidem, etc.

Datum Romae die 3 Iulii 1897.

† ANDREAS *Card.* STEINHUBER, *Praefectus.*

Loco ✠ Sigilli.

FR. MARCOLINUS CICOGNANI, O. P., *a Secretis.*

Die 5 Iulii 1897. Ego infrascriptus Mag. Cursorum testor supradictum Decretum affixum et publicatum fuisse in Urbe.

VINCENTIUS BENAGLIA, *Mag. Curs.*

CONFERENCES.

THE AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW proposes to answer in this department questions of general (not merely local or personal) interest to the Clergy. Questions suitable for publication, when addressed to the editor, receive attention in due turn, but in no case do we pledge ourselves to reply to all queries, either in print or by letter.

CASUS CONSCIENTIAE

LECTORIBUS EPHEMERIDIS *American Ecclesiastical Review* PROPOSITUS. (SOLVETUR IN FASCICULO PRO MENSE DECEMBRI, A REV. D. AUG. LEHMKUHL, S.J.).

PERMUTATIO STIPENDIORUM MISSARUM.

Lucius, rector celebris cujusdam sanctuarii, quum propria pecunia non abundet, dolens, quod non possit conferre in pios fines missionum inter infideles quarum audierat penuriam et necessitates, videtur sibi industriam artemque invenisse, qua possit.

Colligit enim apud sanctuarium multa stipendia neque pauca dioecesanâ taxâ consuetâ majora, trinarum, sc. marcarum (75 cents), quum consueta taxa sit marca cum dimidiâ (37 cents), atque multae etiam Missae fundatae sint pro unius marcae (25 cents) stipendio et hac minore taxa celebrari debeant. Cognovit igitur, multa minoris istius taxae stipendia apud Julium existere. Quem adit, eique proponit haec: Commutabo tecum intentiones Missarum, dabo tibi pro singulis stipendium unius et dimidiae marcae, tuas alio transmittam celebrandas auctis singulis stipendiis etiam usque ad consuetam taxam marcae cum dimidia; nihilominus reservabo e singulis Missarum stipendiis singulas marcas; quo fit, ut annuatim 1000–1500 marcas pauperibus missionibus possim elargiri.

Julius libens consentit.

Sed vix ingenium suum exercuerat Lucius in invenienda arte sine propriis sumptibus succurrendi finibus adeo piis, quum ei a confratre scrupulus injicitur de illicita pactione illicitoque lucro circa Missarum stipendia. Quapropter examinanda proponitur QUAESTIO: *Licitane an illicata sit Lucii agendi ratio.*

(Consuli circa Quaestionem possunt: Const. Innocentii XII., *Nuper*, d. d. 23 Dec. 1697; Bened. XIV., *Quanta cura*, d. d. 30 Junii 1741; Pii IX., Const. *Apostolicae Sedis*, ser. II. art. 12; decr. S. C. C., 13 Aug. 1873, 24 Apr. 1875, 25 Maii 1893 (*Vigilanti*); *Acta S. Sedis*, vol. 8, pag. 107 seq., vol. 26, pag. 56 seq., 533 seq.; Lehmkuhl, *Theol. Moralis*, II., n. 203 seq.; Scavini, ed. 9 Mediol. tom. i., app. 8, et tom. iii., n. 300 seq., S. Alphs., L. 6, n. 320 seq.)

INSCRIPTION FOR A BAPTISTERY.

Qu. There are two small chapels issuing from the side-naves of our new church. One of these I propose to set apart for the Bl. Sacrament, the other as a Baptistery. There is a broad space over the arches leading into these chapels, which I should like to have filled with a suitable Latin inscription. It is easy to get one for the Bl. Sacrament, ex. gr., a verse from some of the beautiful hymns in the office of Corpus Christi; but I cannot find anything very appropriate for the Baptistery. Can you suggest some epigrammatic lines—a number of them if possible, as the walls of the chapel would afford a fine opportunity for other inscriptions which could be explained to the people at opportune times. I am sure many of your readers will find use for such information.

Resp. Some of the most beautiful inscriptions which are found in the old churches of Rome are from the pen of ST. SIXTUS III. († 440), the friend of St. Augustine. The following were written for a Baptistery. They may be taken

as one sentiment repeated in different forms, according as we have divided them :

FONS HIC EST VITA, ET QUI TOTUM DEPLUIT ORBEM,
SUMENS DE CHRISTI VULNERE PRINCIPIUM.

Coelorum regnum sperate hoc fonte renati ;
Non recipit felix vita semel genitos.

VIRGINEO FOETU GENITRIX ECCLESIA, NATOS
QUOS SPIRANTE DEO CONCIPIT, AMNE PARIT.

Gens sacranda polis hic semine nascitur almo !
Quam foecundatis Spiritus edit aquis.

Mergere peccator sacro purgande fluento,
Quem veterem accipiet, proferet unda novum.

INSONS ESSE VOLENS ISTO MUNDARE LAVACRO,
SEU PATRIO PREMERIS CRIMINE, SEU PROPRIO.

NULLA RENASCENTUM EST DISTANTIA, QUOS FACIT UNUM
UNUS FONS, UNUS SPIRITUS, UNA FIDES.

Nec numerus quenquam scelerum, nec forma suorum
Terreat : Hoc natus flumine, sanctus eris.

S. PAULINUS has also written some elegant verses on this subject which offer suitable matter for inscriptions :

HIC REPARANDARUM GENERATOR FONS ANIMARUM,
VIVUM DIVINO LUMINE FLUMEN AGIT.

Sanctus in hunc coelo descendit spiritus amnem,
Coelestique sacras fonte maritat aquas.

Concipit unda Deum, sanctamque liquoribus almis,
Edit ab aeterno semine progeniem.

Mira Dei pietas ! Peccator mergitur undis !
Mox idem emergit justificatus aquâ.

Sic homo, et occasu felici functus, et ortu,
Terrenis moritur, perpetuis oritur.

Culpa perit, sed vita redit ; vetus interit Adam,
Et novus aeternis nascitur imperiis.

THE TITULAR SAINT OF BOSTON CITY.

Qu. Somewhere I have recently seen the statement that the city of Boston was named after a town in Lincolnshire (England), and that it is a contraction for *Bo*(thulph)*stown*, from St. Bothulph, abbot, patron saint of the place. His feast is given as occurring on June 17th, the day of his death, A. D., 655.

I have looked for some details of his life and find mention of St. Botulphe or Botolf in Migne where the feast is assigned on March 9th. As the suggestion has been made that the Bostonians of the New World should cultivate devotion to the titular saint of their illustrious city, may I ask the REVIEW to state whether, as Butler has it, June 17th is the correct date, or whether Migne who gives March 9th as the date of the feast, should be followed. The Petits Bollandistes mention the same saint under both dates without giving any explanation. Any additional information not given in the three sources mentioned (Butler, Migne, and the Petits Bollandistes) would, I dare say, be welcome to many readers of the REVIEW.

Resp. The Bollandists in their *Acta Sanctorum*, for June (Tom. III., pag. 398), mention an old missal presented to a Norman community (*coenobium gemmeticense*) by Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1050, which contains the feast under date of June 17th. They also possess an ancient MS. of the XI. century, which contains for the same date the rubric: "Ipso die despositio S. Botulphi, Confessoris et Abbatis." Various other MSS. are mentioned of equal authority. The *Breviarium Sleswicense* of the year 1512 has his feast in the "proprium" for that day, with six lessons and Homily, "Vigilate."

Why Migne should assign March 9th is difficult to say with any certainty. He gives no other date and makes no explanation nor reference. Other hagiographers such as Stadler mention both dates, which indicates that there is some ground for Migne's assumption. We suspect however that the latter confounds St Bosa (Bossa), Bishop of York with our saint. Both were contemporaries and became popular in the English Church which assigned the feast of St. Bosa on March 9th. This confusion may have had its

origin in earlier traditions, as we find a similar error regarding St. Athulph, the reputed companion of St. Bothulph, for the statement of Butler, of Migne, and of the Petits Bollandistes, all of whom make the two saints brothers, at least in the sense of companions in the work of evangelizing parts of Saxony, Belgium and England, is certainly erroneous. They must have lived at least a century apart, though they were buried in the same church, and the piety of the people joined their names and the remembrance of their deeds. The Bollandists, whose account of St. Bothulph is sufficiently complete to cover the ground of the existing sources, such as Mabillon, Capgrave, the various MSS. and liturgical remnants in different English churches, place the death year of St. Bothulph considerably after 655. They also show how the notion that the holy bishop of Maestricht was brother to St. Bothulph arose, by citing portions from his office which Mabillon transcribes:

Sancti Botulphi, sancto cum fratre sepulti,
Pars fratrem placat, pars Ecclesiae sacra ditat.
O concors virtus! Sanctus sine fratre ferendus,
Pondere se fixit, tolli sine fratre nequivit.
Mox sancti celebrem dat Adulphi gleba fragorem,
Impatiens cari solvi compage Botulphi.
Sanctorum vitâ cum vivunt ipsa sepulcra;
Alterutris meritis dat uterque salubria nobis.

Another Codex written in the Monastery of St. Edmund joins the two saints in a hymn made on occasion of the first translation of the relics:

O Botulphe, tuo cum fratre suavis Adulpho,
Qualis eras vitâ, tua busta docent reservata.
Ter quinis eremus dat aromata mira diebus,
Membra sacrata Deo redolent chrismate tanto.

St. Botulph was chosen king of Scotland, but dreading the responsibility of governing his people under the savage conditions of the time, fled to King Edmund of England at whose court he received Sacred Orders.

Mabillon's account of his life is beautiful and shows that St. Botulph might fitly serve as a model in his zeal for purity of life, education and patriotism, not only to Bostonians but to all Yankeeland.

THE TIME FOR ADMITTING CHILDREN TO THE SACRAMENT OF CONFIRMATION.

A letter recently addressed by the Holy Father to the Bishop of Marseilles, praises that prelate for having brought back into his diocese the custom of administering the Sacrament of Confirmation to children before they are admitted to their First Communion.

Leo XIII., rejoicing to see the efforts of a zealous prelate to restore among his flock the ancient practice of the Church inasmuch as it serves "the best interests of the faithful," commends publicly the action of his steward.

Naturally the desire suggests itself to every loyal bishop of the Church to conform to this ancient method in the administration of the Sacraments, especially when the Holy Father states that the contrary custom "does not accord with the ancient and constant usage of the Church nor the best interests of the faithful."

On the other hand, there are weighty considerations, which must guide the judgment of a responsible ecclesiastical superior before determining that what the Sovereign Pontiff praises in such ample terms is intended to be a rule of immediate action in every diocese. The strength and grace imparted through Confirmation to the soul of the baptized child before that soul has been actually put to the test of severe temptation is indeed, as the Holy Father says, a splendid preparation for the reception of the Blessed Eucharist; and it is in the nature and fitness of things that the Christian who is to become the living tabernacle of Christ's precious body be adorned and strengthened for that purpose by the gifts of the Holy Ghost through the Sacrament of Confirmation.

Nevertheless the reception of the graces of Confirmation is not an essential condition to the worthy and efficacious reception of the Holy Eucharist. Hence the Church permits that the one be received independently from the other, and that the order which has been indicated above as being the practice of the early Church may be inverted. The Roman Catechism clearly states that Confirmation should not be given before the age of seven, though it is not necessary to await the age of twelve—"si duodecimus annus non expectandus videatur, usque ad septimum certe hoc sacramentum differe maxime convenit." (P. ii., c. iii., n. 18.) It is the bishop to whom alone the administration of this Sacrament belongs, and he cannot always be at hand to give it to the children who each year are being prepared for their First Communion. As a matter of fact the Episcopal visitation on which occasion Confirmation is usually administered, is often by necessity deferred two or three years, if not longer, owing to the extent of the dioceses, especially in missionary countries. Thus the practice of admitting children to their First Communion before Confirmation has become the norm by a real necessity. Hence writers on Pastoral Theology recommend that children go to Confession and Holy Communion in preparation for the reception of the graces imparted in Confirmation. (Cf. Stang, ed. ii., p. 110.)

Such being the case, the question arises whether the two Sacraments, when they cannot be administered in the order indicated by the letter of the Holy Father to the Bishop of Marseilles, should follow as closely upon one another as is possible. The practice in many churches is to arrange for the bishop to give Confirmation on the afternoon of the day when the children have made their First Communion.

This practice, though it may have its temporary advantages, is as a rule against the spiritual interests of the children. It confuses the distinct impressions which the two great events should make upon the young minds. They should be entirely separate, whether Confirmation precedes as a dedication of the child's body to be the temple of the Holy Ghost, before the heart is consecrated as a tabernacle of

the Blessed Eucharist; or *vice versa*, as necessity calls for in most English-speaking lands. In the latter case it seems most appropriate to make the child who has already received Holy Communion feel, above all else, the responsibility he assumes henceforth as a soldier of Christ, a defender of the faith. Thus the administration of Confirmation may be made an occasion to impress upon the young candidates the manly virtues and the respect which boy and maiden owe to their respective states, the duty to which both pledge themselves to profess and interpret their religion by their life and intercourse. With this thought mainly in view, some pastors have abolished the custom of having the children at Confirmation appear in white dresses, such as they wore at their First Communion some months before. They are to appear in their festive dress, but that of the world, which they have to meet henceforth in combat for their faith, so that they may the better realize their position. For the rest, the act of receiving the Sacrament of Confirmation is to be surrounded with all possible solemnity, and only after careful instruction on the obligations, etc., which it imposes.

With these explanations we subjoin the pastoral instruction of the Bishop of Marseilles, together with the Holy Father's approbation:

JOHN JOSEPH LOUIS ROBERT, by the grace of God and the favor of the Apostolic See Bishop of Marseilles, invested with the Pallium, Prelate Assistant at the Pontifical Throne.

To the Clergy and faithful of our Diocese, Health and Benediction in the Lord.

BELOVED BRETHREN:—At our Diocesan Synod of 1885 it was enacted that children should be admitted to the Sacrament of Confirmation before making their First Communion. Through the earnest co-operation of my clergy and the good will of my people this enactment has been since observed most loyally. I need scarce add with what encouraging results.

During my last visit to Rome I told the Holy Father of this return in our diocese, after a break of well-nigh a century, to the constant, and it may be said, universal usage of the Church regard-

ing the order to be followed in the administration of the Sacrament of Confirmation. His Holiness, in expressing full approbation of this measure was pleased to ask me to take steps to insure for all time its future observance. For this purpose he deemed it most expedient for me to issue a special decree at the next Synod. And when I ventured to express to him my conviction that such a decree would be received with the heartiest welcome if only I might enlist in its favor the authority of the Holy See, the Holy Father acceded to my request and passing all my hopes, decided to address to me a personal letter, on account of the importance of the matter. He further recommended me not only to insert his letter in the Acts of the Synod, but even by special publication to bring it before the notice of the clergy and the faithful of the diocese.

To-day I perform this loving duty of communicating to you the autograph letter which the Sovereign Pontiff has condescended to address to me on the subject of the confirmation of children before their First Communion.

It will be no small reward to my priests and the parents who have so loyally aided me in establishing this important measure.

For the little ones confirmed it will be a precious souvenir, and they must count themselves happy to know on the authority of the Pope that they have received the Sacrament of Confirmation after the manner that the Church favors and requires, and that is prescribed by the Holy Ghost.

It will remind the faithful of the great importance of the Sacrament of Confirmation, and the immense profit to souls of its early reception, so that they may share from tender childhood in the fulness of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, without which the struggle for heaven cannot be crowned with success.

And all of us, I trust, shall take from the instructions of this pontifical document a new devotion to the Holy Ghost, to which Leo XIII., in his apostolic zeal, so fervently urged us in his recent encyclical.

LEO XIII., POPE.

VENERABLE BROTHER, HEALTH AND APOSTOLIC BENEDICTION.

In abolishing a practice that had obtained for well-nigh a century, you were well advised to establish in your diocese the rule that children, before partaking of the Divine Ban-

quet of the Holy Eucharist, should first be made strong by the saving chrism of confirmation. You desire to know whether We approve of your measure: in a matter of such moment We wish to write you Ourselves, without intermediary, and express Our thoughts.

We commend your purpose most heartily. For this custom which has established itself in your diocese as elsewhere, does not accord with the ancient and constant usage of the Church, nor the best interests of the faithful. The seeds of evil passions are already in the minds of children, and unless early rooted up, grow gradually stronger and stronger, deceiving their inexperience and finally crushing them. Wherefore even from their tenderest years the faithful stand in need of that strength from on high, which the Sacrament of Confirmation was instituted to give. Hence the Angelic Doctor well says, the Holy Ghost is given us to aid us in our spiritual warfare, and to advance us to perfection. So those confirmed in childhood are made more docile and obedient, better prepared to receive First Communion, and when they do partake of the Holy Eucharist, more worthy of its overflowing graces.

Hence Our desire that your wise decree may meet with loyal and perpetual observance.

As a mark of Our esteem of the zeal you manifest for the interests of the flock committed to your care, most lovingly in the Lord do We bestow upon you, Venerable Brother, and your diocese, the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at St. Peter's, Rome, 22nd June, 1897, the 20th year of Our Pontificate.

LEO XIII., POPE.

FOLLOW THE MISSAL.

Qu. When the choir sings the Mass known in plain chant as the Royal Mass of the Second Tone, by Dumont: 1st, should the celebrant intone the Gloria according to the first Kyrie, or should he sing it as laid down in the Missal for the feast of the day?

2nd. Should he sing the *Ite Missa est* according to the first Kyrie, or should he be guided by the Missal of the feast?

Resp. The Missal is the invariable rule both for celebrant and choir. If the latter does not, or cannot, conform, it remains nevertheless the celebrant's part to adhere to the simple norm of the liturgical text.

DIVERSAE INDULGENTIAE POSSUNT APPLICARI UNI CORONAE.

Qu. THE AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW. Will you be kind enough to answer the following question: In the "Messenger of the Poor Souls," April, 1897, on page 124 and 125, I read that the three different blessings with indulgence can be given to the Rosary or beads, viz., those of St. Bridget, of the Rosary and of the Fathers Crosier. Is this to be understood as if one single Rosary or beads can have these three different indulgences attached? The wording of the "Messenger" is not quite clear to me.

A. B. O.

Resp. Several indulgences may be attached to the same pair of beads; but one recitation will not suffice for gaining them all. "Uni eidemque rei, v. gr., uni coronae possunt applicari diversae indulgentiae; *sed qui diversas indulgentias lucrari vult, debet renovare opera praescripta iterabilia.*" (D. 249, 29 Feb., 1820. Melata, *Manuale de Indulgent.*, pag. 131.—Beringer, *Ablässe*, pag. 328, ed. xi.)

Hence, though the Crosier beads may, in addition, receive the indulgences of the Dominican blessing and also those of St. Bridget, the conditions attached to the gaining of these indulgences, *separately*, are to be observed, viz.:

For the Crosier beads the indulgence goes with the recitation of each *Pater* and *Ave*, so that meditation on the mysteries is not of obligation; nor need the five decades be said.

For the Dominican indulgence the meditation upon the mysteries is an essential condition; and the five decades must be completed without notable interruption.

For the Brigettine indulgence the Apostle's Creed must be added to each decade, and the five (or six) decades must be said continuously.

The advantage of having the same pair of beads indulgenced under separate titles consists in the fact that certain indulgences which can be gained only once a day, or once a

year (as the Plenary of St. Bridget) may be obtained under another title without having to change the beads; but the prayers have to be repeated in each case as prescribed.

REMINISCENCE OF FATHER HECKER.

The following communication comes to us from reliable authority, and incidentally corrects a statement made in the paper on the Congregation of St. Paul, which appeared in the August number of the REVIEW:

"DEAR REVD. FATHER:—The writer of the article on the Congregation of St. Paul, states, page 270, that the Rev. F. Hecker was of American extraction. This is not correct. He was born in Germany, though he certainly was so "Americanized" that he is regarded as the quintessence of that Congregation . . . I was in Rome with Father Hecker, and both he and Cardinal Barnabo told me of the hard experience Father Hecker had. At first Pope Pius the Ninth would not see him. Cardinal Barnabo was, however, friendly to him, as he had brought letters in his favor from eleven bishops. The one from Archbishop Kenrick was that to which he attached most importance, and which, he told me, did the work. Pio Nono afterwards listened to Cardinal Barnabo, and gave Father Hecker an audience. After that everything went smoothly. The *Civiltà Cattolica* published a translation of an article written by him for that periodical.

"Later on I saw much of Father Hecker. He would drop in for a rest and talk, when he would bring up some question with the usual result of a discussion which would end sometimes by his saying: 'The fact is you are a conservative and I am a radical.' . . . However, I was always in sympathy with him." F. C.

THE CATHOLIC TRUTH LEAGUE.

Qu. I lately came upon a copy of P. Brandi's *A Last Word on Anglican Orders*, which had the words "League Tract No. X" printed on the cover. Is there any League connected with the publication of the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, perhaps for the spread of Catholic or theological literature? If so, I should wish to join in the good work, if you let me know the object and conditions of membership.

Resp. A Catholic Truth League, quietly organized by some members of St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, under the direction of the Rev. John Scully, S. J., has printed and distributed a large number of papers and books, either free or at a price which barely pays for handling and postage. By special arrangement with the AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, the Truth League had five thousand copies of Fr. Brandi's volume on Anglican Orders printed for distribution at a merely nominal cost. In the same way Fr. Hughes' critique of Dr. White's *Warfare of Science with Theology* is now being published and can be obtained from the Truth League at a much lower rate than would otherwise be possible for those who purchase in small quantities. The office of the League is 317 Willing's Alley, Philadelphia, Pa.

MISSIONS TO NON-CATHOLICS.

The September number of the REVIEW, pp. 279–280, states that the work of preaching Missions to non-Catholics by the Paulist Fathers was begun in the Diocese of Detroit, in September, 1893.

Thirty years ago F. Hecker gave a Mission to non-Catholics at Columbus, O., of which place the writer was then Pastor. The Mission lasted for a week, and was the second one of the kind given by F. Hecker. E. F-G.

BOOK REVIEW.

THEOLOGIA MORALIS Decalogalis et Sacramentalis auctore Cl. P. Patritio Sporer, O.S.F. Novis curis edidit P. F. Irenaeus Bierbaum, O.S.F. Cum Permissu Superiorum. Tom. I.—Paderbornae 1897. Ex Typogr. Bonifaciana (Benziger Bros.). Pp. 878.

Sporer, who wrote well nigh two hundred years ago, received from St. Alphonsus the predicate of being "solidus," "aequus" and "forte aliquando benignior."

After a general introduction to the topic to be discussed he gives a *summarium* of principles (definitions) and rules in numerical order. Each of these is taken up in the form of *assertiones*, and proved. The conclusion of each section is usually given in form of a "Regula semper prae oculis habenda" which becomes a ready norm for practical decisions. The present volume brings the work down to the fourth precept of the Decalogue included, so that the whole—that is the remaining precepts and the Sacraments—will require two additional volumes. It is hardly necessary to mention that the editor's task of bringing into conformity with later decrees of the Holy See such portions of Sporer's work as required it, has been intelligently done. In the references to the "Jus commune" account is also taken of the changes in canons and of present usage.

COMMENTARIUM IN FACULTATES APOSTOLICAS. Episcopis necnon Vicariis et Praefectis Apostolicis per modum formularum concedi solitas ad usum Ven. Cleri imprimis Americani concinnatum. Editio Quarta recognita, in pluribus emendata et aucta, curante Joseph Putzer, C.SS.R. Neo Eboraci, Cincinnati, Chicagiae: Benziger Fratres, 1897. Pp. 466. Pr. $2.25.

Every professional man keeps at hand a few volumes which he finds absolutely necessary as reference books for the proper exercise of the regular duties in his profession. For the American cleric, from the student of theology up to the chancellor of a diocese, the present *Commentarium* is one of such books. It interprets the application of those general and special faculties which the Holy See grants to the American bishops. The meaning of these faculties is not always clear, because of the diversity of applications which they call for, but Father Putzer has taken infinite pains as an acute theologian, and utilized a long and wide experience of missionary activity to solve the doubts which have arisen from time to time as to the extent and special meanings of the apostolic faculties. Probably nothing points more clearly to the conscientiousness with which the learned Redemptorist has applied himself to the task of right interpretation, than the changes introduced in this last edition. Thus it is demonstrated that, contrary to the formerly expressed opinion, a confessor approved (absolute) in any diocese has the right of absolving from censures (occultae) placed on the penitent by the bishop of another diocese. This is at least a probable opinion.

Again, the *Facultas Binandi*, containing the phrase "sub dio et sub terra," does not imply the right of celebrating Mass at sea during a journey. As to the power of investing with the Brown Scapular, Father Putzer strongly maintains that the faculty of erecting the Confraternity of Mt. Carmel, as given in Art. 9, Form C., does not include the right to invest.

Everywhere the author supports his interpretation by documents and reliable authorities.

The volume should be studied side by side with the Moral Theology and the Decrees of the Council of Baltimore in our seminaries. A knowledge of its contents will prevent many mistakes and many heartburns among the young priests sent out to missionary duties.

HISTORIOGRAPHIA ECCLESIASTICA quam historiae seriam solidamque operam navantibus accommodavit Guil. Stang. S. Theol. Doct. ejusque in Coll. Americano Lovanii Prof.—Lovanii: Polleunis et Ceuterick. 1897. Pp. 267. Benziger Bros., New York. Pr. 75 cts.

It is everywhere admitted that the basis upon which the modern student of history can alone hope to reach practical results in the pursuit of his science is the critical examination of historical sources. The mere existence of monuments and records is no sufficient guarantee of their truthfulness. Even where we have the testimony of contemporary or eye-witnesses we cannot always be sure that their judgment was impartial, or their view of things sufficiently broad and clear to allow of an unbiased expression of the truth. Hence we meet with contradictions and seemingly irreconcilable judgments among historical writers, whereby opponents have been furnished with weapons to serve or destroy truth as suited their interpretation. Take, for example, Socrates, "the scholastic" of the fifth century, and his contemporary and disciple, Sozomenus. The more elegant style of the latter and his greater show of learning have occasionally caused him to be cited as confuting the statements of his master, who used words with greater care, and is therefore much more reliable in questions of fact. Yet even when we accept this measure of the critical superiority of Socrates, we may not overlook the fact that he yielded at times to the bias forced upon him by his Novatian associates.

All this goes to show the necessity of some guide which informs and forewarns the student of historical sources as to the character of

the authors whose names are cited to him as vouchers of tradition. Their personality, their merit as witnesses, that is to say, their veracity, their ability and their habit of being exact in handing down records, are of great importance, and the student who finds these traits ready and catalogued possesses an excellent passport through the domain of both history and theological science.

This labor of collecting for the student in a handy manual the leading writers whom he finds quoted as furnishing the material for a reliable history of the Christian Church, has been done by Dr. Stang, of the American College at Louvain, to whom students are already indebted for important helps in the interpretation of practical theology. Experience in teaching has led him to realize this want, and in setting himself to supply it he has shown the qualities of a good professor—lucidity, order, brevity, and, so far as need be, completeness. There are, indeed, some writers, especially among the later apologists in France, whose names we should like to see added, but those whom he mentions are the best available, and sufficient for the purpose.

Besides the chronological sequence of ecclesiastical writers up to our own day (Bern. Jungmann † 1895), the author introduces his manual by a brief analysis of the more general sources, the critical appliances, and such other incidental aids as the writer in ecclesiastical history requires for a just interpretation of the events relating to the Church of Christ. This introduction, in three pithy chapters, directs the student in the intelligent use of the authors to whom reference is made in the body of the volume.

It can hardly be urged against the utility of this *Historiographia Ecclesiastica* that it merely covers the ground already taken by Migne's "Patrology" and kindred standard works; for to have the data contained in this manual in such accessible form is not only a gain to the student who possesses only a limited library, but it also serves the professors of history for the ready mapping out of special periods of historical study for which independent investigation may be suggested.

The form and letter-press of the manual correspond with the practical purpose which called it forth, and are in every way creditable to publisher and author.

LE CODE CIVIL COMMENTÉ À L'USAGE DU CLERGÉ dans ses rapports avec la théologie, le droit canon et l'économie politique par le Chanoine Allègre,

ancien avocat, vicaire général honoraire, Docteur en Théologie et en Droit Canon.—4 Vol. in 8°., pp. 2,000, 3e edition. Paris: Delhomme et Briguet. Pr. 24 frcs.

THE SAME, 2 vol. in 12°., 6e edition, pp. 1,400. Paris: Roger et Chernowitz. 1897. Pr. 10 frcs.

The former edition of this excellent work was spoken of in a favorable criticism of considerable length in the AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW (1891, vol. IV., p. 304).

Since then the *Code Civil Commenté* has been greatly enlarged and, despite its higher price, has met with such encouragement, that within five years it has gone through three editions. Besides this a smaller edition had to be prepared suitable to the Compendiums of Moral Theology commonly in use in seminaries and for the convenience of priests in the ministry. Among the numerous learned men of high authority who have given their approbations to these two books and have commended them in terms of warmest praise we may mention Ernest Cardinal Bourret, Bishop of Rodez and Vabrez, the Archbishop of Mechlin, the Bishops of Arras, Nancy, Clermont, etc., etc., and those two great men of learning, Bishop Michael Rosset of S. Maurienne in Savoy, and Joseph Cardinal D'Annibale. The General Superiors of many religious congregations, several Doctors of Law, and professors in Paris have likewise given them their unqualified approval. The fact that Chanoine Allègre was made honorary Vicar General of Meaux is a splendid tribute to his merits as a scientific writer in Theology and Canon Law.

After what has already been said in the REVIEW, vol. IV., p. 204, it will not be necessary to go into details about the contents of these two volumes. Suffice it to say to those who are interested that in more than one point important emendations have been made, particularly in the treatises on Civil Divorce. Several new subjects have also been added, the most important of which seems to us to be a comparison between the Belgian and the French Codes.

J. P.

Ilchester, Md.

SAINT JOSEPH'S ANTHOLOGY. Poems in Praise of the Foster-father gathered from many sources. By the Rev. Matthew Russell, S.J., Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1897. (Benziger Bros., N. Y.) Pr. $1.10 net.

The English-speaking Catholic world has been waiting long for an Anthology in honor of a Saint whose cultus has grown so marvellously in these latter times. The volume had been in some measure promised many years ago, and while still in preparation saw the splendid sister collection of the *Carmina Mariana* of Mr. Orby Shipley appear in print and almost immediately disappear—so eagerly was it sought after—only to be followed by a second edition. At last it has come forth from the press in a beautiful garb to do its tender missionary office of stimulating and rewarding a true devotion toward St. Joseph. As this devotion is of rather modern growth, and, unlike that to our Lady, had not a nineteen-centuried garden offering to the flower-gatherer an embarrassment of fragrant wealth, Father Russell's task was no easy one. This volume of one hundred and fifty pages is therefore a splendid testimony to his ability and zeal in his self-imposed task. A number of his own poems are in the volume, ready to greet the lovers of his veteran muse, and not a few, we are glad to see, have been contributed from this side of the water, with the familiar names attached that guarantee their poetic and devotional worth and should ensure a wide demand for the Anthology here. The titles of the poems indicate the largest variety in the treatment of a theme which might seem at the first glance to be rather restricted in character, and assure the reader against *ennui*—a fear not unjustifiable in the case of anthologies illustrating a single subject or only one general theme.

H. T. H.

BEAUTIES AND ANTIQUITIES OF IRELAND. By T. O. Russel. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. (B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo.) 1897. Pp. 399. Pr. $2.00.

The author of the *Beauties and Antiquities of Ireland* believes that the books regarding Irish history and antiquity, published within the last three-quarters of a century are for the most part incorrect and misleading. Their references to Irish scenery may be of some value if taken by themselves, but as scenery and antiquities are much more closely allied in Ireland, than in any other country of the world, descriptions which fail in giving due importance to the historic associations of the scenes depicted, are inadequate and therefore useless.

It is in this spirit that the land of Erin is painted, sometimes with the glowing words of Macaulay or of the ancient Cormacan, some-

times in the sober style of the Annals of MacFirbis or the Four Masters; more often with the pardonable enthusiasm of the tourist which inspires the rather excessive use of such phrases as "no city in the world," "nowhere in Europe," "as beautiful as it is possible for any country to be," etc., for even if it were true, for instance, that "in no other part of *this planet known to man* are there as many wild flowers to be seen so near a great city as in the environs of Dublin," one is inclined to smile at the way in which Mr. Russel confirms this statement by saying that there is "absolute certainty as to its truth," (p. 349). But this belongs perhaps to the style of beauty which surprises us with unexpected scenes as we pass Killarney, Tara, Loch Ree, Emania the Golden, Queen Mab's Palace, Knock Aillinn, Kildare's Holy Fane, Glendaloch, the lordly Aileach the royal and saintly Cashel, and the ancient castles and abbeys studding the lakes, shores and hill sides north and south. An altogether new light is thrown upon the west coast which is rarely visited by tourists and never seen to advantage except from the sea. If the grandeur and wondrous variety of the scenery from Cape Clear to Inishowen were known, the proportion of ten people who visit today the coasts of Norway for every one who turns to the west coast of Ireland in search of natural beauty and healthy climate, would be reversed. Unfortunately there are thus far no passenger steamers to lay open this fact to the public.

Of Dublin, Belfast, Cork; of Galway and its charming environs we learn much from Mr. Russel's account that is new and interesting; and everywhere strange legends entwine themselves like wild ivy about aging growth or crumbling ruin. One is struck by the enormous preponderance of place-names, which frequently knit together historic memories otherwise separate. There are nearly thirty thousand town names in Ireland formed by combination with one of five words, viz., bally (town), kill (church), rath, dun, lis (castle or stronghold), which gives to a single Irish province as many place-names as there are in the whole of England.

GREGORIAN MUSIC: An Outline of Musical Paleography. Illustrated by Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts. By the Benedictines of Stanbrook. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1897.

We have found this an extremely interesting, and—considering the labyrinthine difficulties through which the Gregorian paleographer must thread his dim way—a very intelligible narrative of

the journeyings made by the Benedictines of Solesmes in quest of the authentic chant of the Church. The treatment of the interpretation of the old notations is at times argumentative rather than merely descriptive, and, as we think, constitutes by insinuation an attack on the edition of the liturgical works definitively prepared under the direction of the Holy See, and more than once earnestly recommended by that See for adoption in all the churches. Rome does not contend that this edition represents the authentic chants of St. Gregory, however, and grants the fullest liberty of investigation and speculation in this matter. We owe a debt of gratitude to the investigators for the patient and very able and, it would seem, the singularly successful efforts put forth in the last twenty years. And the activity, instead of diminishing under the spreading prevalence of the authoritative edition, has been constantly on the increase, so that now the literature of the subject is quite extensive. As usual, that literature is confined almost exclusively to the French and German languages. Our separated brethren in England have not been idle in the meantime: *The Elements of Plain-Song* (Quaritch, London, 1895) testified to their interest in the subject. We have to thank the Benedictines of Stanbrook, first, for having summarized in a very admirable fashion the results of the Continental studies, and secondly, for having presented the summary in an English dress and with a typographic elegance worthy of all praise.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By the Rev. Alexander Israel McCaul, M.A., Rector of St. Magnus and Lecturer in King's College. London. Pp. 66. Pr. 1. 8h.

L'HUMANITÉ DAN LA VIE FUTURE—Elus et Sauvés. Par L'Abbé Victor Mauran.—Marseille: Librairie M. Verdot. 32 Rue de l'Academie. Pp. 259. Pr. 2 fr. 75.

SHORT LIFE OF THE VEN. SERVANT OF GOD, JOHN NEP. NEUMANN, C.SS.R., Bishop of Philadelphia. By the Very Rev. J. Magnier, C.SS.R.—St. Louis, Mo. 1897.—B. Herder. Pp. 99. Pr. 40 cents.

DE VERA RELIGIONE Praelectiones Theologicae Traditae in Collegio Maximo Lovaniensi, S.J.—Gust. Lahousse, S.J.—Lovanii: Sumpt. et Typis Car. Peeters (Benziger Bros.) 1897. Pp. 523.

THE LIFE OF CHRIST. By the Rev. J. Duggan. London: Kegan Paul, French, Trübner & Co. (B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo.) 1897.

SHORT LIVES OF THE SAINTS for every day in the year. By the Rev. Henry Gibson. Vol. II., May–August.—London and Leamington: Art and Book Company, (Benziger Bros.) 1897. Pp. 412.

THE WICKED WOODS. By Rosa Mulholland. London: Burns & Oates. Pp. 373. Pr. $1.35.

THE ANCIENT HEBREW TRADITION, as illustrated by the monuments. A Protest against the Modern School of Old Testament Criticism. By Dr. Fritz Hommel, Prof. Univers. of Münich. Transl. by McClure and Crosslè—New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co. 1897. Pp. 350.

FAMILIENFREUND, Katholischer Wegweiser für das Jahr 1898.—St. Louis, Mo. Herold des Glaubens. (B. Herder.) 4to. Pp. 112. Pr. 25 cents.

THE OBLIGATION OF HEARING MASS on Sundays and Holydays. By the Rev. J. T. Roche. John Murphy & Co. Baltimore, Md. 24mo. Pp. 202. Pr. bd. 50 cents.

CASUS CONSCIENTIAE propositi et soluti Romae in coetu Sancti Pauli Ap. Anno 1896-97. No. 2. Cura Rmi Dni Felicis Cadène, Urbani Antistitis—Romae: Ex Bibliotheca Ephem. Analecta Ecclesiastica. 1897. Pp. 45-107. Pr. frc. 1.25.

THEOLOGIA MORALIS Decalogalis et Sacramentalis, auctore Cl. P. Patritio Sporer, O.S.F. Novis Curis edidit P. F. Irenaeus Bierbaum, O.S.F. Tom. I.—Paderbornae, 1897. Ex Typogr, Bonifaciana. (Benziger Bros.) Pp. 878.

DOROTHY CLOSE. A Story for Girls. By Mary T. Robertson. London: Burns & Oates (Benziger Bros.) 1897. Pp. 94. 16mo.

ECHOES FROM BETHLEHEM. A Christmas "Miracle." By the Rev. Francis J. Finn, S. J. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1897. Pp. 24. Pr. bd. 25 cents.

BEAUTIES AND ANTIQUITIES OF IRELAND. Being a Tourist's Guide to its most beautiful scenery and an archæological manual for its most interesting ruins. By T. O. Russell. London: Kegan Paul, French, Trübner & Co. (B. Herder, St. Louis). 1897. Pp. 399. Pr. $2.

A WOMAN OF MOODS. A Social Cinematographe. By Mrs. Charlton Anne. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Bros. 1897. Pp. 347. Pr. $1.35.

THE AVE MARIA. A Catholic Family Magazine. Bound. Vol. XLIV; January-July, 1897. Notre Dame, Indiana.

BONE RULES; or, Skeleton of English Grammar. By the Rev. John B. Tabb. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1897. Pp. 109. Pr. 50 cents.

THE EUCHARISTIC CHRIST. Reflections and Considerations on the Blessed Sacrament. By the Rev. A. Tesnière, Priest of the Congregation of the Blessed Sacrament. Translated by Mrs. Anne R. Bennett-Gladstone. With a preface by the Rev. D. J. McMahon, D.D. The Same. 1897. Pp. 187. Pr. $1.

CONSCIENCE THE SURE FOUNDATION OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP. Address delivered by the Most Rev. John Ireland, D.D., Archbishop of St. Paul, Minn. The Catholic Truth Society, Buffalo, N. Y. 1897.

THE FIVE THRONES OF DIVINE LOVE UPON THE EARTH. The Womb of Mary; The Crib; The Cross; The Eucharist; and the Faithful Soul. Translated from the French of R. P. Alexis-Louis de Saint Joseph, Discalced Carmelite, and Examiner in Theology. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1897. Pp. 268. Pr. 95 cents.

AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

NEW SERIES—VOL. VII.—(XVII.)—NOVEMBER., 1897.—NO. 5.

THE DECISION OF THE HOLY OFFICE ON THE "COMMA JOANNEUM."

(Various comments have been made during the last few months, upon the decision given in January of this year by the S. Congregation regarding the authenticity of I. John, v., 7; yet they did not by any means exhaust the subject. There are those among serious Bible students who believe that the Roman pronouncement cannot be sustained by critical evidence. Mgr. Lamy, author of the *Introductio in S. Scripturam* (2 vol. Mechlin), *Commentar. in Lib. Geneseos* (2 vol. Mechlin), etc., and especially known as an able critic by his scientific arraignment of Renan's *Vie de Jésus*, has been asked to express his view in the AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, making a full examination of the merits of the case, historically, and from the impartial standpoint of sound biblical criticism. From the arguments brought forward by Dr. Lamy it appears that Nölling's contention, published in 1893, before the matter was decided by the Roman Congregation, had after all good reason to sustain it.) EDITOR.

THE ROMAN DECREE.

IN the official edition of the Latin Vulgate brought out in Rome by order of Clement VIII.,[1] the passage in the First Epistle of St. John, chapt. v., verses 7-8, reads:

7. *Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo: Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt.*

8. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra: spiritus et aqua et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt.

1 There are three recognized official editions for the use of Catholics, viz., the one of 1592, the one of 1593 and that of 1598, with a *triplex correctorium*, of which the edition published in Rome, in 1862, is a literal reproduction.

The modern editions of the New Testament, styled *critical* editions, notably the *octava critica major* of C. Tischendorf,[1] omit verse 7 and retain only the second part of the text. According to German and English critics, the Greek manuscripts and the ancient versions have not verse 7, and critical science demands that it be expunged from the editions of the Vulgate, as an interpolation the retention of which in the text cannot be justified.

Accordingly, verse 7 has been omitted from the new English version, called *Revised*, which a select body of English and American exegetes prepared some years ago. Since the verse in question clearly teaches the distinction of Three Persons together with the unity of Their nature in the Godhead, we can realize its importance from a theological point of view. However, the passage is not essential to a demonstration of the dogma of the Trinity; the Gospels contain sufficient texts and testimonies for that purpose. On the other hand it would be folly to reject so explicit a testimony in behalf of a Catholic doctrine, unless we have very grave reasons for doing so. This has caused Catholics to have recourse to the authority of the Apostolic See, and to submit to the Congregation of the Holy Office the question, whether we can with safe conscience reject verse 7, or call it into doubt. The Congregation has answered: *No;* and the Sovereign Pontiff has approved and confirmed the answer.

Here is the document:

Feria IV., die 13 Januarii, 1897.

In Cong. Gen. S. R. et U. I. habita coram Emis. ac RR. DD. Cardinalibus contra haereticam pravitatem generalibus inquisitoribus, proposito dubio:

Utrum tuto negari, aut saltem in dubium revocari possit esse authenticum textum S. Joannis in epistola prima cap. V., vers. 7, quod sic se habet: *Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant*

1 *Novum Testamentum graece*, ad antiquissimos textus denuo recensuit, apparatum criticum apposuit *Const. Tischendorf.* Edit. octava critica major. *Prolegomena* scripsit C. R. Gregory, Lips. 1869–1894. 3 vol.

in coelo: Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt.

Omnibus diligentissimo examine perpensis, praehabitoque D. D. Consultorum voto Em. Cardinales respondendum mandarunt: *Negative.*

Feria vero VI., die 15a. ejusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia r. p. d. adsessori S. O. impertita, facta de suprascriptis accurrata relatione SSmo. D. N. Leoni PP. XIII., Sanctitas Sua resolutionem Emorum Patrum adprobavit et confirmavit.

Hence the authenticity of verse 7 can no longer *tuto* be denied or called into question. Its retention in the editions not only of the Vulgate but of the Greek text and in the translations in the vernacular tongue is obligatory. Its suppression in the English revised edition, and in the numerous editions of the Greek text which have recently been published, is indeed without sufficient ground.

HISTORY OF THE CONTROVERSY.

The question which we are obliged to answer is whether the decision of the Holy See is justifiable in view of the progress made by recent critical science, a science which has enabled the student of the Bible to compare the existing text with original manuscripts and ancient versions far more thoroughly than had been done by former critics. We have been told that the above decision was dictated by narrow ideas, and is founded upon ignorance of higher criticism, that the officials of the Roman Congregation have followed the stubborn tendency of remaining in the old rut, out of an exaggerated respect for the official edition of the Vulgate. In other words, the decision is anti-scientific. Let us see if this be true.

When in 1516 Erasmus brought out the first edition of the Greek New Testament, the verse about the three heavenly testimonies was missing. In the *Annotationes* printed the year before, he had merely said that verse 7 was not to be

found in the manuscript which he had followed in publishing his edition. But the verse was to be found in all the editions of the Vulgate; everybody accepted it as authentic; Erasmus himself raised no question about it, he merely recorded a fact. Within a few years, the *Polyglotta Complutensis*, the publication of which had been retarded a long time, finally appeared. It contained a Greek text of the New Testament printed before that followed by Erasmus, and there was the celebrated verse.[1] T. Lopez Stunica, one of the foremost collaborators of the Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes, reproached Erasmus with the omission of verse 7. The latter, in justifying himself, observed that he had actually, since his publication, found the verse in a manuscript of England, that he had likewise found it annotated by a modern hand in the margin of another; but that on the other hand the verse was wanting in two very old manuscripts which he had seen in Bruges; moreover that he had received word from Rome that the Codex of the Vatican did not have it.[2] Nevertheless Erasmus inserted verse 7 in his third edition of 1522, and it was kept in the following editions and in the various editions of Robert Etienne, of Plantin and of the Elzevirs. When in 1546 the Council of Trent formulated, in its fourth session, the Decree *de Canonicis Scripturis*, verse 7 of the fifth chapter of the First Epistle of St. John was not under controversy. Though we ascertain from the Acts of the Council that the Fathers and the theologians were much concerned about the authenticity of the passages in the Gospel describing the history of the woman caught in adultery, the sweating of blood in the garden of Olives, and the last verses of the Gospel of St. Mark, there is no mention whatever made of the verses of the three heavenly testimonies. It is evident from the Acts of the Council that by the words: "Si quis libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt

1 Most likely after the *Codex Rhodiensis* of which Stunica speaks.

2 See in *Critici Sacri*, Edit. Amstelod. 1698, tom. IX., T. Lop. Stunicae *Annotationes* in *D. Erasmum* et D. Erasmi (Roterod.) *Apologia*.

et in veteri Vulgata latina habentur pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, anathema sit," the Fathers had in mind the three passages of the Gospels mentioned above, and had not the least thought of I. John, v., 7.[1]

The Council, when declaring the Vulgate authentic, had ordered that an edition of it be printed as correct as possible . . . *ut quam emendatissime imprimeretur.* The edition which appeared in 1592 had the sanction of Popes Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. The Roman correctors, who had been entrusted with the delicate work of revising and editing did not ignore the fact that verse 7 was wanting in many Greek and even in some old Latin manuscripts. But they did not deem that fact a sufficient reason to suppress the verse. Padre Angelo Rocca, secretary of the commission charged by Pope Clement VIII. with the task of revising the Vulgate, has left on a copy of the edition of 1592, the following note destined to be submitted to the Congregation to throw light on the decision: "Haec verba (I. Joan. v., 7) sunt certissime de textu, et allegantur contra haereticos ab Athanasio, Gregorio Nazianzeno, Cyrillo et Cypriano. S. Hieronymus in prologo dicit ea ab infidelibus scriptoribus fuisse praetermissa. In Graeco etiam quodam antiquissimo exemplari quod habetur Venetiis leguntur; unde colligitur Graeca quae passim feruntur, in hac parte esse mendosa, et omnia Latina manuscripta in quibus non habentur illa verba signata."[2] Francis Lucas, better known as Lucas Brugensis, a very painstaking critic, who had personally examined thirty MSS. of the Vulgate, likewise protests in his *Romanae Correctiones in Bibliis Latinis* against eliminating v. 7. Some may contend that Rocca and Lucas Brugensis rely on a *Prologue* of St. Jerome to the Catholic Epistles which the learned Benedictine Martianay acknowledges not to be the work of the holy Doctor. That question which critics have

1 See *Acta genuina S.S. Oecumenici Concilii Tridentini.* Zagabriae, 1874. Sess. 4a.

2 These words are cited by Card. Wiseman in his first letter on this verse. See *Religious Miscellanies* by his Eminence Card. Wiseman, Tournay, 1858, p. 287–288.

not yet decided may be open to discussion; but whatever conclusion one adopts, it is certain that the *Prologue* referred to is from a very ancient source, since it is found in manuscripts anterior to the eighth century, and the author of it distinctly affirms, in speaking of this verse, the corruption of the Greek manuscripts and the correctness of the Vulgate.

Richard Simon took up the study of this question in his *Critical History of the New Testament.*[1] He demonstrated that the text of the three heavenly witnesses was wanting, contrary to common opinion, in the Greek manuscripts (at least in the greatest number of them) of which Robert Etienne had availed himself. He likewise called attention to the fact that the same text was wanting in many Latin manuscripts and concluded against its authenticity. The very year following he was answered by Thomas Smith.[2]

The learned editor of the *Bibliotheca divina* of St. Jerome, Dom Martianay, joined in the fray and found that the arguments brought forward by Richard Simon were entirely inadequate. The omission of verse 7 in the manuscripts is readily explained by the repetition in verse 8 of the words: "*tres sunt qui . . .*" and "*et hi tres unum sunt.*" Through inadvertence, the copyist passed from the words *tres sunt qui* of verse 7, immediately on to the next *tres sunt qui* of verse 8. All critics admit that the *omoioteleuton* is of frequent occurrence and the source of many mistakes by copyists. On the other hand we should have to have recourse to all sorts of improbable reasons to account for an interpolation in the Latin manuscripts of the words: *Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt.* Dom Martianay clearly shows that these words are an integral part of the text of the Vulgate, although they are wanting in some manuscripts.

1 Rotterdam, 1683.

2 *Dissertatio in qua integritas et αὐθεντία istius celeberrimi loci I. Ep. Joan., V., 7 a suppositionis nota vindicatur.* Vide *Miscellania,* Londini, 1690, pp. 121–173.

The great exegete Calmet also discussed the question and he, reasoning on entirely independent grounds, reached the same conclusions as Martianay. In the meantime appeared the editions enriched with *variantes* of Mill and Walstein. Next followed the editions of Griesbach and of Matthaei; they created a sensation and opened the era of critical editions which have been so prolific in our century. The authenticity of verse 7 was again called into question. In the second volume of his edition of 1806, Griesbach has a dissertation entitled *Diatribe in locum I. Joan. V.*, 7, in which he said: "Quae in iis includimus (viz., V., 7.) spuria sunt, ideoque a sacro textu eliminanda." The *Diatribe* became a standard authority and the critics who came after Griesbach, not excepting Professor Scholz, who favored Catholic principles, have adopted his conclusions. The more recent edition of Tischendorf-Gregory sums up in a few pages all the arguments that can be adduced against the verse.[1] Richard Porson[2] and Herbert Marsh[3] wrote in the same sense. Thomas Burgess, the subsequent Bishop of Salisbury, energetically defended the authority of the verse in a series of works and pamphlets which appeared from 1820 to 1837.[4] Nicholas Wiseman, later Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, wrote two *Letters* from Rome in which he cited new authorities and arguments to defend the much discussed text.[5]

It is needless here to enumerate all the authors who wrote, during the second half of this century, for or against

1 *Novum Testamentum ad antiquiss. textus denuo recensuit, apparat. crit. apposuit, Const. Tischendorf. Prolegomena scripsit G. R. Gregory.* Lips. 1869–94. 3 vol.

2 *Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis in answer to his defense of three heavenly witnesses, I. John, V., 7.* London, 1790.

3 *Dissertation on I. John, V., 7, by Michaelis, by Herbert Marsh*, vol. iv., pp. 412–441—*Letters to Archdeacon Travis.* London, 1895.

4 *A Vindication of I. John, V., 7 from the objections of Griesbach.* London, 1821, 2d. Edit. 1823. The last pamphlet is entitled: *Three letters to the Rev. Dr. Scholz on the contents of his note on I. John, V., 7.* By the Bishop of Salisbury. Southampton, 1837.

5 *Two Letters on some part of the controversy I. John, V., 7.* Rome, 1835.

the authenticity of the passage. On the whole it may be said that the rationalistic critics reject verse 7, and that the Catholic writers, among whom Le Hir, Danes and Card. Franzelin, have stood for and defended it. We must, however, note two recent exceptions: Father Cornely[1] and Professor Paulinus Martin[2] have distinctly, more especially the latter, taken rank among those who deny the authenticity of the verse.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON VERSE 7.

And there are three who give testimony in heaven: the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one.

The first observation which this text suggests is that it is in perfect conformity with the style and teachings of St. John. Thus the expression: "Give testimony, μαρτυρεῖν" as applied to the Divine Persons, is, so to speak, peculiar to St. John. According to that passage, the Three Divine Persons, and not alone the Father or the Son, give testimony (μαρτυροῦντες). That is precisely and specifically what St. John teaches elsewhere, in the very same terms.

Several critics look upon the First Epistle of St. John as a preface to his Gospel. In chap. v., 31–32, 36–37 of that Gospel, the beloved Apostle gives the following account of a discourse of Our Saviour: *If I bear witness* (μαρτυρῶ) *of myself, my witness is not true. There is another that beareth witness of me, and I know that the witness which he witnesseth of me is true . . . But I have greater testimony* (μαρτυρίαν) *than that of John . . . the works themselves which I do, give testimony of me, that the Father hath sent me. And the Father himself who hath sent me, hath given testimony of me.* In another discourse our Saviour adds: *I am one that give testimony of myself: and the Father that sent*

1 *Introductio specialis in libros N. T.* Paris.

2 *Introduction à la critique textuelle du N. T.* Tome V. Leçons professées à l'école supérieure de théologie de Paris, en 1885–86. Cours autographié de 248 pages in 4°.

me, giveth testimony of me. Joan., viii., 17-18. Behold in the very same terms the testimony of the Father and the Son. The testimony of the Holy Ghost follows soon in identical words, Joan., xv., 26: *When the Paraclete cometh, whom I will send you from the Father, the spirit of truth who proceedeth from the Father, he shall give testimony* (μαρτυρεισει) *of me.* Here we have in the Gospel, the identical three witnesses mentioned in verse 7. Some object that when St. John speaks of and mentions both the First and Second Person of the Holy Trinity, he does not say: *The Father and the Word*, but: *The Father and the Son.* Be it so: yet, the term *Λόγος Word* is a typical expression used by St. John in speaking of the Son. It is one of his usual expressions, in keeping with his style. Moreover, in the first chapter *the Word* (*ὁ Λόγος*) is called *ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ Πατρός*. We have therefore the Word and the Father named together here. Others object that elsewhere St. John simply says *τὸ Πνεῦμα the Spirit*, and not *τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, the Holy Spirit.* I might answer that some later manuscripts omit the adjective *Holy*; but it suffices to observe that the texts here cited against us are not parallel to the one in question. For, in the passages alleged, St. John speaks only of the Holy Ghost, and not of the Three Persons as in the case under discussion. No one doubts that St. John, in teaching the form of Baptism, properly used the words, "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the *Holy Ghost*," as Our Saviour had ordered His disciples to do.

It is furthermore argued that the words "*in heaven*" are wholly out of place in the verse. What can be, the critics say, the purpose of appealing to a testimony in heaven, a testimony inaccessible to men who are on earth? We might answer by interpreting the phrase simply to mean that "there are three in heaven who bear witness," which need not imply any extraordinary appeal to inaccessible testimony. But apart from this it is plain that we may conceive God as speaking to men from the height of heaven, as He did on the day of the Baptism of Our Saviour, on the day of His Transfiguration, and on the day of the Descent of the Holy Ghost.

There is another noticeable expression: "*Et hi tres unum sunt.*" It is equally characteristic of St. John, being found again in v. 8; and in his Gospel, x., 30, where Our Lord says: "*Ego et Pater unum sumus.*" We may then lawfully conclude that verse 7 is really characteristic of St. John's style, and in keeping with his doctrine. To make an interpolation of it, more cogent reasons than those brought forward are wanted. Let me add that the verses 9–10, in which there is question of God's testimony to His Son, suppose the existence of verse 7, and do not find a sufficient explanation in verse 8, which speaks of three witnesses who gave testimony *on earth.*

As we have already observed, it is easy to imagine that copyists have omitted this verse, but it is entirely improbable that they should have added it. Verse 7 begins with the words τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, *tres sunt qui testimonium dant*, and ends with the words καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσιν, or as in the Codex 162, εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. As the two verses begin and end in an identical manner, the copyist might easily, as we have already pointed out, either in Greek or Latin, pass, by an error of sight, from verse 6 to verse 8. Many an instance of such errors could be adduced. On the other hand, a case of interpolation of as long and important a passage as verse 7 is not known to biblical criticism. No copyist would dare to commit knowingly such a monstrous interference with the writings which were revered as divinely inspired. It is true that Tischendorf and other non-Catholic critics point to the story of the adulterous woman as having been added to St. John's, and the end of the last chapter to St. Mark's Gospel. But an adequate answer has long ago been given to these assumptions.

The contention that verse 7 is a gloss, which has been transferred from the margin to the text, cannot for a moment be entertained. It is true that the old manuscripts offer many an instance of explanatory glosses, of a name or obscure phrase, being, in the course of time, incorporated in the text. But there is no ground which makes this probable in the present instance. For verse 7 explains neither verse 6 nor

verse 8. Verse 6 says: *It is the Spirit which testifieth that Christ is the truth;* and verse 8 adds: *and there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit, and the water, and the blood.* By saying: *There are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father the Word and the Holy Ghost*, verse 7 sheds no special light either on what precedes or on what immediately follows; therefore, it cannot be admitted as a gloss. To have any such purpose it should be found between verses 9 and 10, which bear, as we said, some relation to verse 7. The supposition that verse 7 is a gloss added in certain Latin manuscripts, is wholly without ground, and we might say anti-scientific. Nor can it be maintained that as a gloss it may have been introduced for the purpose of supplying theologians with a text proving the unity of substance, and the trinity of persons. There was no need for such a departure, since the New Testament furnishes plenty of texts to demonstrate both truths. The fact that the Fathers knew very well how to refute the Arians without especially referring to this text is a decisive proof of our contention.

It is plain, therefore, that verse 7 cannot be eliminated as being out of harmony with the usual style of St. John's expression, nor can it be explained away as being either an interpretative or theological gloss. To show that it does not belong to the original text will require proof positive that a falsifier actually introduced it into the text, and that it cannot be retained according to the laws of true and sound criticism.

We must make a third observation. Cardinal Franzelin lays down as an indisputable principle that the Vulgate which has been declared authentic by the Council of Trent, must be free from the charge of having been vitiated in a dogmatic passage, as is the case for the verse we are writing about. If that principle is true, the question is absolutely settled *a priori* for every Catholic writer. But many Catholic exegetes do not admit that principle, even whilst they uphold the authenticity of the verse of the three heavenly witnesses. Professor Martin goes to another extreme.

Referring to the Council of Trent which concludes its Canon of Sacred Books with this definition: "Si quis libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt et in Veteri Vulgata Latina editione habentur pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, anathema sit," he undertakes to point out the significance of the words: *Prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt*, by saying that the Catholic Church is not only the Latin Church, it is also the Greek Church, the Armenian Church and the other Oriental Churches. The Latin Church is only part of the Universal Church; it is not enough that she accepted the verse about the three heavenly witnesses; the Greek Church, the Armenian Church, the Syrian Church should also have accepted it. For it is the totality, the union of all these churches that forms that Universal Church, the Catholic Church. But, he continues, the Council said: "Prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt." It must therefore be demonstrated that that verse has been received as authentic not only in the Latin Church but also in the Greek and other Oriental Churches; because only the union of all these communities forms the Catholic Church.

Mr. Martin does not seem aware of the fact that he goes a great deal farther than the Council itself. For the latter immediately adds: "Et in Veteri Vulgata Latina editione habentur." It does not say: "Prout in versione Syriaca, Armenica, Coptica leguntur"; not even: "prout in textu Graeco," but "prout in Veteri Vulgata." Besides, it must be observed that for many centuries the Latin Church is spread everywhere, whilst the Oriental Churches are sadly enfeebled and dismembered since the time of the heresiarchs Nestorius and Eutyches and the schismatic Photius; it would therefore be unfair to attach the same importance to them as to the Latin Church. With regard to the schismatics and heretics, they are detached branches of the tree; the vital sap that was communicated to them by the living trunk has been corrupted. But what is more especially to be considered is that the Church is a body of which all Christians are the members and of which Jesus Christ, represented here

below by His Vicar, the Roman Pontiff, is the Head. A body may lose a foot, a hand, an arm, any member, and yet continue to subsist, to live; but if it loses its head, its ruin is irreparable. The Catholic Church has its head at Rome, in the Latin Church, the Roman Pontiff. The tradition of the Church, mistress of all the others, which directs them as the head directs the body, has therefore an authority which the others have not, and which the reasoning of Mr. Martin does not sufficiently take into account.

THE VERSE OF THE THREE HEAVENLY WITNESSES IN THE LATIN CHURCH.

Traces of the verse concerning the three heavenly witnesses are to be found in the most ancient Latin Fathers. Such testimony is of the greatest weight for two reasons; first, because it is far older than the most ancient manuscripts; for we have no manuscripts which antedate the time of Tertullian and St. Cyprian. In the second place, the testimony of the Fathers shows the sentiment prevailing in the Latin Church at their time. From the passages of the Scripture which they cite we may argue that such passages were admitted as genuine. If the text referred to had not been an integral part of the Scriptures, if there had been any doubt about its divine origin, they would have avoided it, because it laid them open to the charge of basing their argument, on false or dubious texts. If St. Cyprian cites the passage under present discussion, it was because he knew it to be found in the African copies of the third century, for verse 7 refers to a very important point of our creed. It would not have been easy to insert it in the codices without attracting notice, whence we conclude that it was to be found in them.

Tertullian, though he does not cite the passage expressly, makes an evident allusion to it, which proves that he knew it. In his treatise *Adv. Traxeam*, 25, he says: "*De meo sumet*, inquit, sicut ipse de Patris. Ita connexus Patris in

Filio et Filii in Paracleto, tres efficit cohaerentes,[1] alterum ex altero, *qui tres unum sint*, non unus : quomodo dictum est, *Ego et Pater unum sumus*, ad substantiae unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem." Tertullian speaks of the Three Divine Persons, intimately united, *tres unum sunt.* This is precisely the expression of St. John in verse 7, which we find nowhere else in Holy Scripture. It has been objected that the very expression is found in verse 8. Granted ; but verse 8 does not treat of the Three Divine Persons, whereas verse 7 does ; and here Tertullian names the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, who are one and the same substance. It is therefore evident that he borrowed his expression, not from verse 8, but from verse 7. It has been said that Tertullian makes no allusion to any particular text, and that he simply expressed the Catholic doctrine. If so, why did he not say : *Et tres una sunt substantia ?* Why did he make use of an expression so peculiar that he felt called upon immediately to explain it by saying that "*tres unum sunt*" refers "ad substantiae unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem ?" We have, therefore, in these words of Tertullian, not a citation, but a reference to the verse of the three witnesses, which proves that Tertullian knew the text and that it was known to those in Africa whom he addressed.

St. Cyprian furnishes us with a proof easier to understand, and which confirms our conclusion in regard to Tertullian. In his treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, VI., the illustrious Bishop says : "Qui pacem Christi et concordiam rumpit, adversus Christum facit. Qui alibi praeter Ecclesiam colligit, Christi ecclesiam spargit. Dicit Dominus : *Ego et Pater unum sumus* (Joan. x., 30). Et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est : *Et hi tres unum sunt.*" Tertullian had only made an allusion. St. Cyprian cites a *written text.* That text is not : *Ego et Pater unum sumus ;* it is the text which says of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost : *Et hi tres unum sunt.* That text is precisely verse 7, where it is said : "*Tres sunt qui testimonium dant*

1 Tertullian does not use the word *Persona* which came into general use at a later time.

in coelo : Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt."[1] It cannot be verse 8, "*et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra: spiritus et aqua et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt.*" For, granted that that verse has the same words *et hi tres unum sunt;* the three words *spiritus* et *aqua* et *sanguis* do not indicate the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity, and cannot refer to them except in an altogether mystical sense. Now in all the works of St. Cyprian no trace can be found of that mystical interpretation, and nothing authorizes us to attribute it to him. We must therefore conclude that the verse of the three heavenly witnesses was to be found in the copy of the ancient *Itala* version of which Tertullian and St. Cyprian made use, and these two great lights of the African Church have used it as a text admitted by all.

Our conclusions are singularly reinforced by other documents of the Church of Africa. St. Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspe, in Africa (VI. century), in his discussions against the Arians, cites this verse 7 several times, and adds that the holy martyr St. Cyprian cited it, before him, in his answers to the objections of the Arians. He says: "In Patre ergo et Filio et Spiritu unitatem substantiae accipimus, personas confundere non audemus. Beatus enim Joannes Apostolus testatur, dicens: *Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in coelo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus, et tres unum sunt.* Quod etiam beatissimus martyr Cyprianus in Epist. de Unit. Eccles. confitetur dicens," etc.; here follows the passage given above.[2] And in his treatise *De Trinitate*, chap. IV., he says: "En habes in brevi alium esse Patrem, alium Filium, alium Spiritum Sanctum. alium et alium in persona, non aliud et aliud in natura; et *ego*, inquit, *et Pater unum sumus. Unum*

1 St. Cyprian says again in his *Epistola ad Jubaianum*, xii.: "Si peccatorum remissam consecutus est, et sanctificatus est, et templum Dei factus est. Si sanctificatus est, si templum Dei factus est, quaeso; cujus Dei? Si Creatoris, non potuit, quia in eum non credidit. Si Christi, nec hujus fieri potuit templum qui negat Deum Christum. Si Spiritus Sancti, cum *tres unum sint*, quomodo Spiritus Sanctus placatus esse ei potest qui aut Filii aut Patris inimicus est?"

2 *Resp. 10 ad object. Arian.* Patrol. Lat. lxv. col. 224.

ad naturam referre nos docet, *sumus* ad personas. Similiter et illud : "*Tres sunt*, inquit, *qui testimonium dicunt in coelis : Pater, Verbum et Spiritus ; et hi tres unum sunt.* Audiat Sabellius *sumus*, audiat *tres*, et credat esse tres personas et non sacrilego corde blasphemet."[1] One cannot destroy the force of these testimonies by arguing, without proof, that they may be interpolated. Griesbach admits that St. Fulgentius had verse 7 in his Codex. Nor can it be said that the verse had just then been introduced in the African Vulgate ; for St. Fulgentius cites it against the Arians who would not have failed to protest against so flagrant a fraud. St. Fulgentius goes further ; he affirms that St. Cyprian cited it before him, since it is of the three witnesses in heaven "*in coelo*" not of the three witnesses on earth "*in terra*," that, according to St. Fulgentius, the holy martyr had spoken. The verse of the three heavenly witnesses was therefore, already in the days of St. Cyprian, part and parcel of the Latin Vulgate in Africa. As the first Latin versions were admittedly made in Africa, the first translators must have translated from a Greek Codex which contained verse 7, and that Codex was three centuries older than our most ancient manuscripts. We have then a critical authority of unquestioned weight in favor of the disputed verse.

St. Fulgentius is not the only African authority which we may invoke. There is a far greater one. In 484, about four hundred bishops of Africa and Mauritania, together with others from Corsica and Sardinia, met in Carthage and presented to King Huneric a confession of faith, to which their signatures were attached. In it, they said: "Et ut luce clarius unius divinitatis esse cum Patre et Filio Spiritum Sanctum doceamus, Joannis Evangelistae testimonio comprobatur. Ait namque: *Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in coelo: Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus et hi tres unum sunt.*" And it is an eye witness, St. Victor de

1 Patrol. Lat. lxv. col. 500. See also the *Fragmenta a Pinta*, Ibid., col. 707, sqq. They are perhaps of another contemporaneous author ; see likewise the *Fragment.* xxi. against Fabianus, Ibid., col. 777.

Vita,[1] who preserved the document for us. Not one of the four hundred bishops assembled there, doubts the authenticity of the quoted text. To all of them it is a proof, clearer than daylight "luce clarius," of the truth of their faith. They have no apprehension of being accused of fraud, and convicted by the inspection of their own copies. Did they alter them all, and had they done away with all the ancient manuscripts? Have they no fear that their copies might be compared with those of the Arians? Evidently not; for they knew the Arian Codices to agree with their own; and they surely felt able to prove the correctness and priority of their manuscripts, if it came to a challenge and comparison of documents.[2]

With such facts before us, it is difficult to understand how Tischendorf could write: "Ex Patribus Latinis post auctorem *speculi*, primus verbis illis usus est Vigilius Taps., quum in eo, quam sub Idaeii nomine scripsit contra Varimad. libro—tum aliquoties in eis qui ficto Athanasii nomine ad Theophilum scripti sunt de Trinitate."[3] Vigilius of Tapse (†526) was one of the youngest signers of the profession of faith made by the four hundred bishops, mentioned above. He has written twelve books on the *Trinity* against the Arians under the name of St. Athanasius; in these books[4] he cites four times the verse about the three heavenly witnesses. Mr. Martin regards the citations as suspect because one of them is wanting in the first editions. But what if these editions were faulty? In any case the other three citations suffice. Vigilius also wrote under the name of Idaeius, against Marivad or Varimad, and in that work he also cites verse 7, placing it, however, after verse 8, just as we find it in a certain number of manuscripts.[5]

Our opponents bring forward another African, who lived

1 *De Persecutione Vandalica*, iii., chap. xi. *Patrol. Latin.* lviii. 227.

2 Cf. Le Hir. *Études bibliques. Les trois témoins.* Paris, 1869, p. 41.

3 *Nov. Testam. Graece. Edit. octava critica major, ad i. Joan., V.*, 7.

4 *Patrol. Latin*, lxii., col. 243, 246, 274, 297.

5 *Patrolog. Latin.* lxii., col. 359.

fifty years later, Facundius, Bishop of Hermiane, who wrote at Constantinople in 553, in defence of the "Three Chapters." Intending to prove that one must not say "una de Trinitate persona crucifixa est pro nobis," he writes: "Non ergo sequitur ut, cum dicitur unus de Trinitate Dominus Jesus Christus, unus Deus et unus Filius, subaudiatur ex tribus diis aut filiis. Tres tamen sunt Pater, et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, ex quibus unus recte dicitur Dominus Jesus Christus. Nam et Joannes Apostolus de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto sic dicit: *Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus et aqua et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt*" (I Joan., v., 8.). Facundus explains that "spiritus" signifies the Father, "aqua" the Holy Ghost, and "sanguis" the Son made man. That mystical explanation of verse 8 had already been given by St. Augustine *Contra Maximinum*.[1] Facundus continues: "qui sunt hi tres qui in terra testificari, et qui unum esse dicuntur? num Dii? num Patres? num Filii aut Spiritus Sancti? Non utique, sed hi tres, Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus sunt, tametsi non invenitur unum nomen, quod de omnibus communiter masculino genere praedicetur, sicut communiter de illis personis praedicantur genere feminino. Aut si forsitan ipsi qui de verbo contendunt, in eo quod dixit: *Tres sunt qui testificantur in terra: spiritus, et aqua et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt*, Trinitatem quae unus est Deus, nolunt intelligi, secundum ipsa verba quae posuit, pro apostolo Joanne respondeant. Numquid hi tres qui in terra testificari dicuntur possunt spiritus aut aquae, aut sanguines dici? *Quod tamen Joannis apostoli testimonium beatus Cyprianus Carthaginiensis antistes* et martyr in epistola sive libro quem de Trinitate[2] scripsit, de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto dictum intelligit. Ait enim: *Ego et Pater unum sumus* (Joan. x., 30); et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est: *Et hi tres unum sunt.*"[3] Facundus, however, cites St.

1 *Contra Maximin.*, 22. 2 *De Unitate Ecclesiae.*

3 Facundus *pro Defens. Trium Capp.* 1. chap. 3; Patrol. Latin. lxvii. col. 535, 536.

Cyprian only for the words: "*Et hi tres unum sunt.*" He says that the holy martyr understood these words to refer to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; but he does not say that he referred to the same the words "spiritus, aqua et sanguis." It is true that Facundus with St. Augustine, St. Eucherius and Cassiodorus interpret in a mystical sense, which strikes us as very arbitrary, the words *spirit*, *water* and *blood* as symbols of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost; but nothing proves that he attributed that interpretation to St. Cyprian, who in reality does not give it in any of his works.

It must be conceded that Facundus does not cite verse 7, and that he ignores it where we should expect him to have cited it. Two reasons may be alleged for the omission; it may be that it was wanting in his Codex; or, that he had it at hand, but was unwilling to use it at Constantinople in a discussion with the Greeks, in whose copies it was wanting.

St. Eucherius of Lyons cites verse 7 under the word *number*. We find it in the edition of his *Formula spiritualis intelligentiae* published by Migne, Patrol. Lat. Tom. L., ch. xi.; but in the edition of Card. Pitra from the manuscript of Clermont, belonging to the sixth century, we find under the term *Key of St. Meliton*: *Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent*,[1] and nothing more. Further on the same Codex under the term *Formularum Eucherii* gives: "Ad Trinitatem, in Joannis Epistola: *Tria sunt qui testimonia perhibent in terra: aqua, sanguis et spiritus.*"[2] It is to be remarked that St. Eucherius is not expected to recite verse 7, because he gives only symbolical and mystical meanings. In his *Instructiones*, n. 75, he asks: "Joannes in epistola sua dicit: *Tria sunt quae testimonium perhibent: aqua, sanguis et spiritus;* quid in hoc indicatur?" He answers that it seems to apply to the passion of Our Saviour; but that some understand it, by mystical application, of the Trinity.[3] St. Eucherius can therefore be cited neither for nor against verse 7; although the text of the *Formulae* reading: "testi-

1 Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata, Tom. II. 22, n. 11.
2 Ibid. pg. 542, n. 3. 3 Ibid. pg. 568, n. 75.

monium perhibent *in terra*" seems to call for the words "*in coelo*" of verse 7 as antithesis.

Tischendorf acknowledges that Cassiodorus, a man deeply versed in Holy Scripture, knew the text of the three heavenly witnesses. In his work entitled *Complexiones in Epistolis Apostolorum*, which Scipio Maffei edited from an almost contemporaneous manuscript, Cassiodorus thus expresses himself on I. Joan., v., 1: "Qui Deum Jesum credit, ex Deo natus est, iste sine dubitatione fidelis est, et qui diligit genitorem, amat et eum qui ex eo natus est, Christus. Sic autem diligimus eum, cum mandata ejus facimus, quae justis mentibus gravia non videntur; sed potius vincunt saeculum, quando in illum credunt qui condidit mundum. Cui rei *testificantur in terra tria mysteria: aqua, sanguis et spiritus*, quae in passione Domini leguntur impleta: *in coelo autem, Pater et Filius et Spiritus et hi tres unus Deus.*"[1] Cassiodorus, like St. Eucherius, mystically interprets water, blood and spirit, as three symbols concerning the Passion of Christ. To those three earthly symbols *in terra*, he opposes the three heavenly witnesses *in coelo*, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, *and these three are one God.* Evidently we have here verse 7. Cassiodorus does not cite it textually, but he gives the sense of it. He puts it in opposition to verse 8, for he contrasts *in coelo* with *in terra.* The last words: *Et hi tres unus est Deus* can be referred only to verse 7, since Cassiodorus refers *tria unum sunt* of verse 8, to the Passion of Our Saviour. It is also to be remarked that Cassiodorus uses the pre-hieronymian Vulgate and not the version of St. Jerome. Maffei's conclusion is therefore justified when he says: Verse 7 was read not only in Africa, but in the most ancient and the most accurate Codices of the Roman Church, since Cassiodorus recommended to the monks to seek, above all else, the correct copies and to compare them with the Greek.

St. Augustine is counted by our opponents among those who do not favor the authenticity of verse 7; at least, they

1 *Patrol. latin.* lxx. col. 1372–1373.

say, he read it not in his Codex. And in fact, he does not cite it even once, although he wrote a work in ten treatises on the First Epistle of St. John. It must, however, be borne in mind that St. Augustine selects from that Epistle only what concerns charity, which is the special and only subject of his writing. Accordingly, he does not cite verse 8 any more than he does verse 7. Hence, he cannot be said to be for or against it. The same observation holds good for his *Speculum* in which he passes from I. John, v. 4, to v. 14, omitting the verses 6-13.[1] Cardinal Mai has published a manuscript of Santa Croce in Jerusalem, another *Speculum*, which, if not written by St. Augustine, certainly belongs to his time. It is compiled after the old *Itala* and cites twice the controverted verse.[2] If it is really St. Augustine's, and Cardinals Mai and Wiseman sustain the contention that it is, the question is settled; but it seems to us that all the difficulties concerning its author are not yet solved. Some insist very much on certain passages of St. Augustine in his two *Books* against the Arian Bishop Maximinus. In the second book, chap. xx., he proves from the words: "*Ego et Pater unum sumus*" (Joan. x., 30), the unity of substance of the Father and the Son, and shows that if the Father and the Son were two different substances, Holy Scripture would not say *unum sunt*, but would add some explanatory word, as when it says: "*Qui adhaeret Domino unus spiritus est*" (I. Cor., vi., 17). After having demonstrated his thesis at length, St. Augustine concludes thus, chap. xxii., 2: "Scrutare itaque Scripturas canonicas veteres et novas, et inveni, si potes, ubi dicta sunt aliqua *unum sunt* qui sunt diversae naturae atque substantiae." Then, as though he realized that Maximinus might object the verse 8 of St. John, where it is said of the three substances, of spirit, water and blood: *et hi tres unum sunt*, he adds: "Sane falli te nolo in Epistola Joannis Apostoli ubi ait: *Tres sunt testes: spiritus*

1 See *Patrol. Latin.* xxxiv., col. 1038.

2 Mai, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, i., 2da pars., pg. 6. See also the *first letter* of Cardinal Wiseman.

et aqua et sanguis, et tres unum sunt. Ne forte dicas spiritum et aquam et sanguinem diversas esse substantias, et tamen dictum esse *tres unum sunt:* propter hoc admonui ne fallaris. Haec enim sacramenta sunt, in quibus non quid sint, sed quid ostendant semper attenditur: quoniam signa sunt rerum, aliud existentia, et aliud significantia. Si ergo illa quae his significantur, intelligantur, ipso inveniuntur unius esse substantiae; tanquam si dicamus: petra et aqua unum sunt, volentes per petram significare Christum, per aquam Spiritum Sanctum: quis dubitat petram et aquam diversas esse naturas? Sed quia Christus et Spiritus Sanctus unius sunt ejusdemque naturae, ideo cum dicitur, petra et aqua unum sunt, ex ea parte recte accipi potest, qua duae istae res, quarum est diversa natura, aliarum quoque signa sunt rerum quarum est una natura. Tria itaque novimus de corpore Domini exiisse cum penderet in ligno: primo spiritum, unde scriptum est: Et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum; deinde quando latus ejus lancea perforatum est, sanguinem et aquam. Quae tria, si per scripta intueamur, diversas habent singula quoque substantias; ac per hoc non sunt unum. Si vero ea quae his significata sunt velimus inquirere, non absurde occurrit ipsa Trinitas qui unus, solus, verus, summus est Deus, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, de quibus verissime dici potest *tres sunt testes, et tres unum sunt;* ut nomen spiritus significatum accipiamus Deum Patrem; de ipso quippe adorando loquebatur Dominus, ubi ait: *Spiritus est Deus*, nomine autem sanguinis Filium, quia *Verbum caro factum est*, nomine autem aquae Spiritum Sanctum, etc."[1] It is evident that St. Augustine was not called upon to cite verse 7, on which Maximinus could not have built his objection; he cites verse 8 and discusses it because Maximinus might have objected it to him; he does not cite verse 7, and was not expected to cite it, because Maximinus did not object it and could not have done so, when it was demonstrated that *Ego et Pater UNUM sumus* must be understood of the distinction

1 *Patrol. Latin.* xlii., col. 794–795.

of Persons and of the unity of substance. It is therefore all wrong to conclude that, because St. Augustine cites only verse 8, he ignored or rejected verse 7. The Bishop of Hippo confirms this our contention when he says: "Ego autem hoc loco nolui probare quod Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus unum sint, quod quidem propter unitatem substantiae fidelissime certe credimus; sed quod eadem Trinitas unus est Deus."[1]

It follows from what we have just said, that it is impossible to determine whether St. Augustine knew verse 7 or not. The only thing that can be said is, that if the *Speculum* published by Cardinal Mai may be attributed to St. Augustine, then the holy Doctor has cited verse 7 twice. But there can remain no doubt that the passage in question was found in the pre-hieronymian Vulgate which the African bishops used, and which Cassiodorus and probably St. Eucherius of Lyons read, if the text of his *Formulae*, given in Migne's Patrology is admitted to be correct.

It remains for us in conclusion to ascertain whether verse 7 was actually found in the version of St. Jerome which our Vulgate represents.

The official edition of Clement VIII., to which Catholic editors are bound to conform in every detail, has the verse; but the Roman correctors who supervised the publication of that edition have noted that the passage was wanting in some manuscripts. Lucas Brugensis and others have made the same observation. Nevertheless all have pronounced the passage as authentic without expressing the least doubt about it. And this with good reason; for all the manuscripts of the Vulgate, subsequent to the eleventh century, contain it. One, and only one, is to be found in which the verse is missing. Mr. Martin has examined the 258 MSS. of the National Library which cover the period from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, and among them all he finds only twenty-one that omit the verse in the first copy, while several have it added later on, or inscribed in the margin. Some manu-

1 *Contra Maximin.* I. Cap. 10. *Patrol. Latin.* xliii. col. 751.

scripts have it after verse 8, or they have *variantes*, such as "testimonium perhibent," or "testimonium dicunt" instead of "testimonium dant." The Fathers who cite the verse have the same *variantes* which are of little or no importance in the present discussion since the sense remains unchanged in all cases.

Among the five manuscripts of the eleventh century cited in the list of Mr. Martin, two omit the verse, one has it after verse 8, one gives the usual text, and one introduces *variantes*. The two MSS. of the tenth century omit it, and five have it in its place or transposed. But it is evident that the omission in these cases cannot be urged against the authenticity of verse 7; for all the MSS. which omit it reproduce the *Prologue on the Catholic Epistles* attributed to St. Jerome. That Prologue mentions verse 7, and not only accepts it, but condemns the omission of it. After having enumerated the seven Catholic Epistles, the *Prologue* continues: "Quae si, ut ab eis digestae sunt, ita quoque ab interpretibus fideliter in latinum veterentur eloquium, nec ambiguitatem legentibus facerent, nec sermonum varietas sese impugnaret: illo praecipue loco ubi de Unitate Trinitatis in prima Joannis Epistola positum legimus. In qua etiam ab infidelibus translatoribus multum erratum esse, fidei veritate comperimus: trium tantum vocabula, hoc est aquae, sanguinis et spiritus, in sua editione ponentes, et Patris Verbique ac Spiritus testimonium omittentes; in quo maxime et fides Catholica roboratur, et Patris et Filii ac Spiritus Sancti una divinitatis substantia comprobatur."[1]

Although the Benedictine editors of the *Works of St. Jerome* admit that this Prologue was not composed by the holy Doctor, it is, nevertheless, very ancient. For we find it in the *Codex Fuldensis*, written by order of Victor of Capua towards the year 540. The author, whosoever he may be, accuses Latin translators of having omitted, in their editions, the celebrated verse. He therefore looked upon it as belonging to the primitive text. So convinced was he of its

1 S. Hieronymi *opp.* x. *Patrol. Latin.* xxix. col. 827–831.

genuineness that he is not afraid of stigmatizing the Latin editors who omitted it as *falsifiers*. Wetstein had asserted that the Prologue was wanting in all the manuscripts anterior to the tenth century. But that is a great error; for the nine MSS. of the ninth century examined by Mr. Martin have, without exception, the Prologue, even those that omit the verse. It is true that the *Codex Amiatinus* omits the Prologue and the verse, but the *Codex Toletanus* has both. The *Codex Fuldensis*, far more ancient, omits the verse, but it has the Prologue.[1] The Prologue, therefore, existed as early as the middle of the sixth century, that is, only one hundred and fifty years after the redaction of the Vulgate, and from that date, as in all the MSS. of the following centuries, it was attributed to St. Jerome. It may, indeed, be his work; for Calmet has pretty clearly shown that the arguments of Richard Simon and of Martianay are not very strong. In the first place, they reproach the author with having said that the order of the seven Epistles, called Canonical, is not the same among the Greek or Orthodox as among the Latins; an assertion, they say, which St. Jerome would not have made, since in his *Prologue Galeatus* he enumerates them in the same order as does the Council of Laodicea, St. Athanasius and the principal Greek Fathers. We may answer that the author of the Prologue did not intend to make that assertion. What he meant to say was, that the order followed in his time in the Greek, is not the same as the one followed in his time in the Latin, MSS. And this is true, as is witnessed by St. Augustine. Such is actually the force of his expression: "*Non idem ordo est apud Graecos. . . . Epistolarum Septem, quae canonicae dicuntur, qui in latinis codicibus invenitur.*" The author merely explains why he has not followed the order adopted in the Latin manuscripts, viz.: because he found them faulty and contrary to the order followed by the

1 P. Martin, who rejects the Prologue, candidly admits that "there is hardly a manuscript of the Canonical Epistles which does not contain the Prologue, either by itself or joined to others. If it is occasionally missing, causes, merely accidental, always account for it." Op. cit., pg. 167.

Orthodox Greeks. There is therefore nothing in that assertion which St. Jerome could not have truthfully said. On the contrary, it seems quite natural that he should have stated why he did not follow the order of the Latin manuscripts. But, the opponents insist, the author of the Prologue calls the Epistles *Canonical*, whilst St. Jerome always calls them *Catholic*. There is some force in this argument. However it may be supposed that St. Jerome avoided designedly the use of the word Canonical, that he might conform himself to the language of the Greeks whose order he followed. The difference in style in the Prologue and the writings of St. Jerome, is likewise urged; but that difference is hardly noticeable except in the use of the word *Canonical* just mentioned.

It seems, therefore, that the reasons advanced against the assertions of the oldest manuscripts which attribute the Prologue to St. Jerome, are entirely insufficient to disprove the assumption. In any case the author, as we have said, is undoubtedly a very ancient one; and if he be not St. Jerome he is about coëval with him, since the Prologue was already attributed to him as early as 550, not only by the *Codex Fuldensis* but by its promoter, Victor of Capua.

Summarizing our discussion on verse 7, in the Latin Church, we may conclude that the retaining of the verse of the three heavenly witnesses in the Vulgate is not only not unscientific, but is demanded by the principles of *textual* criticism. For, when we come to the twelfth century, we find verse 7 in all the Latin MSS., very few excepted. Going back from the twelfth to the ninth century the verse is found in a certain number of MSS.; it is wanting in others, or has been added in the margin at first or second hand; in others again *variantes* are found, or the verse is transposed after verse 8; but in all the MSS. the Prologue, which insists on the genuineness of verse 7, is found. We may add that the verse is wanting in many Lectionaries, but is found in all the Missals.[1] Finally, if we consult the

1 See Martin, *oper. cit.*, p. 127–135.

older manuscripts we find the verse in the *Codex Toletanus;* it is wanting in the *Amiatinus* and the *Fuldensis*, but the latter upholds it in the Prologue. The older manuscripts and the more important testimonies of the Fathers are in its favor. No conclusion can be drawn from the silence of St. Jerome in his other writings. We have seen what must be thought of St. Augustine. Facundus of Hermiane is against the verse at Constantinople; but Cassiodorus, the leading critic of his times, and author of the *Speculum*, Vigilius of Tapse, St. Fulgentius in Africa, four hundred bishops with St. Eugene in the profession of faith addressed to King Huneric, and before and above them all St. Cyprian—all these are familiar with, admit and cite the verse under the most solemn circumstances; they read it not only in the Vulgate of St. Jerome, but in the ancient *Itala.* We may, therefore, argue with safety that the Latin Church has always admitted the verse as genuine, and that it would be unscientific to suppress it in the editions of the Vulgate.

THE VERSE OF THE THREE HEAVENLY WITNESSES IN THE GREEK CHURCH.

A very small number of uncial MSS. of the Greek text of the Seven Catholic Epistles, has come down to our time. Four MSS. have them complete; they are the *Codex Vaticanus* B. and the *Codex Sinaiticus*, both of which are thought to be of the fourth century; the *Codex Mosq.* K. and the *Codex L.* (of the Angel. Bible), both of the ninth century; the *Codex C.* (fifth century) and the *Codex Porphirianus* T. (ninth century). These latter contain only fragments.[1] The five, or six MSS., including but two of ancient date, MSS. K. and L. being of the ninth century and consequently subsequent to several MSS. of the Vulgate, are the only uncial manuscripts which contain the Catholic Epistles. Tischendorf affirms that verse 7 is not to be found in any of the manuscripts.

1 Cf. Gregory, *Prolegomena ad Nov. Test. Graece Tischendorfii*, Ed. VIII., *critica major.* Tom. III., 409–417.

But if the uncial codices are rare, the cursives are very numerous. Mr. Gregory enumerates nearly five hundred of them covering the period from the fifteenth to the ninth century. Tischendorf affirms that only two of all these manuscripts have the famous verse. This assertion is not correct and must be restricted to those of the MSS. which had been compared at the time of his writing. The numerous manuscripts of Mount Athos, of Sinai, of Cairo, of Jerusalem, of the Escurial and those from other sources which constitute nearly one-half of the whole number have not been examined on this point. We shall have to await the published results of such examination before admitting so sweeping a statement. In the meantime, this is settled, that of about two hundred cursives examined up to this time, *only four*—some critics believe that these are reproductions of only two—contain the verse of the three heavenly witnesses.

In the first order we have the cursive, marked 83 and 173 of the eleventh century, kept at Naples. It has verse 7, but only in the margin. Tischendorf assumes that this annotation is of the seventeenh century, that is to say, it was added by one of the librarians. Cardinal Franzelin[1] is of the contrary opinion.

The *Codex Ravianus* which is in the Library of Berlin, has the verse in the same terms as the *Editio Complutensis*. Tischendorf claims that it belongs to the seventeenth century and Martin declares it to be only a copy of the *Editio Complutensis;* but the matter remains doubtful despite the assertions of Wetstein, of Griesbach, of Tapelbaum and of Martin.

The *Codex Montfortianus*, cursive 34 of the Acts, in Trinity College, Dublin, also contains verse 7. That Codex dates back to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Its Catholic Epistles, says Gregory,[2] are the reproduction of cursive of Acts 33, of the twelfth century. Tischendorf and Martin believe it to be the *Codex Britannicus*, whence Erasmus took the verse of the three heavenly witnesses for his third edition.

1 *De Deo Trino*, Romae, 1874. Pg. 68.

2 Opus citat. pg. 621, n. 33 and 34, and pg. 478, n. 61.

There is some ground for this conjecture because Great Britain possesses to-day no other MS. containing verse 7. On the other hand the differences between the two texts are very noticeable, and as Erasmus was usually exact in reproducing texts, the above hypothesis becomes doubtful. The *Codex Britannicus* of Erasmus may, like so many others, be actually lost to us.

Finally, the *Codex Ottobonianus* of the Vatican, cursive of Acts 162, said to be of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, also contains verse 7. These are the only collated manuscripts in which the passage is found to-day. But we know that it was contained in others, which have disappeared. Thus, the secretary of the commission instituted by Clement VIII. for the correction of the Vulgate, Angelus Rocca, assures us that the verse is found "*in graeco quodam antiquissimo exemplari quod habetur Venetiis.*[1] And previous to that, Lopez Stunica had called Erasmus' attention to the *Codex Rhodiensis*, which likewise had the verse.

It is worthy of note that the Russian and Greek Churches, which claim the name of *Orthodox*, admit verse 7. One of the leading theologians of the Russian Church, Macarius Bulgakov, who had been a member of the Holy Synod and died as Archbishop of Moscow, writes in his Dogmatic Theology: "The whole Orthodox Church has acknowledged and does acknowledge to-day, as authentic, the text of the Epistle of St. John, which we have just examined, and she proposes it to her children for their common instruction."[2] He had previously said: "It is without reason that some attempt to render the authenticity of the passage in question doubtful, under the pretext that it is wanting in some Greek codices of the New Testament. Our theologians have always made use of that text." And he cites Theophanus Prokopow, Hyacinth Karspinski, Ireneus Falcowski and Sylvester.[3]

1 Cited by Wiseman and Martin, p. 18, note.

2 *Théologie Dogmatique Orthodoxe, traduite par un Russe.* Paris, 1859. I., pg. 228.

3 *Ibid.*, pg. 222.

Moreover, although that text is wanting in all the more recent manuscripts of the *Lectionary* or *Ἀπόστολος* which Mr. Martin inspected,[1] it is nevertheless to be found in the edition printed for the Orthodox Church at Venice in 1883, and likewise in the older edition of 1602.[2]

Anteriorly, the Greek Schismatic Church had cited the verse in its *Confession of Orthodox Faith:* "By nature the Father is true and eternal God, and Creator of all things, visible and invisible; the Son is absolutely the same, as well as the Holy Ghost, and they are consubstantial the one to the other, as St. John the Evangelist teaches. *There are three who give testimony in heaven: the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.*" [3]

Next we have to examine the canons of the Fourth Council of Lateran in 1215, where the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem were personally present, and those of Alexandria and Antioch by their legates, together with several Greek bishops, their suffragans. The Fathers of that Council drew up certain chapters in Greek and Latin, in which the passage is cited, as accepted by both Churches. The words translated from the Greek are: "As it is acknowledged in the Canonical Epistle of St. John that *there are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one*, it is immediately added . . . as it is found in some copies." It seems that the vacant space contained verse 8, and that the observation "as it is found in some copies," has reference to the words, "*and these three, οἱ τρεῖς, are one*," which follow verse 8. That is the very way the Latin text reads: "Quemadmodum in

1 *Opus citat.*, pg. 33.

2 It is, however, wanting in the editions of 1550 and 1579. See *Martin*, Ibid., pg. 34.

3 . . . *καὶ εἶναι ὁμοούσια ἀλλήλοις, κατὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωαννοῦ, ὅπου λέγει, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Λόγος καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσιν.*—Conf. Fid. orthod. quaest. 9. In Kimmel Monumenta fidei orthod. Part. I., pg. 64–65. Ienae, 1850. See also *Confession de foi orthodoxe* of Matrophane, pg. 2, pg. 46.

Canonica Joannis Epistola legitur: *quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo: Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt* (I. Joan. v., 7.), statimque subjungitur: 'et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus et aqua et sanguis et tres unum sunt' (Ibid. v. 8), sicut in codicibus quibusdam legitur."[1] The testimony of the Fourth Council of Lateran in favor of verse 7, whilst it does not settle the question, is certainly of very great weight.

In addition to this testimony of the Council of Lateran we have that of two subsequent Greek writers, Calecos[2] and Joseph of Bryenne,[3] both of whom cite the verse. A previous writer, Euthymius Zigobanus, also appeals to verse 7 in his *Panoply*: "The term *one* (τὸ ἕν) is said of those who are of the same essence (ὁμοούσιον) when it is the same substance whilst the persons are different, as in: *and the three are one* (καὶ τὰ τρία ἕν).[4] It is clear that Euthymius refers to verse 7 and not to verse 8, where there is question neither of the unity of substance nor of the distinction of Persons equal in essence. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that the two interpreters of Holy Writ, Theophylactus and Oecumenius, who have commented on the Frst Epistle of St. John, had not that verse in their copies and did not know it. The proof is that they pass it by in silence and go directly from verse 6 to verse 8.

The author of the *Discussion against the Arians*, a work which has been erroneously attributed to St. Athanasius, knew verse 7: "What shall I say of Baptism which remits sin, vivifies and sanctifies, without which no one will see the kingdom of heaven? Is it not conferred upon the faithful with the invocation of the three blessed names? To all those John says: *And the three are one.*"[5] There can be no question here of verse 8, which does not enumerate the Three

1 Harduin. *Acta. Concil.* vii., p. 18–19. Mansi, xxii., 981–982, 984.

2 In Combefis, *Auctarium*, p. 519.

3 In Griesbach, *Nov. Test.*, 1806, Tom. II. Append. p. 11.

4 *Panoplia Dogmat.* Part I. Tit. vii. Patrol. Graec. cxxx., col. 248.

5 *Patrol. Graec.* xxxvii., col. 500.

Persons of the Blessed Trinity, but of verse 7. It is therefore inexact to say with Prof. Martin that the verse did not exist in a single Greek manuscript before the thirteenth century, for that *Discussion* is much older and, not without good reason, attributed to St. Maximus.

Origen,[1] Clement of Alexandria[2] and St. Gregory of Nazianzen[3] have also been cited as upholding verse 7, but the passages referred to are not conclusive. Nor can it be demonstrated that these Fathers rejected it, or had it not in their copies of Holy Writ. The same must be said of St. Cyril of Alexandria, who in his *Thesaurus* cites neither verse 7 nor verse 8.[4] It is wrong, therefore, to claim as Prof. Martin does, that St. Cyril's reading did not have the passage; nor can we affirm the contrary. We simply do not know. The same may be said with regard to the other Greek Fathers whose names are cited as evidence against the authenticity of the verse, merely because they do not mention it in their writings.

To summarize. The verse of the three heavenly witnesses is not to be found in any of the six uncial MSS. which have reached us; but it is to be found in the "very ancient codex" of Venice, according to Angelus Rocca. Of all the cursive MSS. collated up to date, only four contain verse 7, and it must be added that Tischendorf reduces them to two. But two other codices are cited for it: the *Codex Rhodiensis* of Stunica, and the *Codex Britannicus* of Erasmus, which by some is held to be the *Codex Monfortianus* of Dublin.[5] But these MSS. sufficiently prove that the verse existed in the Greek text. The author of the

1 *Scholia in Psalm.* 122. Opp. Tom. II., 821.

2 *Patrol. Graec.* ix., col. 738. 3 *Patrol Graec.* xxxvi., col. 345.

4 *Patrol. Graec.* lxxv., col. 512–513.

5 Theodore Beza in a note to the text of his edition maintains that the verse should be retained, adding: "legimus et nos in nonnullis Roberti nostri veteribus libris." One would be inclined to believe that Beza had read the verse in the ancient MSS. in possession of Robert Etienne. But that is a fallacy. He simply refers to the earlier editions of Robert Etienne.

Discussions against the Arians confirms it. It is probable that the verse was wanting in the copies of many Greek Fathers; we know as much from the commentators of the Middle Ages, Theophylact and Oecumenius; but, at the same time, we have such testimony as that of Euthymius Zigabenus in favor of the passage, for he makes use of it. The separated Greek Church and its daughter the Russian Church have inserted the verse in their *Profession of Faith*, and from the very beginning of the thirteenth century the then Patriarchs of Constantinople, of Antioch and of Alexandria made common cause with the Latins, at the Fourth Council of Lateran, to insert that verse in a dogmatic decree. It is, therefore, absurd to say that verse 7 is unknown in the Greek Church, or rejected by it.

THE VERSE IN THE ARMENIAN, SYRIAN AND COPTIC CHURCHES.

Verse 7 is wanting in the Venetian edition of the Armenian Bible printed in 1860. In his critical edition of 1805, Zohrab has also omitted it, and in a note he says that Ossian added it from the Latin Vulgate, in his edition of Amsterdam, 1666. It is therefore believed that the Armenian MSS., which contain verse 7, have been influenced by the Latins, and that the true Armenian version does not contain it. Prof. Martin has not found it in the MSS. of the Catholic Epistles which he examined at Berlin, Moscow, Vienna, Venice and Paris. However, Gregory of Sis, Patriarch of the Armenians, cites both verses 7 and 8, in his letter to Haython on the mixture of water and wine in the chalice. Gregory does not say whence he derives his knowledge of the text; it is possible that he may have had it from St. Cyprian or some of the Latin Fathers whom he mentions, but he quotes the passage as of undoubted and universally accepted authority. A few years later, in 1307, the Council of Sis, at which were present twenty-six bishops, seventeen abbots of monasteries, King Leo and many of the notables of the nation, recalled to their attention the Letter of Patriarch Gregory, and again cited the passage of St. John in the same manner as the other

texts of Holy Scripture. The Council of Aden, held about 1317, cited it again.[1] It is true that there was then question of cementing the union of Armenians and Latins, but the passage of St. John was not cited for that purpose.

With regard to the Syriac Versions, the verse of the three heavenly witnesses is wanting in the *editio princeps* brought out at Vienna, copied from a Jacobite MS., in 1555, by Moyses de Mardin, but it is found in the editions of Tremellius (1569), of Gutbid (1664) and of Schaaf (1708), who had seen a manuscript sent by the Bishop of Malabar, which contained the verse. Prof. Martin affirms that he had not found the verse in any one of the Syriac manuscripts of London and of Paris, of which he examined eighteen.[2] He adds that he has not found a single Syrian writer who cites it.

Nor has verse 7 been found, up to the present, in the Coptic versions. In the Ritual of Baptism a lesson is read from John, verse 5 to verse 12, and verse 7 is wanting in it. Tischendorf affirms without hesitation that the famous verse is not to be found in a single Oriental version. Cornely is not less positive: "Ex Patribus Orientalibus, sive Graecis, sive Syris, sive Armenis, hucusque ne unus quidem cognitus est, qui comma nostrum aut allegaverit, aut ad illud quoquo modo alluserit. Quod eo magis est mirum quo frequentiores eis in continua cum Antitrinitariis, Arianis, Macedoniis, etc., fuerunt occasiones textus illius allegandi."[3] We have seen that this affirmation is too absolute for the Greeks and the Armenians, and it is premature for the other Oriental Churches, the literature of which is, even at the present day, but very imperfectly known.

Mr. Martin also goes too far, when he says: "If we apply to this passage the great rule formulated by the Council of Trent with so much clearness and wisdom, in the Decree relative to the Holy Scriptures: 'Prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt,' it is evident: 1° that we cannot

1 See Galanus, *Conciliatio Eccl. Armenae cum Romana*, I., 436, 461, 478.

2 *Opus cit.* pg. 57–64, 240.

3 R. Cornely, *Introductio spec. in S. Script.* Paris, Lethielleux, 1886. pg. 673.

conclude with certainty that this passage is authentic, for that passage has not been and was not read in 1543–1563, in the Catholic Church. So much is clear and evident.[1]" The assertion seems to me unfounded. The Catholic Church was at the Ecumenical Council of Trent; and she had long before, with the Greeks at the Fourth Council of Lateran, accepted verse 7 as authentic. Besides, the Fathers of the Council of Trent do not only say: "Prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt," they immediately add: "et in veteri Vulgata Latina editione habentur." Who will deny that verse 7 was already then in the Vulgate? We rather accept the other statement in which Mr. Martin corrects himself when he says: "It does not indeed follow that verse 7 is not authentic and canonical; for, strictly speaking, a passage may be held to be authentic and canonical, although it has not always and everywhere been read in the Catholic Church."

From what we have said it follows that the Roman decision in regard to this matter is in no way unscientific. For, if the verse of the three heavenly witnesses is, as far as we now know, wanting in the Oriental Churches, the literature of which is very imperfectly known, the Armenians have accepted it since the end of the XIII. century; the Greek Church and the Russian Church have inserted it in their professions of faith; they admitted it with the Latins at the Fourth Council of Lateran, and are in possession of manuscripts and other authentic documents to prove the reasonableness of their acceptance of it. On the other hand, the Latin Church has considered the passage as authentic from the beginning, as is shown from the use made of it by the Fathers; she has employed it under the most solemn circumstances, and has always had it in the Vulgate. We have already shown how the *omission* of the verse by copyists is readily accounted for, whilst the hypothesis of an interpolation appears altogether unnatural.

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1 *Opus cit.*, pg. 67.

"THE ABSENCE OF RELIGION IN SHAKESPEARE."

II. WAS SHAKESPEARE A POSITIVIST?

IN our previous paper reviewing the article in the *New World* quarterly bearing the title which we have placed above in inverted commas, the first two contentions of Mr. Santayana were found, on close scrutiny, to make rather against than for his position. His first argument dealt with "the religious vocabulary of Shakespeare." His method consisted in illustrating this vocabulary by a single example—an oath; and then in piling up a demonstration of what most people regard as a self-evident fact; namely, that an oath does not argue piety so much as it does argue profanity. But his general thesis was stated much more broadly: "they (the archeologist and the cosmographer) would hardly understand that man had had a religion." We showed how an oath could be made to demonstrate that man had had a religion. And as his single illustration of the poet's religious vocabulary implied that it was recruited solely from profane speech—in short, from *oaths*—we selected for his consideration some luminous examples of a prayerful and deeply religious kind.

Our author's second argument dealt with the frequent references in the poet to "religious institutions and traditions." His assertion that "the clergy, if they have any wisdom, have an earthly one," was illustrated by Friar Laurence and Cardinal Wolsey. Juliet, Ophelia and Isabella illustrated, respectively, Confession, Nunneries and Religious Chastity. We showed how these five examples were illustrations of precisely the opposite thesis.

In the present paper we are to consider the author's two remaining contentions, which deal with the "positivism" of Shakespeare and with those "two or three short passages in the plays . . . . in which true religious feeling seems to break forth."

I.

To illustrate the positivism of Shakespeare, our author alludes to Hamlet's vision of a "true ghost," and, merely

en passant, asserts that the underlying philosophy of the poet is positivism. The assertion ought surely to have been made with all the apparatus that formal logic permits and suggests; for if it can be substantiated, the author's whole claim is proved—positivism and religion being mutually exclusive. By implication, he considers a casual remark as a clear demonstration.

He says: "The metaphysical Hamlet himself sees a 'true ghost,' but so far reverts to the positivism that underlies Shakespeare's thinking as to speak soon after of 'that undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveler returns.'" This is the only treatment, proof, illustration, accorded to the startling—and what should be a final—assertion.

In the sentence itself are carelessly jumbled—apparently without the advertence of the writer—what M. Comte considered three distinct phases of intellectual evolution; namely, the theological or supernatural, the metaphysical, the positive. Here Hamlet is "metaphysical," that is, speculative with respect to life and its problems; he is also "theological," for he sees a "true ghost," and is firmly persuaded that it is either a good spirit or a bad, and whether good or bad, insistently desirous of participating in the actions and destinies that lie under "the glimpses of the moon;" and he is nevertheless "positive," because, forsooth, he speaks of the next world as an "undiscovered country."

Our author's positivistic exegesis of this innocent phrase of Hamlet is so puerile that it might well be passed over here without further comment, save for the fact that it becomes a peg on which to hang a vast generalization of the poet; namely, that positivism underlies his thinking. The demonstration of this assertion would suffice, as we have said, to prove completely the author's thesis of "The Absence of Religion in Shakespeare." For the only means we possess of knowing what Shakespeare thought is by consulting what he wrote; and therefore, if Mr. Santayana be correct, the fundamental note of the poet's singing is positivism. But positivism is the antithesis of religion. Ergo. Why did not the author pause to demonstrate an assertion that precipitates

so satisfactorily the whole *res adjudicanda?* The only illustration he gives is Hamlet's reference to the invisible world of spirits. Let us therefore consider the illustration and try to estimate the amount of positivism it involves.

First of all, it may be said that the soliloquies and preternatural experiences of the melancholy Dane are all against the assumption of any positivistic fibre in his brain. He longs for death, but is "theological" enough to recognize—though as a positivist he should reject—God's dominion over life:

> O, that this too, too solid flesh would melt,
> Thaw, and resolve itself into a dew!
> Or that the Everlasting had not fixed
> His canon 'gainst self-slaughter! O God! O God!
> How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable
> Seem to me all the uses of this world!

Deepest distress of mind causes no rebellion against faith, although he has not as yet seen the "true ghost." When he does see it—(and since to the positivist "seeing is believing," Hamlet could never from thenceforth become a Positivist unless he had first become an Idiot)—he gives another evidence of the religiousness of his soul by his prayer, "Angels and ministers of grace defend us." Speculating afterwards on what he had seen, he recalls the warning of St. Paul, that "satan himself transforms himself into an angel of light;" and he will have grounds more relative than the assertion of the ghost; for, (he argues very correctly and very scripturally):

> The spirit that I have seen
> May be the devil; and the devil hath power
> To assume a pleasing shape; yea, and, perhaps,
> Out of my weakness and my melancholy,
> (As he is very potent with such spirits)
> Abuses me to damn me.

He is therefore sure of the vision, but suspicious of its purpose; and his suspicion arises out of the knowledge he

has of the existence of the unseen world, assisted by the faith he has in the testimony of the Apostle.

And next we come to the famous soliloquy, in which our author detects one clear instance of Shakesperean positivism. If the poet has here made Hamlet a positivist, he certainly has not accorded to him the courage of his convictions. For although Hamlet proves to himself that life is not worth living, he nevertheless concludes *not* to make his quietus with a bare bodkin. The *non sequitur* of this conclusion is so patent, and is so startling withal, that the malingerer must surely have become mad at last ; and sanity and spirituality must have made room, at this stage of the Dane's career, for paresis and positivism. The fact is, however, that the soliloquy assails, by its abstruse inquisition into matters of the unseen world, the fundamental tenet of positivism, which declares all such inquiry vain and futile ; and which, as a consequence, adds to the Aristotelian formula, "*Ignoti nulla cupido*," a courage translatable into the rhymic formula, *Ignoti nulla formido.* But poor Hamlet, on the contrary, desires more of the unknown and yet fears it, too. We can hardly credit his self-depreciatory statement :

> It cannot be
> But I am pigeon-livered, and lack gall
> To make oppression bitter ;

for he has already shown a rare courage in following the Ghost whither it would lead him, despite the fearful opposition of his soldier friends.

What, then, is the meaning of the soliloquy ? Dr. Oliver Goldsmith was foolhardy enough to declare his real opinion that, "The soliloquy in Hamlet, which we have often heard extolled in terms of admiration, is, in our opinion, a heap of absurdities, whether we consider the situation, the sentiment, the argumentation, or the poetry." Dr. Samuel Johnson, on the contrary, endeavors "to show how one sentiment produces another." When "Doctors" disagree, who shall decide ? Nevertheless, we are rash enough to venture on a private view which may explain the soliloquy without

invoking either Goldsmith's explanation that Hamlet was a "pagan," or our author's, that he was a positivist. The "melancholy" Dane most justly deserved his appellation in this soliloquy. He is utterly oppressed with the thought of the thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to. Life is not worth living. To his mind, thus wearily storm-tossed, comes the thought of the calm haven of death. He would take up arms, therefore, against this sea of troubles, and by opposing, end them. But once the word "to die" has passed his lips, it immediately suggests, by an association of ideas inseparable in Scriptural and Christian phraseology, not the figure of a haven safe from storms, but the much sweeter figure of "sleep." "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth," said Christ; "Concerning them that are asleep," writes the Apostle to the Thessalonians; "*Requiescant in pace*," sings the Church. We might here argue with a subtlety like that of our author, to show that Hamlet, in borrowing his figure of "sleep" from most authentic Christian sources, is meditating in most orthodox phraseology, and is conscious, therefore, of the implication of an "awakening" contained in the figure. For our Lord used the metaphor that He might afterwards develop it—"I am the Resurrection;" St. Paul used it to show that the "sleepers" shall be wakened by "the voice of an Archangel, and with the trumpet of God;" and the Church, of course, retains it with the same complementary meaning. Where else could Hamlet have got the suggestion of "*to sleep?*" From the pagan or positivist "*Vale in aeternum!*"—that saddest phrase of endless farewell? It comes to his mind as the most natural of figures; but for this familiarity with it he—that is to say, the dramatist who is in reality speaking behind the *dramatis persona*—is indebted to Christianity. But it may be asked, why does not Hamlet immediately accept the necessary complement of the figure, namely, that the sleep may be terrible with *dreams*—the punishments and rewards of the next life? Why does he say: "To die—to sleep—no more?" Well, he is not a student any longer in the calm solitude of his old college—in "the academic seclusion of Wittenberg;" he is out of joint, like

the times: he is on the verge of suicide. How many before him—and how many after him—have, in similar circumstances, thrown the physic of reason and religion to the dogs!

> Mad from life's history,
> Glad to death's mystery,
> Swift to be hurled—
> Anywhere, anywhere
> Out of the world!

In such a moment of distress as his, we may pardon him the momentary glance at the bare bodkin of a positivistic release from care. But he forthwith "reverts" to his Christian reasoning. The rest of the soliloquy is only an unquiet submission to the inevitable—for "Conscience doth make cowards of us all." He no longer—not even momentarily—"reverts to the positivism that underlies Shakespeare's thinking." He will not commit suicide, for he accepts the next world, and simply confesses his ignorance of "*what* dreams may come when we have shuffled off this mortal coil" to punish the man who has dared to violate the canon set by the Everlasting 'gainst self-slaughter.

Our author, however, makes the point that Hamlet's reference to the next world as "that undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveler returns" argues positivism, that is, a rejection of the whole thing because no one has returned thence to tell us all about it. Let us discuss the point.

There is absolutely no trace of positivism in Hamlet's reference. Our author seems to have forgotten the fact that the words "discover" and "traveler" had a meaning attached to them peculiar to the age of exploration, discovery, and description, in which Shakespeare lived. The "traveler" in those days was a man who described his discoveries. John Taylor, the "water poet," a whimsical traveler by sea and land, made in 1623 a water journey which he described in "A new *Discovery* by Sea with a Wherry from London to Salisbury." The *discovered*

countries were always *described*. A country that remained undescribed was, for the rest of the world, an "undiscovered country" like that of Hamlet. Now those who have journeyed to the world of spirits may, indeed, revisit the glimpses of the moon; but they are mere incorporeal *ghosts*, not *travelers*, since they do not describe their discoveries, and their world remains an "undiscovered country." Hamlet very naturally recalls the reticence of the ghost, who, although he had just come "piping hot from purgatory" (as Dr. Goldsmith, reading the ghost's words not only in a "religious" but in the strictest *Catholic* sense, remarks), refuses to *discover* that prison house to Hamlet:

> But that I am *forbid*
> *To tell* the secrets of my prison house
> I could a tale unfold . . .
> *But this eternal blazon must not be*
> *To ears of flesh and blood.*

We have shown that the phrase referred to by our author, if interpreted, as it should be, in accordance with the spirit of the diction common in the times in which Shakespeare lived, and at the same time peculiar to that age, yields a meaning quite inconsistent with the assumption of *positivism* in Hamlet; for in reality it implies the existence of a certain country, and merely laments the fact that it must ever remain undescribed "to ears of flesh and blood."

We might have demonstrated the point we have just stated in a much simpler way by confining our attention to the strict meaning of the word "discovered." From our modern addiction to the study of geography we are most accustomed to apply the word to the finding out, by exploration, of places not known before. And from this modern eagerness in limiting the word to a unique signification arises the opportunity of the conundrum fiend. He asks, "What was the greatest island before Australia was discovered?" and no one has wit enough to answer, "Australia." But in fact this meaning of "*discover*" is not one of the many literal meanings of the word; and it is not even among the first of its

figurative ones. Many of its literal and figurative significations which were in standard use in Shakespeare's day are now obsolete. In the *Merchant of Venice* we read:

> Go draw aside the curtains and *discover*
> The several caskets to this noble prince.

Here the word means to *disclose to view*. In this sense the phrase "undiscovered country" might well have been used by the poet to describe our ignorance of the next world by a beautiful figure precisely similar to that used in our own times. *Undiscovered* would then mean *covered*, *curtained* or *veiled;* and we now speak of death as "a piercing of the veil." In doing this, does the Christian preacher lay himself open to the suspicion of positivism?

But we need not have recourse even to this perfectly fair and reasonable exegesis, since the prominent (and literal) meanings of the word common in the poet's own time but now obsolete, did not refer to the idea of *finding*, but to that of *displaying*, *revealing*, *disclosing*, *making known.*

Hamlet, then, is not a positivist. Neither is Shakespeare, although our author has broadly stigmatized him thus. The peg on which this charge was hung we have found on examination to sustain quite a different set of Teufelsdröckhian "clothes." Still, it must be confessed that the first appearance or "shows of things" in the soliloquy is rationalistic rather than religious. To free the poet from this imputation, we place ourselves under the inspiration and encouragement of the philosophic Herr Professor from Weissnichtwo: "To look through the shows of things into things themselves he is led and compelled." We purpose, nay, we are led and compelled, to look through the Show of the Soliloquy into the Thing itself. As we find the Thing in the play of Hamlet, it is the second draft of the Shakespearean idea. Through this we shall look at the first draft found in the edition of 1603, which, as some eminent critics surmise, the poet afterwards amended and amplified into *Hamlet* as we now know it. We need not enter into the mooted question of its thorough authenticity. Whether or not it is a "pirated"

and imperfect copy of the play as presented on the stage, it may well be considered *essentially* Shakespeare's first draft of the play. Space will not permit us to fully compare the second draft with the first. We must confine ourselves to the device of printing in italics those portions which are specially significant. From the third line to the end, the older soliloquy testifies to the belief of Hamlet in the severe, but *undescribed* (*i. e. undiscovered*) punishments and rewards of the country "from whence no passenger ever returned." (The letter *I* was a spelling of ay, or aye (yes) in Shakespeare's time.)

Ham.—"To be, or not to be, I there's the point,
To die, to sleepe, is that all? I all:
No, to sleepe, to dreame, I mary there it goes,
For in that dreame of death, when wee *awake*,
And borne before an everlasting Judge,
From whence no passenger ever returned,
The undiscovered country, *at whose sight*,
The happy smile, *and the accursed damn'd.*
But for this, the *joyful hope of this*,
Whoe'd beare the scornes and flattery of the world,
Scorned by the right rich, the rich curssed of the poore.
The widow being oppressed, the orphan wrong'd,
The taste of hunger, or a tirant's raigne,
And thousand more calamities besides,
To grunt and sweat under this weary life,
When that he may his own quietus make,
With a bare bodkin, *who would this indure*,
But for a hope of something after death?
Which pusles the braine, and doth confound the sence,
Which makes vs rather beare those evilles we have,
Than flie to others that we know not of.
I that, O this conscience makes cowards of vs all,
Lady in thy orizons, be all my sinnes remembered."

No imputation of positivism, therefore, lies fairly in Hamlet's reference to the next world. In the same way might the most faithful Christian speak of Heaven as an undis-

covered place; since St. Paul, although rapt thither, has told us nothing more of it than that no eye hath seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive what things the Lord hath prepared for those who love Him.

II.

The final argument of the author attempts to dispose of the last category of facts inimical to his thesis; namely, the passages in the plays in which true religious feeling "seems" to break forth. Here is met in reality the crucial test of the whole contention.

He says: "There are only two or three short passages in the plays, and one sonnet, in which true religious feeling seems to break forth." Only two or three! We could scarce credit the testimony of our eyes as we read this calm statement; for these same eyes have lit upon very many such passages in the poet. But let us see what the two or three are in effect.

He says: "The most beautiful of these passages is that in *Richard the Second* which commemorates the death of Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk:

> "Many a time hath banished Norfolk fought
> For Jesu Christ in glorious Christian field,
> Streaming the ensign of the Christian cross
> Against black Pagans, Turks and Saracens;
> And, toiled with works of war, retired himself
> To Italy; and there, at Venice, gave
> His body to that pleasant country's earth,
> And his pure soul unto his captain Christ,
> Under whose colors he had fought so long."

His comment on this passage is: "This is tender and noble, and full of an indescribable chivalry and pathos, yet even here we find the spirit of war rather than that of religion, and a deeper sense of Italy than of heaven." We venture to differ with the critic in his estimate. Did he expect his readers to skip the extract and rest content with

his sole comment? In no other way can we understand the sublime assurance with which he makes such an astounding commentary. "The spirit of war rather than that of religion!" Josue leading the hosts of Israel into the Land of Promise, not for peace but for war; David smiting the enemies of the Chosen People; Mathathias nobly resolving to do battle even on the Sabbath, and not to fall tamely like the "brethren that were slain in the secret places;" Judas Machabeus fighting "with carefulness the battle of Israel;" had these saintly heroes of old the spirit of war rather than that of religion? *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*—and yet history does not record a sublimer ideal than that which led the Crusaders into the land of the Saracen. They had found something even sweeter to die for than their native land. The poet in this passage has drawn an ideal and pathetically lovely portrait of the Soldier of Christ. To find in these tender religious lines anything else than the knightly Christian faith which, having created the rare flower of mediæval chivalry, could afterwards consecrate it by strewing its votive fragments on the Holy Sepulchre, is an exhibition of critical legerdemain wholly unworthy of a sober thesis.

The author discovers in the lines, also, "a deeper sense of Italy than of heaven." What shall we say? Perhaps he is like that Anglican bishop to whom his physician recommended a trip to Italy as something absolutely necessary in his infirm state of health. The bishop was loath to leave England. "It simply comes to this, then," said the physician; "it is either Italy or—Heaven!" "Well, well," sighed his lordship, "I suppose I must go to Italy!"

The author next quotes one more of the "two or three short passages," with the remark: "More unmixed is the piety of Henry the Fifth after the battle of Agincourt:

> O God, Thy arm was here;
> And not to us, but to Thy arm alone,
> Ascribe we all!—When, without stratagem,
> But in plain shock and even play of battle,
> Was ever known so great and little loss,

On one part and the other?—Take it, God,
For it is none but thine. . . .
Come, go we in procession to the village,
And be it death proclaimed through our host,
To boast of this, or take that praise from God,
Which is His only. . . .
Do we all holy rites;
Let there be sung *Non nobis* and *Te Deum*."

The author thinks that "this passage is certainly a true expression of religious feeling, and just the kind we might expect from a dramatist. Religion appears here as a manifestation of human nature and as an expression of human passion." In comparison with the lines previously quoted, the passage appears to us stilted and formal rather than emotional. The passage follows Holinshed so closely that our author reminds us that it "is not due to Shakespeare's imagination, but is essentially historical; the poet has simply not rejected, as he usually does, the religious element in the situation he reproduces."

And so the "true religious feeling" has been narrowed down to one passage in the plays, and that one has the spirit of war rather than that of religion, and a deeper sense of Italy than of heaven! We have not leisure to discuss the solitary sonnet quoted; even it is declared to be a "doubtful exception" to the non-Christian character of the Sonnets.

III.

Why is religion thus absent in Shakespeare? is the subject to whose discussion the author devotes the remaining part of his article. Having read his article through several times, rather than attempt again to understand a matter that seemed too abstruse for our easy comprehension, we have preferred to play the part taken by Charles the Second in the long and heated discussion that divided the learned world of London into two hostile camps: "Why is a dead fish heavier

than a live one?" The dull brain of the monarch could think of nothing apter to propose than that a fish should be weighed alive, and then dead. The ridiculous experiment was performed, and, as might have been expected from such an unscientific procedure, ended the discussion.

We have weighed the question of the absence of religion in Shakespeare, and we are forced to consider the "why" perfectly analogous to the "why" of our fish story. All the examples selected by our author to illustrate the absence of religion in the plays have been shown to make directly for the opposite thesis. We resolutely confined our attention to the author's illustrations, as it was not part of our programme to attempt a positive proof of the opposite thesis; otherwise we should have filled a large volume with illustrations of our own selecting. When, therefore, the author remarks that there are only two or three passages that display true religious feeling, we might, in rebuttal, rest content with a reference to all his previous illustrations. However, we shall add a few others as parts of the fabric we are prepared to construct on demand.

The author referred to the prayer of Henry the Fifth after the battle of Agincourt as being unexceptionably—barring Holinshed!—pious. Is it more so than Henry the Fourth's reference to the Holy Land?

> Those holy fields
> Over whose acres walked those blessed feet
> Which, fourteen hundred years ago, were nailed
> For our advantage to the bitter cross.

Does not the "bitter" testify to a deep realization of the sufferings of the Man of Sorrows? and the phrase "for our advantage," to a Christian realization of the meaning of the Cross? Is not the line an embodiment of the Messianic prophecy of Isaias: "He was bruised for our iniquities . . . . and by His bruises we are healed?"

Is the pious praise on the lips of Henry the Fifth more religious than that of Talbot, in I. Hen. VI., when he

"Ascribes the glory of his conquest got *First to my God*, and next unto your Grace"? or again when he says:

> "Lost and recovered in a day again!
> This is a double honor, Burgundy!
> Yet, *heavens have glory for this victory.*"

King Richard the Second piously refers to the Sepulchre of "The world's ransom, blessed Mary's son."

In Hamlet there is an allusion to Christmas. Is not the last line redolent of piety?

> Some say, that ever 'gainst that season comes
> Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
> This bird of dawning singeth all night long . . . .
> So hallowed and so gracious is the time!

Then there is Portia, borrowing inspiration from the Lord's Prayer in her plea for mercy. What suggestion could be more Scriptural or more powerful?

> Though justice be thy plea, remember this—
> That in the course of justice none of us
> Should see salvation; we do pray for mercy;
> And that same prayer doth teach us all to render
> The deeds of mercy.

And there is Henry the Sixth, dying, like the protomartyr, with a prayer on his lips for his murderer:

> O, God, forgive my sins, and pardon thee!

We must stop quoting somewhere. Let us end with what is considered an authentic, although extremely brief, work of the poet. Short as it is, it contains a reference to our Saviour:

> Good frend, for Jesus' sake forbeare
> To dig the dust enclosed heare:
> Blest be the man that spares thes stones,
> And curst be he that moves my bones.

IV.

Not a few striking traits of the religiousness of Shakespeare have been commented on in the foregoing pages. But there are virtues as well of omission as of commission. A great temptation resisted is not less a testimony to virtue than a good deed performed. In Shakespeare's time, ridicule of the Catholic clergy was a passport to popular and to royal favor, just as to-day the stage parson is a butt of universal ridicule. A writer in the July number of the *Westminster Review* comments on this character as follows: "The clergy are, nowadays, not so much disliked or feared as held generally in contempt. The stage parson is a proof in point. When the clergy are represented before the footlights it is, nearly always, in an unfavorable view. The theatrical impersonation is the butt for ridicule—seldom, if ever, manly or inspiring respect. He is usually either a cross somewhere between a man and woman, or a nursery innocent with a hopeless ignorance of the ways of the world. Stage managers and theatrical authors know their public." Shakespeare had access to this easy means of popularity, as well as the dramatists of to-day or the envious playwrights of his own time; and it is therefore singularly significant that he should not only have avoided ridicule, but should also have thrown a dignity and a reverence around his clerical characters, contradicting every one of the stage-parson peculiarities enumerated by the writer in the *Westminster Review*, and conciliating for his clergy the admiration and affection of Protestants like Coleridge.

The argumentative method adopted by the critic is surely an exasperating one. He interprets awry, by means of pleasant epigrams, Shakespearean characterizations in which many evidences of religion are to be found by even the laziest seeker. The lovable Friar Laurence "culls his herbs like a more benevolent Medea"; the moralizing Wolsey "flings away ambition with a profoundly Pagan despair." Epigrams are always striking, and often stick. They require, however, little genius in their construction, if a rigid carefulness with respect to their content be no hampering con-

sideration. Macaulay manufactured a brilliant style out of them, and deserved the epigrammatic retort of *Blackwood's*: "Everybody reads, everybody admires, but nobody believes in—Mr. Macaulay." From the plays of Shakespeare, the archæologist and the cosmographer might easily discover that man "had had a religion" not built on the gratuitous "science" of positivism; not fearful and forbidding like that of the Greek dramatists, but instinct with tenderness, pity, love, forgiveness; not devoting to lust and rapine, but consecrating to chastity and religious poverty the highest energies of heart and head and hand; not corrupting, but purifying all the senses in its passage to the soul; not handing humanity over to fatalism here and forgetfulness hereafter, but rendering life endurable and death sweet.

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CASUS APOSTOLI CUM IMPEDIMENTO CRIMINIS.

CAJUS infidelis cum Livia item infideli ante multos annos matrimonium contraxit. Aliquot annis post Cajus, Liviae pertaesus, divortio civili obtento, eam deserit. Haec dein, Cajo vivente, nubit Petro, nullius frugis catholico, qui bene novit, primum maritum Liviae, Cajum, adhuc vivere. Non multo post Livia amplectitur fidem catholicam, et sacerdos, qui eam in Ecclesiam Catholicam suscepit, in finem, ut ejus matrimonium validetur, ponit quaestiones sequentes:

1. An et quomodo Cajus pro usu Privilegii Paulini a Livia sit interpellandus?

2. An matrimonio Liviae et Petri obstet impedimentum criminis?

3. An in hac specie impedimenti criminis Episcopi nostri vi. Art. 8, Formulae I. dispensare possint?

Resp. ad 1mum. a. Ut infidelis, ad fidem catholicam conversus, innixus Privilegio a Christo Domino in favorem fidei concesso et per S. Paulum Apostolum in Ep. I. ad Cor. cap. VII. v. 15 promulgato[1] uti et libertate frui possit transeundi ad novum matrimonium cum parte catholica, *ex jure divino* requiritur, ut de discessu partis infidelis, quacum matrimonium legitimum contraxit, moraliter certus sit i. e. ex ejus responso ad monitionem a se factam aut ex ejus verbis vel factis certior fiat, eam nedum velle ad fidem catholicam converti sed nec pacifice secum vivere. Quia haec certitudo regulariter ex interpellatione partis infidelis in sua infidelitate remanentis acquiritur, haec interpellatio regulariter ex jure divino necessaria est, nisi ob speciales difficultates a S. Pontifice dispensatio conceditur.

b. Ex *jure ecclesiastico*[2] interpellatio fieri debet in forma canonica i. e. juridica et formalis esse debet eo ut pars in infidelitate manens a judice ecclesiastico, nempe ab Ordinario aut Sacerdote ab hoc delegato nomine partis conversae per monitionem scriptam, termino peremptorie apposito, in judicium citetur, ut ibi coram judice sui oris confessione mentem suam circa suam conversionem ad fidem et circa cohabitationem cum parte conversa aperiat. Si dein aut pertinax non comparet aut coram judice declarat, se nolle amplius cohabitare cum parte conversa, huic libertas competit, transeundi ad novas nuptias, quibus contractis matrimonium cum parte infideli solvitur etiam quoad vinculum.

De interpellatione ita facta ejusque eventu instrumentum legale seu, ut dicunt, processus extrajudicialis confici et pro futuris eventibus in Curia Episcopali accurate servari debet.

Modus hic partem infidelem interpellandi quandoque difficultate non caret. Ideo ex communi praxi plerumque eo suppletur, ut pars conversa per se aut per suum manda-

1 Cfr. Perrone *Praelect. de Matr.* cap. 2, prop. 2, et *de Matr. Christ.* ed. Rom. lib. iii. sect. 1, cap. 7; Feije *de imped. matr.* n. 471 seq.; Rosset. *de Sacr. Matr.*, 1895, n. 589 seq. aliosque.

2 Cfr. Zitelli *de dispens. matr.* Roma 1887, p. 121, Bened. XIV. *de Syn. dioec.* lib. xiii., cap. 21, n 4.

tarium infidelem de ipsius mente, ut supra, coram fidis testibus interroget et dein judex sive ordinarius sive delegatus de responso infidelis processum extrajudicialem conficiat. Imo sufficit, si interpellatio *private* per neophytum ipsum fit aut per interpositam personam, viva voce vel litteris ad interpellandum missis, servatis tamen semper substantialibus.[1] Quare persona pro interpellatione electa probe instruenda est de quaestionibus ponendis, ne e. gr., tantum moneat infidelem, ut se convertat ad fidem christianam, nihil dicendo de matrimonio et cohabitatione—aut tantum interroget, num velit cum uxore pacifice vivere. Talis enim interpellatio invalida declarata est a Gregorio XVI., 17 Jan. 1836.[2] Sufficit demum, si pars infidelis factis indubitatis obstinaciam suam ostendit, ut si mulier conversa a marito quem de baptismo sibi collato certiorem reddidit, tum ipsa tum fides christiana maledictionibus cumulatur et post frustraneum conatum perversionis injuriis affecta dimittitur[3] aut si pars infidelis malitiose fugerit vel latitet, ne interpelletur.—Semper tamen in hisce casibus, auditis, si haberi possint, testibus processus extrajudicialis saltem a parocho est conficiendus, ut interpellatio aliquomodo canonica sit et postea probari possit. Nam si interpellatio omissa fuerit aut postmodum probari nequeat nec dispensatio ab ea concessa sit, et postea de valore secundi matrimonii quaestio oritur, in foro conscientiae quidem matrimonio contracto ante sententiam judicis standum est pro ejus valore etiamsi de discessu infidelis dubitetur,[4] attamen in foro externo plerumque magna oritur difficultas, et S. Congr. de Prop. Fide juxta longam, quam habet hac de re experientiam, in Instructione de anno 1883, §. 45[5] jussit Ordinarios, judicio

1 Gallo: *Suppetiae Evang. praeconibus oblatae.* Romae 1872, vol. iv, cap. 4;—Corre: *Notae additiae ad Gury.* Hong Kong. 1890, pag. 315;—*Collect. S. C. de Prop. Fide*, n. 1311 ad 4.

2 Ap. Sica: *Cas. consc.* Zi-ka-wei (in Sinis) 1881, pag. 93.

3 Perrone ap. Sica l. c. pag. 96;—Feije l. c. ed, 4, n. 488.

4 Bucceroni: *Cas. consc.* ed. 1, vol. ii, n. 160; Corre l. c. pag. 313.

5 Eam habes ap. *Conc. Plen. Balt. III*, p. 278 et in *Collect. S. Congr. de Prop. Fide*, n. 1573.

suspenso, casum cum omnibus suis circumstantiis ad S. Sedem remittere.[1]

Resp. ad 2^dum.—Matrimonio Liviae et Petri obstat impedimentum criminis, si matrimonio quovis modo, vivente Cajo, contracto seu potius attentato, crimen adulterii, eodem Cajo adhuc vivente, ab eis per copulam ex utraque parte perfectam *formaliter* commissum est. Tum enim species impedimenti criminis existit, quod dicitur *ex adulterio solo* seu *neutro patrante* vel *machinante* in mortem conjugis alterius.[2]

Et quidem afficit impedimentum hoc, quia juris mere ecclesiastici est, directe Petrum catholicum,[3] indirecte vero Liviam, quae dum fuit infidelis, non autem post baptismum cum Petro adulterasse supponitur. Dixi vero *formaliter;* nam si adulterium ex ignorantia sive facti sive etiam juris, licet crassa et culpabili a Petro commissum fuerit, crimen adulterii non esset formaliter tale, utpote absque dolo commissum, unde nec effectum impedimenti dirimentis haberet.[4] Jam vero ignorantia facti in Petro non exstitit, dicitur enim in casus expositione, Petrum bene novisse, primum maritum Liviae adhuc vivere; existere vero potuit ignorantia juris. Nam homines rudes et in religione parum eruditi, licet catholici sint, in his praesertim regionibus saepissime putant, divortio civili obtento, licere etiam vivente altero conjuge ad novas nuptias transire in iisque matrimonialiter vivere; et quamvis ex ignorantia crassa et supina ita agant, ideoque peccent, impedimentum tamen matrimonii, quod criminis vocatur, sibi minime contrahunt. Advertas autem, hic non agi de ignorantia impedimenti ipsius; sed de ignorantia juris copulam vetantis. Ignorantia impedimenti effici nequit, ne hoc non incurratur.[5]

1 Quoad Priv. Paulin. cfr (praeter alia) *Commentarium in Facult. Apost.* ed. 4, curante Jos. Putzer. Benziger. 1897. Pag. 197 seq.

2 Cfr. Konings *Comp. Theol. mor.* n. 1594, S. Alph. vi. 1042 et alios.

3 Sanchez *de Matr.* lib. vii., disp. 79 in fine. Feije n. 458, 2°. Konings *Comp.* vol. ii., pag. 396, (K). Sabetti n. 900.

4 S. Alph. libr. vi., n. 1036 Requir. v.

5 Konings n. 1574, quaer. 3°.; Sabetti n. 874, qu. 2.

Posito nunc, investigatione facta, Petrum ex capite ignorantiae nullo modo a crimine formali adulterii fuisse excusatum, ideoque impedimentum dirimens criminis adulterii solius contraxisse, inquirendum est de dispensatione ad matrimonium cum Livia revalidandum. Unde

Resp. ad 3^tium scil. an in hac specie impedimenti criminis Episcopi nostri vi Articuli 8^vi Formulae I^mae dispensare possint? Omnibus consideratis respondeo: Affirmative. Nempe juxta Gasparri[1] in hac quidem specie criminis apud S. Sedem solum ex causa canonica, quae una ex gravioribus est, dispensatur, et culpabilis praemisso examine circa fidem qua suspectus de haeresi facta abjuratione ac imposita poenitentia absolvendus et dein dispensandus est. Ex quo sequi videtur, casum hunc esse S. Officii, et tanquam extraordinarium ab illis, pro quibus in Formula I. facultas dispensandi conceditur, excludendum.[2] E contra Pyrrhus Corradus[3] refert, in hac impedimenti criminis specie, si occultum sit, semper dispensari sicut in aliis infamantibus et saepe etiam, si est publicum. Unde quia S. Officium, in quo Formulae Facultatum pro Episcopis etc. componuntur, in hoc Articulo indistincte loquitur, nec a nobis est distinguendum et Articulus in tota extensione intelligi debet, inclusa etiam hac specie impedimenti, et hoc eo magis, quia Facultates pro personis indeterminatis concessae late interpretandae sunt. Quare nihil obstare videtur, quominus Episcopi et ex eorum communicatione Sacerdotes in Dioecesi laborantes hoc Articulo uti queant in adulterio cum matrimonio attentato.

J. P.

1 *Tractat. can. de matr.*, n. 655.

2 Cfr. quod in reg. juris 81 in 6° docent Reiffenstuel, Sanfelice aliique.

3 *Praxis dispensationum Apostolicarum* lib. viii., cap. ix., in fine (Ap. Migne. *Curs. Theol. compl.*, vol. 19, col. 792).

THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE.

NO Catholic can fail to take a certain interest in the decennial gatherings of English and American ecclesiastics, which have taken place in England now four times in succession. They have been variously called the Pan-Anglican Conference, the Pan Anglo-American Conference, and, now more generally, the Lambeth Conference. They call themselves "Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church in full communion with the Church of England," the latter body thus assuming a sort of central position, communion with which seems to afford a text of their orthodoxy. They could not well call themselves "Bishops in communion with the Catholic Church," and therefore, we suppose by way of locating their centre, they are described as in communion with the Church of England. What is the centre of the Church of England, it would be hard to say, for Canterbury is not a Patriarchate—the recent Conference has distinctly put its foot down in repudiation of such a centre—and the present Archbishop of York has initiated a practice which has some significance, namely, that of using his processional cross in the Archdiocese of Canterbury. Neither is the Crown any longer the practical centre of the Church of England; for although she can make no authoritative canons without the permission of the Crown, which really means without the consent of Parliament, still the Church of England for the most part goes on her way, unheeded of Crown or Parliament, and developes her tone and teaching out of her own resources. The salient feature of her position is really indicated by the title on which we have commented, which ties these Bishops, however loosely, to communion with the Church of England, whilst she is herself tied to nobody, except the State. A National Church she certainly is not, in the sense of being the Church of the nation at large; a State Church she certainly is, in the sense of possessing special privileges at the hands of the State, as compared with all other religious bodies in England.

These Bishops, then, (we call them so, of course, in courtesy) met a year earlier than usual in order to take advantage of the prestige which rightly attaches to this Jubilee Year. There was one most pathetic incident about their gathering, namely, that the Archbishop who had taken, perhaps, a greater interest in the anticipated Conference than had any previous Archbishop, was taken from our midst before it met. There can be little doubt but that had Archbishop Benson presided over the late Conference, its history would have been different. For, whereas Dr. Benson was full of the theme of ecclesiastical continuity, Dr. Temple, though by no means disposed to lay aside any advantage accruing to the status of his Church from such a theory, still left the subject in comparative obscurity. The Conference was a strictly accurate reflection of his mind, so far as it can be gathered from his history and recent utterances. It was turned from more directly ecclesiastical subjects to those of a less exciting nature ; but it had to be turned ; and the turn given to it was due to the masterful mind of the late Headmaster of Rugby, author of one of the notorious Essays and Reviews, Bishop of Exeter in spite of overwhelming protests against his supposed doctrinal teachings, and refusals of some of the bishops to take part in his consecration, and, at length, by favor of Mr. Gladstone, Bishop of London, and finally Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Temple is a man whom no one can help admiring as a man ; as a theologian, the less said of him the better. There is a story which we heard told of him at Oxford, which illustrates his character for honesty. A clergyman is said to have asked him to hear his confession. Dr. Temple, so the Oxford story goes, being then Bishop of London, told the clergyman to wait a day or two. Meanwhile, he went off and made his first Confession himself. Whether the story be true or not, it faithfully reflects the impression which his character has produced. But his decision and refusal to allow his judgment to be contravened, are not less remarkable. In the last Lambeth Conference but one, when the regular use of the Sacrament of Penance was repudiated as contrary to the teaching of the Church of

England, one Bishop rose and bore witness to his convictions, which were entirely opposed to the decision of the Conference. No such incident could have been achieved at the recent Conference. It is said that in that Conference, a Bishop wished to ask a question, obviously in the way of opposition, and pleaded that it would only take a minute to put it to the gathering; but Archbishop Temple replied (so the story goes) that it would take more than a minute to answer.

There is generally some subject before the Anglican public, which is expected to be dealt with by so large an assembly of their Bishops. In 1888, one subject that had been exciting the public mind was the adherence of the Church of England to the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession. Canon Gore, in his *Roman Catholic Claims* (1st ed., 1889, p. 18) says: "It is surely wonderful that in the Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion in this year, a proposal which was made (if report speaks true) subversive of the principle of the Apostolic Succession, should not have been able to get a hearing, or be allowed to appear in the official report." He gives references to the Encyclical Letter of the Conference at Lambeth. But although it was "wonderful" that "Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church, in full communion with the Church of England," should have rejected a proposal subversive of the principle of the Apostolic Succession, it is not so certain that the Bishops of the recent Lambeth Conference have not done something to weaken their witness to that principle. This, however, by the way. What were the subjects before the public mind, regarding the teaching and practice of the Church of England, when that Conference met this year? For, the capacity of the Church of England to guide the nation in matters of religion, indeed its claim to be an authoritative teacher of religion at all, will greatly depend, in the mind of the ordinary Anglican, on its power of dealing with the embarrassments and perplexities of the hour. These were principally three.

In September, 1894, one of the "Bishops of the Catholic Church in full communion with the Church of England"

went through the form of episcopal consecration in Madrid, "consecrating" to the office of bishop a Spanish priest who had apostatized in favour of Presbyterian teaching. The Archbishops and Bishops of Spain were indignant to the last degree. Although they regarded, as they said, the consecration as a farce, still the assumption of the title "Bishop" and, as it seems, of some of the *insignia* of a bishop, by this apostate priest, were calculated to throw dust in the eyes of the ignorant, and the act was held to be in opposition to the laws of the country. It was winked at by the civil authorities; but the Episcopate, from end to end of Spain, protested against the insulting act. The Archbishop of Madrid particularly pointed out that "it is wounding that this should come from the hand of a Protestant communion that owns by its own theories that the Catholic can obtain salvation without leaving the Catholic Church" (Pastoral, October 14, 1894). "It pains us," he adds, "that the purple which Holy Church dignifies, which is venerated by the Spanish people, and which, according to the published accounts, not even the consecrating minister[1] ventured to usurp, he takes upon himself to wear as a sign of his false dignity, who threw away the black habit with which he had been invested." There is now, therefore, at Madrid, an apostate priest, of semi-Calvinistic, semi-Presbyterian views (cf. the Prayer book as originally published by him), placed there by one of the "Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church in full communion with the Church of England," in opposition to the Episcopate of the country. When the scandal of this act was commented on, and the wrath of certain High Churchmen in the Church of England, flared up just for a while, we were referred to the coming Lambeth Conference. The act is one which is clean contrary to the professed teaching of the High Church section; for it is setting up altar against altar, unless the Church of England has come to the conclusion that the Bishops of Spain are not Bishops of the Catholic Church.

But another subject of perplexity has been before the

1 The Archbishop of Dublin.

Anglican public still more recently. The question has arisen: Does the Church of England teach that the marriage tie is indissoluble, except by death? The members of the Church of England have been disturbed on this question from end to end of the country. Not one "Bishop of the Holy Catholic Church in full communion with the Church of England" possessing a Diocese in England, has lifted up his voice in support of the indissolubility of that sacred tie, whilst several have distinctly denied it. People looked with natural anxiety to see if this large gathering of "Bishops in communion with the Church of England" would give them some definite guidance on a matter which lies at the root of social progress, and on which every Catholic in the land has a fixed and clear judgment.

A third subject which has distraught the Anglican mind since the Conference is that of the Sacrifice of the Mass. The subject of the Real Objective Presence was the one really before the public mind at the time of the Lincoln judgment; but the Archbishop allowed no one to know what the Church of England teaches on that head. The Court ruled that certain actions which had been performed as symbolizing that doctrine were to be considered indifferent in their meaning, and it enforced on the Bishop of Lincoln a mode of performing the chief act of the Communion-Service, which would bring into greater prominence a ritual act, which finds its place in no liturgy of the Catholic Church from the days of the Apostles downwards, but which was introduced into the Anglican communion service in the interest of Zwinglian doctrine, viz., the breaking of the bread before consecration. But the whole subject of the Objective Presence has come before the public once again in the question of Anglican Orders. The Archbishops, in their answer to the Holy Father, enunciated the teaching of the Church of England "for all time" in a series of sentences which omits the Real Objective Presence, and, by omitting, denies it.

Such were the circumstances under which the Lambeth Conference met. What has been the result of their deliberations?

The *Church Times* says: "Those who expected anything very definite, or any new solution of difficult questions as the result of the Lambeth Conference will have been grievously disappointed by the somewhat goody-goody and verbose string of platitudes and truisms which, to a superficial reader, the published letter of the 194 assembled Archbishops and Bishops must appear." But it congratulates itself on the fact that "so large a number of Bishops . . . have separated without doing much, if any, mischief." It is natural that the *Church Times* should do its best to minimize the failure of all these Bishops to rise to the occasion and do what a Catholic sense of any real guardianship of the faith would demand of them. But it is curious that it should suggest that the larger the number of Bishops, the greater the danger of mischief. The *Guardian* also lays stress on this point. It explains how the omission of some points and the appearance of compromise on others, must be set down to the differences of opinion naturally existing amongst so many Bishops.

What, then, have they done with regard to the subjects mentioned above which would seem to have demanded some treatment at their hands?

As regards the scandal in Spain, they have expressed their warm sympathy with those who found themselves unable to accept the terms on which alone the Catholic Church in Spain allows her members the use of the Sacraments. They do not speak of these dissenters in Spain in the same terms as they speak of the equally schismatic dissidents in Germany and Switzerland. But they express their "sympathy with the brave and earnest men of France, Italy, *Spain* and Portugal, who have been driven to free themselves," etc. Imagine with what scathing, burning words St. Cyprian would have denounced this thoroughly schismatic action. But these "Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church in full communion with the Church of England," assembled at Lambeth, have nothing but words of sympathy for the motley crew of Methodists, Anglicans and Freemasons, who have been gathered into a separatist congregation by the

priest who gave up his "black habit" eventually to don the purple.

As regards the subject of Divorce, the Bishops have penned one of those sentences which have been the despair of many an earnest-minded soul in the Anglican communion. They say that "the foundation of its holy security and honour [*i. e.* that of marriage] is the precept of our Lord, 'What therefore God hath joined together let not man put asunder.'" As the whole controversy during the last two years has hinged on the meaning of these words, their quotation amounts to nothing. They proceed: "We utter our most earnest words of warning against the lightness with which the lifelong vow of marriage is often taken;" here again it must be remembered that those Bishops who have publicly spoken against the indissolubility of the marriage-tie, are content to make the contracting parties say, "till death us do part," and nevertheless they explain the words as not in *all* cases binding both parties. The question on which so much heat has been expended, is, whether the innocent party is free to marry when the adulterer has broken his vow; whether the bond can be actually severed by the sin of one party. On this, the vital point of the discussion, no guidance is forthcoming. Nay, these high-sounding sentences end in an ominous warning "against the frequency and facility of recourse to the courts of law for the dissolution of this most solemn bond." If the Bishops had denounced the recourse to the courts of law "for the dissolution of this most solemn bond," simply and absolutely, they would have done something. As it is, they have left the door open wide. It is only against "the frequency and facility of recourse" that they have any warning to utter. The effect of this timidity, not to say betrayal, on the part of these Bishops would certainly make itself felt in England, were the authority of the Bishops more than it is; but that authority is still sufficient in the moral order to have effected something if they could have presented a united front in favour of the absolute indissolubility of the marriage-tie. As it is, the maintenance of that fundamental truth will fall more and more on

the shoulders of the Catholic Church, who would gladly have welcomed aid from these 194 Bishops. But the closing sentence is significant indeed, viz.: "the full consideration of this matter it has been impossible to undertake on this occasion." Fifty-three years ago, a clergyman of the Church of England wrote thus about his Church: "A society so ordered may be still, by God's inscrutable mercy, a channel of Divine grace, as our Church is; but it is literally unmeaning to speak of it as a dispenser or witness of religious truth. We cannot learn doctrine from the English Church, if we would; for she teaches no uniform doctrine to be learned" (*Ideal of a Church*, p. 409, 1844). And so in this matter of the absolute indissolubility of the marriage-tie her members must wait ten years more, whilst she considers her position more fully.

As regards the third matter which we selected as prominent before the religious public since the last assembly of Anglican Bishops at Lambeth, a profound silence has been maintained. One whom Anglicans themselves call the Chief Bishop of Western Christendom, in a Letter which they call "Apostolic," not of course in its teaching, but by reason of the historical position held by that Bishop, has, after a careful reinvestigation of the whole matter, decided that these Bishops do not possess the power of consecrating the elements of bread and wine in the Holy Eucharist to become the Body and Blood of Christ. By far the larger number of Englishmen agree with the Holy Father in this decision—mostly, because they do not believe that any one on earth has such power. It was an hour for an expression of belief. The occasion called for some decisive action. But the Bishops, or at any rate, the master mind amongst them, had gone in for the principle of concealing all differences of opinion, and it is well known that the differences on this subject are profound. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, calling themselves "Archbishops of England," had written an answer to the Pope, in which a lamentable display of weak logic is combined with theological inaccuracy on a number of points; and in their reply they claim to

be "sacrificing" priests of some sort, though not in the sense in which the term is used in the Catholic Church—not, that is, as offerers of the Blessed Body and Blood of our Lord objectively present through the act of consecration. The accuracy of their representation of the belief of the Church of England has been seriously called in question; but the only reply that has been elicited has been a protest from the Archbishop of York, to the effect that the subject is not one for controversy. Now no one in the least conversant with matters in the Anglican communion (in which, in accordance with the language of the Lambeth Conference, we include the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America), would dream of blaming the individual Bishops for declining to enter on such a subject as the Eucharistic Sacrifice. They do not agree on the subject; and it would be folly to suppose that any statement of belief on such a subject could be drawn up by them, except by means of whittling away all that is positive in their several beliefs. But what an incapacity such a state of things reveals! What an incapacity for fulfilling the primary duty of guardians of the faith!

The fact is the Lambeth Conference of 1888 adopted a basis for reunion, or approach to reunion, which is repeated in the Report of the recent Conference on "Reformation movements on the continent of Europe and elsewhere," (signed by the Archbishop of York), and which is significant as to the ideas of the "Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church in full communion with the Church of England," as to what is necessary for visible union. The Holy Scriptures as "the rule and ultimate standard of faith"—two Sacraments—the historic Episcopate—and "the Apostle's Creed as the baptismal symbol; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith." Now this basis was distinctly repudiated by the Fathers of the Council of Ephesus, led by St. Cyril of Alexandria. Nestorius offered to sign the Nicene Creed; but St. Cyril replied that this was not enough, as Nestorius explained it wrongly. The present Dean of Ripon would doubtless sign the Nicene

Creed any number of times, but he would explain the Incarnation and the Resurrection, as he has done in public, in a way that cuts up by the roots all real belief in those two central verities.

There is, however, one feature of this Conference which does certainly distinguish it from others. There was throughout a certain tone of piety—we speak, of course, only of the public utterances—which ought to command our respect. The Archbishop's sermons and addresses, and the estimate which the Bishops themselves in various forms have given to the public of the value of the Conference, all betray a certain consciousness of a pervading spirit of piety and charity. This, of course, must go far to disarm the critic who might be disposed to pass too severe a judgment on the omissions in the way of guarding the faith which have been so conspicuous in the utterances of the Conference. At the same time we are bound not to forget that the pietistic spirit has ere now left the care of the faith to others, and that the primary duty of a real Episcopate is the jealous care of that faith. But the fact is that the Lambeth Conference has revealed the Episcopate "in full communion with the Church of England" as a body of earnest-minded Christian governors of their several flocks, but not as guardians of the Catholic Faith, nor as "High-Priests" of the Christian Covenant. Throughout the various addresses, including those given by Bishop King in the Retreat which followed the Conference, the consciousness of a common inheritance in the Sacrificing Priesthood of the New Covenant does not so much as once float to the surface. Yet circumstances had occurred which must have evoked expressions of this consciousness, if it had been there in general to be evoked; not even the answer of the Archbishops to the Pope obtained any sort of approval, nothing beyond the mere mention of its having been made, with a significant omission of any comment or epithet in its praise.

There is one more point on which a word or two should be said. The Conference speaks, in two of its resolutions, of *National Churches*. Indeed, one great aim of the Confer-

ence seems to have been to supply or strengthen links of communion with "the various National Churches, etc.," within what they call "the Anglican Communion." But where is there a "National Church" in communion with the Church of England? Who in all this Conference represented a National Church? Were the American Bishops representative of the "National Church" of America? Were the Bishops, or Bishop of New Zealand representative of the National Church of New Zealand, or the Irish Bishops of the "National Church" of Ireland? What constitutes any body of bishops a National Church? Does the mere fact of their being "in full communion with the Church of England?" Is there any one body that was represented at the Lambeth Conference in any real sense a National Church?

The fact is, that this nomenclature means a great deal more than might appear on the surface. The Church of England is more and more drifting into the full position of the Donatists. These schismatics were not only in isolation, out of communion with the churches of every nation under heaven, as is the case with the Church of England; but they went on to plant seedlings elsewhere, so that, when St. Augustine pointed out that they were only in one place, whereas the Catholic Church is everywhere in communion with itself throughout the world, the Donatists, he tells us, pointed to the fact of a few scattered representatives in various parts, which were supposed to constitute their catholicity. The case of these so-called National Churches "in full communion with the Church of England," is precisely similar. They have in almost every case placed a bishop, where a bishop already existed, infringing the Cyprianic rule, according to which, the second bishop is no bishop at all. It would seem as if, to the Anglican mind, it were enough to fly the British flag, and however many Catholic bishops may have already existed in the region over which that standard floats, they forthwith cease to have jurisdiction, if indeed, they possessed it at all in any portion of God's earth over which the British Raj was destined one day to extend. The greater portion of the Bishops attending the Lambeth Conference, even were

they really possessed of the Apostolical Succession, would be in manifest schism, quite apart from the question of the See of Peter. And everything points at present to their drawing the bonds of their schismatic alliance closer, until, as must happen under such circumstances, the earthborn links give and snap—and then—*nous verrons.*

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ANALECTA.

EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA DE ROSARIO MARIALI.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBUS
ARCHIEPISCOPIS EPISCOPIS ALIISQUE LOCORUM
ORDINARIIS PACEM ET COMMUNIONEM
CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE
HABENTIBUS

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES

Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Augustissimae Virginis Mariae foveri assidue cultum et contentiore quotidie studio promoveri quantum privatim publiceque intersit, facile quisque perspiciet, qui secum reputaverit, quam excelso dignitatis et gloriae fastigio Deus ipsam collocarit. Eam enim ab aeterno ordinavit ut Mater Verbi fieret humanam carnem assumpturi; ideoque inter omnia, quae essent in triplici ordine naturae, gratiae, gloriaeque pulcherrima, ita distinxit, ut merito eidem Ecclesia verba illa tribuerit: *Ego ex ore Altissimi prodivi primogenita ante omnem creaturam.*[1] Ubi autem volvi primum coepere saecula, lapsis in culpam humani generis auctoribus infectisque eâdem labe posteris universis, quasi pignus constituta est instaurandae pacis atque salutis.—Nec dubiis honoris significationibus Unigenitus Dei Filius sanctissimam matrem est prosequutus. Nam et dum privatam in terris vitam egit, ipsam adscivit utriusque prodigii administram, quae tunc primum patravit; alterum gratiae, quo ad Mariae salutationem exultavit infans in utero Elisabeth; alterum

1 Eccl. xxiv., 5.

naturae, quo aquam in vinum convertit ad Canae nuptias; et quum supremo vitae suae publicae tempore novum conderet Testamentum divino sanguine obsignandum, eamdem dilecto Apostolo commisit verbis illis dulcissimis: *Ecce mater tua.*[1] Nos igitur qui, licet indigni, vices ac personam gerimus in terris Iesu Christi Filii Dei, tantae Matris persequi laudes nunquam desistemus, dum hac lucis usura fruemur. Quam quia sentimus haud futuram Nobis, ingravescente aetate, diuturnam, facere non possumus quin omnibus et singulis in Christo filiis Nostris Ipsius cruce pendentis extrema verba, quasi testamento relicta, iteremus: *Ecce mater tua.* Ac praeclare quidem Nobiscum actum esse censebimus, si id Nostrae commendationes effecerint, ut unusquisque fidelis Mariali cultu nihil habeat antiquius, nihil carius, liceatque de singulis usurpare verba Ioannis, quae de se scripsit: *Accepit eam discipulus in sua.*[2]—Adventante igitur mense Octobri, ne hoc quidem anno patimur, Venerabiles Fratres, carere vos Litteris Nostris, rursus adhortantes sollicitudine qua possumus maxima, ut Rosarii recitatione studeat sibi quisque ac laboranti Ecclesiae demereri. Quod quidem precandi genus divina providentia videtur sub huius saeculi exitum mire invaluisse, ut languescens fidelium excitaretur pietas; idque maxime testantur insignia templa ac sacraria Deiparae cultu celeberrima.—Huic divinae Matri, cui flores dedimus mense Maio, velimus omnes fructiferum quoque Octobrem singulari pietatis affectu esse dicatum. Decet enim utrumque hoc anni tempus ei consecrari, quae de se dixit: *Flores mei fructus honoris et honestatis.*[3]

Vitae societas atque coniunctio, ad quam homines naturâ feruntur, nulla aetate fortasse arctior effecta est, aut tanto studio tamque communi expetita, quam nostrâ. Nec quisquam sane id reprehendat, nisi vis haec naturae nobilissima ad prava saepe consilia detorqueretur, convenientibus in unum atque in varii generis societates coeuntibus impiis hominibus *adversus Dominum et adversus Christum eius.*[4]

1 Io. xix., 27. 2 Ib. 3 Eccli. xxiv. 23. 4 Ps. ii. 2.

Cernere tamen est, idque profecto accidit iucundissimum, inter catholicos etiam adamari magis coeptos pios coetus; eos haberi confertissimos; iis quasi communibus domiciliis christianae vinculo dilectionis ita adstringi cunctos et quasi coalescere, ut vere fratres et dici posse et esse videantur. Neque enim, Christi caritate sublata, fraterna societate et nomine gloriari quisquam potest; quod acriter olim Tertullianus hisce verbis persequebatur: *Fratres vestri sumus iure naturae matris unius, etsi vos parum homines, quia mali fratres. At quanto dignius fratres et dicuntur et habentur qui unum patrem Deum agnoscunt, qui unum spiritum biberunt sanctitatis, qui de uno utero ignorantiae eiusdem ad unam lucem expaverint veritatis*[1]*?* Multiplex autem ratio est, qua catholici homines societates huiusmodi saluberrimas inire solent. Huc enim et circuli, ut aiunt, et rustica aeraria pertinent, itemque conventus animis per dies festos relaxandis, et secessus pueritiae advigilandae, et sodalitia, et coetus alii optimis consiliis instituti complures. Profecto haac omnia, etsi nomine, forma, aut suo quaeque peculiari ac proximo fine, recens inventa esse videantur, re tamen ipsâ sunt antiquissima. Constat enim, in ipsis christianae religionis exordiis eius generis societatum vestigia reperiri. Serius autem legibus confirmatae, suis distinctae signis, privilegiis donatae, divinum ad cultum in templis adhibitae, aut animis corporibusve sublevandis destinatae, variis nominibus, pro varia temporum ratione, appellatae sunt. Quarum numerus in dies ita percrebuit, ut, in Italia maxime, nulla civitas, oppidum nullum, nulla ferme paroecia sit, ubi non illae aut complures, aut aliquae certe habeantur.

In his minime dubitamus praeclarum dignitatis locum assignare sodalitati, quae a sanctissimo Rosario nuncupatur. Nam sive eius spectetur origo, e primis pollet antiquitate, quod eiusmodi institutionis auctor fuisse feratur ipse Dominicus pater; sive privilegia aestimentur, quamplurimis ipsa ornata est, Decessorum Nostrorum munificentiâ.—Eius institutionis forma et quasi anima est Mariale Rosarium, cuius

1 Apolog. c. xxxix.

de virtute fuse alias loquuti sumus. Verumtamen ipsius Rosarii vis atque efficacitas, prout est officium Sodalitati, quae ab ipso nomen mutuatur, adiunctum, longe etiam maior apparet. Neminem enim latet, quae sit omnibus orandi necessitas, non quod immutari possint divina decreta, sed, ex Gregorii sententia, *ut homines postulando mereantur accipere quod eis Deus omnipotens ante saecula disposuit donare*[1]. Ex Augustino autem: *qui recte novit orare, recte novit vivere*[2]. At preces tunc maxime robur assumunt ad caelestem opem impetrandam, quum et publice et constanter et concorditer funduntur a multis, ita ut velut unus efficiatur precantium chorus: quod quidem illa aperte declarant Actuum Apostolicorum, ubi Christi discipuli, expectantes promissum Spiritum Sanctum, fuisse dicuntur *perseverantes unanimiter in oratione*[3]. Hunc orandi modum qui sectentur, certissimo fructu carere poterunt nunquam. Iam id plane accidit inter sodales a sacro Rosario. Nam, sicut a sacerdotibus, divini Officii recitatione, publice iugiterque supplicatur, ideoque validissime; ita, publica quodammodo, iugis, communis est supplicatio sodalium, quae fit recitatione Rosarii, vel *Psalterii Virginis*, ut a nonnullis etiam Romanis Pontificibus appellatum est.

Quod autem, uti diximus, preces publice adhibitae multo iis praestent, quae privatim fundantur, vimque habeant impetrandi maiorem, factum est ut Sodalitati a sacro Rosario nomen ab Ecclesiae scriptoribus inditum fuerit "militiae precantis, a Dominico Patre sub divinae Matris vexillo conscriptae," quam scilicet divinam Matrem sacrae litterae et Ecclesiae fasti salutant daemonis errorumque omnium debellatricem. Enimvero Mariale Rosarium omnes, qui eius religionis petant societatem, communi vinculo adstringit tamquam fraterni aut militaris contubernii, unde validissima quaedam acies conflatur, ad hostium impetus repellendos, sive intrinsecus illis sive extrinsecus urgeamur, rite instructa atque ordinata. Quamobrem merito pii huius instituti sodales usurpare sibi possunt verba illa S. Cypriani: *Publica*

1 Dialog. l. 1. c. 8 2 In Ps. cxviii. 3 Act. 1. 14.

est nobis et communis oratio, et quando oramus, non pro uno, sed pro toto populo oramus, quia totus populus unum sumus.[1] Ceterum eiusmodi precationis vim atque efficaciam annales Ecclesiae testantur, quum memorant et fractas navali proelio ad Echinadas insulas Turcarum copias, et relatas de iisdem superiore saeculo ad Temesvariam in Pannonia et ad Corcyram insulam victorias nobilissimas. Prioris rei gestae memoriam perennem exstare voluit Gregorius XIII., die festo instituto Mariae victricis honori; quem diem postea Clemens XI. Decessor Noster titulo Rosarii consecravit, et quotannis celebrandum in universa Ecclesia decrevit.

Ex eo autem quod precans haec militia sit "sub divinae Matris vexillo conscripta," nova eidem virtus novus honor accedit. Huc maxime spectat repetita crebro, in Rosarii ritu, post orationem dominicam angelica salutatio. Tantum vero abest ut hoc dignitati Numinis quodammodo adversetur, quasi suadere videatur maiorem nobis in Mariae patrocinio fiduciam esse collocandam quam in divina potentia, ut potius nihil Ipsum facilius permoveat propitiumque nobis efficiat. Catholica enim fide docemur, non ipsum modo Deum esse precibus exorandum, sed beatos quoque caelites,[2] licet ratione dissimili, quod a Deo, tamquam a bonorum omnium fonte, ab his, tamquam ab intercessoribus petendum sit. *Oratio*, inquit S. Thomas, *porrigitur alicui dupliciter, uno modo quasi per ipsum implenda, alio modo, sicut per ipsum impetranda. Primo quidem modo soli Deo orationem porrigimus, quia omnes orationes nostrae ordinari debent ad gratiam et ad gloriam consequendam, quae solus Deus dat, secundum illud Psalmi* lxxxiii., *12*: "*gratiam et gloriam dabit Dominus.*" *Sed secundo modo orationem porrigimus sanctis Angelis et hominibus, non ut per eos Deus nostras petitiones cognoscat, sed ut eorum precibus et meritis orationes nostrae sortiantur effectum. Et ideo dicitur Apoc.* viii., *4*, *quod ascendit fumus incensorum de orationibus sanctorum de manu Angeli coram Deo.*[3] Iam quis omnium, quotquot beatorum incolunt sedes,

1 De orat. domin. 2 Conc. Trid., sess. xxv.

3 S. Th. 2ª 2ªe, q. lxxxiii., a. iv.

audeat cum augusta Dei Matre in certamen demerendae gratiae venire? Ecquis in Verbo aeterno clarius intuetur, quibus angustiis premamur, quibus rebus indigeamus? Cui maius arbitrium permissum est permovendi Numinis? Quis maternae pietatis sensibus aequari cum ipsa queat? Id scilicet causae est cur beatos quidem caelites non eadem ratione precemur ac Deum, *nam a sancta Trinitate petimus ut nostri misereatur, ab aliis autem sanctis quibuscumque petimus ut orent pro nobis*,[1] implorandae vero Virginis ritus aliquid habeat cum Dei cultu commune, adeo ut Ecclesia his vocibus ipsam compellet, quibus exoratur Deus: *Peccatorum miserere.* Rem igitur optimam praestant sodales a sacro Rosario, tot salutationes et Mariales preces quasi serta rosarum contexentes. Tanta enim Mariae est magnitudo, tanta, qua apud Deum pollet, gratia, ut qui opis egens non ad illam confugiat, is optet nullo alarum remigio volare.

Alia etiam Sodalitatis, de qua loquimur, laus est, nec praetereunda silentio. Quoties enim Marialis recitatione Rosarii salutis nostrae mysteria commentamur, toties officia sanctissima, caelesti quondam Angelorum militiae commissa, similitudine quadam aemulamur. Ea ipsi, suo quaeque tempore mysteria revelarunt, eorum fuere pars magna, iisdem adfuere seduli, vultu modo ad gaudium composito, modo ad dolorem, modo ad triumphalis gloriae exultationem. Gabriel ad Virginem mittitur nuntiatum Verbi aeterni Incarnationem. Bethlemico in antro, Salvatoris in lucem editi gloriam Angeli cantibus prosequuntur. Angelus Iosepho auctor est fugae arripiendae, seque in Aegyptum recipiendi cum puero. Iesum in horto prae moerore sanguine exsudantem Angelus pio alloquio solatur. Eumdem, devicta morte, sepulcro excitatum, Angeli mulieribus indicant. Evectum ad caelum Angeli referunt atque inde reversurum praedicant angelicis comitatum catervis, quibus electorum animas admisceat secumque rāpiat ad aetherios choros, super quos *exaltata est sancta Dei Genitrix.* Piissima igitur Rosarii prece inter sodales utentibus ea maxime convenire possunt,

1 Ib.

quibus Paulus Apostolus novos Christi asseclas alloquebatur: *Accessistis ad Sion montem, et civitatem Dei viventis, Ierusalem caelestem, et multorum millium Angelorum frequentiam.*[1] Quid autem divinius quidve suavius, quam contemplari cum Angelis cum iisque precari? Quanta niti spe liceat atque fiducia, fruituros olim in caelo beatissima angelorum societate eos, qui in terris eorum ministerio sese quodammodo addiderunt?

His de causis Romani Pontifices eximiis usque praeconiis Marianam huiusmodi Sodalitatem extulerunt, in quibus eam Innocentius VIII. *devotissimam Confraternitatem*[2] appellat; Pius V. affirmat, eiusdem virtute haec consequuta: *Coeperunt Christi fideles in alios viros repente mutari, haeresum tenebrae remitti et lux catholicae fidei aperiri*;[3] Sixtus V., attendens quam fuerit haec institutio religioni frugifera, eiusdem se studiosissimum profitetur; alii denique multi, aut praecipuis eam indulgentiis, iisque uberrimis auxere, aut in peculiarem sui tutelam, dato nomine variisque editis benevolentiae testimoniis, receperunt.—Eiusmodi Decessorum Nostrorum exemplis permoti, Nos etiam, Venerabiles Fratres, vehementer hortamur vos atque obsecramus, quod saepe iam fecimus, ut sacrae huius militiae singularem curam adhibeatis, atque ita quidem, ut, vobis adnitentibus, novae in dies evocentur undique copiae atque scribantur. Vestra operâ et eorum, qui e clero subdito vobis curam gerunt animarum, noscant ceteri e populo, atque ex veritate aestiment, quantum in ea Sodalitate virtutis sit, quantum utilitatis ad aeternam hominum salutem. Hoc autem contentione poscimus eo maiore, quod proximo hoc tempore iterum viguit pulcherrima in sanctissimam Matrem pietatis manifestatio per Rosarium, quod *perpetuum* appellant. Huic Nos instituto libenti animo benedixiimus; eius ut incrementis sedulo vos naviterque studeatis, magnopere optamus. Spem enim optimam concipimus, laudes precesque fore validissimas, quae, ex ingenti multitudinis ore ac pectore expressae, nunquam conticescant;

1 Heb. xii., 22. 2 *Splendor paternae gloriae*, die 26 Febr., 1491.

3 *Consueverunt RR. PP.*, die 17 Sept., 1569.

et per varias terrarum orbis regiones dies noctesque alternando, conspirantium vocum concentum cum rerum divinarum meditatione coniungant. Quam quidem laudationum supplicationumque perennitatem, multis abhinc saeculis, divinae illae significarunt voces, quibus Oziae cantu compellabatur Iudith : *Benedicta es tu filia a Domino Deo excelso prae omnibus mulieribus super terram, . . . quia hodie nomen tuum ita magnificavit, ut non recedat laus tua de ore hominum.* Iisque vocibus universus populus Israel acclamabat : *Fiat, fiat.*[1]

Interea, caelestium beneficiorum auspicem, paternaeque Nostrae benevolentiae testem, vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et clero, populoque universo, vestrae fidei vigilantiaeque commisso, Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xii. Septembris MDCCCXCVII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM.[2]

I.

ORDINIS CARMELITARUM EXCALCEATORUM IN DITIONE BELGICA.

Vicarius Provincialis Carmelitarum Excalceatorum in Belgio exponit: In Constitutione Pauli V., 30 Octobris 1606, in qua conceduntur indulgentiae confratribus et consororibus B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo, disponitur, indulgentias conferri fidelibus, qui Confraternitatem ingressi fuerint, *et habitum receperint.* Similiter in Summario indulgentiarum a Confratribus ipsis lucrandarum, quod anno 1678, 22 Martii recognitum et approbatum fuit a Sacra Congregatione Indulgentiarum et Reliquiarum, habetur, fideles ad illas consequendas ingredi debere in Confraternitatem canonice erec-

1 Iud. xiii., 23 et seqq.

2 Ex opere : DECRETA AUTHENTICA *S. C. Indulg. et S. Reliquiis propositae.* Pustet. 1883. n. 350.

tam, et ut legitimus sit ingressus eorum, *oportere quod recipiant scapulare benedictum a Superiore Religionis, seu ab alio sacerdote facultatem habente eum benedicendi.* Pari modo Clemens XI. in suo Brevi 24 Novembris 1702 confirmat quoddam decretum Eminentissimi Sacripante, Ordinis Carmelitarum Protectoris, in quo dicitur, admissos ad aliquam canonice erectam Confraternitatem hujusmodi *teneri prima vice recipere habitum, seu scapulare benedictum a Superioribus Religionis, vel ab alio sacerdote, cui dicta benedicendi facultas fuerit attributa.* Tandem Sacra Congregatio Indulgentiarum anno 1840 declaravit, valere adscriptionem fidelium in Confraternitatem scapularis, dummodo in iis adscribendis serventur substantialia, idest *habitus benedictio, illius impositio et in Confraternitatem receptio.*

Jam vero sacerdotes Congregationis SS. Redemptoris solent in Belgio occasione sacrarum missionum, generaliter, et unica formula benedicere nonnulla scapularia, inter quae illud B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo, quae tunc fideles in manibus gestant, ac postea manibus propriis sibi ipsis imponunt et spargitur in vulgus a sacerdotibus praedictis, quod per hoc fideles rite et recte in Confraternitatem admittantur, et indulgentias acquirant a Summis Pontificibus impertitas illis, qui *Confraternitatem ingressi fuerint et habitum receperint*, et istud ex Rescripto quodam s. m. Pii PP. VII. hic ad verbum relato:

"Cum nonnulli sacerdotes Congregationis SS. Redemptoris facultatem hodie habeant, et alii in posterum habere possint benedicendi scapularia quorumdam Ordinum Regularium cum lege eadem imponendi singulis illis fidelibus, qui iis uti exoptant, adhibendo formulam in actu impositionis: *Accipe scapulare*, etc., et cum obligatione eisdem fidelibus tradendi proprium nomen describendum in albo illius Ordinis, ad quem pertinet scapulare; cumque occasione sacrarum missionum in actu praedicationis, innumera a fidelibus exhibeantur scapularia benedicenda, proindeque praefatus ritus servari nequeat, Superior Generalis praedictae Congregationis humillimis precibus petiit a SS. D. N. Pio VII. Pontif. Max., ut in hoc casu, non obstante omissione

praescriptae formae, fas sit in posterum supradictis sacerdotibus praefata scapularia benedicere, ac si eadem servaretur. Sanctitas Sua, me infrascripto Secretario referente, benigne annuit pro gratia juxta petita.

Die 8 Januarii, 1803.

F. DE CARPINEO,
S. R. C. a Secret.

Itaque ut habeatur certa regula ad instructionem fidelium, et judicari possit in facto, sintne validae adscriptiones hujusmodi in Confraternitatem sacri scapularis, Orator poscit resolutionem sequentium dubiorum :

1° *An Rescriptum s. m. Pii PP. VII. extendi possit etiam ad scapulare B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo, licet de eo in supplici libello non fiat expressa mentio?*

2° *An Rescriptum s. m. Pii PP. VII. juxta petita extendi debeat non solum ad benedicendum scapularia parva sicuti vult supplex libellus, sed etiam ad dispensandum aggregandos a receptione habitus de manu sacerdotis, et ab eorum formali admissione in Confraternitatem B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo, quae sunt res distinctae a simplici benedictione habitus, cum illae stare possint sine ista, quemadmodum stant saepe saepius in fidelibus aggregatis, et ex mera devotione volentibus benedictionem novi scapularis substituendi veteri attrito?*

3° *An per Rescriptum s. m. Pii PP. VII. licet non habeatur clausula* contrariis non obstantibus, *vel quid simile, derogatum sit sufficienter Brevibus Apostolicis et decreto Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiarum supra enumeratis: adeo ut, deficiente impositione scapularis per manum sacerdotis ibidem praescripta, ac expressa receptione in Coufraternitatem Ordinis, valida sit admissio fidelium in Confraternitatem et fruantur indulgentiis et gratiis?*

4° *An per declarationem posteriorem Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiarum anno 1840 volentem, ut substantiale in aggregandis, impositionem habitus de manu sacerdotis, etc., censendum sit derogatum Rescripto s. m. Pii PP. VII. anno 1803?*

Sac. Congregatio habita in Palatio Apostolico Quirinali die 31 Januarii 1848 respondit, ut infra:

Ad 1^m: *Affirmative.*

Ad 2^m: *Affirmative, facto verbo cum SSmo pro sanatione ad cautelam quoad praeteritum, et pro concessione extensionis indulti quatenus opus sit quoad futurum.*

Ad 3^m: *Affirmative in sensu praecedenti.*

Ad 4^m: *Negative.*

Et facta de omnibus relatione SSmo D. N., die 19 Sept. 1850, Sanctitas Sua benigne annuit in omnibus juxta Sacrae Congregationis vota.

JACOBUS GALLO, *Secret.*

II.

CIRCA SCAPULARE B. M. V. DE MONTE CARMELO.

P. Thomas Ioseph a Div. Provid., sodalis Societatis Divini Salvatoris, huic S. Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae exponit: Sub die 27 Aprilis 1887, sequenti proposito dubio: "utrum conveniens sit Scapulare B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo, honoris et devotionis causa separatim, potius ac distincte, quam cumulative et commixtim cum aliis quatuor vel pluribus scapularibus benedicere et imponere?" hanc eamdem Sac. Congregationem respondere mandavisse: "Affirmative: et consulendum SSmo, ut Indultum hucusque in perpetuum concessum, etiam Regularibus Ordinibus et Congregationibus, induendi christifideles Scapulari Carmelitico commixtim cum aliis Scapularibus revocetur, et ad determinatum tempus coarctetur, neque in posterum amplius concedatur."

Iamvero plures Sacerdotes, tum Saeculares tum Regulares, etiam post hoc Decretum, Scapulare B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo iam cum aliis Scapularibus commixtum benedicere et imponere solent, ita tamen ut peculiari formula utantur ad Scapulare B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo benedicendum et imponendum; dicunt enim praedictum Decretum non vetare quominus praefatum Scapulare Carmeliticum, sive ante sive post benedictionem et impositionem, *de facto commixtum*

sit cum aliis Scapularibus, sed referri tantum *ad peculiarem benedictionem et impositionem* Scapularis.

Quaeritur itaque ab hac S. Congregatione:

Utrum haec methodus a nonnullis Sacerdotibus adhibita valide et licite servari possit?

Et S. Congregatio, omnibus mature perpensis, respondit: *Affirmative.*

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis, die 11 Martii 1897.

L. ✠ S. Fr. H. M. Gotti, *Praef.*
A. *Archiep.* Nicopolit., *Secret.*

III.

BENEDICTIO APOSTOLICA PAROCHIANIS IMPERTIENDA.

Professor Iuris Can. in Theologico Mediolanensi Seminario huic S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae reverenter exponit:

Cum Summus Pontifex benignissime facultatem concedit Sacerdotibus redeuntibus a romana peregrinatione, impertiendi Benedictionem Apostolicam, hac formula uti solet: *Parochis et omnibus animarum curatoribus, etc.*

Iamvero inter Sacerdotes qui nuper in Dioecesim a romana peregrinatione remearunt, sunt:

1. Qui proprie Parochi dicuntur;
2. Qui oeconomi sunt spirituales vacantium Parochiarum;
3. Qui curam animarum obtinent tamquam Coadiutores *ex titulo*, nempe vi beneficiariae institutionis et ideo quasi ordinariae;
4. Qui tamquam Coadiutores parochiales curam animarum exercent delegatam ab Episcopo ad causarum universitatem;
5. Qui in Officio Coadiutoris vel Cappellani penes Ecclesias Subsidiarias resident ibique Sacrum faciunt, Sacramenta Poenitentiae et Eucharistiae administrant, concionantur et infirmorum curam gerunt;
6. Qui Seminariorum, Collegiorum, piorum Institutorum, seu etiam religiosarum Congregationum sunt Rectores, Supe-

riores, Moderatores, Confessarii vel eorum locum ex officio tenentes.

Quaeritur igitur:

1. Num nomine *Parochorum et curam animarum habentium* veniant non modo qui sub num. 1. et 2. sunt recensiti ut sibi certum videtur, sed illi quoque, qui sub aliis numeris sunt nominati?

2. Et quatenus affirmative, utrum pluries in diversis diebus et in eadem Paroecia possit impertiri Benedictio Apostolica in casu quo a romana peregrinatione regrediantur Parochus et Coadiutor, vel duo Coadiutores eiusdem Paroeciae?

SSmus Dnus Noster Leo Pp. XIII. in audientia habita die 19 Iunii 1897 ab infrascripto Card. Praefecto S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, audita relatione suprarelatorum dubiorum, declaravit quoad 1. mentem suam fuisse et esse, ut Benedictionem, de qua in casu, impertiri tantum possint et valeant Parochi effectivi et oeconomi regentes Paroecias vacantes: quoad 2. semel tantum esse impertiendam Benedictionem in qualibet Paroecia. Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congñis die et anno uti supra.

L. ✠ S.

Fr. H. M. *Card.* Gotti, *Praefectus.*
Ioseph M. *Can.* Coselli, *Subst.*

THE WORK OF THE PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH IN THE UNITED STATES.

(Letter of His Eminence, Cardinal Rampolla, to His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons.) No. 38,405.

Emo e Revmo Signor Mio Ossmo,

Il Santo Padre mi ha dato il gradito incarico di manifestare a Vostra Eminenza la soddisfazione con cui ha appreso, che negli Stati Uniti di America si intende dare una migliore e piü completa organizzazione all'Opera della Propagazione della Fede. Da una parte i crescenti bisogni delle missioni, e dall' altra il consolante sviluppo che la Chiesa Cattolica ha preso in questa seconda metà del

Secolo XIX. negli Stati Uniti di America, fanno sperare che il progetto della suindicata organizzazione sià per essere accolto e secondato con molto favore. L'Augusto Pontefice perō fa particolare assegnamento sul noto zelo e sulla prontezza degli arcivescovi e vescovi americani nell' adoperarsi a favore di quanto possa condurre all' incremento e alla dilatazione della nostra Religione santissima.

Di questi sentimenti e speranze di Sua Santità, voglia l'Eminenza vostra rendere consapevoli i suoi degni Colleghi nell' Episcopato, affinchē sieno prevenuti in favore del sacerdote che dal Consiglio Centrale della Propagazione della Fede ha ricevuto incarico di attendere all' organizzazione della benemerita opera.

Baciandole intanto umilissimamente le mani, io godo raffermarmi con profonda venerazione.

Di vostra Eminenza

Humilissimo e devotissimo Servitor suo,

Roma, 2 Luglio, 1897. M. CARD. RAMPOLLA.

SIGNOR CARDINALE GIBBONS, *Arcivo di Baltimora.*

(*Translation.*)

TO HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL GIBBONS, ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE.

Most Eminent and Most Reverend Sir:

The Holy Father has charged me with the pleasant duty of making known to Your Eminence his satisfaction on learning that in the United States of America you mean to organize on a better and wider basis the "Work of the Propagation of the Faith."

On the one hand the increasing needs of the missions, and, on the other, the consoling progress that the Catholic Church has made in this second half of the nineteenth century in the United States of America, justify the hope that the project of the above mentioned organization will be generously welcomed and encouraged.

The august Pontiff relies especially on the well known zeal and readiness of the Archbishops and Bishops of America to further whatever may conduce to the increase and spread of our most holy Religion.

Of these sentiments and hopes of His Holiness will Your Eminence please apprize your worthy colleagues in the Episcopate, in order that they may be favorably disposed towards the priest who has

been appointed by the Central Council of the Propagation of the Faith to undertake the organization of this most deserving work.

Assuring your Eminence of my profound esteem, I am

Your Eminence's most humble and devoted servant,

M. CARD. RAMPOLLA.

Rome, July, 2, 1897.

(*Letter to The Very Rev. A. Magnien, S.S., D.D.*)

ŒUVRE DE LA PROPAGATION DE LA FOI
EN FAVEUR DES MISSIONS ÉTRANGÈRES DES DEUX MONDES.

PARIS, July 15, 1897.

THE VERY REV. A. MAGNIEN, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore.

Very Reverend and Dear Sir:

Please accept our thanks for having consented to labor in the United States of America for the establishment and the extension of the great "Work of the Propagation of the Faith." We have learned also with pleasure of the choice you have made of a co-laborer in the person of the Rev. Father Granjon, missionary apostolic, whose intelligence and zeal are vouched for by the flattering testimony of his ecclesiastical superiors.

You know now these many years in all its details the Work to which you are going to lend your aid. Although it has its principal seat in France, where it was founded, it receives contributions from all parts of the world, and distributes them in turn every year among all the missions on the globe, without any regard for nationality.

The Sovereign Pontiffs have granted to the benefactors of this Work abundant spiritual graces, and not very long ago Leo XIII. addressed a pressing appeal to the whole Catholic world in His encyclical *Christi nomen*, of December 24, 1894, in favor of the Work of the Propagation of the Faith; and, in order to lay special stress on this appeal, His Holiness was pleased to remind the faithful that He had already recommended this Work in another encyclical *Sancta Dei Civitas*, and that His illustrious predecessors Pius VII., Leo XII., Pius VIII., Gregory XVI., and Pius IX., had favored it with many eloquent testimonies and enriched it with numerous spirtual favors.

The many recommendations of the Popes and the Bishops show the value that the Holy See and the Bishops set on this work of

salvation, which they proclaim to be of all works the most excellent and eminently Catholic, and the object of the fairest hopes of the Church.

Go forth, thereforth, with confidence, according to the words of Holy Writ, "like a swift angel," and before the tribunal of generous souls in America plead the cause of those disinherited nations who await the messengers of the Gospel. They will listen to your voice. Remind the faithful that the desire to help the missions of North America contributed not a little, in the years which preceded 1822, to establish the Work in France, and that since that time the Central Committee has sent to the United States more than 27,000,000 francs, or $5,400,000. They will understand that, in the presence of such a fact, it becomes in some measure a matter of justice for the Catholics of the United States to contribute to the resources of the "Work for the Propagation of the Faith."

The great Pope who now governs the Church supports you with His high authority,[1] the Episcopate will aid your endeavors, and you will number amongst your devoted friends all those who are friends of Christian civilization and of the Catholic Church.

As for us, we will follow you with our prayers and our best wishes. We will ask of God, every day, that He protect you and that He grant you the happiness to draw many a furrow in the field of charity which supplies the missionaries and their missions with daily bread.

Please accept, very Reverend and dear Father, the assurance of our most profound gratitude.

For the Central Committee of Paris,

C. HAMEL, *President.*

ALEXANDER GASCO, *Secretary.*

1 Vid. Letter of Card. Rampolla to the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore.

CONFERENCES.

THE AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW proposes to answer in this department questions of general (not merely local or personal) interest to the Clergy. It will be readily understood that, as there are topics in Moral Theology which may not be dicussed in public print, so there are reasons why we cannot undertake to conduct purely private, professional correspondence. Questions suitable for publication, when addressed to the editor, receive attention in due turn, unless they have been discussed in previous recent numbers of the REVIEW.

SACRAMENTAL WINE AND UNFERMENTED GRAPE JUICE.

Qu. I have frequently heard the argument advanced that our Lord did not use (at the Last Supper) the *fermented* juice of the grape, or what we call wine. Science, it is said, proves that wine (the fermented juice of the grape) is an unnatural product of the grape, injurious to the human system, and hence could not have been intended by our Lord for the use of men, above all, not in the holy Sacrament. What scientific proofs can be opposed to such statements? A. C.

Resp. Science and the common sense of mankind since the days of Noe prove:

1. that what is usually called "wine" is the *fermented* juice of the grape;

2. that there is no such thing as *un*fermented grape juice preserved for any practical use, since the liquid product of the grape, if kept, will ferment unless it is "doctored" by the *addition* of alcohol or by artificial heating. What is called "unfermented wine" is simply grape juice having a *reduced quantity of alcohol*, which limitation has to be brought about by *artificial* interruption of the fermenting process. Hence the fermented grape juice (ordinary wine), far from being the unnatural product of the grape, is *the only natural product*, for the so-called unfermented juice is the result of artificial interference.

Of course the grape yields its juice unfermented, but if, as we must assume, that juice was to be *preserved* for the

Eucharistic sacrifice, since it is impossible to obtain it from the ripe grape at every season and place, we must admit the necessity of its being used after fermentation.

3. Furthermore science proves that *fermentation* is the *natural* and *healthy* effect of certain organic liquids, such as grape juice, since its *optimum conditions* are: (a) sufficient nutriment and moisture; (b) ordinary temperature of blood heat; (c) absence of poisonous ingredients. And though there is such a thing as excessive fermentation (putrefaction), this does not obtain in the case of substances called antiseptic, such as wine whose fermentation arrests itself when the spirit has attained a certain condition of alcoholic strength.

So much for the proof from chemical science. Medical science and good American sense, and sound practical religion teach and prove that the *use* of fermented wine under *abnormal* conditions, or the *abuse* under *normal* conditions is injurious to body and soul. For this reason we have temperance societies to counteract not only actual evils but evil tendencies.

But these same authorities in science, good sense and religion, teach us that ferments such as wine may greatly benefit the human body and soul—"mens sana in corpore sano," if properly used. And the old religion which goes by the name of Catholic Christianity, has always taught and still teaches that for sacramental purpose wine, that is, pure fermented grape juice, is to be used, although she permits *in cases of necessity* an extension of the term *wine* to such juice as is but slightly fermented, if it be pure of the grape.

And she teaches furthermore, that the extravagant notions of those who hold wine to be an unnatural product of the grape, never intended for the temperate use of man, are a revival of a false asceticism condemned in the Manichean doctrine, against which no new arguments need be fashioned since St. Augustine (*Contra Manich.*), Tertullian (*Contra Marcion.*, and *C. Hermogenem*), and Theodoret had confuted it fifteen hundred years ago.

IS THE CASE OF THE BORN DELINQUENT HOPELESS?[1]

The able papers on Criminology contributed by the Rev. William Barry, D.D., and published in the August, September and October numbers of the AMERICAN ECCL. REVIEW, cannot fail to excite a deep and widespread interest. The reverend author states with great clearness the views entertained by modern positivists on the subject of criminality; and whilst treating Professor Lombroso with the utmost courtesy, he does not hesitate to point out the weakness of his arguments and conclusions. But a single attack on these lines is not sufficient to stem the vagaries of positivism.

Professor Lombroso is considered by many as the father of criminal anthropology; he sees, or fancies that he sees, his conclusions verified in the facts. Yet in reality his inferences are often illogical; his generalizations evidently hasty, and frequently leading one to suspect that the hypnotic influences to the study of which he has devoted so much attention, have—as his friends seriously feared for a time—affected his reasoning. In any case it is well to test his statistics, and to examine the validity of his assumptions. I may be allowed to suggest a few points on which additional inquiry regarding this important subject is desirable.

(1) *Has it actually been proved that criminals constitute a species of their own? Do they bear well-defined stigmata which can be easily recognized by experts?*

The affirmative may well be doubted. The present writer has attended spiritually, visited in their cells, met in the workshops and at their devotions regularly for some time a community of twelve hundred convicts, about the same number as the inmates of the Millbank Prison, of whom Carlyle speaks as producing on him such a decided impression. Yet I cannot say that I have, on the whole, found them those "abject, ape, wolf, ox, imp, or diabolic-animal types of humanity," which Carlyle recognized as prevalent in the *model prison*. Equally rare, I may say, are the types described

1 See *The Tablet* (London), July 31, pag. 165; and August 14, pag. 258.

by Lombroso as characteristic of the *born delinquent.*[1] Most of the convicts were strong and healthy; very few were illiterate; very few were decidedly ill-favored; and a large number were more than ordinarily intelligent. I fancy that Casper was not far from right when he stated that he saw no essential difference between the physique of the honest man and that of the rogue. I say *essential* advisedly, for assuredly passion habitually indulged and criminal habits do ordinarily leave their impress on the human frame, and especially in the human countenance. But such stigmata are neither congenital nor specific. When empiric results are thus conflicting, a new and more thorough investigation is needed; errors due to the personal equation of the observers, to the previous condition of the criminals, or to the special conditions of the several gaols, must be eliminated, before we can safely make generalizations such as Lombroso offers them.

(2) *But assuming for the sake of argument that criminals have a type of their own, what is it?*

The experts do not agree even here. For instance, Lombroso holds that the skull capacity of criminals is below the average; Ranke maintains that it is equal to the average; Heger states that it is above the average. Who is right?

Assuming the existence of the type, we should still find that the variations due to climate, descent and environments, would produce greatly complex results.

(3) *Again: can it be said that the habit of criminality is a species of insanity? or that the criminal is the product of a certain inexorable necessity?*

In well-regulated prisons insanity is rare; but prisoners often become insane when compelled to remain idle, or when they are doomed to solitary confinement. In both cases, the legislation which produces these effects needs revision and those responsible for it should be called to account. Criminals brought to a penitentiary are not usually insane; many of them are cunning and crafty, and many have more than the average intelligence. Insane prisoners are as a rule re-

1 *Vide* AMERICAN ECCL. REVIEW for Sept. 1897.

moved to special asylums, or to separate wards. We need to be told as yet by the philanthropic observers who give us their experience what actually is the proportion of the insane among convicts, and the probable cause, in each case, of insanity.

In the absence of *mental* insanity, jurists like Wharton do not recognize the existence of *moral* insanity. Most criminals have the full use of their reason, and consequently, are responsible for their own acts.

(4) *Is criminality a form of epilepsy?*

Lombroso seems to think so; but the two things are not identical. Epileptics are found among the greatest men known to history. Peter the Great was indeed cruel and relentless; but Caesar was meek and merciful *usque ad poenitentiam.*

Anyone who has dealt with epileptics knows well that, outside the paroxysms, they show no criminal propensities. Very few of the convicts show symptoms of epilepsy. Dr. Barry draws our attention to the *aura epileptica* of Galienus; that is to say, *a sense of a cold vapor apparently emanating from some part of the body and mounting to the head*, which is considered as a prodrome of epilepsy; but D. Flint[1] tells us: "It is a traditional error to consider such a sensation as a frequent warning of an epileptic paroxysm; and it is certainly rare for the patient to experience any sensation emanating from a particular part of the body." But whether or not it be a common prodrome of the epileptic seizure, I never met a convict who declared that he had experienced the *aura epileptica Galieni.*

It is alleged that epilepsy, like crime, is *explosive.* Violent passions are *explosive;* but it does not follow that passionate men are epileptic. Many of the most repulsive crimes are committed with full deliberation, which goes to show that criminality is not essentially explosive.

(5) *Is criminality hereditary?*

If it is hereditary, and consequently unavoidable, how do positivists account for the wonderful success of Commendatore Longo, who peoples his asylums with the abandoned

1 Flint, *Practice of Medicine*, p 823.

children of convicts? How do they account for the fact that, according to the vouched for testimony of the head of a large reformatory conducted by the Brothers of the Christian Schools, 75 per cent. of the juvenile offenders were permanently reformed? A Protestant gentleman, who has been connected with the administration of prisons for forty years, averred to me that a large number of *recidives* would be reclaimed if an honest living could be assured them after leaving the prison. He declared that he had frequently lent small sums of money to discharged convicts upon their mere promise to return it, and that the promise was kept in nearly every case during the long period of his administration.

We fear that society does not do its full duty toward discharged prisoners. Society punishes them, brands them with infamy, and sends them penniless to seek an honest living, whilst the very stigma impressed by prison life debars them from opportunities of doing so. Perchance, if the body social which legislates for the punishment of the criminal assumed the full responsibility of its charge, there would be less need of providing for the suppression of the *born delinquent.*

AN INQUIRER.

THE OBLIGATION OF THE "CLAUSURA" IN THE UNITED STATES.

Qu. Are the Ursulines teaching parochial schools in this country dispensed from the obligation of the *cloister*, that is to say, can they go out into the street when necessity requires?

Resp. According to a Rescript of the S. Congregation of Bishops and Regulars addressed to the Archbishop of Baltimore, September 3, 1864 (Cf. *Conc. Balt. Plen. II.*, n. 419), all the religious in monasteries existing at the time, and to be erected after that date, in the United States, were to make *simple* vows only, excepting certain houses of the Order of the Visitation which were specified, and such others as may have obtained from the Holy See a special Rescript sanctioning their taking solemn vows.

This decision included all the orders of religious of whatever kind in this country.

Since then according to the *Jus Commune* of the Church the *clausura* (*papalis*) is incumbent only upon those religious who make *solemn* vows (although on the contrary, it may happen that those who have made solemn vows are dispensed from the *clausura*), it appears lawful to infer that the religious (including the Ursulines) of this country, their vows being simple vows, are obliged to the strict observance of the *clausura only in so far as the Bishop of the diocese deems expedient.* Such is actually the conclusion which P. Nilles, S.J., commenting upon the Baltimore decrees, arrives at when he says: "Monialibus clausurae papali non subjectis episcopus, loci ordinarius, omnibus rerum adjunctis rite perpensis, eas clausurae leges praescribit, quas ipse in Domino expedire jusserit. Atque haec proprii est episcopalis illa clausura, in qua accurate definienda et recte custodienda sollicitudo patrum baltimorensium praesentis decreti sanctione sese explicat, tum quoad exteras personas intra septem monasterii admittendas, tum quoad moniales e claustris exituras." (Tit. II., Cap. ix., pag. 147–8.)

THE REDEMPTORIST FATHERS AND THE SCAPULARS.

While attending a mission given by the Redemptorist Fathers, Peter was invested in the Five Scapulars. From conversations he has since had with various persons, doubts and fears have taken possession of his soul, lest, perhaps, he has not been validly invested, and, consequently, does not enjoy the privileges and indulgences attached to the wearing of the scapulars. The reasons he assigns for his doubts are:

1. The Redemptorists bless and impose the Five Scapulars, the Scapular of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel not being separate, but joined to the others.

2. They neither enter the names of the persons invested on any register, nor do they send these names to any house of the Order or Confraternity of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, and hence it seems that those so invested do not become members of the confraternity.

3. The Fathers do not place the scapular upon the persons to be invested, but they tell the faithful to place it on themselves.

Qu. Are the fears of Peter well founded?

Resp. I am sure they are not, and Peter may rest perfectly contented. Persons invested in the scapulars by the Redemptorist Fathers in accordance with privileges granted them by the Holy See, are validly invested and are entitled to all the graces and benefits that accrue from the devout wearing of the scapular, just as well as those persons that have been invested by the Superior Generals of the respective Orders, for the Redemptorists have received from these superiors power to this effect.[1]

Moreover, Peter's doubts rest on no solid ground. 1. It is not required that the scapulars be separate, each by itself. All that is required is that the Scapular of Mt. Carmel, by reason of the special honor to be shown it, must be blessed and imposed according to a special formula prescribed by the S. Cong. of Rites, July 24, 1888.[2] This is clear from the response given by the S. Cong of Indulgences, March 2, 1897.[3] 2. The other difficulties are also without foundation; for the Redemptorists have received from the Holy See the power to enroll the faithful in the confraternities of the scapulars without being obliged to send the names to a convent of the respective Order, for example, that of Mt. Carmel. Nor are the Redemptorists obliged to keep a register of such names. Finally, when there are many to be invested, the Fathers are not obliged to place the scapulars upon each individual, but it suffices that those to be invested put on themselves the scapulars.

For proofs see Ulrich, quoted above, who, as Consultor to the Superior General at Rome, collected documentary evidence from the Roman archives. Also, Putzer's *Comment. in Facultates Apostolicas*, Ed. 4, Benziger, 1897, p. 339, 340, 348, and the Decree of the S. Cong. of Indulgences, in *Collectione Authentica*, N. 350, which is given in full in the *Analecta* of this issue. J. P.

Ilchester, Md.

1 See Ulrich: *Trésor Spirituel*, Paris, 1863, p. 137–144.

2 Cf. Am. Ecc. Review, Vol. i. (1889), p. 233.

3 Am. Ecc. Review, Vol. xvii., p. 425.

THE PROHIBITION OF ROUND DANCING.

Every one knows that there is an endless amount of trouble and friction between ecclesiastical authorities and pleasure-loving youth on the subject of round dancing. Pastors fret and fume; a few conscientious young people abstain, but chafe under the restriction, while the great majority continue at every opportunity to dance, all ecclesiastical interdicts and denunciations to the contrary notwithstanding.

In this state of affairs conscience suffers, of course, and not a few remain away from the Sacraments and from the practice of their faith, owing either to the severity of confessors, or the belief that the waltz and practical Catholicity are absolutely incompatible. That this is a fact in some dioceses, west of the Alleghenies, the writer knows from personal observation; that the same conditions prevail generally over the United States, with local variations here and there, I have good reason to believe. The question arises: Are not many of these disagreeable and widespread conflicts between pastors and people unnecessary? Do not these frequent discords between conscience and conduct arise from the fact that the former is false, inasmuch as it is burdened with an erroneous conviction? Let us examine the status of round dancing from a moral and then from a canonical point of view.

It is understood, of course, that dancing, *in se*, is an indifferent act and does not fall under any ethical censure. But the danger accompanying it, the manner in which it is conducted, the attitudes, company, place and times of this amusement may render it culpable. It cannot be said that the attitude of the partners in a waltz, polka, schottische or two-step is necessarily improper, since round dancing may be carried on with a decorum and modesty which are above the reproach of anyone except a prude.

Moralists generally are of this opinion: "Secluso semper casu specialis prohibitionis, malitia harum chorearum non consistit nisi in periculo, quod est essentialiter relativum" (Sabetti). "Choreae istae, licet *in genere*, non tamen *semper*

et *in omni casu* seu inter cujuslibet generis personas sunt inhonestae, idque eadem presertim de causa quod non omnes in saltando adhibent amplexus adeo pressos, illamque pectoris et faciei propinquitatem adeo indecoram quae communiter adhiberi solent; possunt enim choreae illae fieri, etsi amplexibus aliqua distantia servetur" (Konings). The German theologian P. Lehmkuhl, living in the home of the waltz, and where dances are almost exclusively round, passes over the whole subject very briefly, and does not undertake to condemn or deprecate round dances as a class.

Even if we concede that the generality of dancers transgress propriety in their manner of waltzing, no sweeping condemnation *sub gravi* can be leveled against it on this ground. The question then turns upon the degree of culpability of these *tactus minus honesti*, which, as every moralist teaches, are not always a *grave peccatum*. Let confessors consult their own experience in this regard. How often do cases of grave sins *contra sextum* come under their notice as involved in or arising from round dancing? The writer has met with but few. Many lesser, indeliberate sins of voluptuousness may indeed be due to the dancing floor, but the commonness of this form of amusement, the whirl and excitement of the ball room, and often the preöccupation of keeping correct step, in the large majority of cases prevent any serious infraction of the precept of chastity.

The main evils that ensue are not from the dancing itself, but probably from its concomitants—late hours, and a lax custom of escorting which happily is becoming less usual. These are dangers and evils which are not associated with round dances alone, but with *all* dances and occasions where young people meet at late hours without due safeguards and supervision.

Round dancing therefore is not essentially immoral. As commonly practiced it may generally offend purity, but since grave sins do not ordinarily accompany it even in its popular and reprehensible form, it cannot on the score of chastity and in general be illicit *sub gravi peccato*. So much for its purely moral aspect.

Can it be held that round dancing is culpable in America on account of the existence of an ecclesiastical prohibition?

In the Pastoral letter of the Second Baltimore Council occurs the following: "We consider it to be our duty to warn our people against . . . those fashionable dances, which, as at present carried on, are revolting to every feeling of delicacy and propriety, and are fraught with the greatest danger to morals." As the language indicates these words convey no precept, but only an admonition. In paragraph 472 of the *Decreta* of the same Council we read this injunction to those having the care of souls: "Choreas immodestas, quae quotidie magis magisque frequentantur, insectentur et prorsus damnent."

Round dances are not here singled out for condemnation, but all kinds whatsoever that are gravely immodest and very dangerous to morality. The waltz and its modifications, therefore, fall under this censure only when they answer this description. It is plain that the Fathers did not intend to place *all* round dancing without distinction under a ban, for in that case their language would have been more specific, and, moreover, the manner in which they qualify their disapproval in the words of the Pastoral cited above forbids such an assumption[1]. The Third Plenary Council again touches on balls in connection with church festivals, but makes no allusion to round dancing in particular.

There is then no universal law placing round dances under the ban. The American Church disapproves of them, but disapproval and prohibition are wide apart. Individual bishops in many dioceses have strictly forbidden these dances at festivals in aid of churches or charities, or at entertainments and picnics given by Catholic societies. Yet such a prohibition cannot legitimately be stretched so as to include waltzing in all and any circumstances. For that, a diocesan statute or a definite and public enactment is necessary. In how many dioceses do the statutes forbid these dances? How many bishops have fulminated decrees making them *totally*

1 Conf. Sabetti's *Theol. Mor.*, p. 134.

unlawful within the limits of their jurisdiction? I venture to say that very few, if any, have been so radical and severe.

So stands the matter from the point of view of positive law. And yet we hear repeated time and again that the "Church forbids round dancing." One would think from the actions and utterances of many who should be better informed that all waltzing, polkaing, schottisching and galoping had been forever damned by one sweeping anathema. The Church forbade round dancing? When? Where? How? Through whom? This erroneous impression has long been abroad. This aerial, intangible *non licet* hovers about the heads of priest and layman, old and young alike. It stirs up pastors and confessors to odious rigor and sometimes unholy wrath. It weighs like an incubus on the consciences of young people who are fond of dancing and find that fashion has made waltzing the regular form of that amusement. This fallacy has been the cause of much unnecessary scandal and countless formal sins of disobedience, which are without any material substratum and therefore altogether avoidable. It is important that consciences should be enlightened, and all know that, outside the injunction of a confessor, or the limited prohibition of a bishop, there is no law against circular dancing. Is it not a thousand times better that the ranks of the waltzers should be joined by the few of our Catholic youth who, out of respect for a supposed prohibition, have hitherto refrained, than that mortal sins of formal disobedience, and scandal, should be allowed to multiply?

Sometimes minds are not so much mistaken as perplexed. It is not impossible to hear waltzing roundly denounced and strictly forbidden in one parish, and see it tolerated or encouraged in another. In one diocese the bishop may be severe on this head; perhaps in a neighboring one Catholic societies and church festivals hold their round dances undisturbed. The situation calls for uniformity and consistency. Especially for the latter. In the face of the manner in which quadrilles are danced at the average church fair, strictures on waltzing become absurdly inconsequent. To hold up

hands of orthodox horror at round dancing, and then look serenely on while couples rush together and spin madly about in one another's arms, is something near the acme of inconsistency, which is none the less glaring for being often unconscious.

I am not pleading for the approval of round dances. I think, with the Third Plenary Council, that the sooner *all* dancing be divorced from Church auspices the better. But let us have clearer and more reasonable views on this question. If waltzing be prohibited as dangerous, then let *all* indecorous dancing share the same fate in enactment and practice. And as long as the Church or the Ordinary has not condemned round dancing with a clear and certain voice, it is a vexatious and unwarrantable thing to burden and bind consciences anent the matter, outside of individual cases which discover themselves in the Sacrament of Penance.

OBSERVATOR.

MEASUREMENTS FOR AMICES AND BAPTISMAL CLOTHS.

Qu. Will you kindly give the measurements for amices and baptismal cloths?

Resp. According to the Pastoral Instructions of St. Charles Borromeo (*Acta Eccles. Mediol.*, Pars. iv., lib. ii.), the Amict is to be about two cubits long, and one and a half cubit wide—"longitudine esse debet cubitorum circiter duorum; latitudine autem sesquicubitali." The length of the cubit he gives in actual measurement—twenty-four Italian inches |————| "mensura cubiti de qua in his Decretis agitur, quae unciis XXIV. constat." Hence the Amict should measure the following line:

12 times (for the length)

9 times (for the width).

Of the cloths to be used in Baptism the Acts prescribe in a more general way: "Pannus, seu sabarium quod ad bap-

tizati caput abstergendum adhibetur . . . longitudine erit cubitorum trium, latitudine vero tanta, quanta est telae e qua constat latitudo." (L. c. p. 542.)

"Vestem etiam candidam parvulam *instar pallioli*, e tela linea aliove genere, *non serico tamen* albi coloris confectam." (L. c. p. 426.)

LENDING OR LOSING INDULGENCED OBJECTS.

Qu. If a person loses, lends or gives away a pair of *Crosier* beads, are the indulgences attached to them thereby lost, in the same way as in the case of ordinary beads, so that the person finding them, or to whom they were given by the original owner, could not gain the indulgences? In other words, are the *Crosier* beads, like the ordinary beads, blessed with the indulgences only for the *first* person for whose use they may have been given? B. K.

Resp. Indulgences attached to blessed objects cannot be transferred from the person for whose use the object was blessed or to whom it was first given. Hence the losing, lending or giving away of such object deprives it, so to say, of the indulgence, and the person who finds or otherwise obtains the object must have it newly blessed and indulgenced. This is a general rule (comprising all indulgenced objects) laid down by Alexander VII., February 6, 1657, and repeatedly confirmed by the S. Congr. Indulg. (*Decr. Authent.*, p. 447.)

Such objects may be lent to others for the sake of devotion or convenience—as when one wishes to recite the rosary, and not having his own beads borrows a pair for the time being—but not with the intention of imparting the indulgences. (See Beringer, Ed. XI., p. 332.)

THE MANNER OF IMPARTING THE PAPAL BENEDICTION.

Qu. In imparting the Papal Benediction, when a bishop or priest has received the faculty from the Holy Father either for his diocese or the latter for his congregation, is it necessary to use the regular form as given in Wapelhorst, or in what manner is it imparted?

At a recent convention the writer was present when it was imparted by simply the sign of the cross with the usual *Benedictio Dei*, etc. A READER.

Resp. The Holy Father grants faculties of imparting the Papal Benediction in two ways. One is to empower bishops and prelates (having the *usus pontificalium* and a proper territory) to impart the blessing with plenary indulgence, at stated times, *i. e.*, once or twice a year. This has to be done *solemnly*, *according to the prescribed form.* Certain religious orders receive the same privilege with a like obligation, which is specified by faculties indicating the manner.

Another way is that by which ordinary *priests* receive the faculty of imparting the benediction with plenary indulgence to their congregation, etc., on returning from a visit to Rome, or at the close of a mission, etc. This does *not require a prescribed form* unless so far as it may be specified, if a written document accompanies the faculty. The blessing in such cases may be given with a crucifix, as missionaries usually do, or by a simple sign of the cross. The solemnity which makes the act properly understood on the part of those who receive the benediction and indulgence is not thereby excluded.

We may add here a recent answer of the S. Congregation to the question: whether priests who are not pastors (*parochi effectivi*) or administrators of parishes can impart the Papal Blessing given with the formula *Parochis et omnibus animarum curatoribus*, etc., to the congregation with which they are connected. The answer was: Only pastors or administrators. The benediction can be imparted only once in the same parish by a priest returning from Rome. (Cf. *Analecta*, Facultas impertiendi Benedict. Apostol., in this number of the REVIEW.)

PRAEMATURA PUERPERII INDUCTIO PHARMACO SUBMINISTRATO.

Revmo Dno Gerenti AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.—Neo Eboracum.

Revme Dne Theologe: *Galenus*, probus medicus, et in disciplinis moralibus olim apprime versatus, cum ad *Ludovicam* piam matronam praegnantem identidem vocaretur passim deprehenderat dictam *Ludovicam* ob abdominis conditionem, quam vocant medici *pendulam*, prolem maturam edere vivam vix posse: octies nimirum enixa nonnisi semel infantem vivum peperit qui baptisimi sacra-

mento lustraretur. De animarum septem tenellarum infelici casu dolet bonus *Galenus;* at tandem sibi visus est methodum invenisse qua nasciturorum saluti prospiciat. Vocatus enim postremo ad lectum ejusdem Ludovicae graviter decumbentis et ab octo fere mensibus foetum gestantis, pharmaco subministrato puerperium inducit, quo fit ut, matris prolisque conceptae declinato periculo, infans illico nascatur licet immature. Res, garrientibus mulierculis, propediem vulgatur ; intereaque de felici eventu gaudentes et gestientes *Ludovica* et vir ejus ut infantulum levet e sacro fonte rogant *Galenum.* Morem lubens gerit iste; at Dominica die sequenti coram parocho *Rustico* sistentibus se patrinis deputatis cum puero baptizando (toto terete atque rotundo et non jam nuncupando *Dionysio*) *Rusticus Galenum* severe increpat eumque rejicit ab officio patrini implendo. "Quidni, inquit, excommunicationem Episcopo reservatam incurristi? Nonne sciens et prudens piaculum admisisti quod nulla tergiversatione celari possit? Itane Ecclesiam sanctam Dei revereris, quae in Constitutione Apostolicae Sedis, ut probe noveras, anathemate plectit procurantes abortum effectu secuto?"

Unde, Rme Dne Theologe, quaero ; 1° Quid juris? An Galenus censendus sit excommunicatus?

2°. An salva conscientia in posterum uti valeat cum Ludovica remediis et operationibus, quibus, in mense octavo gestationis, puerum pariat vivum, quin absque regenerationis beneficio omnino pereat infantis anima?

3° An recte judicaverit et egerit Rusticus in casu?

En igitur casus minime fictitius. Solvat, rogo, Reverentia vestra in fasciculo proximo novembri. SIMPLICIUS.

SOLUTIO.

I. Galenus nullo modo censendus est excommunicatus; imo nullum commisit peccatum et potius dicendum est ipsum laudabiliter egisse.—Ratio primae affirmationis desumitur ex eo quod verba legis, qua fertur excommunicatio, nequeunt applicari actioni positae a Galeno. Etenim excommunicatio fertur contra "procurantes abortum effectu sequuto;" actio autem Galeni neque fuit, in se considerata, procurativa abortus, neque ullum malum effectum de facto causavit.—Abortus definitur a theologis—"ejectio foetus immaturi ex utero matris."—Foetus autem dici potest immaturus duplici

sensu, *substantialiter* scilicet et *accidentaliter*. Est immaturus substantialiter cum per se vivere non potest extra uterum matris, quod ordinarie contingit ante septimum mensem gestationis. Dicitur vero accidentaliter immaturus cum ipsi deest perfectio gestationis per novem menses, etsi, nullo alio superveniente periculo, possit per se vivere. Evidens autem est, et theologi ita esse unanimiter testantur, quod in definitione abortus nuper commemorata, adverbium *substantialiter* semper subintelligitur conjungi cum adjectivo *immaturi*. Evidens, inquam, est, nam ejectio foetus substantialiter maturi neque vocatur abortus, sive in foro civili sive in foro ecclesiastico, neque ipsius malitiam habet, ut statim patebit ex dicendis. Imo etiam in casu quo Galenus procurasset verum abortum tum affective, quia scilicet illum intendisset, tum effective, quia remedia de se expulsiva applicasset multo ante septimum mensem gestationis, effugisset tamen excommunicationem, si per extraordinariam quamdam circumstantiam foetus, vivus abductus ex utero Ludovicae, vivus permanserit. Ratio hujus est quia tunc non fuisset verificata clausula "effectu sequuto."—Duo igitur essentialiter requiruntur ad hanc censuram incurrendam; effectus malus, scilicet mors foetus proveniens ex ejus ejectione ab utero matris, et actio de se procurativa abortus, et quoniam neque unum neque alterum locum habuerunt in casu Galeni, sequitur ipsum immunem prorsus esse ab excommunicatione.

Praeterea immunis est etiam Galenus a quocumque peccato, nam ejus actio cum ex una parte prosit matri, ex alia non noceat foetui, nequit laedere aut justitiam aut charitatem. Deest ergo ratio cur debeat reprehendi. Quod si dices felicem exitum totius rei non sufficere ad excusandum Galenum; semper autem verum esse ipsum exposuisse foetum periculo mortis, respondetur felicem illum exitum non evenisse praeter praevisionem et quasi per accidens; periculum vero fuisse remotum et ordinarium.

II. Imo non solum immunis a quocumque peccato dicendus est Galenus, sed etiam laude dignus, nam illud praestitit quod charitas et muneris sui officium instanter postulabant.

Quare Lehmkuhl, vol. I., n. 841, sequens principium statuit: "Foetus, qui vitae extra uterum jam capax est, ejectionem seu partum praematurum inducere, ex gravi causa licet, imo pro circumstantiis id fieri debet: si videlicet judicio timorati medici constat, matrem tam arctam esse, ut foetum evolutum suo tempore parere non possit, possit vero saltem post 28 hebdomadas gestationis uteri, vel melius etiam, si possit aliquot hebdomadas ulterius expectare, donec vita infantis etiam praemature edendi extra periculum posita est."—Idem etiam clare docuerat O'Kane in suis "*Notes on Rubrics*," n. 213. En ipsius verba: "Since 1831 the practice has been introduced in France of causing the child to be born prematurely when it is foreseen that it cannot be born alive at the end of the natural term. This method has been found very successful in saving the lives of both mother and child, when the birth is not caused till after the seventh month. And it is not only lawful, but highly laudable to have recourse to it, when it is already known from experience that the child, if full sized, cannot be brought forth alive."

III. Ex dictis colligitur Rusticum graviter errasse, nam absque ullo solido fundamento judicavit Galenum esse excommunicatum et grave peccatum admisisse. Erravit etiam Rusticus in sua externa ratione agendi, quia limites moderationis et prudentiae praeterivit. Neque justificari potest ex eo quod fama Galeni videatur esse amissa, esto quod hoc acciderit ex inculpabili ignorantia veritatis, siquidem nunquam expedit tam dure et acriter alloqui fideles etiamsi male egerint. Praeterea fama non consistit in opinione aut potius dicteriis garrularum quarundam mulierculorum.

Quid plura? Fingamus Galenum verum abortum procurasse in persona Ludovicae, fingamus ipsum graviter peccasse in hoc casu, et certo incurrisse excommunicationem Episcopis reservatam, num exinde sequeretur ipsum esse excludendum ab officio patrini? Profecto non sequeretur, nam lex Ritualis Romani inculcata a Patribus 2^di^ Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis, sub No. 231, excludit solum "publice excommunicatos aut interdictos, publice criminosos aut infames."

A. SABETTI, S. J.

AN NOTANDUM IN LIBRO BAPTIZATORUM?

Qu. An habeatur lex describendi in *Libro Baptizatorum* factum de nativitate infantis ex non legitimo concubitu; et si *affirmative*, quibusnam verbis indicandum?

Resp. Regula datur in Rituali Romano: "Si infans non fuerit ex legitimo matrimonio natus, nomen saltem alterius parentis, de quo constat, scribatur (omnis tamen infamiae vitetur occasio): si vero de neutro constat, ita scribatur: Baptizavi infantem cujus parentes ignorantur, natum die, etc." (*Rit. Rom.*, cap. II., Formulae scribendae in libris, etc.)

FATHER HECKER'S NATIONALITY.

EDITOR AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW:

Your correspondent in the October number rightly criticizes the statement made in the article on the Paulist Congregation to the effect that Father Hecker, its founder, was "of American extraction"; especially since the sentence which immediately precedes that assertion states—as if by way of contrast—that the Redemptorist Order to which he formerly belonged was, and still is "directed by men of German ancestry." But F. C. goes too far when he asserts that Father Hecker was a German by birth, unless he means to say that his father was a native German (from Wetzlar, in Rhenish Prussia), whilst his mother was a daughter of Engel Freund (from Elberfeld also in Prussia). The ultra-champions of Americanism might make much of this difference, although everybody will allow that many of the excellent qualities which have made Father Hecker a leading figure in our Catholic history are due to his Teutonic origin and home-training. He knew how to use these qualities for the people among whom he labored, without giving them any national cast; that is what made him truly American.

B. N.

ANGLICANS AND THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

Qu. Some time ago the New York *Independent* published an editorial discrediting the action of the Anglican Bishops who, at their Lambeth Conference, had recommended a re-translation of the "Athanasian Creed." The article, which was afterwards re-published by the *Literary Digest*, intimated that no sincere Anglican accepted the terms of that creed, as though it was inconsistent with the Protestant principle, established by the so-called Reformation. "Of course," says the writer, "the Church of England does not believe that Creed. It ought not to insist upon it." Moreover it was stated that the Athanasian Creed was not known in the Catholic Church before the tenth or the eleventh century.

As we read the Athanasian Creed very frequently in the Breviary, many clerics would no doubt be glad to hear from the REVIEW especially on this subject.

Resp. If Protestants to-day reject the Athanasian Creed, or, to quote the recommendation of the *Independent* in the article referred to, "should throw it overboard," they throw overboard what Luther recommends his followers very earnestly to keep and to inculcate in the churches, so that people might at least retain some belief in the doctrine of the Trinity and be saved by faith through Baptism.

As for the authenticity of the Creed, we have manuscript copies of it which date back to before 730. St. Boniface published an ordinance to have it recited in the divine office, whence it was called in Germany *Canticum Bonifacii.* (Vide Migne, Patr. Graec. xxviii., 1593, and Montfaucon, p. 1575.) Angilbert, Abbot of St. Riquier (789) had it copied and sung with the *Litaniae majores.* Theodulph, Abbot of Fluery, obliged his monks to sing it daily at Prime. The same was done in the churches early in the eighth century, as is apparent from the famous Utrecht Psalter which contains the Athanasian Creed together with the canonical offices. Morin in *Les origines du Symbole Quicumque* ("*Science catholique*," 1891) shows that its probable date is 496–498. These dates are confirmed by other documents such as the *Cod. Helmstadiensis*, 493; *Hincmari Capitula synodica*, etc. (See the learned work *Geschichte das Breviers*, by P. Bäumer, O.S.B., p. 254, etc.)

The Creed emphasizes the fundamental doctrine of the Trinity, as St. Athanasius taught it, and whether he actually gave it its form or not, it is beyond doubt that it has been officially recognized as a Catholic profession of faith since the early part of the seventh century. Protestantism cannot accept it, but Luther did before his principles had worked out skepticism. (*Unterricht d. Visitatorem*, xxiii., Erl. ed., 1838, p. 55.)

BOOK REVIEW.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN. With Notes critical and explanatory. By the Rev. Jos. MacRory, D.D., Prof, of S. Script. and Hebrew, Maynooth College. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1897. Pp. 386.

An edition of the canonical books, such as this volume represents, has long been desired by earnest students of Sacred Scripture, and it is especially helpful to the candidates of theology. The Latin (Vulgate) and English (Rhemish) texts are printed side by side; each chapter is preceded by a short analysis of contents; and copious notes explain and illustrate the meaning and critical value of the accepted reading. An introduction, concise, yet sufficiently full to satisfy the scientific inquirer, acquaints the student with the arguments upon which rests the evidence of authenticity and authorship of the Fourth Gospel, as well as with the scope and plan, the language and individual traits which distinguish this apostolic compend of theology from the synoptic account of SS. Matthew, Mark and Luke. As a tentative and initial exposition intended to serve the student in theology, our author could hardly have made a better choice than that of St. John's Gospel. It illustrates in a peculiar manner the advantages of a critical method of reading the New Testament. For whilst St. John is eminently the theologian, the πνευματικός among the four Evangelists, as St. Clement Alexandrinus calls him, he appeals directly to the faithful. St. Matthew is the Israelite speaking to the Jew, oriental in his manner of picturing the Messiah; St. Mark speaks as a gentile to the minds of Roman temper; St. Luke with the habits of a Greek addresses the children of the Dispersion, the Hellenistic brethren; but St. John speaks as a Master of the spiritual life to the Christian.

Accordingly, there are many things in Catholic dogma which receive light from an intelligent interpretation of St. John's words. It would lead us too far to cite examples of this, nor is it necessary, since no student of theology can long remain unaware of the unique

position which the Eagle of Patmos occupies as a judge of appeal in Christian apologetics. Dr. MacRory everywhere shows that he knows how to avail himself of the conquests of modern science and research in the field of Biblical study. Of course, we have the work of Catholic professors in France and Germany during the last ten years or more to give us both the example and the material which enable English writers to undertake similar labor with comparative ease ; yet the fact that it has not been attempted on any appreciable scale is evidence enough that it requires exceptional gifts even to follow in the wake of such able men as Fillion, Crellier, Trochon, Lesêtre and others, to whom we owe the magnificent edition in thirty volumes of *La Sainte Bible*, or the members of the Jesuit *Scriptorium* who are editing the *Cursus S. Scripturae* in Holland. Dr. MacEvilly has, indeed, done excellent work in a similar direction by his expositions of some of the biblical books, yet while his work covers more ground, it hardly suffices for the student in view of the accepted methods of criticism which enter so largely into the exegesis of the Sacred Text. We could even wish a little more of the freedom which recognizes the necessity of being explicit in reference to the arguments making for or against the authenticity of certain portions of the received text. Dr. MacRory gives us both sides, and then draws his conclusions. With regard to the disputed passages chapters v., 4, and vii., 53 and following, we might, it seems to us, accept the hypothesis which our author believes admissible for the last chapter of St. John—though he does not actually admit it—viz., that they are not part of the Fourth Gospel as originally constituted. The weight of the arguments, at least in the case of the "pericope adulterae," is entirely against the assumption of its being in place. That the account was known to the Jewish Christians of Palestine at the time of Papias we know from Eusebius, and that it is canonical is equally clear from the Catholic definition ; but this does not necessarily force the conclusion that it belongs to the Gospel of St. John or that St. John wrote it. Hence, whilst we have no right to yield a tradition regarding the canonicity or even the order of the sacred books to the assumptions of the "higher criticism," we gain nothing by being over tenacious in matters which do not in the least affect the principle or basis of Catholic teaching either on the subject of inspiration or authority. Prof. Nestle, in his recently published examination of the theory and practice of New Testament criticism (Göttingen, 1897), makes what seems to us a very reasonable plea on the score of dislocation regarding this and other passages.

However, we should not wish to make the impression that this essay in a new field lacks either completeness or accuracy, so far as it serves the student, especially where he has the help of a professor to supplement such information as modern research may call for.

THE OBLIGATION OF HEARING MASS on Sundays and Holydays. By the Rev. J. T. Roche. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. Pp. 202. Pr. bd. 50 cents.

One is inclined to suspect that a book on "the obligation of hearing Mass" is an addition to the literature of useful apologetics which requires some excuse for its appearance at this time of the Christian era; but the author of this little book has fashioned his matter so plausibly that it calls for special attention. The Blessed Sacrament—that is to say, the Mass—is the centre of Catholic devotion. If once we understand that single fact, if our people are made fully to understand it, we need no other device to bring them to the church. To explain this central truth is the principal purpose of our priestly mission, and it alone suffices to inspire that attraction which the simplest priest exercises over the souls of his people, for it comprises the mystery of Christ crucified. "Talent is not needed. Eloquence is comparatively unattractive. Learning is often beside the mark. Controversy simply repels. But the simple preaching of Jesus Christ and Him crucified will collect a congregation, fill a church, crowd the confessionals, furnish the altar rail, and solemnize a feast, when nothing else will do so." Father Roche's explanation, if attentively read and digested, furnishes abundant material to convince both mind and heart of the fruits to be derived from a reverend attendance at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, which is to all earth the one great channel of universal grace. In our own land there is particular need of insisting upon the observance of this precept, because the sense of the old obligation has been dulled, especially among the Irish people, first by long ages of persecution at home, and then by the want of priests in the New World which opened its other blessings to the refugees. Hence it is that many persons with a scrupulous sense of faith and every moral virtue will yet absent themselves from Mass, because they have never been taught to realize that the treasure which once they could not reach is now at their very doors.

SHORT LIFE OF THE V. S. OF GOD, JOHN NEP. NEUMANN, C. SS. R., Bishop of Philadelphia. By the Very Rev. J. Magnier, C. SS. R. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1897. Pp. 99. Pr. bd., 40 cts.

The purpose of this brief history of the Venerable Neumann is to popularize his virtue and his zeal for the Church of Christ, in view of his looked-for beatification. If there is one feature of that life more pronounced than another it appears in Bishop Neumann's efforts to further the cause of religious education; a fact which makes the author of the sketch hope that the saintly confessor may one day be venerated as the *Patron of Schools*. Indeed, his love for children was no less remarkable than the good use he made of it to draw them to God. "His first work in America was the instruction of children. Children were the communicants at his first Mass in the old church of St. Nicholas, N. Y. In the extensive district assigned to him he devoted a most considerable part of his time to the children." In Williamsville, where he resided habitually, he not only taught the Christian Doctrine, but became the children's regular schoolmaster. "In his visits to the different stations, if he remained for a few weeks, he had all the children round him. Many of his scholars learned to read and write in three weeks, which was due to his zeal and interest in each one individually. He had a particularly ingenious way of inspiring tender devotion to our Blessed Mother. When Superior he reserved to himself the instruction of the children. . . . He excelled in catechetical instructions, as he possessed in a high degree the secret of making them pleasing and intelligible to children. The simplicity of his explanations appealed to their understanding, while the piety of his heart communicated itself to theirs. He was besides, so affable, so gracious, so condescending towards the little ones of his flock that he found at once a way into their innocent hearts. Crowds of these little people used to gather round him in the streets. They would shake his hand, pull his coat and ask for a blessing. To prepare them for First Communion was for him a work of predilection." "He was," says one of the religious teachers who assisted frequently at the catechetical instructions, "an accomplished catechist and a great lover of children. His gentleness, meekness and perseverance in communicating religious instruction to the children often astonished me. The young delinquents would freely acknowledge to him their faults," etc.

This trait alone would stamp Bishop Neumann as a truly great priest ; it is the same quality which distinguished the Abbé Dupanloup in France, and which first drew the attention of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities upon young Overberg, when a country curate, and later one of the ablest educators and scholastic writers of our century. There is probably no better test of a priest's efficiency in the care of souls than this love for and ability to interest and develop the minds of children. The ablest administrators in the Church have invariably passed a long and thorough apprenticeship in the schoolroom as teachers.

The book is well printed ; but we deprecate the introduction of the unsightly picture in front, even if it could be proved that the saintly Bishop somewhat resembled it in the outline. His countenance which showed forth his inner life was unquestionably loveable, whatever the face may have been when judged apart from the expression which images the soul. Unless, therefore, the artist can idealize the features in such a way that they become expressive of this beauty of the soul (which is the man), he detracts from his model. Biographies of great and holy persons should be adorned with attractive portraits only on esthetic as well as on moral principles; failing this it is better to leave the imagination to draw the portrait from the description contained in the virtuous life of the hero.

INSTITUTIONES JURIS ECCLESIASTICI tum publici tum privati, ad usum Seminariorum et in gratiam Clericorum qui Romam se conferunt ad Gradus Academicos consequendos exaratae. Auctore P. Ch. Makée, Jur. Can. Prof.—Volumina duo. Parisiis: Roger et Chernoviz. 1897. Pp. IV., 500 and 505.

Among the indications of the real danger to which the general social unrest and the consequent obscuring of the principle of authority is urging us on, are the multiplied efforts of the leading professors in jurisprudence to strengthen or to reconstruct the groundwork of legislation. Religious skepticism and intolerance of legal restriction have developed on parallel lines ; but they have also called forth a contrary activity or the beginning of a reaction which is producing numerous works in apologetics and canon law,

so that the book-market seems in danger of being overstocked with texts and commentaries albeit they appear in modern and improved expression. Fortunately the multiplication of works insisting upon principles of truth and right is in no sense an evil, even if the thought that they repeat each other is somewhat irritating to those who hold it to be an essential feature of the true that it should appear in a novel garb, or speak in the latest language, which of course it may or may not do.

The special merits of the present treatise lie in its conciseness, which, reducing the entire *Institutiones* to two handy volumes, easily allows the student to get over the ground during the allotted time of his regular theological course. The subject matter remains strictly within the bounds of what is termed *Jus Ecclesiasticum*, omitting those portions which are necessarily treated either in the text-books of philosophy—because of their intimate and fundamental relation to the science of ethics—or in the chapter *De Ecclesia* of dogmatic theology. The topics upon which the author justly lays stress are those in which he explains the relations of civil government to the Church, and that with reference to the modern law. We would recommend certain chapters of this book particularly to the glib apologists and newspaper scribes who believe they serve the Catholic cause by their tolerance, when they exalt the principle of separation of Church and State, or defend sincerity of conviction as the most perfect creed, as though religious truth were something purely subjective. Such views indicate a lack of philosophical training as well as a misapprehension of the foundations of faith, yet they are very common even among that class of persons who pass for educated by reason of the extent rather than the depth and solidity of their knowledge. To characterize these opinions, when they come from professed Catholics, as evidences of a dangerous tendency in religion, shocks their generous propagators, and they smile or scoff, according to their temper, at the possibility of liberalism such as it is prevalent in parts of Europe, being transfused into this fair land

"of the new'st and finest, finest wear—a."

Inasmuch as this otherwise excellent text-book is designed for seminaries, and " in gratiam Clericorum qui Romam se conferunt ad Gradus Academicos consequendos," it is disappointing to notice how completely the author ignores—and in this he follows other canonists of repute—the ecclesiastical legislation of such countries as the

United States. It is very true that we are not governed by the established canon law of Europe; but it is equally true that in the Decrees of Baltimore we possess quite a superior code of legislation suitable not only to the conditions of missionary countries, but in many respects to a social state which is likely to become permanent. Thus it becomes not improbable that some of the traditional methods of government even in the Old Countries, which have thus far been our teachers, may have to be abandoned. A "beneficed" clergy, in the canonical sense of the word, is, to cite an example, a long way off, and may never come to us; whilst the process of secularization presently going on in nearly all the old Catholic governments is apt to do away in time with a beneficed clergy. The Canon Law, therefore, which prescribes regarding the *Cathedraticum* the "nihil exigitur a clericis non beneficiatis" is not only a statement which needs limitation, but it is apt to find a substitute in the American practice of *quasi*-benefices regarding the existence of which our canonists appear to be wholly ignorant. The American Church is not so altogether "in partibus infidelium," as to consider the code by which she is governed in the light of a *mere experiment.* Canonists ought to know something about us if they want us to read their "Institutiones," and the writer who will construct a "Manuale Juris Ecclesiastici" which can be used in American seminaries as well as elsewhere, because it takes cognizance of our code of law as an established fact, will have done a real service to the Church.

Ten years ago P. Nilles, S.J., made some effort in this direction by his *Commentary on the Baltimore Councils.* But the work did not pretend to being anything more than an excerpt of notes "ex praelectionibus academicis" for the American students, and it was printed as an "editio domestica." Other topics are *consultores*, *rectores missionum*, *judices causarum*, etc., of which Canon Law ought to tell us something, for even if these terms indicated only temporary institutions not contemplated in a perfect church-organism, they apply to sufficiently important conditions, and affect large portions of the faithful to be considered by the student of ecclesiastical law.

We have on a former occasion expressed our appreciation of the author's *Le Droit Social de l'Eglise et ses Applications.* The motive which underlies the last mentioned work is precisely what we would see applied in the *Institutiones*, not in the least to the detriment of its fundamental character.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

CURSUS SACRAE SCRIPTURAE. Auctoribus R. Cornely, J. Knabenbauer, Fr. De Hummelauer, aliisque Soc. Jesu presbyteris . Commentarius in Exodum et Leviticum, auctore Francisco De Hummelauer, S. J. Cum approbatione Superiorum. Parisiis: Sumptibus P. Lethielleux, Editoris. 1897. Pp. 555. Pr. 10 Fcs.

BY BRANSCOME RIVER. By Marion Ames Taggart. Benziger Bros.: New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1897. Pp. 165. Pr. 50 cents.

THE LAMP OF THE SANCTUARY. By His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman. The Same. 1897. Pp. 79. Pr. 25 cents.

TRUE POLITENESS. A little treatise addressed to religious by the Abbé Francis Demore. From the French by a Visitandine of Baltimore. The Same. 1897. Pp. 203. Pr. 60 cents.

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AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

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PRESENT POSITION OF CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN IRELAND: ITS STRUGGLES, ITS TRIUMPHS, ITS HOPES.

THERE is good reason to hope that Ireland's claim to a Catholic University may be at length satisfied by the present Conservative Government. The demand has been pressed for years in successive Cabinets, by the Irish representatives. And the Catholic Bishops have repeated time after time a dignified protest against the inequality of the present system, but hitherto English statesmen had been indifferent, if not averse, to any suggestions of redress. For the last few years, however, a large growth of non-Catholic opinion in Ireland has become very favorable to the Catholic claims; Protestant Nationalists have advocated them as warmly as the Catholics themselves, and a prominent Irish Unionist declared that if the Irish members of all parties were allowed to decide the question, they would be able to make a satisfactory arrangement in a couple of hours.

This growth of feeling has emboldened enlightened leaders, like Mr. Balfour, to give their adhesion to the principle of a Catholic University, which they must have themselves recognized as equitable. The matter was, of course, a dangerous one for any English minister to bring before the House of Commons, as he could not foresee what latent forces

of intolerance might oppose it in the ranks of his own party; but the present government feels sufficiently confident of the support of public opinion to venture a settlement of the difficulty, if the two contracting parties can agree upon a groundwork. It is quite possible that obstacles may arise, or that a constitution cannot be devised which will meet the wishes of the Irish Bishops and people, and at the same time be such as the English Cabinet may venture to submit to their supporters; but, if the unanimity that exists with regard to the principle can produce a united assent to the particulars, there is every probability of the near foundation of a Catholic University.

The present disadvantages of Catholics with regard to university education are a very real grievance, which is accentuated by the rich endowments of their Protestant fellow-countrymen and the abundant opportunities thereby offered to them of culture and training, and advancement. But from one point of view Catholics may feel glad of the inequality they suffer, since it has been the means of showing that, handicapped as they were, they have been able to get abreast of and to pass by their Protestant comrades in competition. In the examinations of the Royal University where Catholics and Protestants meet on a common field and strive for the same honors, the Catholic colleges, though receiving no assistance for preparing their pupils, have borne off the palm from their wealthy rivals, whom the State had enabled to supply every equipment for the instruction and encouragement of their students.

There exist at present two universities in Ireland—Trinity College, or Dublin University, founded in 1593, and the Royal University, established by Parliament in 1880. Trinity College is a fine old institution of which Irishmen must always feel proud. For over three hundred years it has maintained a place amongst the chief educational establishments of the world, and its noble old walls, grimed with the weather of those centuries, have nursed the genius of our geatest orators and poets, and not a few of our most loved patriots. From it came Burke and Curran, Grattan and

Emmet, Davis and Moore, and many another whose name makes us look fondly on the home of his student life. It has a record all through of high-class learning; and in these latter days it has produced men of as deep scholarship and as many-sided talents as any university in the three kingdoms. But Catholics though rejoicing in its fame as a seat of Irish learning and a centre of Irish intellectual power, can feel little share in its stores or little sympathy with its history. It was established by Elizabeth's government to introduce the English religion and English ascendancy into Ireland; to be the nursing-mother of the new creed and to disseminate its professors through the country to usurp the altars and homes of the old stock; and also to inoculate the people with the English influence and sap if it could not root out the spirit of Irish nationality. It was enriched with the broad estates robbed from the chiefs of the north and with the confiscated abbeys of the old faith. During the first two hundred years of its existence it was the headquarters of anti-Irish sentiment and Protestant aggression, and even in the close of the last century, when it opened its doors to Catholics, it took care to formally exclude them from all share in its prizes and emoluments. The old spirit of fierce intolerance has of course long ago yielded to the better feelings of this century and the lectures and rewards of the College are now open to all; but it is still a Protestant university teaching Protestant theology and observing Protestant ritual, and the atmosphere of the student-life there is essentially English and anti-national.

The second Irish university—the Royal—is the only one of which Catholics can avail themselves and it is to its examinations that Catholic colleges direct their higher studies. This university is merely an examining board authorized to confer degrees, and has no official colleges or lectures. Although it came into existence only in 1880, it is necessary, in order to form a proper idea of its position, to go back many more years in the history of our educational legislation. Over fifty years ago, the State, recognizing the duty of providing some means of higher education for Catholics and Dissenters, who though admitted to its degrees, were

still excluded from all the rewards of Trinity College, founded the "Queen's University" for their use. This university was to consist of three teaching colleges, one in Belfast, one in Galway and one in Cork, and to be governed by a senate and a body of Fellows chosen from the staffs of the three colleges, who should subject the students to a common examination and confer degrees. The colleges were to be open to Protestants, Catholics and Dissenters without distinction, and the unsectarian character of their management was carried to the extreme of excluding the profession and practice of all religion from the student life within their walls. The Catholic Bishops and people protested against such a system of Godless education and made the Government aware that they refused to regard this scheme as any alleviation of their disabilities; but the ministry made no effort to meet their views and the three Queen's Colleges were established by law in 1845 with their objectionable constitution unamended, and a yearly grant of $105,000 fixed on them to provide salaries, scholarships and expenses of maintenance.

On October 30, 1849, the colleges opened their classes, and in the following year a charter was granted founding the Queen's University. A great body of Presbyterians and many Protestants at once availed themselves of the lectures and degrees, but the great majority of Catholics held aloof from a student career which was divorced from all religion.

The result was that the Belfast College, lying in the centre of a Presbyterian district, soon became a most successful institution and has since discharged a most useful work in affording a university education to the dissenting and Protestant youth of Ulster, whilst the Colleges of Cork and Galway, though equipped with an equally cultured and able staff of professors, have maintained but a languishing existence with a paltry attendance of students, and except for the Catholics attending the medical classes, have hardly contributed anything to the training of the population amongst which they are placed.

The Catholics, disappointed in the hope of a State-assisted education of which they could avail themselves without prejudice to their religion, determined to found a university of their own. The Synod of Thurles, in 1851, suggested a constitution which was eagerly welcomed by the people and supported by immense contributions from our people at home and in America. A college was founded in Dublin, a capable staff of professors employed, and Dr. Newman brought over to be its rector. The Catholic body now petitioned the Government for a charter to grant degrees. They sought for no endowment or support of any sort; they would subsidize the university themselves if they were only authorized, on giving satisfactory evidence of efficiency, to confer degrees; but this, after a half-hearted attempt to amalgamate them with the Queen's University, Parliament refused.

In this state the education question remained for nearly thirty years. The Catholics losing hope almost lost interest in their needs, and their colleges had nothing but the Examining University of London to which to send a few brilliant students. The Queen's University pursued its way with moderate success and a very fair repute, receiving from $125,000 to $140,000 annually from the State; imparting a sound training to its students and producing many graduates who have since won distinction in public life. Finally, however, some prominent Irish members, Protestant and Catholic, united to press a plan of Catholic education on the Government, and Lord Beaconsfield, the Premier, proposed and carried as a compromise the scheme of the present Royal University.

The University Act of 1879 arranged a Constitution for the new body and decreed that the Queen's University should be dissolved and its powers merged in the new Board. A Charter of April 27, 1880, founded the Royal University, and appointed a governing body of Senators; and the Royal University Act of 1881 made it a grant of $100,000 a year out of the Irish Church Fund. The Senate thus constituted immediately set about framing regulations for the working

of the university, arranged examination courses and appointed Fellows; and the whole system of examination came into use in autumn, 1882. The radical difference between this new Institution and the old Queen's University, was that the Royal was formed as merely an examining university—not a teaching or residential one. It has no colleges, and no connection with any teaching establishment whatever. It requires no attendance (except of course in the case of medical students) at any classes, nor any keeping of terms. Its degrees and prizes are open to all to compete for, regardless of where they have carried on their studies. The endowments of the Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Galway and Cork were not interfered with; they still receive about $125,000 a year from the Treasury, and remain teaching colleges preparing students for the Royal University examinations, but attendance at their lectures is no more qualification for the University's degrees than studies pursued anywhere else.

The Fellows of the University in addition to forming an Examining Board are required by the Statutes to teach, if called upon by the Senate, in some educational establishment which it shall approve, but these schools have no preëminence and receive no recognition from the University beyond any other. As a matter of fact the Fellows are chosen from the professors of the five most important colleges which prepare students for the University examinations: the three Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork and Galway, the Presbyterian "Magee College," Londonderry, and the Catholic University College, Dublin.

This is the means provided by Parliament for meeting the wants of the Catholics. It is of course an insufficient one; for examinations are a very small part of the education of a university apart from the student-life, and the professors' lectures, and these are not provided by the Royal. It is also an unequal arrangement, for the Catholics receive no assistance from the State to prepare for these examinations, whilst non-Catholics have the three colleges provided for them as under the old system; but it was welcomed as giving Cath-

olics an opportunity of winning university degrees and prizes, without loss of principle ; and as a first, though imperfect admission, of the claim of the majority of the Irish people to education according to their own desires.

For the fifteen years of its existence the Royal University, as far as its powers of education go, has worked well. Its Senate has been formed of the most eminent and most respected representatives of the different Churches and the different departments of Irish life. Its roll of Fellows includes gifted scholars and practical educationalists whose names carry weight in all the seats of learning ; and amongst its graduates are many whose attainments have already won them the highest recognition.

The degrees of the University.stand high in the estimation of the public, and the fame and credit it has obtained in so short a period are most gratifying to all interested in Irish education. The courses prescribed and the standard fixed for degrees ensure a very complete and very sound education—the qualifications required are universally regarded as more exacting than the much honored corresponding degrees of Trinity College—and the popularity and success of the University is proved by the great number of student, Catholics, Protestant and Presbyterian, whom it attracts every year to its examinations. Another characteristic which the Royal University rightly claims among its distinctions is that it has been one of the pioneers of higher education for women, admitting them on the same terms as men to all the examinations—a step which the great English universities have not yet ventured upon ; and the number of ladies who have yearly obtained its degrees and in many cases disputed its highest honors is one of the proudest features of its career.

The grievances under which Catholics still suffer are not, then, due to the constitution or working of the Royal University. They have equal representation on the Board of Senators ; they are on absolutely equal terms with their rivals at the examinations. The wants of the students have been most carefully met by the Protestant section of the Senate,

a duplicate philosophy course—Catholic and Protestant—being provided to suit each class; and in the appointment of Fellows they have got every justice. Nothing could be fairer or more considerate than the action of the Protestant Senators has been on questions affecting Catholic interests, all through the existence of the Board. In the matter of the salaries paid to Fellows the Catholics receive a much larger share of the funds of the University than do the non-Catholics; the statutes prescribe that any Fellow who is receiving a salary in a college endowed with public money shall only be paid by the Royal University the amount required to make his income up to the $2,000 which is the yearly stipend for a Fellow, and as nine out of the twelve non-Catholic Fellows are Professors in one or the other of the Queen's Colleges, and are thereby in receipt of a salary out of the Treasury grant, the amount which they receive from the Royal University is very much less than the amounts drawn by the twelve Catholic Fellows who, having no other endowments, are paid in full.

In all these particulars the Catholics have every reason to be satisfied though this distribution of Senators and Fellowships is far from fair relative to the Catholic population; but the complaint they can still justly make is that the State while giving each section an equal share in the honors and rewards of the University, actually prepares their non-Catholic comrades for these examinations, but offers Catholics no assistance. They have, of course, twelve Catholic Fellows, but the constitution of the University makes no provision for securing their lectures for Catholic students. The Senate in its desire for equality and justice gives the Catholic students the benefit of their Fellows' instructions by chosing them from amongst the teachers in Catholic colleges, and it also, in its choice of half the examiners, augments the income of some other Catholic teachers, by employing them to judge the examination papers; but Parliament made no provisiou for this equitable use of the funds it granted the Royal University. It supplies no teachers for Catholic students, no buildings for their classes,

no libraries or museums, no prizes or scholarships to reward study during the year's course ; none of the educating influences of collegiate life.

The non-Catholics on the other hand have the three Queen's Colleges at their disposal, magnificent buildings, furnished with libraries and all the requirements of research, and carried on entirely at the public expense. The grant of $42,500 a year which each college receives from the Treasury enables it to support nearly a score of most able and distinguished professors, a President and house officers, and a staff of servants; affords from $4,000 to $5,000 for additions each year to the books and scientific departments, and supplies fifty-four scholarships amounting to $7,500 to be divided among its students. The average attendance at these colleges for the past ten years has been : at Belfast 432, at Cork 238 and at Galway 110, from which we may see the liberal proportion of the prizes to the students ; and if we exclude the professional classes, Medical, Law and Engineering, and compare the number of scholarships assigned to the Arts course—that is the general university programme of literature and science—with the number of students following that course, we find that last year there was a scholarship available in Belfast for every four students, in Galway for every one and half, and in Cork for every single student at the lectures. In addition to this the Belfast College has over $2,900 for distribution in prizes each year, the gifts of private benefactors, whom its success and efficiency naturally prompted to encourage it.

It is with this system of almost free education that Catholic schools come into competition at the examinations of the Royal University. The students who prepare for the university course are handicapped by the advantages thus given the Protestants and Presbyterians, but the much more serious grievance of the whole Catholic youth of Ireland is felt by those who cannot afford the expenses of a Catholic college, and are thereby excluded altogether from a university education, while non-Catholics of equally slender means can have a practically free education at one of the Queen's

Colleges, if they have any moderate talent. Hence the Catholic University has only about 170 students to compete with the large numbers of Belfast and Cork. Moreover, there is another most important factor which must not be overlooked in this comparison. The Protestants of Ireland have three hundred years of educational tradition to fall back on; they have grown up with England's civilization and prosperity; they are made fat on rack rents, tithes and confiscation, and they stand to-day on the vantage ground of wealth and power and patronage. The Catholics of Ireland have passed through centuries of a persecution which burnt out their civilization, closed their schools, put their education under a ban, made the sound of their mother-tongue a treason on their lips, gagged and fettered their national life, and reduced them to a poverty and servitude sufficient to crush out the very instincts of intellectual progress from many another people. The night was heavy upon them and they are now barely passing into the light of day. Even the primary schools were given, as the many other gifts of the *Paternal* Government, to poison the hearts of our young, to freeze out the spirit of patriotism aud corrupt the purity of Faith. They were godless gifts, but God knew how to draw good out of evil. In this modern world of progress and enlightment, of schools and colleges and universities, it has been Catholic Ireland's privilege, by a half-hearted concession, to be able to offer herself, without violence to her conscience, for university degrees, only within the last sixteen years. Under these circumstances it would be little to the discredit of the Catholic colleges if they held a very secondary position to the Queen's Colleges in the results lists of the Royal University. The instinct and wealth of tradition, facilities for study, the high endowments, the excellent teaching and the encouragement in the shape of prizes, afforded the Queen's Colleges' pupils, ought naturally to enable them to win the highest places in the examinations, and as their roll of students is so much larger than that of any other institution by reason of the many scholarships which make instruction almost free, it might be expected

that they would secure the great majority of the university distinctions. The contrary is, however, the case. Belfast Queen's College, indeed, heads the list of successes for the first years, but the Catholic University College, Dublin, invariably makes a good second and leaves the remaining Queen's Colleges very far behind, whilst for the last four years it strode ahead of them all.

Before considering the details of each school's performance, it may be well to state that University College, Dublin, conducted by the Jesuits, is the chief Catholic college for higher education in Ireland, and forms along with the three Queen's colleges the four principal institutions which direct all their studies to the courses of the Royal University. In addition to these, Magee College, the fine Presbyterian establishment of Londonderry, maintains an honorable position in the results list each year, as does also the Catholic Blackrock University College—an adjunct to the celebrated Intermediate School of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost—which made a brilliant display of Catholic talent and scored many notable successes in the early years of the Royal University, although of late years the studies have generally followed other courses, and only a few students present themselves for the Royal examinations.

The two Jesuit colleges of Clongowes Wood, Kildare, and Mungret College, Limerick, though making intermediate education their chief care, occasionally keep a few boys for some years of their university course, and generally do themselves credit in the result. Some other schools—Catholic and non-Catholic—notably the excellent Methodist College, Belfast, present pupils from time to time for the university examinations, and, of course, many other candidates prepare themselves by private study; but it may be taken, roughly speaking, that the great majority of Catholic boys attend University College, Dublin, and the great majority of non-Catholics attend one or other of the Queen's Colleges.

The Royal University, in addition to degrees in arts, confers each year degrees in medicine, music, law and

engineering. A limited number present themselves each year for the three last degrees, but there are always a great many candidates for the medical examinations. The arts degrees are, of course, the real university education course, and it is of these examinations only that we are speaking. There is a Catholic University Medical School in Dublin which may be regarded as affiliated to University College, and the students of which receive some of their lectures in University College; the Queen's Colleges also have each a medical department, but in this comparison of the advantages and merits of each we are dealing only with the arts classes and examinations.

The course for the degree of B.A. covers three years. When a student has entered the university by passing the matriculation he has a year's preparation for the first arts examination in all the general branches of study, after which he specializes his subjects and devotes himself to an extended course of either ancient or modern languages, or mathematics and science. The second arts examination comes a year after the first, and after the interval of another year he is eligible for the examination for the degree. The B.A. degree may be obtained by answering in any of the following classes of subjects: Classics, modern languages, philosophy, history and political economy, mathematics or science. For all these examinations the student may elect to study either a pass or an honors course—the honors including the pass programme with an increased and extended range of matter. Those whose answering on any honors paper reaches a certain standard are adjudged to have won honors in that subject, and exhibitions, varying with the examinations from $60 to $210, are awarded to the first thirty, or, in the case of the B.A. examination, to the first twenty-one, in the aggregate total of marks. Candidates may present themselves for the M. A. degree a year after obtaining the B.A., and have the same choice of subjects to be examined in. It is entirely an honors examination, but only those who reach a very high standard are acknowledged to pass with honors.

In addition to the exhibitions there are ten scholarships offered each year to competitors who have passed their entrance, and from three to five studentships of $1,500 each are awarded annually in connection with the M.A. examination.

The following tables show the successes achieved by the Queen's Colleges and University College for the last eight years. To avoid confusion we have not added the names of any other teaching establishments. They are unnecessary for our comparison, except in so far as they show that the Cork and Galway Queen's Colleges hardly ever fill the third or fourth places in the results list, but are generally outdistanced by many other institutions, notably Blackrock College and St. Mary's University, Dublin, conducted by the Sisters.

As the results of the B. A. examination of 1897 are not yet known, we have not thought well to insert the First and Second Arts results in the above tables. They are, however, so emphatic as a Catholic triumph that we cannot forbear mentioning them here. We shall cite the editorial words of the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*: "The feature of the results of the competition for '97 among the students of the University is, as usual, the complete and *sweeping triumph of the unendowed Catholic Colleges*, and the almost as complete collapse of the well endowed Queen's Colleges at Galway and Cork. Indeed, the farce of spending seven or eight thousand pounds a year on the Arts Faculties in these two latter institutions was never more completely demonstrated. *University College once more comes out victoriously first, even in competition with the only successful Queen's College, that in Belfast.* Alike in the number and the quality of the distinctions won the Catholic College is far ahead. *It has gained fifty-one distinctions, as compared with Belfast's forty-six*, Galway's eighteen and Cork's six. *Thirty-two of its distinctions are in the first class, while only sixteen of Belfast's, eight of Galway's, and one of Cork's belong to that order. The Catholic College has won first place in no fewer than nine subjects.* Among these distinctions we are glad to see all the first places in

	1889								1890							
	1st Arts		2d Arts		B A.		Total		1st Arts		2d Arts		B.A.		Total	
	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors
Queen's Coll., Belfast	8	25	7	23	7	12	22	60	10	30	8	22	8	15	26	67
Queen's Coll., Cork	0	00	3	6	0	1	3	7	1	3	0	0	4	5	5	8
Queen's Coll., Galway	3	10	0	1	0	1	3	12	1	4	2	6	3	3	5	13
Univ. Coll., Dublin	3	14	4	18	1	3	8	35	5	13	6	14	5	9	16	36

	1891								1892							
	1st Arts		2d Arts		B.A.		Total		1st Arts		2d Arts		B.A.		Total	
	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors
Queen's Coll., Belfast	5	18	7	33	5	14	17	65	9	28	7	16	6	13	22	57
Queen's Coll., Cork	2	5	3	4	0	0	5	9	0	1	1	4	0	1	1	6
Queen's Coll., Galway	2	6	1	3	3	4	6	13	1	4	2	5	1	5	4	14
Univ. Coll., Dublin	4	8	6	22	3	8	13	38	5	20	6	18	5	9	16	47

	1893								1894							
	1st Arts		2d Arts		B.A.		Total		1st Arts		2d Arts		B.A.		Total	
	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors
Queen's Coll., Belfast	6	22	5	23	6	9	17	54	7	17	4	23	4	10	15	50
Queen's Coll., Cork	2	8	1	6	2	3	5	17	0	1	2	7	1	1	3	9
Queen's Coll., Galway	3	5	2	10	3	4	8	19	4	15	2	7	3	5	9	27
Univ. Coll., Dublin	5	18	6	23	2	4	13	45	11	34	5	16	6	10	22	60

	1895								1896							
	1st Arts		2d Arts		B.A.		Total		1st Arts		2d Arts		B.A.		Total	
	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors	Exhibit's	Honors
Queen's Coll., Belfast	8	23	5	16	8	11	21	50	8	17	5	17	6	11	19	45
Queen's Coll., Cork	0	0	1	7	3	4	4	11	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	2
Queen's Coll., Galway	1	4	3	8	3	5	7	17	0	1	1	4	2	4	3	9
Univ. Coll., Dublin	8	16	7	37	2	4	17	57	10	25	7	25	7	8	24	58

	1889			1890			1891			1892			1893			1894			1895			1896		
	Exhibit's	Honors	Total	Exhibit's	Honors	Total	Exhibit's	Honors	Total	Exhibit's	Honors	Total	Exhibit's	Honors	Total	Exhibit's	Honors	Total	Exhibit's	Honors	Total	Exhibit's	Honors	Total
Queen's Coll., Belfast	22	60	82	26	67	93	17	65	82	22	57	79	17	54	71	15	50	65	21	50	71	19	45	64
Queen's Coll., Cork	3	7	10	5	8	13	5	9	14	1	6	7	5	17	22	3	9	12	4	11	15	1	2	3
Queen's Coll., Galway	3	12	15	6	13	19	6	13	19	4	14	18	8	19	27	9	27	36	7	17	24	3	9	12
Univ. Coll., Dublin	8	35	43	16	36	52	13	38	51	16	47	63	13	45	58	22	60	82	17	57	74	24	58	82

science in both examinations. Belfast has gained only three first places, Galway two and Cork none. But it is now a mere insult to University College, Dublin, to measure it with those two latter. The Arts Faculty in Cork, as a school of distinction in classics, modern literature and pure science, is moribund. Not even the present annual waste of public money upon it can keep it alive; and the funds would be better spent upon the Munster Dairy School and Agricultural Institute. Some value might then be derived by the locality from the money.

"The tale of Catholic successes is not confined to the story of one great Catholic College. Thus the colleges for the higher education of Catholic girls, absolutely unassisted as they are, now equal or surpass in efficiency the two Queen's Colleges in Galway and Cork. St. Mary's University College has won a total of seventeen distinctions, while Galway, with its ten thousand pounds a year, has gained only eighteen, and Cork only six. The rapid rise of this institution is one of the most gratifying educational achievements in Catholic Ireland within recent years. Though only in its infancy it has already taken its rank as one of the first educational institutions in Ireland. It ties this year with Alexandra College in the total of its University distinctions, and is rapidly gaining upon that other most successful girls' college, the Victoria College, Belfast. The Loretto College, St. Stephen's Green, has also proved its quality, gaining eleven distinctions and the Hutchenson-Stewart Prize, or twice as many honors as have been won by the Students of the Queen's College, Cork. A college of the Catholic University whose prominence will be noted with special satisfaction this year, is the Holy Cross College, Clonliffe. It has won two first places, six first class distinctions and four second class. In the Second Arts Examination, Clonliffe has won five times as many distinctions as the Cork Queen's College. How long in the face of such results as these are effete secular institutions like those which have been vainly maintained in Cork and Galway, to be allowed to monopolise the endowments granted out of Irish taxes for higher education? If the Queen's Colleges

were among the most successful university colleges in the world, the denial of the Catholic claims in the matter of higher education *would be a monstrous injustice. But in face of the ridiculous fiasco in which Sir Robert Peel's policy has ended, the injustice becomes a glaring public scandal, and the maintenance of such institutions* out of Irish money a corrupt job as well."

These figures show the gradual progress of University College from the position of a good second to a successful lead. Belfast College with its splendid body of teachers and numerous prizes attracts all the clever Protestant and Presbyterian youth of Ulster, and wins the well-deserved reward of its usefulness. University College, though its student roll is so much smaller, and though it is unable like the Queen's College to open its doors to boys of slender means, has all along maintained a good second place and eventually outstripped its wealthy rival. The position of the other two colleges is hardly second rate. Their staff of professors is as able as could be found in any of the great English university colleges, they have prizes which relieve the cost of study for practically every single art student at their lectures, and yet they can show hardly any good results for the $85,000 a year of public money that is divided between them.

The successes attributed above to University College, Dublin, are still more creditable when examined in detail and establish its superiority in a more marked manner. In the introductory examinations they include in many cases the first place in various subjects, and the first in the aggregate of the whole examination. To instance only the last two years which are not at all exceptionally superior to earlier ones, we find that in 1895, University College students obtained: In the First Arts Examination, the first place in Latin, in English and mathematics, and the first exhibition in the total of marks; and in Second Arts, the first and second places in Latin, Greek, English and physics, the first place in Celtic, mathematics, chemistry and biology, and the first, second and fourth exhibitions; while in 1896, they secured in the First Arts the first and second places in Latin,

mathematics and physics, the first place in Greek and the first, second, third, fourth and sixth exhibitions, and in the Second Arts the first place in Latin, Greek, English and biology, the first and second in mathematics and physics, the first, second, third and fourth in logic, and the first, second fourth and sixth exhibitions.

The following comparison of the honors won by each institution at last year's examinations will illustrate the great superiority in value of those obtained by University College. The honors awarded to a student's answering in any subject are divided into "first class" or "second class honors," according as they pass or fall below a very high standard of excellence. There are also two grades in the exhibitions: "first class" exhibitions varying with the examination from $150 to $168 are granted to the first seven or ten students on the list, and "second class" exhibitions of half the value, to the next fifteen or twenty students. It will be seen that the distinctions of University College are of much higher quality than those of the other colleges.

1896.

	First Arts.				Second Arts.				B. A. Degree.			
	Exhibitions		Honors		Exhibitions		Honors		Exhibitions		Honors	
	1st Class.	2d Class.	1st Class.	2d Class.	1st Class.	2d Class.	1st Class.	2d Class.	1st Class.	2d Class.	1st Class.	2d Class.
University Col., Dublin,	7	3	11	14	5	2	10	15	4	3	5	3
Queen's " Belfast,	2	6	1	16	1	4	7	10	1	5	1	10
" " Cork....	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
" " Galway	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	4	0	2	0	4

JUNE, 1897.

FIRST ARTS OR FIRST UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

	Exhibitions			Honors			Total Distinctions
	1st Class.	2d Class.	Total.	1st Class.	2d Class.	Total.	
University College, Dublin . .	5	2	7	11	9	20	27
Queen's " Belfast . .	3	6	9	7	10	17	26
" " Galway . .	1	1	2	4	3	7	9
" " Cork . . .	1	0	1	0	3	3	4

SECOND ARTS OR SECOND UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

			Exhibitions			Honors			Total Distinctions
			1st Class.	2d Class.	Total.	1st Class.	2d Class.	Total.	
University College,		Dublin . .	4	1	5	12	7	19	24
Queen's	"	Belfast . .	1	4	5	5	10	15	20
"	"	Galway . .	0	0	0	3	6	9	9
"	"	Cork . . .	0	1	1	0	1	1	2

I–II ARTS COMBINED.

			1st Class. Honor Exhib.	2d Class. Honor Exhib.	Total Distinctions
University College,		Dublin . .	32	19	51
Queen's	"	Belfast . .	16	30	46
"	"	Galway. .	8	10	18
"	"	Cork	1	5	6

In these two examinations University College won first place in Ireland (*i. e.*, first exhibition, first in the aggregate of all subjects), and in First Arts, first place in mathematics, physics and English, and in Second Arts, first place in Greek, French, Celtic, mathematics, mathematical physics and experimental physics—nine first places in subjects, while Queen's College, Belfast, got first in three.

Of the places won in the B. A. degree examination since 1890, University College carried off, in 1890, first in mathematics, first and third in biology; in 1891, second and third in history and political science; in 1892, first, second and fourth in mental science, and second in mathematics; in 1893, first in classics; in 1894, first, second and third in classics, with the rare distinction of a gold medal for excellence in answering; second, and third in mental science and second in mathematics; in 1895, second in classics, political science and mathematics; and in 1896, first and second in classics; first, second and third in mental science; second in political science, and first in physics.

In the M. A. degree, which is regarded as entirely an honors examination, University College secured during the same years: in 1890, first place in mathematics; in 1891,

first in modern literature, and first in biological science; in 1892, first, second, and third places in mental science; in 1893, first in mental science; second and third in political science, and first in mathematics, with a gold medal for highly distinguished answering; in 1894, first in modern literature, and first in mental science; in 1895, first, third, and fourth in classics; first in political science, and second in mental science and in mathematics; and in 1896, first place in classics, and first in mental science.

There are at present five studentships of $1,500 each offered every year to students of M. A. standing, but some years back there were at times only two available. Of the thirty that have been granted during the eight years we have been studying, University College obtained eleven, Belfast Queen's College twelve, Galway two, and Cork none.

Such is a brief survey of the educational work of University College. It is, indeed, a record in which all Catholic Irishmen should feel pride, and which its past students regard with the warmest gratification. Its success is the best evidence of what Irish talent and Irish power of application can do if it only got opportunity of development and a field for its exercise; but it is also a testimony to the ability and devotion of the teaching staff which all outsiders recognize but none can appreciate so well as the old students. The professors are partly Ecclesiastics and partly Catholic laymen. The former are members of the Jesuit Order whose reputation for learning is not confined to Ireland and whose character and kindly influence are felt at other than class times; and supply in some way the want of a residential university. The lay professors are mostly young men, past students of the college (of whom four have been already elected Fellows of the University); and are rapidly gaining a high place in the list of gifted Irish scholars.

It is a strange anomaly that a college capable of obtaining such results each year, and performing such a splendid part in the work of Irish education, should be left without recognition or assistance from the State, whilst so much of public money should be wasted each year on Cork and Galway

Queen's Colleges without their ever being able to show any return for it, either in education imparted or honors gained.

The endowments of Trinity College constitute, of course, a much graver inequality. The enormous rental of the confiscated estates which James I. settled on it three hundred years ago and the innumerable bequests and donations it has since received, make its corporation one of the wealthiest educational bodies in the world and enable it to afford its students both the choicest culture and the deepest research that Ireland can produce. Its yearly revenue, beside which the $225,000 of the Queen's Colleges and Royal University seem a beggarly allowance, maintains scores of Fellows and tutors in luxurious incomes, provides prizes and free scholarships without end for its students, in addition to the benefits of university life, and keeps up the perfect equipment of the magnificent libraries and museums which so many public sources have enriched.

All this is the preserve of the small Protestant minority, and the Catholics, the great majority of the nation, stand empty-handed without.

It is true the endowments of Trinity College are now private property, with which Parliament could not interfere, and it may seem but a sentimental grievance to air our inferiority to it; but having regard to the duty which government everywhere recognizes, of encouraging and providing education, it would be no improper use of the public funds to divert a large sum toward lessening the enormous disparity between the position of Catholic and Protestant education in Ireland.

It would, however, be a very simple matter to settle the injustice of the present Queen's College system and give Catholics the same assistance as non-Catholics in their preparation for the Royal University; and no stronger claim for their rights could be made than the exhibition which University College, Dublin, yearly gives of their hard-earned success in the face of such heavy odds.

This is but a faint picture of one side of the story of Catholic Ireland, even in our day, when the nations think

that with Catholic emancipation and the death of penal laws, we are breathing the freedom of the boasted English Constitution. It is well to emphasize it and we have intentionally repeated ourselves to do so. Catholic Ireland robbed for Protestant endowments! Catholic Ireland taxed to pay by the pennies of her poor for Godless education! This, too, in the face of the awful revelation of national robbery by overtaxation, which has lately startled the conscience of the Christian world! Catholic Ireland thus treated by a people to whose ancestors, aye, and to the princes of whose blood, she opened her schools, her home and her heart, in the golden years when she was the light and the generous benefactor of Western Christendom. But she is not faint-hearted—not less brave and hopeful now than in her dark centuries past. She will continue to cry and to struggle for justice, and she must be heard, she must succeed. She must have her parliament and her school and her altar despite the power of tyrants and the selfish bigotry of a foreign church.

I cannot close this imperfect outline of the present position of our Catholic education, its struggles, its triumphs and its hopes, more fittingly than by the eloquent words of the Rev. Father Carbery, S. J., then Rector of the Catholic University, before the Maynooth Union of '96. His theme is "Higher Education our Hope for the Future," and he dwells with loving emphasis on the prophetic words of Cardinal Newman relating to the future of education in Ireland:

"There are few of us," he says, "who have not read and reread, lingering over the page with speculation as to its prophetic weight, Cardinal Newman's conception of our country, once again a great centre of Catholic education. Dear to him as was his own Oxford, with the memories of its associations and friendships of early manhood, as well as of his wondrous influence in later days, when the *élite* of the university crowded around him at St. Mary's, as an apostle of the higher life; despite these natural prepossessions, and even contemplating his Alma Mater in the full accomplishment of his daily prayer, that the lamp of faith might once

again light up her shrines, he could not think it possible, when he brought his philosophic mind to bear on his profound historical knowledge, that it would be given to her to resume the high position which she had forfeited by her fall, as the second great school of learning in the Church of God.

"'Since the age of Alfred and the first Henry,' he writes, 'the world has grown from the west and south of Europe into four or five continents; and I look for a city less inland than that old sanctuary, and a country closer upon the highway of the sea. I look toward a land both old and young; old in its Christianity, young in the promise of the future; a nation which received grace before the Saxon came to Britain and which has never quenched it. I contemplate a people which had a long night, and will have an inevitable day. The capital of that hopeful land is situated on a beautiful bay, near a romantic region; and in it I see a flourishing university, which for a while had to struggle with fortune, but which when its first founders were dead and gone, had success far exceeding their anxieties. Hither as to a sacred soil, the home of their fathers and the fountain head of their Christianity, students are flocking from east, west and south with the ease and rapidity of a locomotion not yet discovered; all speaking one tongue, all owning one faith, all eager for one large, true wisdom; and thence when their stay is over, going back again to carry peace to men of good will over all the earth.'

"The well known characteristics of the author of this prediction; his scrupulous reverence for truth, his dread of all exaggeration and deceit, no less than his power of logical deduction, should suffice to secure attention for any pronouncement of his own on such an important subject. But when, moreover, we calmly consider the reasons so skilfully insinuated as the basis of this conviction we find our own views gradually expand into a strong faith that, if the Catholics of Ireland are but true to themselves this prediction will be fully realized."

JOSEPH DOLAN, M.A.

Ardee, Co. Louth.

AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

THE SISTERS OF CHARITY IN THE UNITED STATES.

(*Second Part.*)

ON February 20, 1810, the new house which Mother Seton had undertaken to build was sufficiently near its completion to allow the Sisters to occupy part of it. Two days later they opened a day school for girls living in and near Emmettsburg. By the middle of May they had five boarding pupils; in June, the total number of students was forty; and at the close of the year the boarders alone numbered thirty. The original design had been to have a school for only poor children, but the lack of sufficient means compelled the Sisters to make a beginning by devoting their services chiefly to the education of daughters of the well-to-do. As the institution made progress, postulants applied for admission. In May, Mother Seton wrote to a friend: "We are now twelve, and as many again are waiting for admission. I have a very, very large school to superintend every day, and the entire charge of the religious instruction of all the country round. All apply to the Sisters of Charity, who are day and night devoted to the sick and the ignorant."

Cecilia Seton, who joined the community shortly after it had moved to Emmettsburg, died in April, 1810, and was buried beside her sister Harriet.

Although a certain amount of revenue could be counted upon from the pupils, from contributions offered by persons in sympathy with the objects of the sisterhood, and from the generosity of the Filicchi brothers, the community had to sustain the debt for its new building; this, together with the furnishing and maintenance of the establishment soon brought on financial straits. At first it was proposed that Mother Seton should go on a tour of the country soliciting aid; but this project was condemned. To avert the sale of the property for debt and the destruction of the institute, appeals were made by letter in December, 1811, to a number

of persons well disposed towards the community, such as Gen. Robert Goodloe Harper, son-in-law of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, and others through whose assistance the impending necessity of abandoning their work of charity was warded off.

When Mother Seton and her advisers failed in their effort to induce the institute of the Daughters of Charity in France to send some members to America who might aid in the formation of a permanent religious community here, according to the rule of St. Vincent de Paul, they acted upon their own counsel, making use of the plan drawn up by the saint for the direction of the religious. In his edifying *Life of Mrs. Eliza A. Seton*, the Rev. Dr. Charles I. White makes this summary of the regulations then laid down, which proved a solid basis for virtues and good works during forty years :

"The end which the Sisters of Charity proposed to themselves was to honor our Lord Jesus Christ as the source and model of all charity, by rendering to Him every temporal and spiritual service in their power, in the persons of the poor, the sick, prisoners, and others ; also to honor the sacred infancy of Jesus Christ in the young persons of their sex whom they may be called upon to form to virtue, while they sow in their minds the seed of useful knowledge. Thus the poor, of all descriptions and ages, the sick, invalids, foundlings, orphans, and even insane persons, were embraced within the sphere of their solicitude and care.

"Another object of their zeal, no less important at that time in America, was the instruction of young persons of their sex in virtue, piety, and various branches of useful learning. This instruction they were to extend gratis to poor orphans, as far as circumstances would permit. The education of female youth in general did not enter into the plan contemplated by St. Vincent de Paul. On the one hand, the great facilities which France and other parts of Europe offered for the instruction of young ladies in the knowledge and accomplishments of their sex, made it needless for the good of society ; while, on the other, the liberal

endowments by which his spiritual daughters were enabled to pursue their charitable labors, dispensed them from the necessity of earning the means of support. But the case was very different in the United States. The superiors of St. Joseph's community thought it essential to the very existence of the society that it should embrace in its object the education of young ladies who were able to pay for their instruction, as without this its resources would be insufficient for the maintenance of the mother-house and an orphan asylum. Moreover, this modification of the rules of St. Vincent appeared the more desirable, as it would extend the benefits of religious instruction to a class of society which has the greatest influence upon public morals, and which then possessed but scanty facilities in the United States for obtaining a solid and virtuous education.

"To carry out the above-mentioned objects, the society is composed of such as were never married and of widows, who are required to be sound of mind and body, and free from all defects that would prevent them from discharging the functions of their state. They must be of good character and respectable connections, of an age commonly not short of sixteen nor exceeding twenty-eight, and, above all, fully disposed to serve God during their whole life in the persons of the poor and the education of youth, with an entire submission to the guidance of superiors and a great fidelity to the rules of the institute.

"Candidates for admission into the Sisterhood are permitted, after mature deliberation, to enter the novitiate, or term of probation, during which they are instructed particularly in the duties and spirit of their vocation. At the expiration of this period, if judged competent by the superiors, they are allowed to make the simple vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and permanency in the company, according to their rules, and this for one year only, conformably to the practice of the community. These vows are intended to check the inconstancy of the human mind and to prevent a hasty return to the world which might be followed by regret and remorse; but, as they bind only for a period of

twelve months, the Sisters are at liberty to withdraw at the expiration of this time, though they are supposed to make their vows in the first instance with a determination to remain during their whole life in their holy vocation.

"As nothing could be more excellent and sublime than the end contemplated by the Sisterhood of St. Joseph's, the most perfect dispositions are required in its members, and the rules prescribed for their observance tend no less to their own personal sanctification than to their preparation for the service of the neighbor. That they may correspond with the grace of their vocation and fulfill with merit to themselves and benefit to others the great obligations annexed to it, they are strenuously exhorted to the practice of holiness, to aim at Christian perfection, and to join the exercises of an interior and spiritual life with their exterior employments, according to the regulations of the institute, the faithful observance of which is considered the most effectual means of attaining the ends of their holy state. Though they do not belong to a religious order (such a state being incompatible with the objects of their society), yet, as they are more exposed to the world than members of a religious order, having in most circumstances no other monastery than the houses of the sick or the school-room, no other cell than a rented apartment, no other chapel than the parish church, no cloister but the public street or hospital, no enclosure but obedience, no grate but the fear of God, no veil but that of holy modesty, they are taught to aim at the highest virtue and to comport themselves under all circumstances with as much edification as if they were living in the seclusion of a convent. The salvation of their soul is the paramount consideration they are to have in view. The cultivation of humility, charity and simplicity, the performance of their actions in union with the Son of God, contempt of the world, disengagement from created things, love of abjection, patient and even cheerful endurance of all earthly crosses and trials, and a great confidence in Divine Providence, are practices which the sisters consider essential to their profession.

"In addition to these holy maxims, which may be said to form the characteristic spirit of the society, the sisters are animated in a special manner by the requirements of the holy vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, to pursue with zeal the objects of their institute. The most admirable rules are laid down for the practice of mutual charity among themselves, and also for the proper fulfilment of the duties that may be assigned to them, whether attending the sick in hospitals and private houses, conducting free schools and asylums, or discharging other offices of their state. The dangers to be met with in various situations are pointed out, as well as the precautions to be adopted. In a word, no instruction is omitted that could tend to qualify the Sister of Charity for the worthy and successful performance of her high functions.

"But as she would in vain hope to acquit herself faithfully of these onerous duties, and in that proper spirit which they demand, without the assiduous exercise of prayer and reflection, a strict attention is required to various practices of piety, such as morning and evening prayer, meditation, spiritual reading, self-examination, frequentation of the Sacraments, and other devotions, which tend to enkindle in the soul the love of God and the neighbor, to nourish the spirit of faith, and to maintain a perpetual triumph of grace over the weakness of nature and the suggestions of the world. In any of the situations in which a sister may be employed, whether at the mother-house or on the missions, a large portion of her daily time is appropriated to prayer and other spiritual exercises, while the remainder is filled up with the duties of her calling.

"The power and authority which were necessary to maintain the spirit of the institute, to insure its objects and regulate its various operations, were vested in a central government, composed of a superior-general (who is a clergyman), a mother-superior, an assistant, a treasurer and a procuratrix. The superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpitius, in Baltimore, was *ex officio* protector of the Constitution of the society and had an eye to their faithful observance. The

superior-general was to be consulted on all important matters, both temporal and spiritual. The Mother-Superior was to exercise a more immediate supervision over affairs, and particularly over the principal establishment in which she resides. To be eligible to this office, it was required that a sister should be thirty-five years of age and have been a member of the community twelve years; moreover, that she should possess a mature judgment, with the talent of governing, and, above all, be exemplary in the practice of the different virtues which the vocation of a Sister of Charity demands. The mother was to be elected in a general assembly of the sisters, by a majority of votes, for a term of three years and could be reëlected a second term, but not longer. The offices of assistant, treasurer and procuratrix were also to be conferred by a majority of votes, and for only one term of three years. These officers formed the council of the mother and to their joint deliberation were referred all matters relating to the interests of the company. Besides the mother and her council, there was a mistress of novices in the principal house, appointed by the mother with the aid of her advisers, to form those who were admitted into the Sisterhood to the spirit and duties of their vocation. One of the sisters was also appointed, in the same way, to regulate and superintend the exercises of St. Joseph's Academy. The establishments abroad have each a presiding officer to watch over its concerns, who was appointed by the same authority and is called the sister-servant. All other inferior offices are distributed by the mother, according to her judgment and discretion."

Mother Seton's children were an obstacle to her taking the obligations of the religious state. She had no competence for them, and she would not give up to any one else her maternal duty as their guardian. Some of the Sulpician Fathers who helped to fashion the new institute thought indeed that she ought to quit the community, return to Baltimore, and re-open her private school. But others of them contended that she was where God had clearly sent her, and that exceptional provision should be made for her. She

submitted the difficulty to those interested in her work, especially to her spiritual director, and finally to the decision of Archbishop Carroll. In a letter written to her on September 11, 1811, he said :

"Honored and dear Madam :—Shall I confess that I am deeply humiliated at being called on to give a final sanction to a rule of conduct and plan of religious government by which it is intended to promote and preserve, among many beloved spouses of Jesus Christ, a spirit of solid and sublime religious perfection? When I remember how many prayers, fastings, watchings, etc., were employed by the holy founders of religious institutions to obtain light and assistance from the Holy Ghost to render their Constitutions and rules adapted to the objects of their pious zeal, I am so sensible of my unworthiness that I would certainly decline from the task if I did not entertain a confidence that it may please God to bestow a blessing on the ministerial acts of the ministers of religion whom He has constituted, to which blessing they are not entitled if only their private worth were considered. Under this impression, therefore, I shall and do now give my approbation to the Constitutions exhibited to me by Mr. Dubois, after they shall receive the alterations suggested to and by him. You will know from him what these are ; and it affords me great pleasure to learn that all the material points, on which a difference of opinion was thought to exist, have been given up by Messrs. de St. Sulpice in their last deliberations. If they had not, I do not think that I should have approved the Constitutions as modified in the copy thereof which has been before me. Mr. Dubois has not exhibited the rules of detail and particular duties of the sisters ; but these being matters of which yourselves and your father-superior will be the best judges, I commit you and them with the utmost confidence to the guidance of the Divine Spirit. I am exceedingly anxious that every allowance shall be made, not only to the sisters generally but to each one in particular, which can serve to give quiet to their consciences, provided that this be done without endangering the harmony of the community ; and therefore it must become a matter of regulation. I am rejoiced likewise to know that the idea of any other connection than of charity is abandoned between the daughters of St. Joseph and the Society of St. Sulpice ; I mean that their interests, administration, and government are not to be the

same, or, at least, under the same control. This removes many inconveniences for you and for Messrs. of St. Sulpice. No one of that body but your immediate superior, residing near you, will have any share in the government or concerns of the sisters, except (on very rare and uncommon occasions) the superior of the Seminary of Baltimore, but not his Society. This, however, is to be understood so as not to exclude the essential superintendence and control of the Archbishop over every community in his diocese. Your own peculiar situation required special consideration on account of your dear children. It seemed to me that only general principles for you and your family's case should be now established, grounded on justice and gratitude; and that special considerations should be deferred to the period when the circumstances may require them. At present too many persons would be consulted and, among them, some who are incompetent to judge; and even they who are most competent might find their most equitable provisions rendered useless by the changes produced in a few years. Mr. Dubois has been very explicit in communicating, I believe, whatever it was proper for me to know. On my side, it has been my endeavor, when I read the Constitutions, to consult, in the first place, the individual happiness of your dear sisters, and, consequently, your own; secondly, to render their plan of life useful to religion and the public; thirdly, to confine the administration of your own affairs and the internal and domestic government, as much as possible, to your own institutions once adopted, and within your own walls. Your superior or confessor alone need be informed or consulted in matters where the mother and her council need advice. I shall congratulate you and your beloved sisters when the Constitution is adopted. It will be like freeing you from a state in which it was difficult to walk straight, as you had no certain way in which to proceed. In the meantime, assure yourself and them of my utmost solicitude for your advancement in the service and favor of God; of my reliance on your prayers; of mine for your prosperity in the important duty of education, which will and must long be your principle, and will always be your partial, employment. A century at least will pass before the exigencies and habits of this country will require, and hardly admit, of the charitable exercises towards the sick sufficient to employ any number of the sisters out of our largest cities; and therefore they must consider the business of education as a laborious, charitable, and permanent object of their religious duty."

In accordance with the Archbishop's views, the case of Mother Seton was treated as exceptional in the Constitutions of the new religious institute. A clause authorizing her to watch over her children's welfare and to administer their property was added in the paragraph regarding the admission of widows. It was also provided in her favor that in case of her election to the office of mother-superior for more than two consecutive terms the choice might be ratified, provided the ecclesiastical directors of the society should deem her continuance in office beneficial for the general good.

When the new rules were read to the Emmettsburg community in January, 1812, the sisters were notified that they were free to accept them by remaining in the society, or if they felt any difficulty of doing so they could return to their respective homes. There were twenty sisters in the house. Only one of them decided to go away.

Having been adopted by the community, the Constitutions were then once more referred to the superior of the Sulpicians, the Rev. John Tessier, and to the Most Rev. John Carroll for formal canonical approval. On January 17th, the Archbishop sent the approbation in writing, adding these words: "I have approved of the same, believing them to be inspired by the Spirit of God and suitable to conduct the Sisters to religious perfection."

Father John Dubois (then a Sulpician and later Bishop of New York) was appointed the first Superior-General of the Sisterhood.

An election was at once held. Mrs. Seton was chosen Mother-Superior; Mrs. Rose White, Assistant; Miss Catharine Mullen, Treasurer, and Miss Ann Gruber, Procuratrix.

The sisters entered a spiritual retreat on February 2, 1812, and were then informed that a further novitiate of one year would be allowed them to test their vocation under the new rule, at the expiration of which additional period of trial, they could either take the vows or withdraw, as they should prefer and the superiors should decide.

No special habit was required by the Constitutions; that being one of the details postponed for further consideration.

Meanwhile the sisters were directed to wear the costume that they had used since the commencement of the institute. "It may be remarked, however," says Dr. White, "that for some years neither the form nor the material of the community dress had a very definite character. Some weeks after the sisters were established in the valley, the black cap was introduced and afterward retained. The color of the dress, as well as the material, was not very uniform. The straightened funds of the house required the observance of a very rigid economy, and for this reason habits for the sisters were frequently made from the articles of clothing which they had brought with them to the institution. In the year 1812, one piece of linsey, pepper and salt color, was purchased for the community, and the habits manufactured from this stuff were considered by the members of the house as remarkably genteel, compared with others then in use. We may judge, however, that they scarcely reached the proper standard from a humorous observation of Bishop Cheverus, who, seeing one of the sisters in her linsey habit, inquired of Mother Seton if she was 'under penance.' At a later period, when the income of the establishment had increased, black bombazette was introduced for the habits of the sisters; but during the war between Great Britain and the United States, in consequence of the difficulty of procuring this article, flannel was substituted in its place, and was used afterward, winter and summer."

During that first year of the community's existence as a regular institute ten postulants were received.

Sister Annina Seton, the Mother-Superior's eldest child, fell ill in September, 1811, and died on the following March 12, in the seventeenth year of her age, beloved in life and mourned and envied in her pious death.

At the end of the year of probation, on July 19, 1813, these following members of the community, eighteen in all, took the vows: Eliza Ann Seton, Rose White, Catharine Mullen, Ann Gruber, Elizabeth Boyle, Angela Brady, Cecilia O'Conway, Susan Clossy, Mary Ann Butler, Adele Salva, Louise Roger, Margaret George, Sarah Thompson, Eleanor Thomp-

son, Martina Quinn, Fanny Jordan, Teresa Conway and Julia Shirk.

A novitiate was started in August, with Sister Catharine Mullen as novice mistress, and this completed the organization of the society.

The first colony from St. Joseph's was sent to Philadelphia in September, 1814, to take charge of an orphan asylum. Three sisters, at the head of whom was Sister Rose White, made up the new foundation which was placed under the patronage of St. Joseph. Beginning in want almost of the necessaries of life, it has developed into a magnificent institution.

The second corps was sent out in 1815. It too consisted of three sisters, who were to take charge of the domestic arrangements of Mt. St. Mary's College.

The third branch was established in New York in 1817, at the request of Bishop Connolly. It, likewise, was composed of three sisters—Rose White (transferred from Philadelphia), Cecilia O'Conway and Felicité Brady. It was anticipated that these would have a more than ordinarily difficult position, owing to the scrutiny and criticism to which they were likely to be subjected in the native city of Mother Seton, a fact which largely influenced Mother Seton in her particular choice of these pioneers.

The Sisterhood was incorporated in January, 1817, by Act of the Legislature of Maryland. There were bigots in those days, for the vote stood 35 to 24, a majority of only 11 in 59 for a philanthropic institution, such as that of pious and cultivated women devoted to education and charity.

Almost from the start, some poor children were freely taught at St. Joseph's, and a number of others were instructed for next to nothing, according to the means of their parents. In 1820 a two-story brick building was erected for a free school, according to the intention of the Rev. Father Cooper, and the children who attended it were not only instructed gratuitously, but they were also fed at noon.

Mother Seton, who had been called in 1815 to a second term as Mother-Superior, was chosen for the third time in

1818. Her health was so poor at the time that she herself called this "an election of the dead." Still she was up and about until 1820. Then the symptoms of consumption showed themselves plainly in her system. For four months she was confined to her room. Her last days were full of edification for the Sisterhood. She expired on January 4, 1821, in the forty-seventh year of her age.

Since Mother Seton's death the work that she began in poverty and uncertainty has developed into noble proportions. The tree she planted has stretched out its branches until they ramify all over the country—through New England in the East, New York in the North, Louisiana in the South, California in the far West, and the vast region between those points. There have grown up under its shade numberless souls walking the paths of religious perfection. It has fed and sheltered hundreds of thousands of persons—infants, orphans, young girls, mothers, the sick, the insane, the leprous—by the practice in their regard of almost all the spiritual and corporal works of mercy. Thus have been fulfilled the prophetic expectations of Bishop Cheverus and Dr. Matignon that this foundress would be "a great good in the United States." A living argument in favor of the Catholic religion, the institute has been of inestimable help to the Church, inside and outside of the communion of the faithful.

Although the Sisterhood of Charity is ready to render every temporal and spiritual service, according to its particular scope, to all who are in need of succor, its special care and affection are extended to the poor and the ignorant. But wherever there is most danger, most discomfort, most forlorn wretchedness, most hope of giving glory to God and doing good to mankind, there its members are at home. In 1832, for instance, when the scourge of the Asiatic cholera swept over our land decimating the population, when thousands fled before its approach, leaving behind them their dying kindred and dearest friends, the Sisters of Charity bravely confronted it. The municipal authorities of Philadelphia were the first who applied to the superioress for aid, and no sooner was the request presented than thirteen of these heroic

nuns were despatched to that city, eager to help and serve those from whom the rest of the world seemed to fly with horror. The scene at the mother-house on this occasion was sublime. The council having assembled, there was no delay in arriving at a favorable determination. A selection was at once made of those who were to start. Their countenances, beaming with joy, gave evidence of the spirit which animated them, and those who remained behind experienced a feeling akin to envy for those upon whom the happy lot had fallen. The City of Baltimore made a similar appeal to obtain nurses for its cholera hospitals, and its petition was also promptly answered. Several of the sisters fell martyrs of the plague. When the epidemic was over and the surviving nuns were recalled, the Board of Guardians of the Almshouse at Philadelphia, at their meeting on May 20, 1833, adopted a series of resolutions expressing their sense of admiration and gratitude in permanent testimony "to the zeal, fidelity and disinterestedness which these amiable philanthropists have exhibited." The authorities of Philadelphia regretted that the sisters would take no reward, "as it would give them pleasure to bestow such a testimonial as might serve partially to express the grateful feelings which they entertain." The Mayor and City Council of Baltimore adopted a resolution testifying that during the pestilence "the Sisters of Charity were conspicuous in the labor of love, as strangers flying to our succor in distress and encountering death as the price of their devotion." "As a memorial of the gratitude of the city," it was determined by the Council that "a monument be erected to the memory of the said deceased Sisters as a record of, and a just tribute to, their exemplary piety, humanity and self-devotion." This monument was placed by the city in the Cathedral Cemetery.

Again, when the Civil War desolated the republic, bands of Sisters of Charity went out from peaceful convent homes to battlefields and military hospitals, and nursed the wounded soldiers confided to their care. They faced hardship, exposure, endless exertion and risk of life, but no thought of pain or privation or peril weakened their devotion in their mi-

nistry of mercy. The sisters remaining in their own hospitals in Washington, St. Louis and other places, devoted themselves with equal zeal and charity to the same Christian and patriotic work. Of the 785 sisters then in the Order, about one-half were engaged during the period from 1861 to 1865, in the service of sick and wounded soldiers.

Once more, when Louisiana gathered together the lepers within its borders in 1896, and established a lazaretto for their shelter, it could find no secular nurses to undertake the loathsome and dangerous task of caring for those living corpses. It sent a petition to the Sisters of Charity, and they promptly accepted the charge.

The institutions conducted by the Sisters of Charity in the United States at the present time number 114. Among them are 12 infant asylums, 10 maternity homes, 26 orphanages, 7 houses of industry, 30 day (parochial) schools, 3 academies, 32 hospitals, 5 insane asylums and 1 institute for lepers.

The sisters last year had under their care 4,967 infants and 6,359 orphans; they instructed 9,223 pupils, nursed 29,504 sick, tended 2,077 insane and cared for 27 lepers.

The community in the United States numbers about 1,500 sisters, with some 50 novices.

One of the dreams of Mother Seton and Bishop Dubourg was made a reality in 1850, when the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph were united with the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul. After many negotiations and much correspondence, this union was finally brought about, and on March 25th of that year, the sisters here renewed their vows in the exact formula used in France. On the 8th of December following, they adopted the habit of the French Sisters, with its white cornette. And since then, like one of the great divisions of a world-wide army, they have marched on, with a spirit of devotion such as inspired their American foundress, to peaceful victories in the service of the Lord.

HYMNS OF ADVENT.

IN THIS paper is given a translation, together with some slight commentary, of the hymns *Creator alme siderum* (Vespers), *Verbum supernum prodiens* (Matins), and *En clara vox redarguit* (Lauds). All three, as found in the Breviary, are revisions of very old hymns, whose age and metrical form have caused them to be ascribed to St. Ambrose and St. Gregory. A lover of antiquarian ruggedness will pass easily over the frequent hiatuses of the rhythms to admire at length the occasional vividness and picturesqueness of the figures and phrases in the older hymns; but however tempting the prospect, we are forced to limit our discussion to the modern texts of our Breviary. These texts, moreover, do not require, although they easily permit, an abundant commentary.

All three take the first advent of Christ as a text for a warning and a prayer anent the second advent. In the first hymn, the fifth stanza commences: "Te deprecamur ultimae Magnum diei judicem"; in the second hymn, the third stanza commences: "Ut cum tribunal Judicis," etc.; and in the third hymn, the fourth stanza commences: "Ut cum secundo fulserit," etc. The first hymn dwells mostly on the majesty of the Word; the second is wholly given to a prayer for light and love; the third is an exhortation to be watchful and penitent.

Two stanzas of the old version of the hymn at vespers are here subjoined in order to illustrate how vastly it has been changed in the modern revision—*ex uno disce omnes* may be said of the three hymns.

I. Conditor alme siderum,
[1] Aeterna lux credentium, [1] Aeterne.
Christe Redemptor omnium,
Exaudi preces supplicum.

II. Qui condolens [2] interitu [2] Imperium (*i. e.*, *per* imperium.)
Mortis perire saeculum,
Salvasti mundum languidum,
Donans [3] reis remedium. [3] Regis.

AD VESPERAS.

Creator alme siderum,
Ætérna lux credéntium,
Jesu, Redémptor ómnium,
Inténde votis súpplicum.

Qui dæmonis ne fráudibus
Períret orbis, impetu
Amóris actus, lánguidi
Mundi medéla factus es.

Commúne qui mundi nefas
Ut expiáres, ad crucem
E Virginis sacràrio
Intácta prodis víctima.

Cujus potéstas glóriæ,
Noménque cum primum sonat,
Et cælites et inferi
Treménte curvántur genu.

Te deprecámur últimæ
Magnum diéi Júdicem,
Armis supérnæ grátiæ
Defénde nos ab hóstibus.

Virtus, honor, laus, glória
Deo Patri cum Fílio,
Sancto simul Paráclito,
In sæculórum sæcula. Amen.

CREATOR ALME SIDERUM.

Creator of the starry skies,
Eternal light of faithful breasts,
Who won'st the prize of Paradise,
List to our behests.

Thou, the world's evil to remove
Lest it should perish utterly,
Did'st, spurred by love, leave Heaven above
To be earth's remedy.

To expiate our common woe,
Thou dost, from Mary's sacred breast,
Stainless as snow a Victim go
Upon the Cross to rest.

"JESUS!" Our lips do scarcely tell
That Name of power and majesty,
Ere all that dwell in heaven or hell
Fall down on trembling knee!

O mighty Judge! whom we shall face
On the last day that earth shall know,—
Our souls embrace with heavenly grace
To shield us from our foe!

Glory and power and honor meet
Unto the Father and the Son;
Like praises greet the Paraclete
While endless ages run! Amen.

AD MATUTINUM.

Verbum supérnum pródiens
E Patris ætérni sinu,
Qui natus orbi súbvenis,
Labénte cursu témporis :

Illúmina nunc péctora,
Tuóque amóre cóncrema,
Ut cor cadúca déserens
Cæli volúptas impleat :

Ut, cum tribúnal Júdicis
Damnábit igni nóxios,
Et vox amica débitum
Vocábit ad cælum pios :

Non esca flammárum nigros
Volvámur inter túrbines,
Vultu Dei sed cómpotes
Cæli fruámur gáudiis.

Patri simúlque Filio,
Tibique, sancte Spiritus,
Sicut fuit, sit júgiter
Sæclum per omne glória. Amen.

VERBUM SUPERNUM PRODIENS.

Supernal Word proceeding from
The eternal Father's breast sublime,
Who, born to succor earth, dost come
In the appointed time:

Illumine now each waiting breast;
Fill it with flames of Thy dear love;
That in our hearts alone may rest
Desire of joys above!

That when to flames the Judgment-seat
Condemns the bad for evil done,
And calls the just in accents sweet
Unto their Heaven won:

We may not feed the hungry flame,
Tossed in the black and whirling pool,
But rather God's dear presence claim
In heavenly pastures cool!

Unto the Father and the Son,
And, Spirit Paraclete, to Thee,
What praise hath been, so be it done
Through all eternity!—Amen.

AD LAUDES.

En clara vox redárguit
Obscúra quæque pérsonans :
Procul fugéntur sómnia :
Ab alto Jesus prómicat.

Mens jam resúrgat tórpida,
Non ámplius jacens humi :
Sidus refúlget jam novum,
Ut tollat omne nóxium.

En Agnus ad nos míttitur
Laxáre gratis débitum :
Omnes simul cum lácrimis
Precémur indulgéntiam.

Ut, cum secúndo fúlserit,
Metúque mundum cínxerit,
Non pro reátu púniat,
Sed nos pius tunc prótegat.

Virtus, honor, laus, glória
Deo Patri cum Fílio,
Sancto simul Paráclito,
In sæculórum sæcula. Amen.

EN CLARA VOX REDARGUIT.

Loud the voice of chanticleer
  Quarrels with the darkling sky:
Let all dreaming disappear—
  Christ beams from on high!

Let the sleepy soul arise,
  Springing from its slumbrous tomb;
Lo! a new Star in the skies
  Banishes the gloom!

For the Lamb to us is sent,
  Freely paying what we owe:
Shall we not with tears lament—
  Pleas for pardon show?

That when He again shall shine,
  Girdling all the earth with fear,
Not our doom He may design,
  But our Hope appear!

Honor, power, glory meet
  To the Father and the Son,
And the Spirit Paraclete,
  While the ages run! Amen.

We have but two comments to make here. The first comment concerns the words of the second hymn: "Non esca flammarum nigros volvamur inter turbines." The flames of hell burn without giving light, say the Fathers. "Conspicient ignem obscurum, urendi quidem in tenebris vim habentem, luce vero destitutum" (Basilius, Hom. in Psal. 33).

St. Jude seems to insinuate the same punishment (i. 6): "And the angels, who kept not their principality, but forsook their own habitation, he hath reserved *under darkness* in everlasting chains unto the judgment of the great day."

The "*nigros*" is illustrated by Milton (Par. Lost, Bk. I., 62, 63):

> Yet from those flames
> No light, but rather darkness visible . . .

Similarly the "*turbines*" (Par. L., Bk. I., 76, 77):

> There the companions of his fall, o'erwhelmed
> With floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire . .

Our second comment is on the first line of the third hymn: *En clara vox redarguit*, which some interpreters refer to Christ, others to the Baptist, who was the "vox clamantis in deserto" of Isaias (xl. 3). We have translated "*vox clara*" in the most literal manner possible, namely, as *chanticleer*, whose name is descriptive of his *vox clara*. Be the symbolism what it may, it is hardly felicitous to mingle the symbolic with the literal meaning. We are strongly inclined to doubt that the Baptist was at all in the mind of the author of the hymn; for in the unrevised version the line ran, "*Vox clara ecce intonat*," and this is strongly suggestive of the line in the hymn *Aeterne rerum Conditor* which runs:

> "Praeco diei jam sonat."

As the *praeco* is the *cock*, it is but fair to translate in the same sense "clara vox."

The scriptural suggestiveness found in many phrases of the three hymns is so obvious as to forbid further illustrative comment.

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PERMUTATIO STIPENDIORUM MISSARUM.

(CASUS MORALIS.[1])

Lucius, rector celebris cujusdam sanctuarii, quum propria pecunia non abundet, dolens, quod non possit conferre in pios fines missionum inter infideles quarum audierat penuriam et necessitates, videtur sibi industriam artemque invenisse, qua possit.

Colligit enim apud sanctuarium multa stipendia neque pauca dioecesanâ taxâ consuetâ majora, trinarum, sc., marcarum (75 cents), quum consueta taxa sit marca cum dimidia (37½ cents), atque multae etiam Missae fundatae sint pro unius marcae (25 cents) stipendio et hac minore taxa celebrari debeant. Cognovit igitur, multa minoris istius taxae stipendia apud Julium existere. Quem adit, eique proponit haec: Commutabo tecum intentiones Missarum, dabo tibi pro singulis stipendium unius et dimidiae marcae, tuas alio transmittam celebrandas auctis singulis stipendiis etiam usque ad consuetam taxam marcae cum dimidia, nihilominus reservabo e singulis Missarum stipendiis marcas; quo fit, ut annuatim 1,000–1,500 marcas pauperibus missionibus possim elargiri. Julius libens consentit. Sed vix ingenium suum exercuerat Lucius in invenienda arte sine propriis sumptibus succurrendi finibus adeo piis, quum ei a confratre scrupulus injicitur de illicita pactione illicitoque lucro circa Missarum stipendia.

Quapropter examinanda proponitur quaestio: *Licitane an illicita sit Lucii agendi ratio.*

SOLUTIO.

Ad propositam quaestionem recte solvendam videri debet:

I. Quae sit obligatio cum Missae celebratione transferenda transferendi stipendii integri, seu quae prohibitio partis stipendii retinendae.

II. Quae admittantur ab hac prohibitione vel lege exceptiones.

III. Possintne illae exceptiones ad casum nostrum applicari.

Ad I^um^. *R.* 1. Ex Bulla Innoc. XII. haec habentur decreta: "Ac similiter omne damnabile lucrum ab Ecclesia removere

1 Cf. Fascicul. pro mense octobri AMERICAN ECCL. REVIEW, p. 428.

volens, prohibet sacerdoti, qui Missam suscepit celebrandam cum certa eleemosyna, ne eandem Missam alteri, parte ejusdem eleemosynae sibi retenta, celebrandum committat." Circa quod quum postea interrogaretur, "An sacerdotes quibus aliquando offertur eleemosyna major solita pro celebratione Missae, debeant dare eandem integram eleemosynam iis quibus Missas celebrandas committunt; an vero satis sit, ut dent celebrantibus eleemosynam consuetam?"—resp. est: "debere absolute integram eleemosynam tribuere sacerdoti celebranti, nec ullam illius partem sibi retinere posse."

R. 2. Quod idem in Const. Benedicti XIV., l. c., ita vetitum esse dicitur "a quolibet sacerdote, stipendio seu eleemosyna majoris pretii pro celebratione Missae a quocunque accepta, non posse alteri sacerdoti Missam hujusmodi celebraturo stipendium seu eleemosynam minoris pretii erogari, etsi eidem sacerdoti Missam celebranti et consentienti se majoris pretii stipendium seu eleemosynam accepisse indicasset."

R. 3. Eadem illa Constitutione Bened. XIV., censurae poena fertur in mercaturam cum Missarum stipendiis, quae nunc statuta est ad normam Const. Pii IX., *Apostolicae Sedis*, quae excommunicatio Romano Pontifici ordinario modo reservata fertur in "colligentes eleemosynas majoris pretii pro Missis et ex iis lucrum captantes, faciendo eas celebrari in locis, ubi Missarum stipendia minoris pretii esse solent": quod per decretum S. Officii a Leone XIII. approbatum d. 13 Jan. 1892, ita extensum est, ut eadem excommunicatio incurratur *etiam ab iis, qui eodem loco, quo collegerunt, pro minore stipendio Missas faciant celebrari.*

R. 4. In decretis d. 13 Aug. 1874 latis, a Pio IX. confirmatis et Ordinariis transmissis habetur ad VII$^{um.}$ "An liceat Episcopis sine speciali S. Sedis venia ex eleemosynis Missarum, quas fideles celebrioribus sanctuariis tradere solent, aliquid detrahere, ut eorum decori et ornamento consulatur, quando praesertim ea propriis reditibus careant?" Resp: "Negative, nisi de consensu oblatorum." Quod est inter ea, quae a Leone XIII. novis additis poenis decreto *Vigilanti* confirmata sunt, ita ut *sacerdotibus* contra ea delinquentibus imposita sit ipso facto suspensio a divinis S.

Sedi reservata, *clericis inferioribus* suspensio ab ordinibus susceptis et inhabilitas ad superiores ordines suscipiendos pari modo reservata, *laicis* excommunicatio Episcopis reservata.

Unde patet, legibus positivis naturalem legem in hac re existentem non solum sanciri, sed etiam magis determinari vel extendi etiam ad eas res, quae ex sola lege naturali vix criminis incusari possint sed solum periculum turpiter delinquendi constituant. Quare superfluum videri potest accuratius videre, quid jam naturali lege, quid lege tantum positiva evaserit in nostra re illicitum.

Ad II$^{um.}$, nimirum ad exceptiones ab illa prohibitione jure admissas, transiturus:

R. 1. Prohibitiones retinendi quidquam ex stipendiis Missarum, si quando Missae alteri celebrandae committuntur, respiciunt stipendia manualia, non fundationes Missarum, quae factae sint sive ad sustentandam ecclesiam, sive ad ejus ministrorum sustentationem adeoque eorum salarium vel beneficium constituunt vel supplent atque iis, quae "jura stolae" dicuntur, possunt aequiparari.

Quod in ipsa Constit. Innoc. XII. cautum est. Nam ad quaesitum: "An hoc decretum habeat locum in beneficiis quae conferuntur in titulum, i. e., an rector beneficii qui potest per alium celebrare, teneantur sacerdoti celebranti dare stipendium ad rationem beneficii?" Resp. communicatur: "non habere locum, sed satis esse ut rector beneficii, qui potest Missam per alium celebrare, tribuat sacerdoti celebranti eleemosynam congruam secundum morem civitatis vel provinciae, *nisi in fundatione ipsius beneficii aliud cautum fuerit.*" Haec ad similes fundationes, quae beneficii vel salarii complementum sint extendi, v. Lehmkuhl, *Theol. mor.*, II., n. 204. Imo prodiit resp. S.C.C. in causa Coloniensi d. d. 25 Julii, 1874, ad Quaes. "Utrum pro Missis nuptialibus et exsequialibus, quando parochus eas aliis celebrandas committit, manualem eleemosynam tradere possit, retento pinguiori stipendio ex lege dioecesana illis assignato?" R. "Quum agatur *de juribus stolae*, satis esse, si parochus retribuat celebranti eleemosynam ordinariam." (Cf. *Archiv. fur Kath. Kirchenrecht*, vol. 62, pag. 179.) Quod autem pro extra-

ordinario labore ad ordinariam taxam additur, id sane celebranti cedi debet.

R. 2. Excipitur, etiam quando agitur de stipendiis manualibus, communiter ille casus, quo stipendium consueto majus intuitu ejus, cui stipendium confertur, datum fuerit: ita ut excessus potius pro mero dono personali quam pro parte stipendii Missae haberi debeat. Quam exceptionem S. Alph., l. c., n. 321, referens approbat, atque jure, quia in tali casu non proprie retinetur pars stipendii, sed retinetur quod occasione stipendii pro liberali dono fuerit collatum. Attamen non quilibet excessus supra consuetam taxam pro ejusmodi dono personali haberi potest. Fac enim, eum qui stipendium dat, solere communiter, quia dives est, majora stipendia dare; in quo casu sumi nequit, excessum esse liberale donum quod retineri possit, translata Missae obligatione cum stipendio ordinario.

Quod nostra aetate S. C. C., die 25 Julii, 1874, confirmavit, dicens, integrum stipendium in celebrantem transferendum esse, "nisi morali certitudine constet, excessum communis eleemosynae oblatum fuisse intuitu parochi."

R. 3. Excipitur similiter ille casus, quando ille, in quem cum Missa celebranda stipendium transfertur, sponte sua excessum omnino libere donat. Nam etsi celebraturo totum stipendium jure debeatur, illud tamen, cujus jus sive in re sive ad rem acquisivit, sponte et libere dono donare cuilibet, adeoque etiam committenti sacerdoti, potest. Ita etiam S. Alph., l. c., n. 321. Quod autem supra in Constit. SS. PP. partem retineri non posse dicitur, "etiamsi eidem sacerdoti celebranti et consentienti" id indicetur, ea est ratio, quia ejusmodi consensus roganti seu indicanti datus non censetur omnino sponte et libere datus, quippe qui datus non esset, nisi committens stipendium rogasset atque alter timeret, ne alias omni spe accipiendorum stipendiorum destitueretur.

Ex dictis colligitur, utramvis voluntatem sufficere, ut liceat partem stipendii detrahere: (1) voluntatem ultroneam seu spontaneam ejus cui Missa celebranda demum committitur; (2) voluntatem ejus, qui stipendium largius primo offert.

Generatim quidem in legibus ecclesiasticis, quas attuli, supponitur, eum, qui stipendium acceptum alteri committat diminutum, partem detractam sibi retinere, adeoque finis legis principalis est, ut caveatur a turpi lucro et cum stipendiis Missarum mercatura. Verum ad illum turpem quaestum sibi faciendum lex illa universalis non restringitur. Idque evidens fit ex ultimo illo responso ex decretis Pii IX., d. 13 Aug., 1874, datis, quo expresse prohibetur, quominus in pium usum pauperis ecclesiae liceat partem majoris stipendii retinere, *nisi fiat cum consensu oblatorum.*

Atque hoc ipsum responsum clare innuit, quomodo haec stipendiorum Missae collatio consideranda sit. Nimirum habetur certa quaedam in determinatam piam causam pecuniae collatio a fidelibus facta. Verum Ecclesia semper id sibi religioni duxit, ut quam fidelissime quod in pias causas conferretur, fini destinato serviret, neque unquam permisit pro libitu pias causas mutare. Verum esset piarum causarum mutatio, si quod pro Missis datum erat, ex parte in alium finem pium impenderetur, insciis vel invitis donatoribus.

Verum eo ipso consequitur, Romanum Pontificem, qui est omnium piarum causarum supremus administrator, posse et rationabili et proportionata causa, etiam insciis donatoribus, mutationem quamdam facere atque donatorum voluntatem legitime interpretari: causae enim piae seu ecclesiasticae atque fidelium voluntates hoc sensu Summo Pontifici sunt subjectae. Attamen, ne levius fierent ejusmodi voluntates, cautum est, ne praeter S. Pontificem alii superiores hac in re quidquam agere liceret, nisi iis per Pontificem concessum sit.

Ad III^{um}. nunc jam facili negotio breviter potest responderi:

R. 1. Causa quidem pia est scilicet duplex: (1) sublevare inopiam sacerdotum indigentiorum, qui alias minore stipendio Missas celebrare deberent; (2) auxilium missionibus praestandum. Neque pro eo quod indigentioribus sacerdotibus stipendia illa parciora augeantur, excusatio haberi debet, sed pro eo solo quod Julio ex stipendiis melioribus aliquid detrahitur.

R. 2. Quum ex manualibus stipendiis agatur, excusatio Lucii si possibilis est, sumi debet vel ex voluntate Julii vel ex voluntate eorum qui majora stipendia illa dederunt. Sed quum ex casu narrato sumi debeat, horum voluntatem inquiri non posse, neque ex praesumpta voluntate hac in re agere liceat: nihil restat, nisi ut inquiratur de voluntate Julii.

R. 3. In casu dicitur quidem, Julium libentem consentire; at habemus consentientem, sicut describitur in Constit. Benedicti XIV., eo consensu, qui non sufficiat, ut liceat partem stipendii retinere: "non posse alteri stipendium minoris pretii erogari, etsi eidem sacerdoti celebranti *et consentienti* indicasset, se majoris pretii eleemosynam accepisse." Quod imprimis quidem valet, si qui alteri Missam celebrandam committit, stipendii excessum *sibi* retinet; attamen quia absolute vetatur, ne quid stipendio detrahatur, etiam pro nostro casu valere debet.

Verum quidem est, consensum longe facilius *pro libero* haberi posse, si stipendii excessus qui retinetur, in piam causam impendatur, quam si a priore sacerdote sibi retineatur; attamen sponte et ultro datus ne in nostro quidem casu est.

R. 4. Existimo igitur, ne agendi ratio Lucii jure merito scrupulis exponatur, rem ita debere agi, ut Julio ad integra stipendia 3 marc. jus conferatur, et solummodo *rogetur*, ut si sibi placeat, singulas marcas seponat pro missionum inter infideles sublevatione, atque dimidia marca augeat parciora illa stipendia quae habet et alio missurus est. In quo peragendo negotio, si Julius ita sponte consentit, Lucius dein opem ferre et auxilio esse potest.

R. 5. Quodsi Lucius timet, ne hoc modo intentum finem attingat, nihil restat, nisi ut litteris supplicibus a S. Pontifice licentiam petat, proprio Marte ita agendi: quae facultas, quum agatur de causa adeo pia non ita difficulter videtur sperari posse.

A. Lehmkuhl, S. J.

Exaeten, Holland.

TWO VIEWS REGARDING THE CONDITION AFTER DEATH OF CHILDREN WHO DIE WITHOUT THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM.

In the September issue of the AM. ECCL. REVIEW (p. 315), the question was proposed, "whether, according to Catholic doctrine, children who die without Baptism, suffer torment." The answer, signed H. J. H., was as follows:

> The terminology of Catholic theology implies that children who die without baptism *suffer loss;* but to suffer loss is not necessarily to suffer torment or pain, unless the sufferer *realizes the loss.* Deprive an infant of its inheritance, it will play and laugh as before, because it lacks the faculty which could make it appreciate the value of the inheritance. *If the soul were to be made conscious of this loss* it would certainly cause a longing and a regret which would be equivalent to suffering; but that longing *might also be equivalent to a baptism of desire* which their previous condition prevented them from eliciting. . . . May we not assume that the longing arising from a conscious possession of capacities which their necessary condition on earth prevented them from realizing and using, will meet the mercy of Christ and bring them eventually to the fruition of His expiation in the beatific vision?

The above statement—inasmuch as it suggested the possibility of a condition of expiation after death, equivalent to a baptism of desire, and as a consequence the possibility of a transition from the state of limbo to the ultimate enjoyment of the beatific vision—brought to the editor of the REVIEW a number of communications, some in the form of inquiries, others in the shape of protests. From among the latter we select for publication the following paper by Fr. Grant; first, because it gives a complete resumé of what has been generally considered the extreme limit of a benign interpretation which Catholic orthodoxy admits; secondly, because being intended as a correction of the statement of H. J. H., it affords a fair opportunity of contrasting the arguments brought forth by the learned Abbé Didiot, from whose work Fr. Grant draws in the main his material, with the view which has been criticised.

I.

THE CONDITION OF UNBAPTIZED CHILDREN AFTER DEATH.

A query in a recent number of the REVIEW suggests this paper. The matter of it is drawn, in great part, from a recent French publication entitled *Morts sans Baptême.*[1]

The *Morts sans Baptême* is a small book in 140 pages. It consists of fourteen letters addressed to a bereaved mother who asks what the Church teaches about the condition of unbaptized children after death. In them P. Didiot gives a succinct exposé of the doctrine of the Church as expressed in Councils and pontifical documents, and from these draws such conclusions as appear warranted by Catholic theology. The merit of the book lies not in teaching the doctrine of the Church on the subject; that must be assumed as well known; but in giving official documents and in making the matter clear by theological reasons so as to convince intelligent men who inquire into it.

The doctrine of the Church is contained in the following proposition, which at the same time offers a convenient distribution of the matter into three paragraphs.

CHILDREN WHO DIE WITHOUT BAPTISM DO NOT ENTER THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN, NOR ARE THEY CONDEMNED TO HELL; THEY ENJOY NATURAL HAPPINESS *for all time in limbo.*

I.

It is the doctrine of the Church that children who die unbaptized never enter the kingdom of heaven. She has given expression to this teaching as often as she has dealt with the

1 By Canon Didiot, late dean of the Faculty of Theology in the University of Lille, and presently professor of Moral in the same institution. Readers of the *Revue des Sciences Ecclesiastiques* printed formerly at Amiens, now at Lille, will appreciate his authority; indeed the book notices of European theological reviews on the several volumes that have appeared of his *Cours de Theologie Catholique* recognize in him not only a master theologian, but, what is not always the case in men of great erudition, a metaphysician of singular clearness and method.

necessity or efficacy of Baptism. Against the Pelagians, whose opinions lead them to deny the efficacy and necessity of this Sacrament, the Church maintained the necessity of it in order that the newly born infant be purified from the stain which kept it out of heaven. The Second Council of Mileve, held in 416, and approved by Innocent I., also the Council of Carthage, held in 418, and approved by Pope Zozimus, deal with the question. The conclusion of the second canon of either Council is as follows: "Propter hanc enim regulam fidei etiam parvuli, qui nihil peccatorum in semetipsis adhuc committere potuerunt, ideo in peccatorum remissionem veraciter baptizantur ut in eis regeneratione mundetur quod generatione traxerunt."[1] There is a second part of this canon, the authenticity of which is dubious, but which nevertheless explains the reason of the foregoing doctrine. It is worded thus: "Item placuit ut si quis dicit, ideo dixisse Dominum: 'In domo Patris mei mansiones multae sunt,' ut intelligatur, quia in regno coelorum erit aliquis medius aut ullus alicubi locus ubi beate vivant parvuli, qui sine baptismo ex hac vita migrarunt, sine quo in regnum coelorum, quod est vita aeterna, intrare non possunt, anathema sit. Nam, cum Dominus dicat: 'Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non intrabit in regnum coelorum;' quis catholicus dubitet participem fieri diaboli eum qui cohaeres esse non meruit Christi? Qui enim dextra caret, sinistram procul dubio partem incurret."

Again the Waldenses, in 1200, dispute the necessity of Baptism. In a reply to the Archbishop of Arles, which certainly now carries with it dogmatic authority, for it is inserted in the official codes,[2] Pope Innocent III. declares that the penalty of original sin is "carentia visionis Dei." In 1267 Clement IV. presented a Profession of Faith to the Greek Emperor Michael Paleologus, which Gregory X. accepted from him in the Second Council of Lyons. Relative to the condition of unbaptized children after death, this

1 Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum et Definitionum*, No. 60.

2 *Decret.* I., iii., tit. xlii., C. iii. Majores.

Profession of Faith declares that "illorum autem animas qui in mortali peccato vel cum solo originali decedunt, mox in infernum descendere, poenis tamen disparibus puniendas."[1] These declarations, repeated as they are in subsequent Councils and Professions of Faith, together with the doctrine of the Church on original sin, and the collation of sanctifying grace through Baptism and Penance, are sufficient to make it clear that, according to Catholic teaching, unbaptized children after death not only are not in heaven, but never will be admitted there. The teaching which the Church received from Christ leaves no doubt on the subject: "Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter the kingdom of heaven;" nor is there anything in revelation to authorize the belief that the penalty of original sin will be mitigated or abolished, and that finally unbaptized children will enter heaven. The penalty of original sin is "participem fieri diaboli," "carere visionis Dei," "descendere in infernum," not for a time but absolutely. Were it for a time, the Church, who knows what is revealed, would know it and would have stated it; but as there is no restriction to that effect, we are not warranted in asserting it. Some theologians have ventured to suggest that the prayers of parents or the ministry of angels might secure sanctifying grace and thereby avert the calamity. But the data of revelation forbid the pious reverie. "Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter the kingdom of heaven." A canon, too, in the Council of Trent emphasizes the belief of the Church not only that children require Baptism in order to reach heaven, but, moreover, that only by Baptism can they obtain sanctifying grace which is the means to it.[2]

But why is sanctifying grace so necessary to heaven, and why is it conferred on children only through Baptism?

1 Denzinger, ib., 387.

2 Justificatio est "translatio ab eo statu in quo homo nascitur filius primi Adae, in statum gratiae . . . quae quidem translatio post evangelium promulgatum sine lavacro regenerationis, aut ejus voto, fieri non potest." Conc. Trid. Sess. VI., cap. 4.

When men have learned the fact of revelation they are apt to ask such questions, for they wish to know, not only the fact, but as far as possible the reason thereof. To reply, one must needs go back to the question of the beatific vision. As it is the goal whither religion tends, it is by it that religion must be explained. God, then, created us, that we might be happy with Him forever. He wishes us to share His happiness and thereby to be happy ourselves. But with our finite faculties we cannot know and love as God does, nor can we share completely in His happiness, because what gives happiness to Him is beyond the capacity of our mental vision. Wherefore, as God wishes us to share His happiness, He must and does give us supernatural assistance of grace in this world and glory in the next, to do so. In virtue of it, and as far as our finite faculties allow, for we can never comprehend the infinite, we are enabled to know and love as does God. Consequently the Divine Essence becomes the object of our faculties as it is of His and it causes our happiness as it does His. But if this participation of divine power be refused, it follows that man can neither see nor love the Divine Essence directly, nor share in the same happiness that God experiences in the contemplation and possession of it. As a matter of fact, grace was withdrawn from the human race on account of the rebellion of our first parents ; nor after the atonement made by our Redeemer is it restored to men as a race, but only to such individuals as repudiate the allegiance of their race to the devil and declare their personal adherence to God. That is done in Baptism, be it of water, of desire, or of blood. It is therefore through Baptism alone that grace is restored. Nor can we suppose God unjust to the helpless little ones who are neglected or cannot be assisted by adults in charge of them. The beatific vision is not due to us nor, if we do not enjoy it, are we deprived of anything that God should give to us by reason of creation. If they do not receive that wholly gratuitous gift, it is because of the misconduct and consequent miseries, physical and moral, of the race to which they belong.

II.

Although excluded from heaven, unbaptized children are not condemned to hell. The penalty of original sin is negative; it consists in the withdrawal of a privilege to which we are not entitled. By reason of the supernatural destiny which God proposed to man, our first parents were born in the state of original justice, which were means to attain it. But they sinned; and lost for themselves and for their race the means to share the happiness of God. The effect of that is, not that unbaptized children after death are condemned to hell, but that they do not share the happiness of God, simply because they had not the means to do so. This teaching of Catholic theology is voiced by St. Thomas. He says the only penalty of original sin is the "privatio illius finis ad quem donum subtractum ordinabat, ad quod per se natura humana attingere non potest. Hoc autem est divina visio: et ideo carentia hujus visionis est propria et sola poena originalis peccati post mortem."[1] Moreover the justice of God will not tolerate the idea that innocent children be punished in hell eternally for a condition of things they were in no wise instrumental in bringing about. As hell is the unhappy condition of those who received means to go to God and abused them, or might have had means but refused them, it cannot be that those to whom means were never offered and who never were aware of their existence, be nevertheless found equally guilty as the others and punished accordingly. This is brought home to us all the more clearly if we recall that according to the Fathers, the most fatal punishment of hell is precisely exclusion from heaven. "A tantis excidisse bonis," says St. John Chrysostom, "tantum inferit doloris, afflictionis, angustiae, ut etiamsi nullum aliud esset supplicium peccatoribus destinatum, illud solum posset graviorem aliis gehennae cruciatibus inferre poenam animaeque perturbationem; . . . nec opinor adeo lugendum esse de gehennae malis ut de amisso coelorum regno: hic enim est cruciatus

1 *Summa Theologica*, III. Partis Supplementum; appendix, quaestio iii., Art. 1.

omnium acerbissimus."[1] And St. Augustine, who was nevertheless disposed to find for unbaptized children after death a "mitissima damnatio" in hell, says of it: "perire a regno Dei, exulare a civitate Dei, carere tam magna multitudine dulcedinis Dei, quam abscondit timentibus se, quam grandis est poena ut nulla ei possint tormenta, quae novimus, comparari."[2] With such declarations before us, it is difficult to imagine how those who hold that God deals harshly with children that die unbaptized, escape the dilemma: either God is unjust or the little souls are not in hell.

The same official documents that convey the teaching of the Church that unbaptized children after death are not in heaven, tell us they are not condemned to hell.

The declaration of Innocent III. says that "poena originalis peccati est carentia visionis Dei." The word "carentia" is very significant: the Pope does not say "privatio" which would indicate the negation of something due, the denial of which would be painful, but "carentia"—the refusal on the part of God to accord a premium, gratuitously, if at all, awarded; the withholding of which, moreover, occasions no distress because grace given to obtain it, is the means by which it is known. This is all the more evident from the text in question: "poena originalis peccati est carentia visionis Dei . . . actualis vero peccati est gehennae perpetuae cruciatus." The penalty of actual (mortal) sin is the endless torment of hell, but the penalty of original sin is denial of the inheritance of heaven. In neither case do the souls see God; but those excluded because of mortal sin are conscious of their loss and in consequence suffer the pain of damnation, while souls prevented through original sin from entering heaven are in blissful ignorance of what might have been.

Although it causes no pain, exclusion from heaven is a penalty and the Church has ever considered it as such. Indeed it is an incalculable calamity for a soul to lose heaven

1 *Ad Theodorum lapsum Epist.* L., No. 10, 12. 2 *Enchiridion*, cap. 93.
2 *Enchiridion*, cap. 112—cited by Jungmann, *De Novissimis*, 27.

wherein, because invested with divine power, it could see God face to face, as He is, and sharing thereby in divine happiness, be itself supremely happy forever, while on the contrary, in limbo the happiness that souls attain by reaching the truth and goodness of God mediately through created things, though complete in its natural order because satisfying natural capacity for it, is so infinitely distant from the happiness of God as to be inadmissible for comparison with it. Moreover as it is due to the devil that souls are not born in the state of grace so also is it due to him that they are excluded from heaven. Hence it is true to say that to a certain extent even the souls of unbaptized children in limbo are affected by his power and are so far associated with him that they, as he, are not in the presence of God. It must be remarked, too, that ecclesiastical language denominates as "inferni" or the lower regions, whatever places there may be outside of the one in which alone is manifested the glory of God. Such are the *limbus patrum* or Abraham's bosom whither Christ descended after the Crucifixion, the *limbus puerorum*, and the hell of the lost. These facts find expression in the official documents already cited and because not properly understood, have sometimes appeared harsh and confusing. That part of the canon of the Councils of Mileve and Carthage in particular, which is of dubious authenticity, asks: "Quis catholicus dubitet participem fieri diaboli eum qui cohaeres esse non meruit Christi? Qui enim dextra caret, sinistram procul dubio partem incurret." These words when compared with the foregoing condemnation of the Pelagians who taught that children after death, even though unbaptized enjoy the beatific vision, are clear and logical; nor are we in anywise warranted in suspecting that the bishops of the Council which did enact them were affected by the same severity that appears in some African Fathers.[1] The canon speaks not of torments, nor flames, nor suffering. It says merely the souls of unbaptized children are

1 St. Fulgentius, *De Fide ad Patrum* and *De Veritate Praedestinationis;* also St. Augustine, Serm. xiv., *De Verbis Apostoli,* c. iii.; *De Peccatorum Remissione; De Nuptiis et Concup. ad Val.*

associated with the devil on the left, since they cannot be associated with the Redeemer on the right. Likewise the decree of the Second Council of Lyons, confirmed in the Council of Florence and inserted in subsequent Professions, declares that "illorum animas qui in mortali peccato vel cum solo originali decedunt mox *in infernum descendere poenis* tamen disparibus *puniendas*." The souls descend into the lower regions wherein, outside of heaven, are the abodes of the different categories of intelligent immortal beings that do not enter heaven. Of the souls even of unbaptized children is the word "puniendas" used in the same sense and for the same reason that Innocent III. decreed there was a "poena" —a penalty (not a punishment) for original sin. The "poenis tamen disparibus puniendas" is a declaration that after death, unbaptized children are not in hell. They and those guilty of mortal sin undergo different penalties. Were both condemned to hell the penalties would be *impar*, unequal, not *dispar*, different. In what the disparity consists we know from the aforenoted declaration made against the Waldenses by Innocent III.

A later official act from the See of Peter not only maintained the Catholic belief that the souls of unbaptized children after death are not in hell, but at the same time made a positive profession of our belief in the existence of such a place as Limbo. It is the constitution "Auctorem fidei," by Pius VI., against the Jansenists in 1794. Assembled in council at Pistoja the Jansenists treated as a "fable of the Pelagians" the existence of "locum illum inferorum (quem limbi puerorum nomine fideles passim designant) in quo animae decedentium cum sola originali culpa poena damni citra poenam ignis puniantur." These sectarians held that such an opinion renewed the myth about "locum illum et statum medium expertem culpae et poenae inter regnum Dei et damnationem aeternam, qualem fabulabantur Pelagiani."[1] Pius VI. condemned the proposition as false, rash, and offensive to Catholic ears.

1 Denzinger, 1389.

But it is not only by word and verbal profession that the Church confesses her doctrine; her conduct is an expression of her faith. Hence there is in the Church no less unequivocal profession of faith with regard to the after-death condition of unbaptized children than her conduct in procuring the baptism of children in general. Both the Roman Ritual and Canon Law contain official regulations thereupon. While the Ritual[1] recalls the "universal necessity of this Sacrament for salvation" and also the "sovereign diligence with which it should be administered," it provokes no indiscretion nor approves any exaggeration in the baptizing of children. Canon law, too, upholds an immemorial prohibition to baptize children of Jewish parentage so long as they had not come to the use of reason and were in parental custody. Moreover, the morality of this conduct is taught in schools of theology[2] and laws to this effect have been promulgated officially by the popes.[3] This categorical refusal of the Church to baptize children, whose baptism she certainly might have encouraged, but who, were they baptized, would have been exposed to inevitable heresy did they come to the use of reason, dominates the entire question, and shows better than anything else, the belief of the Church that unbaptized children after death are not condemned to hell.

III.

Unbaptized children after death enjoy natural happiness in limbo forever. The foregoing pontifical documents to hand, no Catholic can question the existence of limbo. We know, too, that God will not annihilate souls He created immortal. Children then who die without baptism are in limbo forever. They enjoy natural happiness there. St. Thomas explains[4] that happiness in man is due to the attainment of an ultimate

1 Titulum ii., cap. i., Nos. 15–21.

2 St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, iii., 68, 10.

3 Benedict XIV. Letter *Postremo Mense*, 1747.

4 *Summa*, I.II., Q. iii., art. 2 and 6.

perfection secured through the intelligence and will when these faculties act upon their respective objects. As these are the "true" and the "good" and as God is the source of all truth and all goodness, it follows that there can be no happiness without union with Him. Union with God is twofold: mediate, as on this earth, where we see Him through created things and from them learn imperfectly the truth and goodness of the Creator, represented in them: and immediate, in heaven where, in a glorified state, we shall see Him as He is. When union with God takes place through the unaided power of the intelligence and will in the possession of creatures wherein He is knowable and known, the happiness that ensues is natural. It is this union that exists between God and the souls in limbo.

They, in the first place, are not cut off from God and in consequence suffer none of that pain which such separation entails. They do not suffer the pain of the lost, because they are not lost, and not in hell. They do not suffer the pain of purgatory because having committed no sin, they have no atonement to make. Eternal separation from God causes intense pain to the souls in hell because there is entailed by it not only the negation of everything except life, but also suffering and horrid association in exterior darkness. Likewise, the soul detained for a time in purgatory is conscious of exclusion from God due to the humiliating effect of sin which made it unfit to enter heaven. But in the child that dies without baptism there is nothing that is repulsive to God or that causes detestation of Him, nor on the other hand is there anything that makes it fear the devil or which gives him power over it. The little one therefore, pure, good, beautiful by nature, because made to the image and likeness of God, nor sullied by sin, is not cast out into external darkness. True, it does not see God in the light of glory, nor even in the light of grace, but it does see Him in the light of reason. Its intelligence and will can and do attain that ultimate perfection which comes from the knowledge and love of God, and albeit it be imperfect and "in speculo," yet knowing the reality of no greater, the soul in limbo can desiderate no hap-

piness other than its own. There will be nothing to interrupt its happiness, for pain and death are done; nothing will disturb it, for vice, such as envy, jealousy, ambition can find no place where diabolic disorder is inadmissible. Nor will the happiness of children in limbo be circumscribed by other limits than those of the human soul to know and love God by the power that is natural to it. The children therefore will know and love God and their associates because of Him. They will be lovable to Him and them and to themselves and hence will be happy forever.

Assuredly, the thesis is open to some perplexing difficulties. Canon Didiot proposes some of them; two in particular must suggest themselves to all who look into the question. Will not the children in limbo perceive that they are separated from other members of their race who are not damned? Will they not remark, at the time of the resurrection, that the bodies of the just rise glorified, while their own are deprived of that perfection? If such be the case, will not that knowledge betray the nature of the supernatural happiness they are deprived of, and thereby expose them to the pain that exclusion from heaven causes to the lost? Canon Didiot replies in the affirmative. He is even disposed to believe that between the beatified in heaven and the souls in limbo there will be a certain amount of intercourse,[1] but he denies the consequence apprehended in the question. They will perceive the separation between themselves and others who are "intra ordinem;" but content with their own state and utterly ignorant of that of the blessed, it is impossible to imagine unhappiness among them. Granting intercourse between heaven and limbo, the children will, nevertheless, learn nothing of the beatific vision, because the blessed will make no revelation which God has been pleased to withhold. And if they perceive in the bodies of the beatified a splendor which is not their own, we cannot infer that they suffer because of it. The hierarchical gradation in the angelic choirs, for instance, is not a source of pain; on the contrary,

1 Lettre vii.

the greater angels are a joy to the others as a more perfect means than their own intelligence and will to the knowledge and love of God.[1] May it not be so among men? As what is lovable in creatures is the participation of the truth and goodness of the Divine Model, it follows that the more perfect are the more lovable and the cause of greater joy as being a better representation of Him whom the human intelligence, even aided by the light of glory, can never comprehend. Moreover, the submission of all to God will be perfect; he who disturbed it on earth can do so no longer. Each, therefore, will be content in his individual happiness, and all will glorify God in His outward manifestations in others.

The children of limbo, therefore, are happy, and will be so forever. For them the "carentia visionis Dei," although objective and real, is not subjective. It is not a personal, individual penalty which they are aware of.

On the contrary, it is a penalty inflicted on the race, the members of which are deprived of power to share in the happiness of God. In consequence thereof, individuals, as these who do not recover the assistance of grace through Baptism, never attain the destiny proposed to men by God when, at the solicitation of His divine goodness, which willed the happiness of creatures, He created them for that beatitude He understood to be possible if they were created to His own image and likeness and empowered by grace to enjoy like happiness as Himself.

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ANOTHER VIEW.

The reader of the foregoing paper may have noticed two things in the argument of the Abbé Didiot as given by Father Grant: a want of logic in drawing his main conclusion, and a misapprehension of fact in admitting an analogy between the condition of the inhabitants of limbo and that of the angelic choirs.

1 St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I., qu. lvi., ad 4.

Having cited the declarations of Councils and Pontiffs to the effect that original sin *entails a penalty*, the writer concludes that this penalty is necessarily and in all cases *eternal*.[1]

There is not a single word in the Councils or Pontifical declarations to force this conclusion. Had the author laid stress on the argument of St. Thomas (Comm. in Sent. Lombardi, iv. dist. 45, qu. ii., a. 2), that the cessation of the earthly life limits the acquisition of grace, he might have arrived at such a conclusion. But St. Thomas, deeply as we must reverence his judgment, was neither Council nor infallible Pontiff.

Further, admitting that the children who die without the Sacrament of Baptism may become conscious of their loss,[2] the Abbé Didiot believes that such consciousness need not be a source of pain to them, since "*the hierarchical gradation in the angelic choirs is not a source of pain*" to the angels. No. The angels are not conscious of any *loss;* they may be conscious of a *difference;* but as they enjoy the complete happiness which corresponds to the full capacity of their created nature, they can have no unfulfilled desire. The souls of the innocents, on the other hand, who die without the Sacrament of Baptism, are deprived of that essential enjoyment which was to fill their created capacity and engage all their faculties, for it is known that every human being, when the moment arrives at which

1 "The foregoing pontifical documents to hand," he says, "no Catholic can question the existence of limbo. We know, too, that God will not annihilate souls He created immortal. Children then who die without baptism are in limbo *forever*." And again: "These declarations are sufficient to make it clear that . . . . unbaptized children after death not only are not in heaven, but *never will be admitted there*." (Italics ours.) Let any one honestly try to draw such conclusions from the premises given; he cannot do so unless he has first added his preconceived notion to them.

2 "Will not that knowledge betray the nature of the supernatural happiness they are deprived of, and thereby expose them to the pain that exclusion from heaven causes to the lost? Didiot replies in the affirmative;" although immediately afterwards he appears to deny the conclusion without answering it except by the above-quoted analogy.

these faculties are matured, experiences an undefinable longing for happiness ; and this is true both of those who are baptized and those who are not. Every man may voluntarily exchange the good which corresponds to this longing, eternal hatred for eternal love, but, whether perverted in hell or blessed in heaven, the soul continues to exercise its faculties in an infinite measure satisfying the justice of God ; and we believe this precisely because we do not assume that God annihilates His creatures. To some theologians the condition of the unbaptized in limbo if it be eternal, has appeared to indicate a creation inadequate to its original purpose. To escape this difficulty they have conceived that these children will at the end of the present dispensation repeople a newly created paradise, like that of Eden, so as to fulfil the design of God which has given them a capacity for perfect enjoyment according to their nature ; and that thus all creatures will be made to return to the harmony of His first and great creative purpose, some satisfying His love and mercy, many others His justice.

The pointing out of these inconsistencies in what have become trite arguments seems to me necessary, to warn the reader not to carry into this inquiry any preconceived bias, for it is a subject the right appreciation of which is of great practical utility in this skeptical age, when polemics must take on a somewhat new temper if they would secure the sympathy that brings conviction.

And now let me state my own point of view. I am not defending any particular theory as to the condition after death of children who pass into eternity without having received the Sacrament of Baptism. God knows. He is just and He is above all merciful, and that is enough for us. He has commanded baptism as a means of removing the weakness brought upon our race by the fall of our first parents, and we have to exercise all care to comply with the command at the risk of eternal salvation.

What I remonstrate against, in faith and reason, is the exclusiveness which denies, as though it were un-Catholic to hold, that God may supply in some cases by penance to

be endured hereafter, the grace which removes the guilt of original sin; and that it would be wrong to soothe a parent's grief with the reflection that her child, having died by an inexorable necessity without baptism of water, *may* some day be united with her in heaven. In other words, I contend that a Catholic may hold (not only *salva fide orthodoxa*, but in perfect analogy with Catholic dogma and the *pietas fidei* which calls for assent to teachings not specifically defined) the possibility of a condition of expiation after death, (which has its incipient cause in some act or condition of this life), equivalent to the *baptismus flaminis* or baptism of desire, which the theologians speak of and which the Church admits.

THE TEACHING OF THE CHURCH AND THE TEACHERS IN THE CHURCH.

The *consensus* of theologians on any one point of doctrine constitutes an accepted standard for its interpretation, and to deviate from that *consensus* is un-Catholic.

Nevertheless there are periods of comparative rigor in the manner in which certain aspects of doctrine have been emphasized by the great theologians. If we attentively study the history of these periods we shall understand the reason of this. It is the same policy as that which manifests itself in God's dealings with the people of the Synagogue when compared to the Church of Christ; it is the same policy which accounts for St. Paul's varying treatment of the nations whom he evangelized; it is the policy which explains the severity of the early codes of penance, or of the Inquisition so far as it was an instrument of discipline in the Church, when compared to the indulgence which she grants her delinquent children to-day.

Looking over the history of theological opinions touching the condition of children who die without the Sacrament of Baptism or its equivalents (martyrdom and desire), we find a great difference which is not wholly eliminated, even if we allow for the altered force of the terminology employed by authoritative writers on the subject.

The teaching of the Church is based on, and comprised in the words of our Lord (John iii., 5), "Unless a man be *born again of water* and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God;" and again (Mark, xvi., 16), "He that believeth and is *baptized*, shall be saved."

The necessity of baptism by water is clearly expressed. The belief that the Apostles were obliged to descend to the lower world to baptize the souls detained in limbo is one of the first interpretations we meet with in the early Church (*Similit. Past. Hermae*, ix., cap. 16.—Clem. Alex. Strom. vi., 45, p. 763, etc.). Tertullian, St. Irenaeus, St. Augustine, are equally uncompromising. The latter not only maintained, if we accept his words literally, that unbaptized children, in general, were subject to eternal pain (quamvis mitissima), but that we should not as Catholics believe or teach the possibility of anyone being saved who did not receive actually this Sacrament. (Noli credere nec docere, aliquos eorum qui sine baptismo Christi ex hac vita emigraverunt . . ad regni coelorum beatitudinem pervenire, si vis esse catholicus. *Enchir.*, 42, Or. an. 3, 12.) I believe that St. Augustine's doctrine need not present any great difficulty to the theologian. He used strong words because he was striving to confute the Pelagian heresy which maintained a limbo of happiness and thus minimized the necessity of baptism. Occasionally we find him accept a milder view (*De bapt.*, iv., 22); and then again retract it for fear of opening the way to misapprehension and laxity in practice (*Retract.* ii., 18). Subsequently we find milder advocates, at least in expression. The Greek Fathers generally and the later Latin writers, consider as subject to eternal suffering only those who *wilfully refuse* to avail themselves of the grace of salvation through baptism. They explain at length that there are ways in which salvation conditioned upon the reception of baptism by water, may be supplied, as by the *votum sacramenti*, the *baptismus flaminis* (desiderii, poenitentiae) and the *baptismus sanguinis*. But none of these substitutes imprint upon the soul the sacramental *character* of baptism by water. The scholastics, after William of

Auxerre and Alexander of Hales, teach that this character imparts a special title and a particular aptitude to the soul; and so far it implies *a special grace not received by those who are saved by the baptism of desire or that of martyrdom.* The baptism of desire derives its saving effect *ex opere operantis;* the baptism of blood on the contrary *ex opere operato*, or as some say *quasi ex opere operato.* This is important. Let us see how the baptism of blood saves the child that dies without the baptism of water, and how it effects the removal of original sin and thus the transmission of justice and supernatural life.

According to St. Thomas (iii. p., q. 66, a. 12, ad 2), martyrdom is an equivalent of baptism by a certain privilege, "ratione imitationis mortis Christi," but it requires charity as a concomitant. "*Sanguinis effusionem non habere rationem baptismi si sit sine caritate;* caritas enim obtinetur; sed ad eam obtinendam sufficit dispositio sita in attritione, existente martyrio, quemadmodum existente sacramento." (Cf. Ballerini, iv., p. 520.) A person who is capable of eliciting this act of charity is saved by the baptism of martyrdom, inasmuch as he suffers death for the love of Christ; not otherwise, according to the Angelic Doctor, for to die is not enough. But a child is not capable of eliciting this act of charity or of forming any intention. It suffers martyrdom as it suffers death, unconscious of the cause, and without any alternative as to a free choice of life on its own part. There is really no difference between a child dying by the persecutor's hand and a child dying from other violent or natural cause, so far as its own disposition and personal merit are concerned. It is in no wise like the baptism of desire or, what is the same, of blood, in the martyr who is making a conscious profession of his faith in Christ; and this faith he seals by voluntary death. Hence, according to the reasons assigned by theologians, martyrdom cannot have the effect of baptism upon children before they are conscious of the sacrifice to be made for Christ.

Nevertheless, the Church celebrates the feast of the Holy Innocents, and thereby sanctions the contention that mar-

tyrdom in the case of infants incapable of eliciting any act of the will, may remove the obstacle which would otherwise prevent their attaining the beatific vision. Alexander of Hales finds it impossible to explain the difficulty suggested by this fact except on the ground that these children had obtained the sacramental of circumcision. St. Leo (Serm. xxx. and xxxi.) declares it to have been a special miracle the motive of which lies in Christ's love for children: "Let the little ones come unto Me, and do not forbid them the kindom of heaven." Surely this would apply alike to all children. The scholastics, with but few exceptions, admit that martyrdom supplies baptism in the case of children. (Suarez, D. 29, S. 1.) Yet they do not assign any adequate reason.

The baptism of blood, like that of desire, although it remits guilt, does not always remit the entire penalty, so that sufferings in the next world may have to atone for some defect clinging to the soul in its departure from this life. St. Bonaventure, Durandus, Gabriel, Gerson, Cajetan, and others, allow that the desire or prayer of a parent for the salvation of the child, who, without its own or its parents' fault, dies deprived of the Sacrament of Baptism, may effect the baptismal grace which removes original sin and procures for the child entrance into heaven. Such a vicarious desire would accordingly, like the baptism of blood in those who die with attrition, remit the guilt of sin; but it may, according to the degree of its intensity, fail to remit the entire penalty due to sin. May not the child then have to undergo some process of satisfying the justice of God, and after that attain the beatific vision in the same manner in which it is effected by the baptism of blood? And would not this explain the words of St. John concerning our Lord: "He shall baptize you in the Holy Ghost and *fire*" (Matt., iii, 11.), which have puzzled the exegetes of all ages up to our own time, and which Origen, St. Jerome and others interpret as referring to the expiatory flames of the next world?

This is in reality what the famous Proposition 85 of Pius VI. implies when it condemns the Pelagian error of *a third*

eternal abode between heaven and hell where there is neither guilt nor punishment. "The doctrine which does away with (explodit) the limbo where unbaptized children suffer the pain of loss (citra poenam ignis)—as though that were a place and state devoid of guilt and punishment (expertem culpae et poenae), midway between heaven and hell, such as the Pelagians imagined, is contrary to the Catholic teaching." It is true that St. Thomas argues in behalf of a state of contentment on the part of those who realize that they have no right to the happiness of the beatific vision. But what has lost them this right purchased for them by our Lord's Sacrifice? In many cases it is an accident in which malice of neither parent nor child has part, and which under all aspects would produce a regret in those on whom the loss falls. This is indeed what Bellarmin, whom others follow in view of the previous statement of St. Thomas, has explicitly termed it—"interior animi *dolor*, quamvis mitissimus" (De am. gr., vi., 1-6).

It has been generally admitted that, whatever the condition after death of children who die without the Sacrament of Baptism, their natural faculties will attain that development and ripeness which would satisfy at least the *natural* desire for happiness. Now there are good reasons for assuming that this development grows upon the soul with the gradual weakening or removal of the corporal bonds which hold it captive. Evidences of this are found not merely in the peculiar illumination of mind which we read of as having accompanied the last hours of saints like St. Bernard, who, in a foretaste of the beatific vision interprets the prophetic and mystic meaning of the Canticle of Canticles, but also in the ordinary sick in whom delirium frequently ceases and consciousness sets in shortly before dissolution; even with the insane it has been observed that they obtain some lucid spell at the hour of death when they need the realization of sorrow and the Sacraments; nay it is well known that a sudden danger overtaking a person in the midst of health often spreads before him a wondrous panorama of the past and future, so that he may in an

instant realize the guilt of years, and disavow by the light of that awful flash the wrong that was previously hidden from his own thoughtless or blinded self. Who will say that a child cannot or may not receive, by some grace of intercession, such a light at the moment of death? St. John is very definite in his assertion that Christ "*enlighteneth every human creature coming into this world.*" He makes no exception; and he had probably a closer insight into the merciful Heart of our Lord than any theologian since his time. Modern writers cite Gregory of Nyssa, Scotus and Cajetan in support of the opinion that a baptism of desire may thus at the moment of death prepare the soul for the beatific vision. (Vd. Schanz, *Sacramentenlehre*, ed. 1893, pag. 277.) This possibility does not exclude the penalty such as corresponds to the *poena damni* of limbo, only that such a penalty would have the nature of a purifying process instead of being eternal.

There is another thought to which some theologians have attached much weight, although I do not wish to exaggerate its importance. It is this, that the soul does not leave the body by a sudden act, but that there ensues a condition of suspense after all the bodily faculties have ceased to act. Possibly the Offertory in the liturgy of the dead may here both afford and find an explanation, for it certainly suggests the extension of the period for attaining certain graces which we consider limited to what seems to us the term of earthly life. "Libera eas de ore leonis *ne absorbeat eas tartarus*, ne cadant *in obscurum*." (Offert. Miss. de Requie.) The days which intervene between the *dies obitus* and the *dies depositionis* seem to hold mysterious power to sway the final destiny.

No doubt some one will here appeal to St. Thomas (IV. Dist. 45, q. ii., a. 2) who says that the suffrages of the living cannot be of use to the children in limbo. This is unquestionably true when their fate has been fixed by the judgment of God. But the question is whether the lot of children who die without the Sacrament of Baptism or without the baptism of blood, may not attain some grace to escape eternal banish-

ment from the beatific vision. St. Thomas admits that original sin may be atoned for in a vicarious way; who then can say that the prayers and sacrifices of parents and of others in behalf of souls who "sit in the shadow of death," will not procure for many of these children the hope of the beatific vision, for which God created them, which He wishes them to attain, and for the attainment of which every soul is promised sufficient grace through the Redemption?

I do not care to appear to controvert an established opinion of the Angelic Doctor, but in view of what he says concerning suffrages for the children who die without baptism I would recall the well-known incident related in the *Acta martyrum* regarding St. Perpetua. When in prison, an admonition came to her in a dream that she should pray for her little brother Dinocrates who had died at the age of seven. She did so. That same night she saw him longingly stretching out his hands toward a pond of water which was above him so that he was unable to reach it. Awaking she found herself in tears. Convinced that her brother was suffering, she prayed for him night and day, until in another dream she saw him again, pouring out limpid water with which he refreshed himself and then joyously moved about like a happy child at play. When she awoke she felt that he had been delivered from pain—"translatum esse de poena."

St. Augustine, who refers to these acts and credits the vision of St. Perpetua, believes that Dinocrates had been baptized. And yet the fact that St. Perpetua herself was not baptized at the time when she was cast into prison, makes it unlikely that her younger brother received the Sacrament. Of course there are possible explanations, and when St. Thomas says that we cannot help those in limbo, he means those who have not received the Sacrament of Baptism *or some substitute* which would remove the guilt of original sin. And the question upon which the discussion turns here is not whether there is a place which perpetually shuts out souls from the beatific vision to which they have forfeited their right. To question that would be as un-

reasonable as to question the justice of degrees in eternal reward or punishment.

What I have attempted to maintain is not, therefore, the non-existence of a place where the unbaptized are denied the beatific vision without otherwise suffering the pain of sense, but that the Church does nowhere teach that children who die without the *Sacrament of Baptism*, or without martyrdom, are absolutely prevented from receiving a subsequent grace which by making them conscious of their loss allows them to atone for the guilt implied in original sin, and thus may enable them to attain the beatific vision. Or, to put it more practically—that none has a right to state to a parent that his child will be eternally separated from him in the next life, and denied the beatific vision, because that child did not receive the actual baptism of water or of blood.

To hope for the salvation of a child, through the mercy of God which supplies the ways of baptism by desire, leaves wholly intact the absolute necessity of baptism for salvation. If a parent neglects from any cause whatever, to have his child baptized, he and the child are participants of the loss. But where baptism of water is a *physical impossibility*, a fore-denied conclusion, there we trust the mercy of God to make salvation possible in some other way devised by His omnipotence, and the possibility of a limbo where desire develops into conscious love is all we maintain, as not only consistent with Catholic doctrine but dictated by Catholic charity.

H. J. H.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.

CONSTITUTIO APOSTOLICA
DE UNITATE ORDINIS FRATRUM MINORUM INSTAURANDA.

LEO EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI.

Ad Perpetuam Rei Memoriam.

Felicitate quadam nec sane fortuito factum putamus, ut Nobis olim, in episcopatu gerendo, ex omnibus Italiae provinciis una Francisci Assisiensis parens atque altrix Umbria contingeret. Assuevimus enim acrius et attentius de patre seraphico locorum admonitu cogitare; cumque indicia eius permulta, ac velut impressa vestigia passim intueremur, quae non memoriam eius solum Nobis afferebant, sed ipsum videbantur in conspectu Nostro ponere: cum Alverniae iuga semel atque iterum ascensu superavimus: cum ob oculos ea loca versarentur, ubi editus ac

susceptus in lucem, ubi corporis exsolutus vinclis, unde ipso auctore tanta vis bonorum, tanta salus in omnes orientis atque obeuntis solis partes influxit, licuit profecto plenius ac melius cognoscere quanto viro quantum munus assignatum a Deo. Mire cepit Nos franciscana species atque forma : quoniamque intimam franciscalium institutorum virtutem magnopere ad christianam vitae rationem videbamus conduxisse, neque eam esse huiusmodi ut consenescere vetustate possit, propterea in ipso episcopatu Perusino, ad christianam pietatem augendam tuendosque in multitudine mores probos Ordinem Tertium, quem Nosmetipsi viginti quinque iam annos profitemur, dedita opera restituere ac propagare studuimus. Eumdem animum in hoc apostolici muneris fastigium eamdemque voluntatem ex eo tempore susceptam attulimus. Ob eamque caussam cum non circumscripte, sed ubique gentium eum ipsum Ordinem florere in spem beneficiorum veterum cuperemus, praescripta legum quibus regeretur, quatenus opus esse visum est, temperavimus, ut quemvis e populo christiano invitaret atque alliceret effecta mollior et accommodatior temporibus disciplina. Expectationem desiderii ac spei Nostrae sat implevit exitus.

Verumtamen Noster erga magnum Franciscum et erga res ab eo institutas singularis amor omnino quiddam adhuc postulabat : idque efficere Deo aspirante decrevimus. Animum videlicet studiumque Nostrum nunc convertit ad sese franciscanus Ordo princeps : nec sane facile reperiatur in quo evigilare enixius atque amantius curas cogitationesque Nostras oporteat. Insignis est enim et benevolentia studioque Sedis Apostolicae dignissima ea, quae Fratrum Minorum familia nominatur, beati Francisci frequens ac mansura soboles. Ei quidem parens suus, quas leges, quae praecepta vivendi ipse dedisset, ea omnia imperavit ut religiosissime custodiret in perpetuitate consequentium temporum : nec frustra imperavit. Vix enim societas hominum est ulla, quae tot virtuti rigidos custodes eduxerit, vel tot nomini christiano praecones, Christo martyres, caelo cives ediderit : aut in qua tantus virorum proventus, qui iis artibus, quibus qui excellunt praestare ceteris iudicantur, rem christianam remque ipsam civilem illustrarint, adiuverint.

Horum quidem bonorum non est dubitandum maiorem et constantiorem futuram ubertatem fuisse, si arctissimum coniunctionis concordiaeque vinculum, quale in prima Ordinis aetate

viguit, perpetuo mansisset: quia *virtus quanto est magis unita, tanto est fortior, et per separationem minuitur.*[1] Quod optime viderat et caverat mens provida Francisci, quippe qui suorum societatem praeclare finxit fundavitque ut corpus unum non solubili compage aptum et connexum. Quid revera voluit, quid egit aliud cum unicam proposuit vivendi regulam, quam omnes sine ulla nec temporum nec locorum exceptione servarent, vel cum unius rectoris maximi potestati subesse atque obtemperare iussit universos? Eiusmodi tuendae concordiae praecipuum et constans in eo studium fuisse, perspicue discipulus eius confirmat Thomas a Celano, qui *assiduum*, inquit, *votum vigilque studium in eo fuit custodire inter fratres vinculum pacis ut quos idem spiritus traxerat, idemque genuerat pater, unius matris gremio pacifice foverentur.*[2]

Verum satis in comperto sunt posteriores casus. Nimirum sive quod flexibiles hominum sunt voluntates et varia solent esse ingenia in congregatione plurimorum, sive quod communium temporum cursus sensim ac pedetentim alio flexisset, hoc certe usu venit franciscanis ut de instituenda vita communi aliud placeret aliis. Concordissimam illam communionem quam Franciscus spectarat et secutus erat, quamque sanctam esse apud suos voluerat, durae res potissimum continebant: studium voluntariae paupertatis, atque ipsius imitatio exemplorum in reliquarum exercitatione virtutum. Haec franciscani instituti insignia, haec eius fundamenta incolumitatis. At vero summam rerum inopiam, quam vir sanctissimus in omni vita adamavit unice, ex alumnis eius optavere nonnulli simillimam: nonnulli, quibus ea visa gravior, modice temperatam maluerunt. Quare aliorum ab aliis secessione facta, hinc *Observantes* orti, illinc *Conventuales*. Similiter rigidam innocentiam, altas magnificasque virtutes, quibus ille ad miraculum eluxerat, alii quidem imitari animose ac severe, alii lenius ac remissius velle. Ex prioribus iis fratrum *Capulatorum* familiâ coalitâ, divisio tripartita consecuta est. Non idcirco tamen exaruit Ordo: nemo est enim quin sciat, sodales singularum, quas memoravimus, disciplinarum praeclaris in Ecclesiam meritis praestitisse et fama virtutum.

De Ordini Conventualium, item de Capulatorum nihil omnino decernimus novi. Legitimum disciplinae suae ius uti possident,

1 S. Thom. 2, 2.ae, quaest. xxxvii., a.2 ad 3.um.

2 *Vita secunda*, P. iii. c. cxxi.

ita possideant utrique in posterum. Eos tantummodo hae litterae Nostrae spectant, qui concessu Sedis Apostolicae antecedunt loco et honore ceteros, quique *Fratrum Minorum* merum nomen, a Leone X. acceptum,[1] retinent. Horum quoque in aliqua parte non est omnium vita consentiens. Quandoquidem communium iussa legum universi observare studuerunt, sed aliis alii se verius. Quae res quatuor genera, ut cognitum est, effecit: *Observantes*, *Reformatos*, *Excalceatos* seu *Alcantarinos*, *Recollectos*: et tamen non sustulit funditus societatem. Quamvis enim privilegiis, statutis, varioque more altera familia ab altera differet, et cum provincias, tum domos tironum unaquaeque proprias obtineret, constanter tamen omnes, ne principium prioris coagmentationis interiret, obtemperationem uni atque eidem antistiti retinuerunt, quem *Ministrum generalem totius Ordinis Minorum*, uti ius est, vocant.[2] Utcumque sit, quadripartita istaec distributio, si maiorum spem bonorum, quam perfecta communitas attulisset, intercepit, non fregit vitae disciplinam. Quin etiam cum singulae auctores adiutoresque habuerint studiosos alienae salutis et praestanti virtute sapientiaque viros, dignae sunt habitae, quas romanorum Pontificum benevolentia complecteretur et gratia. Hoc ex capite vi et fecunditate hausta, ad fructus efferendos salutares et ad prisca franciscalium exempla renovanda valuerunt. Sed ullumne ex humanis institutis est, cui non obrepat aliquando senectus?

Certe quidem usus docet, studium virtutis perfectae, quod in ortu adolescentiaque Ordinum religiosorum solet esse severum, paullatim relaxari, atque animi ardorem pristinum plerumque succumbere vetustati. Ad hanc senescendi collabendique caussam, quam afferre consuevit aetas, quaeque omnibus est coetibus hominum natura insita, altera nunc ab inimica vi accessit extrinsecus. Scilicet atrox procella temporum, quae centum amplius annis rem catholicam exagitat, in ipsas Ecclesiae auxiliares copias, Ordines virorum religiosorum dicimus, naturali itinere redundavit. Despoliatos, pulsos, extorres, hostiliter habitos quae regio, quae ora Europae non vidit? Permagnum ac divino tribuendum muneri, quod non excisos penitus vidimus. Iamvero duabus istis coniunctis caussis plagam accepere nec sane

1 Const. *Ite et vos*, iv. kal. Iun., 1517.

2 Leon. X. Const. cit., *Ite et vos*.

levem: fieri enim non potuit quin duplicato fessa incommodo compago fatisceret, quin vis disciplinae vetus, tamquam in affecto corpore vita, debilitaretur.

Hinc instaurationis orta necessitas. Nec sane defuere in Ordinibus religiosis qui ea velut vulnera, quae diximus, sanare, et in pristinum statum restituere se sua sponte ac laudabili alacritate conati sint. Id Minores, etsi magnopere vellent, assequi tamen aut aegre aut nullo modo possunt, quia desideratur in eis conspirantium virium cumulata possessio. Revera praefecturam Ordinis gerenti non est in omnes familias perfecta atque absoluta potestas: certa quaedam eius acta et iussa repudiari privatae nonnullarum leges sinunt; ex quo perspicuum est, perpetuo patere aditum repugnantium diminicationi voluntatum. Praeterea variae sodalitates, quamquam in unum Ordinem confluunt et unum quiddam aliqua ratione efficiunt ex pluribus, tamen quia propriis provinciis differunt, domibusque ad tirocinia invicem distinguuntur, nimis est proclive factu, ut suis unaquaque rebus moveatur, seque magis ipsa quam universitatem diligat, ita ut, singulis pro se contendentibus, facile impediantur magnae utilitates communes. Denique vix attinet controversias concertationesque memorare, quas sodalitiorum varietas, dissimilitudo statutorum, disparia studia, tam saepe genuerunt, quasque caussae manentes eaedem renovare easdem in singulos propemodum dies queant. Quid autem perniciosius discordia? quae quidem ubi semel inveteravit, praecipuos vitae nervos edilit, ac res etiam florentissimas ad occasum impellit.

Igitur confirmari et corroborari Ordinem Minorum necesse est, virium dissipatione sublata: eo vel magis quod populari ingenio popularibusque moribus volvitur aetas; proptereaque expectationem sui non vulgarem sodalitium facit virorum religiosorum ortu, victu, institutis populare. Qui populares enim habentur, multo commodius et aspirare et applicare se ad multitudinem, agendo, navando pro salute communi, possunt. Hac sibi oblata bene merendi facultate Minores quidem studiose atque utiliter usuros certo scimus, si validos, si ordine dispositos, si instructos, uti par est, tempus offenderit.

Quae omnia cum apud Nos multum agitaremus animo, decessorum Nostrorum veniebat in mentem, qui incolumitati prosperitatique communi alumnorum franciscalium succurrere convenienter tempori, quoties oportuit, consuevere. Idem Nos ut simili

studio ac pari benevolentia vellemus, non solum conscientia officii, sed illae quoque caussae, quas initio diximus, impulere. Atqui omnino postulare tempus intelleximus, ut ad coniunctionem communionemque vitae priscam Ordo revocetur. Ita, amotis discidiorum et contentionum caussis, voluntates omnes unius nutu ductuque invicem colligatae tenebuntur, et, quod consequens est, erit ipsa illa, quam parens legifer intuebatur, constitutionis forma restituta.

Duas ad res cogitationem adiecimus, dignas illas quidem consideratione, quas tamen non tanti esse vidimus ut consilii Nostri retardare cursum ulla ratione possent, nimirum privilegia singulorum coetuum aboleri, et omnes quotquot ubique essent Minores, de quibus agimus, unius disciplinae legibus aeque adstringi oportere. Nam privilegia tunc certe opportuna ac frugifera cum quaesita sunt, nunc commutatis temporibus, tantum abest ut quicquam prosint religiosae legum observantiae, ut obesse videantur. Simili modo leges imponere unas universis incommodum atque intempestivum tamdiu futurum fuit, quoad varia Minorum sodalitia multum distarent interioris dissimilitudine disciplinae: contra nunc, cum non nisi pertenui discrimine invicem differant.

Nihilominus instituti et moris decessorum Nostrum memores, quia res vertebatur gravioris momenti, lumen consilii et prudentiam iudicii ab iis maxime, qui eadem de re iudicare recte possent, exquisivimus. Primum quidem cum totius Ordinis Minorum legati an. MDCCCLXXXXV Assissium in consilium convenissent, cui praeerat auctoritate Nostra b. m. Aegidius Mauri S. R. E. Cardinalis, Archiepiscopus Ferrariensis, perrogari in consilio sententias iussimus, de proposita familiarum omnium coniunctione quid singuli censerent. Faciendam frequentissimi censuerunt. Imo etiam lectis ab se ex ipso illo coetu viris hoc negotium dedere ut Constitutionum codicem perscriberent, utique communem omnibus, si communionem Sedes Apostolica sanxisset, futurum. Praeterea S. R. E. Cardinales e sacro Consilio Episcoporum atque Ordinum religiosorum negotiis praeposito, qui pariter cum S. R. E. Cardinalibus e sacro Consilio christiano nomini propagando Nobis de toto hoc negotio vehementer assenserant, acta Conventus Assisiensis et omnia rationum momenta ponderanda diligentissime curaverunt, exploratisque et emendatis, sicubi visum est, Constitutionibus novissimis, testati sunt, petere se ut Ordo, sublato familiarum discrimine, unus rite constituatur. Id

igitur omnino expedire atque utile esse, idemque cum proposito conditoris sanctissimi cumque ipsa Numinis voluntate congruere sine ulla dubitatione perspeximus.

Quae cum ita sint, auctoritate Nostra apostolica, harum virtute litterarum, Ordinem Minorum, variis ad hanc diem sodalitiis distinctum, ad unitatem communitatemque vitae plene cumulateque perfectam, ita ut unum atque unicum corpus efficiat, familiarum distinctione omni deleta, revocamus, revocatumque esse declaramus.

I. Is, extinctis nominibus *Observantium*, *Reformatorum*, *Excalceatorum* seu *Alcantarinorum*, *Recollectorum*, ORDO FRATRUM MINORUM sine ullo apposito, ex instituto Francisci patris appelletur : ab uno regatur : eisdem legibus pareat : eadem administratione utatur, ad normam Constitutionum novissimarum, quas summa fide constantiaque ab omnibus ubique servari iubemus.

II. Statuta singularia, item privilegia iuraque singularia, quibus familiae singulae privatim utebantur fruebantur, ac prorsus omnia quae differentiam aut distinctionem quoquo modo sapiant, nulla sunto : exceptis iuribus ac privilegiis adversus *tertias personas :* quae privilegia, quaeque iura firma, ut iustitia et aequitas postulaverit, rataque sunto.

III. Vestitum cultumque eâdem omnes forma induunto.

IV. In gubernatione Ordinis universi, quemadmodum unus Minister generalis, ita Procurator unus esto : item Scriba ab actis unus : honorum caelestibus habendorum Curator unus.

V. Quicumque ex hoc die minoriticas vestes rite sumpserint : quicumque maiore minoreve ritu vota nuncupaverint, eos omnes sub Constitutiones novas esse subiectos, officiisque universis, quae inde consequuntur, adstringi ius esto. Si qui Constitutionibus novis abnuat subesse, ei habitu religioso, nuncupatione votorum, professione interdictum esto.

VI. Si qua Provincia his praeceptis legibusque Nostris non paruerit, in ea nec tirocinia ponere quemquam, nec profiteri rite Ordinem liceat.

VII. Altioris perfectionis vitaeque, ut loquuntur, contemplativae cupidioribus praesto esse in provinciis singulis domum unam vel alteram in id addictam, fas esto. Eiusmodi domus iure Constitutionum novarum regantur.

VIII. Si qui e sodalibus solemni ritu professis addicere se constitutae per has litteras disciplinae iustis de caussis recusarint,

eos in domos Ordinis sui certas secedere auctoritate nutuque Antistitum liceat.

IX. Provinciarum cum mutare fines, tum minuere numerum, si necessitas coegerit, Ministro generali coniuncte cum Definitoribus generalibus liceat, perrogata tamen Definitorum Provinciarum, de quibus agatur, sententia.

X. Cum Minister generalis ceterique viri Ordini universo regundo ad hanc diem praepositi magistratu se quisque suo abdicarint, Ministrum generalem dicere auctoritatis Nostrae in caussa praesenti esse volumus. Definitores generales, ceterosque munera maiora gesturos, qui scilicet in conventu Ordinis maximo designari solent, designet in praesenti caussa sacrum Consilium Episcoporum atque Ordinum religiosorum negotiis praepositum, exquisita prius ab iis ipsis sententia, qui potestatem Definitorum generalium hodie gerunt. Interea loci Minister generalis Definitoresque generales in munere quisque versari suo pergant.

Gestit animus, quod Nostram in beatum Franciscum pietatem religionemque veterem consecrare mansuro providentiae monumento licuit : agimusque benignitati divinae gratias singulares, quod Nobis in summa senectute id solatii, percupientibus, reservavit. Quotquot autem ex Ordine Minorum sodales numerantur, pleni bonae spei hortamur obsecramusque, ut exemplorum magni parentis sui memores, ex his rebus ipsis, quas ad commune eorum bonum decrevimus, sumant alacritatem animi atque incitamenta virtutum, ut digne ambulent *vocatione, qua vocati* sunt, *cum omni humilitate, et mansuetudine, cum patientia, supportantes invicem in caritate, solliciti servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis.*[1]

Praesentes vero litteras et quaecumque in ipsis habentur nullo unquam tempore de subreptionis aut obreptionis sive intentionis Nostrae vitio aliove quovis defectu notari vel impugnari posse ; sed semper validas et in suo robore fore et esse, atque ab omnibus cuiusvis gradus et praeeminentiae inviolabiliter in iudicio et extra observari debere, decernimus : irritum quoque et inane si secus super his a quoquam, quavis auctoritate vel praetextu, scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari declarantes ; contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque, etiam speciali mentione dignis, quibus omnibus ex plenitudine potestatis, certa scientia et motu

1 Ephes., v., 1-3.

proprio quoad praemissa expresse derogamus, et derogatum esse declaramus.

Volumus autem, ut harum litterarum exemplis etiam impressis, manu tamen Notarii subscriptis et per constitutum in ecclesiastica dignitate virum sigillo munitis, eadem habeatur fides, quae Nostrae voluntatis significationi, his praesentibus ostensis, haberetur.

Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae constitutionis, ordinationis, unionis, limitationis, derogationis, voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerarie contraire.—Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum Quarto Nonas Octobris Anno Incarnationis Dominicae Millesimo octogesimo nonagesimo septimo, Pontificatus Nostri anno Vicesimo.

C. *Card.* ALOISI-MASSELLA, *Pro-Datarius.*

A. *Card.* MACCHI.

Visa De Curia I. De Aquila e Vicecomitibus.

Loco ✠ *Plumbi.*

Reg. in Secret. Brevium.

I. CUGNONIUS.

CONFERENCES.

THE AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW proposes to answer in this department questions of general (not merely local or personal) interest to the Clergy. Questions suitable for publication, when addressed to the editor, receive attention in due turn, but in no case do we pledge ourselves to reply to all queries, either in print or by letter.

A NEW CALENDARIUM FOR THE ARCHDIOCESE OF ST. LOUIS.

It is customary with us in America as in all missionary countries, where there are no liturgical traditions, that several dioceses use the same *Ordo divini officii recitandi.* The Calendar with the nineteen *officia propria* approved in 1840, and the four new feasts in honor of the American Saints granted to the United States in 1885, is used extensively in the East and South. In 1862, Archbishop Kenrick, of St. Louis, published a new Calendar for the ecclesiastical Province over which he presided. That Calendarium is being followed at present in twenty dioceses of the Central States. All the Ordos, particularly the one used in the Eastern Provinces, are meagre in special feasts; and since no addition can be made to any of them, except by a joint petition of all the bishops in whose dioceses it is used, the chances to enrich it are very poor.

For this reason, when during the preparatory sessions for the St. Louis diocesan synod, in spring 1896, the question of the *Ordo* came up, it was deemed expedient to take an initiative for the adoption of a Calendarium which would be richer and more in accordance with the liturgical customs of other countries at the present time. As a consequence, the Archbishop of St. Louis had in the fall of 1896 a *Schema* of a new Calendarium prepared, which was presented to the Congregation of Sacred Rites. The latter approved it with but slight change, on April 26, 1897.

With the feasts granted to the United States in 1840 and 1885, and those adopted for St. Louis in 1862, the new *Proprium* of St. Louis contains the following proper feasts:

JANUARY.

23. Desponsatio B.M.V. dupl. maj. Comm. S. Joseph.
30. S. Hyacinthae de Mariscottis v. dupl.

FEBRUARY.

3. S. Blasii ep. et m. duplex (instead of simplex).
5. S. Philippia Jesu m. dupl.
11. Apparitionis B.M.V. Immaculatae, dupl. maj.
12. S. Ildephonsi ep. c. duplex.
13. S. Catharinae de Ricciis v. duplex.
14. S. Joannis Eleemosynarii ep. c. duplex.
15. S. Joseph a Leonissa c. duplex.
16. B. Joannae Valeriae, vid., dupl.
17. Fugae D. N. J. Ch. in Aegyptum, dupl. maj.
18. SS. Mart. Japonensium, duplex.
26. S. Margaritae Corton. poenit. semi-d.
28. Inventio Pueri Jesu, dupl. maj.

MARCH.

5. S. Joannis Josephi a Cruce conf. dupl.
6. S. Fridolini abb. dupl.
9. S. Gregorii Nysseni ep. c. dupl.
18. S. Gabrielis arch. dupl. maj.
22. S. Catharinae de Genna vid. dupl.

APRIL.

3. S. Mariae Aegyptianae poen. dupl.
6. B. Julianae Cornelion. virg. dupl.
16. S. Benedicti Joseph Labre c. dupl.
19. S. Leonis IX. Pp. c. dupl.
26. B. M. V. de Bono Consilio, dupl. maj.
27. S. Turibii ep. c. dupl.

MAY.

11. S. Francisci de Hieronymo c. dupl.
13. S. Boni Latroni c. dupl.
14. Conversio S. Augustini ep. c. doct. dupl.
15. S. Isidori agric. dupl.
16. S. Joannis Nepomuceni m. dupl.
21. S. Felicis a Cantalicio c. dupl.
24. B. V. M. tit. Auxilium Christianorum, dupl. maj.
26. S. Philippi Nerii c. dupl. 2. classis (instead of dupl).
27. Patrocinium S. Ludovici Regis c. dupl. maj.
30. S. Ferdinandi III. Regis c. dupl.
31. B. M. V. tit. Regina Sanctorum Omnium et Mater Pulchrae Dilectionis, dupl. 2. classis.

JUNE.

9. B. M. V. tit. Mater Gratiarum, dupl. maj.
12. S. Leonis III. Pp. c. dupl.
16. S. Joannis Francisci Regis c. dupl.
17. Humilitatis B. M. V. dupl. maj.

JULY.

4. S. Irenaei ep. m. dupl.
7. S. Petri Forerii c. dupl.
9. Prodigiorum B. M. V. dupl. maj.
11. S. Michaelis de Sanctis c. dupl.
19. S. Vincentii a Paulo c. Patroni min. princip. dupl. 2. cl. cum oct.
21. SS. Martyrum Gorcomiensium, dupl.
24. S. Francisci Solani c. dupl.
27. S. Eliae prophetae, dupl.

AUGUST.

9. S. Pulcheriae Imperatr. v. dupl.
11. S. Philumenae v. m. dupl.
18. S. Helenae Imperatr. vid. dupl.
19. S. Tharsicii Acolythi m. dupl.

25. S. Ludovici Regis c. Titul. Cathedr. et Civit. atque Archidioec. Patroni Princ. dupl. 1. cl. cum oct.
26. S. Samuelis Prophetae, dupl.
30. S. Rosae Limanae v. dupl. 2. classis (instead of duplex).

SEPTEMBER.

1. Octava S. Ludovici c. 1 dupl.
3. B.M.V. tit. Consolatrix Afflictorum, dupl. maj.
4. S. Rosae Viterb. v. dupl.
6. S. Rosaliae v. semi-d.
9. S. Petri Claver c. dupl.

OCTOBER.

1. S. Gregorii ep. Majoris Armeniae m. dupl.
2. SS. Angelorum Custodum, dupl. 2. classis cum oct. (instead of dupl. maj).
3. S. Remigii ep. c. duplex (instead of semi-d. ad libitum).
8. S. Simeonis Prophetae, dupl.
9. Octava SS. Angelorum Custodum, duplex.
10. S. Ludovici Bertr. c. dupl.
16. S. Galli abb. dupl.
17. B. Mariae Margar. Alacoque v. dupl.
21. SS. Ursulae et Soc. vv. mm. dupl.
23. SS. Redemptoris, dupl. maj.
24. S. Raphaelis arch. dupl. maj.
27. Puritatis B.M.V. dupl. maj.
29. S. Bedae Venerabilis c. dupl.
31. S. Wolfgangi ep. c. dupl.

NOVEMBER.

13. S. Stanislai c. dupl.
17. S. Gregorii Thaumat. ep. c. dupl. (instead of semi-d).
27. Manifestationis Imm. Virg. Mariae a Sacro Numismate, dupl. maj.
28. S. Leonardi a Portu Maur. c. dupl.

DECEMBER.

5. S. Barbarae v. m. dupl. (instead of simpl.).
10. Transl. Domus Lauretanae B.M.V. dupl. maj.
12. B.M.V. de Guadalupe, dupl. maj.
17. S. Lazari ep. c. dupl.
18. Expectatio Partus B.M.V. dupl. maj.

MOVABLE FEASTS.

Dom. III. post Epiph.: SS. Familiae, dupl. maj.
Dom. ultima post Epiph.: SS. Immaculati Cordis B. M. V. titulo Refugium Peccatorum, dupl. maj.
All the seven feasts of the Passion of Christ, as given in the Appendix of the Roman Breviary.
Feria II. p. Dom. in Albis : Gaudiorum B. M. V. dupl. 2. classis.
Feria VI. p. Dom. in Albis: S. Sepulchri D. N. J. Ch. dupl. maj.
Dom. II. post Pascha : B. M. V. tit. Mater Divini Pastoris, dupl. maj. Com. Transl. reliqu. S. Vincentii a Paulo c.
Dom. infra Oct. Ascens.: B. M. V. tit. Regina Apostolorum, dupl. maj.
Dom. ante 24 Iunii: B. M. V. tit. de Perpetuo Succursu, dupl. maj.
Dom. I. post 6. Iulii : Omnium SS. Rom. Eccl. Summorum Pontificum, dupl. maj.
Dom. ultima Iulii : B. M. V. tit. Auxilium Agonizantium, dupl. maj.
Dom. II. Aug.: B. M. V. tit. Salus Infirmorum, dupl. maj.
Dom. post Oct. Assumpt.: Purissimi Cordis B. M. V., dupl. maj.
Dom. II. Oct.: Maternitatis B. M. V., dupl. maj.
Dom. III. Oct.: Dedicatio Eccl. Metropolitanae, dupl. 1. cl. cum oct.
Dom. ultima Oct.: SS. Reliquiarum, dupl. maj.
Dom. infra Oct. Omn. SS.: B. M. V. de Suffragio Animarum, dupl. maj.
Dom. post Oct. Omn. SS.: Patrocinii B. M. V., dupl. maj.

At the same time the faculty has been granted to the Archdiocese of St. Louis, to transfer to the next free day all secondary feasts, affixed to Sundays or weekdays whenever these cannot be celebrated on their own day by reason of some other feast occurring.

F. G. H.

St. Louis, Mo.

CRIME AND HEREDITY.

REPLY OF THE REV. DR. BARRY TO "AN INQUIRER."[1]

To the Editor AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW:

REV. SIR:—As the main purpose of my articles on Lombroso was to draw attention and invite discussion, it is gratifying to find that they are likely to do both. The school of criminology which Lombroso may be said to have instituted, and to which, at all events, he has given the widest renown, is spread through all countries; it has a literature which is daily growing in extent and variety; it colours public opinion, and is in high repute with many social reformers. No other name at once and immediately suggests the matter with which in my articles I was dealing, viz., the doctrine of crime as a natural product, and the method of "social defence." That is why it seemed to me the shortest and simplest way into the whole question to sum up what Lombroso maintains. But, of course, I am not his apologist.

Your learned correspondent who asks "Is there no hope for the born-delinquent?" now carries his enquiry one step farther. In so doing, he cannot fail to elicit more facts, and to throw light on these perplexed and difficult problems. Can we persuade him, as a prison-chaplain with unusual opportunities of information, to add some details of his experience, and the methods of discipline and reform which he would favour? Within the last few days, I have received from one of the most competent authorities in England a letter in which he says,—and I think, in so saying, he strikes

1 See November number of the REVIEW, p. 534.

a note with which Catholics may safely agree,—"In my opinion, many of Lombroso's positions have been shattered by criticism. But his fundamental position is unassailable, namely, that crime must be studied in the first place from what he calls an anthropological point of view; or as I should say, from the individual and social institutions which produce the criminal." This is to consider environment and heredity as determining conditions, though they need not be irresistible causes, of crime; it is to undertake a more thorough, and certainly a more humane, method of handling the criminal than mere punishment as now inflicted, or the superficial system of the prison-school, so long in fashion.

The "suppression of the born-delinquent," though a phrase occurring in Lombroso, does not mean in his mouth any extension of the penalty of death, but a protest against the Italian Code which has abolished that penalty. My notion is that Lombroso would be much less severe on this head than the English and American judges are in practice; and it must be observed that he does not propose to treat any one as a delinquent on account of his *stigmata*, but only to consider these marks, after crime proved, in the sentence which has to be pronounced and the precautions to be taken on behalf of society. His suggestions may demand very careful revision; but they indicate the use of "anthropology" as a help towards protecting the criminal from himself, and others from him.

It is obvious that even if a "criminal type" exists, the Catholic priest and philanthropist will always presume free will, full responsibility, and possible reformation, until the contrary is shown. He will believe in the miracles of conversion; he will resort to the supernatural means given him by religion where science fails; but he will also apply the principle of "avoiding the occasion" socially as well as individually; and he may arrive at the conclusion that there are members of the human race,—few or many, according to the evidence,—who can only be saved from criminal relapses by being treated all their lives as minors, and kept under legal surveillance. That, in my view, is the practical ques-

tion which emerges from the whole state of the case. Will it be met by a much more extensive development of "The Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society?" How little, in fact, such prisoners are aided, your correspondent points out. It is a subject on which a great deal might be said which I shall now pass over.

But as regards the heredity of crime, and its physical, mental and moral antecedents, I may be allowed to quote from an important volume on "Juvenile Offenders," lately published by the Rev. W. D. Morrison, Chaplain of Wandsworth Gaol. (New York, Appleton & Co.) "Whether we look at the Old World or the New," Mr. Morrison observes (p. 17), "juvenile crime is a problem which is not decreasing in magnitude with the march of civilisation. Every civilised community is confronted with it in a more or less menacing form." What are its causes? The author does not pretend to exhaust them, but he writes, "Innate disposition, parental example, social surroundings, social habits, the presence of temptation and opportunity, all play a more or less prominent part in determining the extent and intensity of crime." The old habitual offender, he goes on to say (p. 83)—the "criminal by profession,"—"almost invariably begins his career in early youth;" and (p. 85) "it is probable that certain conditions of a more or less pathological character may also play an important part in moving the springs of conduct in a criminal direction." To ascertain whether this surmise be justified, the author examines a mass of evidence, mostly official, derived from the reformatory and industrial schools of Great Britain. He concludes, in general (p. 92), that "we must expect to find a large number of the delinquent population in industrial schools burdened with diseased and debilitated constitutions;" that (p. 99) "as a class, juvenile offenders are distinctly more degenerate than the rest of the community," and that "in many cases the physical infirmities of the parents have been handed down to the children." Moreover (p. 107), while "a large percentage of juvenile offenders are in this condition of imperfect development and depressed vitality," if we

"estimate their mental competence by the physical basis on which it reposes," we shall conclude that "at least a third of these juveniles are below the average healthy standard in general mental power." And with respect to this 33 per cent. (p. 112), "estimating the mental competence of criminal children by the mental status of the parents, it was shown that most of these children were descended from parents who were either mentally or morally unqualified to perform the elementary duties of parenthood." But even more strongly on p. 111, "In other words, the weakness of will in the parent reappears in the child in the form of an absence of power to resist criminal instincts and impulses." Finally (p. 114–115), "the mental characteristics of the parents of most juvenile offenders" consist of "mental incompetence and moral obliquity." It is, therefore, in such "an atmosphere" that "the mind of the juvenile offender receives its earliest impressions of the external world." Some offenders may, indeed, be "alert enough mentally, and even above the average in this respect," but in them "there is often an absence of feeling which is truly remarkable . . . Such children are well aware of the nature of a criminal conduct, but it is not in any way repugnant to them on that account. It is from their ranks that the most dangerous class of habitual criminals are drawn. On the other hand, children of feeble wills are often gifted with genuine sensibilities, and when they fall, it is because they are led away by others . . . These children are generally below the average in intellect as well as in will; and are good or bad according to the circumstances in which they happen to be placed." (p. 116.)

On the whole, Mr. Morrison, while abstaining from minute physiological description, and altogether independent of Lombroso, would seem, in these quotations, to favour the idea of a "criminal type," which has its recognisable features, physical no less than mental, and which is capable of transmission by heredity. Yet, in his view, as in ours, while it must be granted (p. 83) that "once the mind has acquired a rigid criminal bent, the task of reformation becomes

difficult in the extreme," still, if that task is undertaken "before criminal tendencies have become solidified into fixed criminal habits, it is certain, if properly conducted, to lead to a satisfactory amount of success."

WILLIAM BARRY.

Dorchester, England.

A BOY BAPTIZING HIMSELF.

A remarkable incident occurred to me a short time ago. I was sitting in the little parlor of our rectory reciting the Office when a lady, without being announced, entered through the open hall and said in a somewhat haughty tone: "Sir, I want to be baptized. I am not a Catholic, and do not believe in your Church, but I have a superstitious feeling about baptism and am told that you can administer it." Her words and the cold business-like manner in which they were said tempted me to make some cynical reply, but she was dressed in deep mourning which somehow provoked respect or sympathy in me, and bidding her be seated I explained what baptism meant and that I could not impart it to her unless she believed in the doctrines of the Catholic Church.

"Could a person who is not baptized himself, baptize me?" she queried.—"Yes."—"But I must believe?"—"Yes."—"That is right," she continued, "then my boy died a Catholic. He baptized himself. Give me one of your books and I shall try to believe if I can." She then told me how her little boy sometime before his death called her to his side and said, "Mamma, I feel as if I was going to die. Don't be displeased with me for saying it, for I love you very much, but I want to be baptized." The mother, having no religion and not wishing to foster the notion of death in the child's mind, put him off with the remark that he was not going to die, and that if he was, she would baptize him if it gave him any pleasure. Inwardly she blamed the Catholic nurse who, she had no doubt, had influenced the child with this notion, and though she highly valued the girl on other grounds, she thought it wise to remove her forthwith from the house. One evening after that the boy called her and asked for some water. Thinking he was thirsty, she brought it; but he seemed to wish to bathe his hands, and taking some of the water with his feeble hand he put it on his forehead

saying : I baptize myself in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. She did not exactly remember the words he said, but she knew he had baptized himself, and gently chiding him—here she burst into tears, arose and left me almost abruptly. She never returned ; and I do not know where she came from or whether she lived in our neighborhood, which I doubt.

What I ask is this : Was that child baptized? Can a person baptize himself validly ? And if not, why not? If the mother came back wishing to become a Catholic, and should ask me to say an anniversary Mass for her boy, should I refuse on the plea that the Church does not admit as valid a baptism administered by one self, and that she does not pray for those in limbo, because they can never attain the beatific vision ?

Resp. The form in which the Sacrament of Baptism was instituted implies a necessary distinction between the person administering and the object (materia) upon which the sacramental virtue is to act, in the same way as a subject cannot be regarded as active and passive under one and the same respect. The form "Ego *te* baptizo," etc., indicates that this distinction is essential in the administration of the Sacrament. But the question has in reality no practical bearing, because any person who should sincerely attempt to baptize himself, would receive the grace of baptism, that is to say —salvation, not through the sacrament of faith, but through his faith in the Sacrament. Innocent III. mentions the case of a Jew, who, thinking he was about to die and having been instructed in the rudiments of faith, baptized himself. "Had he died immediately," says the Pontiff, "he would have at once entered heaven, non propter fidei sacramentum sed propter sacramenti fidem." (Decr. iii. t. 42, cap. 4.)

THE CROSSES IN THE "VIA CRUCIS."

Qu. Please to state whether it is necessary to place wooden crosses above or below the stations of the "via crucis" in order to gain the indulgences attached to the devotion. I have seen stations carved in wood which had no crosses, but which were blessed by a religious

who said that it was sufficient to have a cross attached to the first station.

Resp. Unless an unusual privilege had been granted in the case of the above-mentioned religious his blessing of the stations was invalid, so far as the gaining of the indulgences attached to the devout exercise of the "via crucis" is concerned.

According to the *Decreta authentica* (261–270–258, etc.), and to the *Acta Ord. Min.*, 1893, the fourteen crosses of wood are *essential.* They are usually placed above the images representing the scene of the Passion commemorated at each of the stations, but they may be placed below or aside of them, in such a way as to be visible. The *images* are merely intended to help the imagination to concentrate devotion, and are *not* necessary for the valid erection of the "via crucis."

The fourteen crosses *must* be blessed. The images *may* be blessed; for which purpose the Ritual gives a distinct form.

The blessing of the crosses may be performed either before they are put up, or after they are placed on the wall. The priest who blesses them need not himself put them up, although he must bless them in the place where they are to be located (Acta S. Sedis, xxv. 317).

THE SEVENTH CANDLESTICK ON THE PONTIFICAL ALTAR.

Qu. We are placing a new altar in the Cathedral, and do not find anywhere clear direction as to the location of the seventh candlestick required in the celebration of Pontifical Mass. The several altars in other Cathedrals which our architect has examined, seem to have no special provision for the pontifical celebration. What is the proper arrangement?

Resp. The only requisite in the construction of an altar on which Pontifical Mass is to be celebrated is that the platform on which the candlesticks for Mass are placed be sufficiently wide in the centre to admit the crucifix in front of the central (seventh) candlestick. According to Catalani

(Comment. Lib. I., § xii., n. 1) the seven candlesticks are to be "*post crucem locata*, et magis parieti proximata, ita ut imagines proximiores sint celebranti." They are to be in one line, rising toward the centre.

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When the seventh candlestick is removed, as in Requiem Masses, the crucifix is put back in its usual place *between* the six candlesticks. (Hence the crucifix on episcopal altars should not be an irremovable one.)

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The same is expressed by Martinucci (IV. lib. v., cap. 9, not. 18) in the following quaint wording: "ponenda est crux ante candelabra, nec septimum candelabrum ponendum est post crucem."

When there is a tabernacle, as in the case of Gothic altars, which prevents this arrangement from being carried out, that which comes nearest to it, is the only one to be suggested; provided the seventh candlestick overtop the others and leave the cross in front of it.

THE PRAYERS IN THE FORM OF ABSOLUTION.

Qu. You are kindly requested to give a definite answer to the following question:

With regard to the form of sacramental absolution, can the prayers *Misereatur*, etc., *Indulgentiam*, etc., and *Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, etc., be always omitted *absque peccato?*

SACERDOS.

Resp. The prayers *Misereatur*, etc., as part of the ordinary form of sacramental absolution are *laudabiliter addenda* (Conc. Trid.), and are therefore never of obligation *sub peccato*. But the habitual omission of an act not prescribed *sub peccato* may nevertheless become a sin, not by reason of the omission but by reason of the degree of contempt which prompts the habitual omission and sets aside a wish of the

Church to confer graces at our command. That the Church positively wishes confessors to use the invocation in connection with the sacramental form of absolution is plain from the words of the Ritual stating the reason for *sometimes* omitting it.

The wording of the query appears to indicate a desire on the part of *Sacerdos* to have simply *yes* or *no* for reply, so as to settle the contention once and for all. That is as impossible as if one had to answer definitely some such question as: Are Catholics obliged in conscience to pay a dollar at the monthly school collection?

THE CORRECT PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN.

Qu. My assistant and I have all along maintained a slight difference in the pronunciation of Latin; one of us having been accustomed to the manner of the Roman Seminary, the other retaining the ordinary Continental pronunciation taught in most of our colleges. Recently there seems to have been some reform in this matter, and as a consequence we have had to submit to some criticism, not only from a college professor in a neighboring institution, but from various half-fledged blue-stockings who devote themselves to a revival of antique letters and who advance clever reasons for saying *Kikero* instead of the old fashioned *Cicero*. They are particularly incensed against the Italian pronunciation, calling it absurd, artificial and justifiable only for Italians, who find it convenient because of their own language. No Roman of the Augustan age, they say, ever pronounced *tshivitas* for *civitas*.

Now, whilst I do not want to be behindhand in proper culture, I dislike the idea of introducing in the public service the chant "Qui es in koelis; sanctifiketur nomen tuum, etc.," which would certainly arrest the attention of the congregation, and suggest the idea of affectation or the like. What are really the merits of the case? And is there any right reason for our adopting this Augustan pronunciation, which, if done, should, it seems to me, be done by all the clergy together?

Resp. There is just a trifle of arrogant ignorance in the attempt to render the Italian pronunciation of Latin absurd

or to substitute for it any other. No doubt, the new pronunciation is either that of the Augustan age or comes near to it, and very likely the friends of Cicero called him Kikero after the fashion of the Greeks. But that is a matter which concerns the Latin grammarian or the archeologist.

The Latin language, as far as it is to-day a living, that is to say a *spoken* language, is the language of the Catholic Church, of her clergy and of her international institutions. Now the pronunciation of a living language is not regulated by reference to any literary standard of the past. We consider Shakespeare and Milton worthy of attentive study in our schools, but if anyone attempted to argue that we should adopt the pronunciation of two or three hundred years ago we should consider the claim absurd. Usage is the law of correct speech; and when there is question of correct pronunciation we usually refer to some recognized centre of converse, where good usage has fixed the mode of speech, such as Paris, or Dublin, or Florence for the respective languages used there. The recognized centre of the Latin language, as far as it is a *spoken* and living idiom, is Rome. From Rome and to Rome lead all the roads in which the Latin language is heard, sung and spoken, in the elegant phrase of the classic scholar or in the medieval simplicity of the friars' jargon. Is it then strange that we should suit our speech to the manner of that great centre?

To say that it has changed some of its sounds is arguing nothing against its legitimate use. What language has not changed in two thousand years? Is there any that has changed so little? And if so, is it not due to the fact that the Latin Church, which claims the right of its present pronunciation, has spoken it all these centuries and preserved its living character?

On the other hand, the dilettante, the antiquarian, the student who pursues language as a literary curiosity or as a help to thoughtfulness, has a perfect right to inquire how Cicero or Chaucer or Shakespeare spoke, and to imitate the diction of these authors in all particulars. Their wisdom is misplaced only when they wish to force their views on the old

Church and her habits. She was in possession long, long ago; she cultivated that language—the language of the Church by common consent—for practical living use, neglecting neither the classic grace of its golden age, as exemplified in Hilary of Poitiers, or Damasus, or Gregory, nor the rustic simplicity which made it an easy means of intercourse with the unlettered. Leo XIII. to-day imitates with matchless power the sweetly flowing alcaics of Horace, and gives them at the same time that originality which stamps their worth as separate works of art. To accept the Pope's Latin is as natural as to accept the Queen's English.

So let the collegians have their archaic way; but we shall claim the speech of our great city, Rome, as by right and title that of the Latin Republic in letters or out of them. For the rest, the matter has never troubled the Church, who has left each one to indulge his peculiar taste.

THE UNIFICATION OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDERS.

By a new Apostolic Constitution issued on the feast of St. Francis of Assisi, the Holy Father inaugurates a change in the government and constitution of the four religious communities known as the *Observantists*, *Reformed Friars Minor*, *Discalced* (barefooted) *Franciscans* and *Recollects*. These Orders, which are offshoots from the original institute founded by St. Francis, have had hitherto distinct autonomy, customs and privileges. Henceforth they are to be united under the same rule and constitutions, and governed by one Minister General.

This is an important change, and implies a decided reform in many respects of some of the existing communities, all of which are hereafter to bear the name of *Friars Minor* (Minorites); they are to wear the same habit, take the same obligations, and relinquish all distinctive privileges.

The two Orders of *Conventuals* and *Capuchins*, likewise governed by the Franciscan rule, remain distinct, as heretofore.

CANDIDATES FOR THE ELECTION OF THE PAPAL OFFICE.

Qu. In Baart's *The Roman Court* I read that "any man, even a layman and a married person may validly be elected Sovereign Pontiff." Is this statement true? The author makes no qualification.

Resp. The statement is true only theoretically. St. Peter was married and became Pope afterwards; and a similar case is conceivable in the future. Practically, however, legislation and prescriptive custom put such a contingency out of the question. A decree of Pope Stephen III. ordained that only a member of the Roman *clergy* was eligible to the office of Sovereign Pontiff. This decree was violated some centuries later by the election of John XIX. Pope Nicolas II. reinforced the decree and at the same time reserved the electoral privilege exclusively to the College of Cardinals. During the following three centuries, *i. e.*, to Urban VI. (1378), nine pontiffs were elected who had not been cardinals at the time of the election. Since then, that is to say during the last *five hundred* years, the Pope has always been elected from the members of the College of Cardinals;[1] and Benedict XIV., without making a law to this effect, has practically prescribed it as the norm to be observed for all future time: "Congruum omnino ut ex eis (cardinalibus) S. Pontifex desumatur." (De Serv. Dei beat. iii., c. 33).

THE BISHOP'S NAME IN THE CANON OF THE MASS.

Qu. In the Canon of the Mass should a bishop mention his own name or that of his metropolitan?

Resp. The Bishop, if he is the *Ordinary* of a diocese, says instead of "antistite nostro N."—*et me indigno servo tuo.* (Vide. *Rit. celebr. Miss.*, *viii.*, 2.) If he is a Coadjutor or Auxiliary he mentions the name of his Ordinary. If there is no Ordinary the phrase is omitted altogether.

1 See Lucius Lector: *Le Conclave*, Paris; Lethielleux. 1894.

ONE SPONSOR FOR EACH OF THE "CONFIRMANDI."

Qu. I am told that the AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW is authority for the statement that there must be a sponsor for *each* person to be confirmed. This is very inconvenient and contrary to custom in America. I think the Editor of the REVIEW might find reasons enough to prove that European notions don't fit our conditions. The Church with her Sacraments is for the people, and not the people for the Church.

Resp. The *Council of Baltimore*, following the Decrees of Trent, is authority for the statement that there must be a sponsor for each person to be confirmed. We called attention to the fact some months ago, because the *Manual of Ceremonies for the Episcopal Visitation of Parishes and the Administration of the Sacrament of Confirmation* had left the matter in doubt, as though it were optional to have one or more sponsors for all the persons to be confirmed. In the *new edition* of the Manual, in preparation now, the error will be corrected.

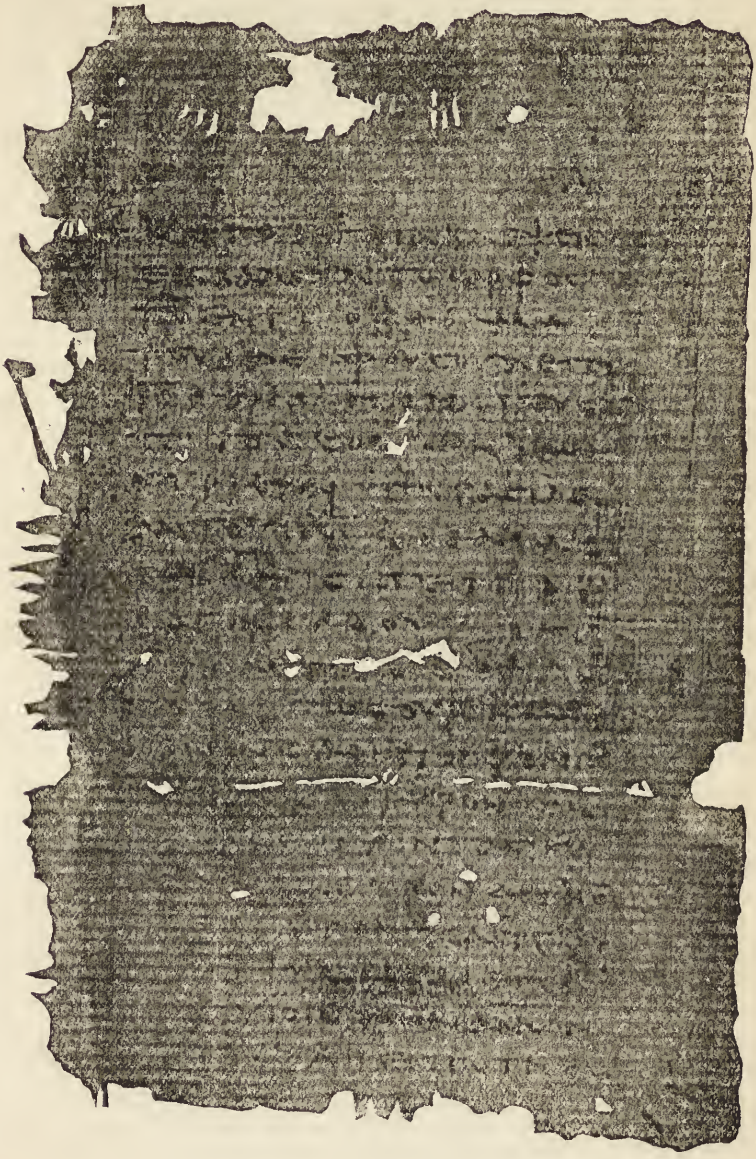
For the rest, our correspondent is evidently of the liberal school which practically holds the principle that liturgical discipline is regulated by local convenience and modern ideas. Assuredly the Church is for the people, but so are her *laws;* and laws are *not notions.* That the laws of the *Roman* Catholic Church should come from Europe is a sort of geographical necessity.

THE *ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ.*

Qu. What is the value from a scriptural point of view of the recently discovered papyrus called "The Sayings of Christ?" From what is being said in the newspapers one would almost suppose that this "find" outranks the Gospels in importance.

Resp. The literary and apologetic value of the "Logia" lately found in Behnesa has been greatly exaggerated. It

consists of a single sheet (papyrus), about six or seven inches by four, of Greek uncial writing. The following is a facsimile :—



Some estimate of the restored characters may be gleaned from the first verse which reads:

. . . ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΔΙΑΒΛΕΨΕΙΣ
ΕΚΒΑΛΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΚΑΡΦΟΣ
ΤΟ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΩ
ΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΣΟΥ—

One of the later translations of the entire fragment is as follows:

. . . And then thou shalt see how to withdraw the mote from thy brother's eye.

Jesus says: If you do not fast from (separate from the ways of) the world, you shall not find the kingdom of heaven; and if you do not observe the Sabbath you shall not see the Father.

Jesus says: I was in the midst of the world, and I have been seen in the flesh by them, and I found them all glutted, and none among them did I find changed. And: My soul is grieved over the children of men because they are blinded in their heart, and . . .

. . . . poverty.

Jesus says: There where they are united I am likewise; if there is but one of them alone, I am with him. Lift up the stone and there thou wilt find me, divide the wood and I shall still be there.

Jesus says: Neither is a prophet accepted in his own land, nor does a physician make health among those with whom he dwells.

Jesus says: A city built on the top of a high mountain and strengthened, cannot be destroyed nor be hidden.

Jesus says: Thou hearest . . .

According to Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, who discovered the fragment among other papers buried on the site of the ancient Oxyrrinchos (about 120 miles south of Cairo), the Logia may have been written about the middle of the second century, or even later. To assume that it is part of an original which served the evangelists for the composition of their Gospels is without any foundation. Numberless persons made, no doubt, notes of what they had heard either from the lips of our Lord or from the Apostles and disciples, and there is nothing strange in the assumption that such notes were used as reminders before the Gospels had sufficiently spread for the

general knowledge. Even the sacred writers may have had such notes and used them; but they did not depend on them for the composition of the Gospels, and the existence of such memoranda, even if genuine, contributes but little to the trustworthiness of the inspired records, the historical value of which is amply established, so as to convince any reasonable person who is disposed to accept legal testimony.

THE CRUX "IMMISSA."

Qu. In an old treatise (without title-page or date) on the liturgy of the Church, which I picked up in an antiquary book shop, there is repeated mention of a *crux immissa*, so called apparently to distinguish it from other kinds of *cruces*. I cannot anywhere find an explanation of the term. May I ask the editor of the REVIEW for information?

Resp. Some old liturgical writers use the term "crux *immissa*" to designate + as distinguished from the "crux *commissa*" T, and the "crux *decussata*" ×. The explanation may be found in most works on Christian archeology.

BOOK REVIEW.

MORAL PRINCIPLES AND MEDICAL PRACTICE. The Basis of Medical Jurisprudence. By the Rev. Chas. Coppens, S.J.—Benziger Bros. New York, 1897. Pp. 222. Pr. $1.50.

In American Catholic literature, I dare say in English Catholic literature, this work fills a real need. Not that there were no manuals, or elaborate treatises on the same subject before,—Father Coppens himself acquaints us with the literature accessible to students of medicine in the United States—but there is none so pronouncedly Christian, so soundly Catholic. It will help to remove a stubborn prejudice, as though Catholic morality were a mere matter of ceremonial observance. It will give a clue to the solution of most difficult problems in the prevention and cure of evil, both physical and moral.

The special aim of the lectures embodied in the book, and delivered by Father Coppens to medical students, is understood from the very title. The author himself, "impressed with the dignity and the importance of the matter," wishes "to avoid all danger of misunderstanding," and distinctly styles his "Moral Principles and Medical Practice" "the Basis of Medical Jurisprudence." Hitherto, he tells us, that department "regulated the conduct of practitioners by human, positive laws, and sanctioned acts because they were not condemned by civil courts." The enactments of civil courts, human laws, must be regulated, however, by "the first principles of right and wrong."

Our author studies the divine law, or, as it is sometimes called, the natural law, in its source, and makes it the starting-point as well as the guide in his conclusions. Dealing with man's body, primarily indeed, medicine would seem to abstract from qualities that make it part and parcel of human nature. But both the practitioner of medicine and the patient are moral agents. "Duty and conscientious regard for the higher law of morality" are incumbent on both; hence that law must be the basis of their operation.

"The goodness and the evil of human acts," however, observes the author, "is not dependent on human legislation alone; in many cases the moral good or evil is so intrinsic to the very nature of the acts that God Himself could not change the radical difference between them." Throughout his instructions he shows how the civil or common law harmonizes with Christian ethics, pointing out the disastrous results if ever laws should be promulgated that depart from sound reasoning, or contravene natural law defined by Christian morality. Unhappily, half-settled theories already exercise an influence on legislative and executive bodies here and elsewhere. "The philosophy of every day" is becoming a very uncertain thing. Undue stress appears to be laid upon certain theories as to the causes of the various forms of insanity, assigned by Lombroso and others with slight differences. The irresponsible results of moral insanity, particularly of nymphomania, as Krafft-Ebbing accounts for them; the pathology of the nerves and muscles, or of emotion as Ribot insists, are much pressed into public notice. Since there is some truth in all these speculations, great caution is necessary to avoid hurried, unconsidered destruction of previous laws. It is therefore emphatically true that "with no other class of men does the performance of duty depend more on personal integrity" than with physicians; and "a goodly supply of conscientious physicians," it is ardently to be wished, may continue in our country. In the chapter on "excesses" we find principles and just conclusions that give the lie to the scurrilous remarks of Krafft-Ebbing on certain incidents in the lives of the saints. One would almost wish the author had more forcibly impressed it on his students to study and ponder the advice to be given to young and unmarried persons with regard to preventives and remedies against venereal excesses. An eminent physician considers the alarming increase and terrible results of such excesses one of the most prevalent diseases to be remedied nowadays. And it is harder to cure the unhappy victims, he said, than to cure dipsomania.

Two important chapters are those which deal with the "Nature of Insanity" and the "Legal Aspects of Jurisprudence." What the future may disclose in this matter cannot be definitely stated, but certainly the principles to be used will not be shaken even by Lombroso's "Criminal Anthropology Applied to Pedagogy." "Psychology," "states of feeling," studied on the principles of the "intellectual thesis," or on those of the "physiological thesis," to use Ribot's terms, will never subvert principles of natural law. These

principles are both indicated and exemplified by Fr. Coppens. "The will being a spiritual power can no more be diseased than can the intellect;" still man's passions, which are also organic powers common to us and to brute animals, can become disordered by bodily disease, but "in such disease the will remains free."

In the ninth and last lecture the author discusses "Hypnotism and the Border-Land of Science." He calls attention to a truth of Christian faith in connection with that subject that ought to be more frequently inculcated at the present time. The truth is, there is another order of spirits, good and evil, whose interaction in the providence of the Supreme Ruler is always a possible cause to be remembered by those who study in the "Border Land of Science." "The humbuggery" is not so thorough as to leave no room for a medium between tangible nature and fraud or forgery. "The refusal to believe in devils," the author remarks, "does not prove that there are none." The priest knows sufficiently well that whoever should "assert that spiritism, table-turning, spirit-rapping, and so on, are mere idle talk, sheer impostures, is not well read in the literature of the present day." It was not the author's duty, however, to designate the criteria whereby his readers might detect the real cause operating in each case. Indeed it may not be an easy work to apply such criteria in the concrete. The very "deviltry" may consist in the delusion itself, as we have had it in the Taxil-Vaughan farce. The priest, however, knows how difficult it is in many instances to disengage human curiosity, and to point out the, to him, palpable absurdity of such practices. Yet here precisely lies, in great part, the duty of the clergy as well as the press. Decrease of faith brings an increase of superstition, and, God knows, faith is growing weak.

Whilst the danger of hypnotism is pointed out to the medical student, its remedial value is not ignored. Moralists have in a manner agreed upon allowing its practice under necessary precautions. But experts in moral as well as in civil law are guided in their opinions in this matter by medical research. Hence Father Coppens invites further "study of hypnotism, which is still so imperfectly understood," and he believes "valuable service to humanity, and in particular to the science of medicine," would accrue.

We possess, as has already been intimated, a number of text-books on Pastoral Theology and Pastoral Medicine. Since the Trappist Debreyne, whilom doctor of medicine and professor of practical medicine in Paris, published his study on Pastoral Medi-

cine, much has been written by Catholic physicians in Germany, France, and Italy, even in America, to mention only the work of Dr. Cook, giving indirect information on medical jurisprudence also ; but no such clear exposition of principles governing medical jurisprudence itself, as that contained in the book before us, has been offered from a Catholic point of view.

The eight lectures, in which the principles pointed out in the first are applied, do not indeed cover the whole ground of medical jurisprudence, nor exhaust the topics touched by the author. But they are complete in the sense that they give the key, and, in a way, the solution of practical cases ; which fact makes the book eminently useful for the pastor of souls, who, by his very office of mediator, is brought into close contact with civil and with medical law. His judgment and direction in moral action must frequently be dependent on his knowledge of the peculiar laws to which his client, as citizen and as patient, is subject. He will find somewhat to learn, therefore, in these lectures on "Craniotomy" and "Abortion ;" the "Views," too, "of Scientists and Sciolists" on these subjects and on "Venereal Excesses" cannot be indifferent to him ; while the "Physician's Professional Rights and Duties" may not interest him so much, the "Nature of Insanity," the "Legal Aspects of Insanity," and the excursion into the "Border Land of Science" touching on fads and fancies in the practice of medicine will prove highly instructive.

The author makes frequent reference to the AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW which four years ago enlisted most eminent moralists and doctors of medicine in an interesting case of ectopic gestation. Many side-lights, incidental explanations, were thrown upon the subject of craniotomy, as well as upon the uses and abuses of surgical operations, facts which are not easily to be found in text-books, either of morals or of medicine.

JOS. SELINGER, D.D.

SERMONS AND MORAL DISCOURSES for all the Sundays of the year, on the important truths of the Gospel. Edited and in part written by the Rev. Francis X. McGowan, O.S.A. Two volumes. Pp. 621 and 654. Fr. Pustet & Co. : New York and Cincinnati. 1897.

Father McGowan, the Augustinian, enjoys an established reputation as a pleasing and impressive pulpit orator. Hence his judg-

ment as to the choice and adaptation of subject matter for the preacher may be relied upon. In the two handsome volumes before us he collects what he has found most useful in the way of instructive sermon-matter among the old writers, especially Billot, Perrin, St. Thomas of Villanova, and others of equal merit who are not so well known to the English reader. The topics are arranged to suit the order of Sundays in the ecclesiastical year. These form the contents of one volume. The second volume contains sermons suitable for the *Tridua* in honor of the Bl. Sacrament and of Our Lady of Good Counsel, sermons in behalf of the Poor Souls, and some discourses for a short *Retreat* of a Young Men's Sodality.

There is no attempt in these sermons to exhibit particular beauty of form and style; they are the thoughts of great minds put in clear and plain language, with special reference to the needs of our American life.

The hope of the author, that the work will serve his fellow priests by offering them something which, in their office of preachers, is likely to stimulate noble thought and beneficent action, is well grounded.

THE LIFE OE CHRIST. By the Rev. J. Duggan, Cath. Priest of Maidstone.—London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1897. Pp. 243.

The title of this volume is apt to mislead as to its actual contents. It is not a connected narrative of our Lord's life in His human nature, but rather an explanation of some phases in the evangelical history which are difficult to understand. Why our Lord repeatedly charged His disciples "strictly that they were to tell no man," when He knew that they would not keep His command; why the Jews should have requested "a sign" when our Lord had just wrought one or more miracles; why He should have permitted the devil to destroy the swine of the Gerasenes; why He spoke continually in parables not understood by all; these and similar incidents in the public life of Christ have not received their adequate explanation from the popular exegetes. Father Duggan, by entering more deeply into and centering the attention upon the double purpose of our Lord's Messianic mission, obtains a clue which sheds much light upon these obscure portions of the Gospel narrative. We fancy it would have been possible for him to be more brief, to go more directly to the point at issue; for the average reader, once he

has seized the specific difficulty which the author proposes to solve, is apt to become restless under the frequent repetition of and insistence upon arguments showing where others have been deficient in solving. It is of course true that to prove the insufficiency of the reasons which are or may be alleged for a certain opinion, is an aid to clearness, and on the whole strengthens the ultimate demonstration, still that method has its limits; and all the more when the style of expression, as in the case of our author, is otherwise simple and couched in short syllogistic phrases which put the mind on the alert for a quick sequence of fresh thought.

DE RELIGIONE REVELATA Libri Quinque. Auctore Guilelmo Wilmers, S.J. Ratisbonae, Neo Eboraci et Cincinnati: Frid. Pustet. 1897. Pp. 686.

The present work is an outcome of the popularity which the former volumes of P. Wilmers (*Lehrbuch der Religion*, 4 vols.) had long ago gained among German students of catechetical literature. Not only his method, but the scrupulous care with which he gathers aside what is really of importance and useful in demonstration and religious argument, have made it desirable that he should present the same subject-matter in a language understood by a larger circle of students.

P. Wilmers treats his matter in a thoroughly scholastic way, that is to say, there is a clear and uniform method to which he adheres in developing the great fact of Christianity from its essential foundations. In the *Prolegomena* he states a number of *asserta* with scholia and corollaries which serve the purpose of clearly defining the terms and fixing the position of the inquirer after truth. In the chapters which follow we have first the demonstration of the necessity, the convenience and actuality of a revealed religion, based on reason and facts. Then the claim of the Christian religion with its foundation in the promise of a Messiah and its forecastings in the Mosaic legislation is proved; the insufficiency of all other claims on similar ground by pagan or Jewish apologists being shown, the author proceeds, like St. Paul in his address to the Romans, to establish the exclusive and lasting right of the Christian faith to possess all men's hearts. All this is done in the usual form of articles with subordinate propositions and scholia. The accessory proofs and illustrations are printed in less prominent type, so that it is easy to grasp the main line of argument distinct from the sustain-

ing elements which the philosopher and historian furnish toward the general proof. P. Wilmers lays special stress upon the so-called proofs from *human* testimony which are frequently passed over by writers in theology; and this feature we believe to be a particular merit of apologetic works in these days of universal skepticism, since the mind is thereby prepared for the acceptance of that higher authority upon which all revelation ultimately rests.

The venerable author has prepared a second volume *De Ecclesia Christi*, which is now in press; and we may cherish the hope that despite his more than four score years he will complete the course with a third volume *De Fide Fideique Regulis*, over which the writer saw him a short time ago bending his snow-white head. May the Master tarry with His call until it is all done by the same careful and laborious hand, A. M. D. G.

HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. By the Rev. Joseph Bruneau, SS., Prof. of S. Script. St. Joseph's Seminary, New York. Tournai (Belgium): Society of St. John: Desclée, Lefebvre & Co. 1897. Pp. 130. Pr. bd. 60 cents.

Our Catholic Professors of S. Scripture are evidently in working mood. Within the present year there have been additions to the departments of Introduction, Criticism and Exegesis, not to mention the text-editions in English and the apologetic works which deal with the Bible, such as Dr. Zahm's and Father Thein's scientific treatises. Of "Harmonies" of the Gospel we have had Fr. Maas' *Life of Christ* and Father Coleridge's *Life of Our Life*, which, like Father Bruneau's volume, have for their object to give the reader of the New Testament an immediate survey of the evangelical account. It is well known that the first three evangelists relate substantially the same facts regarding the life and death and the teaching of our Lord. They differ, however, both in fulness of detail and in the order in which they narrate the same events. The "Harmony," following the chronological order as far as it is known from the evangels, groups together the details of each incident as related by the different writers, and thus produces a more complete picture of the life and teaching of our Lord than could be gleaned from each separate Gospel. St. John's Gospel contains only about one-twelfth of the narrative detailed by the other three evangelists. Hence his account is largely distinct and forms what

has been called the theological view of Christ's personality, as contrasted with the merely historical view.

Father Bruneau's volume was meant to bring into smaller compass what Fr. Maas had done in a critical and broader fashion in his *Life of Christ*, and students will be glad to have this synopsis in convenient and cheap form. The letterpress of rather small type (brevier) is clear, and in the neat ornamental style which is a characteristic feature of the firm under whose auspices the volume is issued.

A GENERAL AND CRITICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE. By A. E. Breen, D.D. Rochester: The John P. Smith Printing House. 1897. Pp. 606. Pr. bd., $4.00.

The need of a good English text-book of "Introduction to the Study of the Sacred Scriptures" has been felt in our seminaries for many years; and latterly also in the higher lay schools where the impulse given to biblical studies within and outside the Church has reached.

The most weighty contribution to this field, since Dixon wrote his volume some fifty years ago, comes from Dr. Breen, of Rochester Seminary. He is his own publisher, and has taken advantage of this fact to secure for the student a volume of large pages with clear print, on excellent paper, allowing wide margins for annotations, giving illustrations—in short, furnishing an attractive looking royal octavo which does honor to the bookmakers' art.

The scope which Dr. Breen sets for himself in the work covers the usual tracts treating of the Canon, the different text editions, the versions, and the various systems of interpretation; that is to say, it corresponds to the first twelve dissertations in Dixon's "General Introduction." The fact that this matter, which even Dixon lengthens out quite unnecessarily, extends over nearly 600 pages, is due to the thoroughness with which Dr. Breen verifies his principal theses, especially that which establishes the canonicity of the so-called deutero-canonical books. Here we find unabbreviated passages from every post-apostolic writer who is supposed to have cited the deutero-canonical books.

Personally, we doubt the efficiency of this method of proof from a practical point of view. Indeed, the entire traditional system of establishing the claim of inspiration seems to us to miss its mark when we consider the temper of those with whom we have to argue;

for the historic and archeologic data which every student finds within reach suggest a change of system by the adoption of arguments which present a less didactic, though no less conclusive evidence. When you have shown that the testimony of history establishes the genuineness of the Gospels more conclusively than that of any other literary document in existence, by an appeal to two sources—the friends and the enemies of Christianity in the second and third centuries, you have done everything that a candid mind has a right to demand. A single document of unquestioned authenticity on each side will do all the external proof required, and that more effectually than the collation of many dubious passages which admit of objections and weaken the better arguments by the very association.

Take an instance, the first that comes to our hand, page 67. For the proof of the canonicity of Baruch reference is made to the fact that Athenagoras uses the following words in an address to the conquerors Marc. Aurelius and Commodus: "Dominus Deus noster; non comparabitur alius ad illum." These words are supposed to show that Athenagoras must have read Baruch's words, chapt. iii., 36, "hic est Deus noster, neque est alius qui cum ipso comparetur." Surely words so commonplace, so few, might have been used by a thousand people who never read them in Baruch. If Athenagoras had read Moses' Deuteronomy, he must have met the same words several times, and, for that matter, he might have found them in some pagan author of the golden period of Greece or Rome. To use them as arguments in this case would be equivalent to a confession that our strongest proofs are at best too weak for a sensible man who does not already believe what we propose to demonstrate to him. The canonicity of Scripture is accepted by Catholic students on higher ground than demonstration, namely, on the sufficient motive of credibility which supports the confession of the Catholic faith; but the professor is to give the students weapons by which to convince infidels, or, at all events, non-Catholics, who are not always free from prejudice, and who will, therefore, suspect our arguments unless they are such as are really convincing.

However, we do not wish to declaim against the use of methods which are sanctioned by the practice of able teachers. Dr. Breen finds probably in his own experience good reason for laying so much stress upon arguments which to us seem a waste of energy. There is a great deal of laborious collating, of valuable erudition in the work. How far, under the ordinary system and available time

for study in our seminaries, the volume can serve as a text-book for students must depend on the way it is used by the professor. To complete the study of the Introduction would require two more volumes of equal or proportionately even larger size, namely, one to deal with the historical data, the political, sacred and domestic antiquities of the Jews, and another of special introduction to the separate books.

But whatever use the professors of Sacred Scripture may be able to make of this work as a text-book for their classes, we must be thankful to Dr. Breen for his having attempted to enrich the literature in this direction, for he evidently appreciates the value of the subject and the need of presenting it in worthy attire.

ALL HALLOWS ANNUAL. 1896-'97. Dublin: Printed by Browne & Nolan. 1897. Pp. 126.

The American alumni of "All Hallows" will find in this year's report of their Alma Mater's condition exceptional matter of interest to them. The College is, and it seems with good reason, proud of its American graduates, a goodly number of whom occupy episcopal chairs and other important positions which prove the efficiency of their previous training. The devotion with which the former pupils uphold the interests of the College, and their generosity in helping to replace the old chapel destroyed in the late fire, by a beautiful gothic church, is a magnificent testimony to the traditional spirit which prevails in the College itself. The last two "Fourth Divinity Classes" show that the number of students from the United States has recently been greater than in previous years, which speaks well for the management of the Lazarist Fathers who have had charge of the College since 1892, although the trusteeship is vested in the Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel and Tuam.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

PERSONAL FRIENDSHIPS OF JESUS. By J. R. Miller, D.D. New York and Boston: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 16mo. Pp. 267, cloth. Pr. $1.00.

MORAL PRINCIPLES AND MEDICAL PRACTICE. The Basis of Medical Jurisprudence. By the Rev. Charles Coppens, S.J. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1897. Pp. 222. Pr. $1.50.

THE ENGLISH BLACK MONKS OF ST. BENEDICT. A Sketch of their history from the coming of St. Augustine to the present day. By the Rev. Ethelred L. Taunton. Vol. I., pp. 310; Vol. II., pp. 367. London: John C. Nimmo. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1897. Pr. $7.50.

INSTITUTIONES PHILOSOPHIAE NATURALIS secundum principia S. Thomae Aquinatis, ad usum scholasticum accommodavit Tilmannus Pesch, S.J. (*Series. Instit. Philosophiae Schol. edita a presbyteris Soc. Jesu.*) Vol. I. Editio altera, pp. xxviii.—444; Vol. II. Ed. altera, pp. xix.—406. 1897. B. Herder: St. Louis, Mo., Freiburg. Pr. duo vol. (half mor., net.) $3.85.

NOTES D'UN CATECHISTE: ou Court Commentaire Littéral sur le Catéchisme des Provinces Ecclésiastiques de Québec, Montréal, Ottawa. Par un Prêtre du Diocèse de Montréal. Montréal: Cadieux et Derome. 1897. Pp. 708.

THE EUCHARISTIC CHRIST. Reflections and Considerations on the Blessed Sacrament. By the Rev. A. Tesnière, Priest of the Congregation of the Bl. Sacrament. Translated by Mrs. Anne R. Bennett-Gladstone. Preface by the Rev. D. J. McMahon, D.D. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1897. Pp. 187; pr. $1.00.

THE MISSION BOOK of the Redemptorist Fathers. A manual of Instructions and Prayers adapted to preserve the fruits of the Mission. Drawn chiefly from the works of St. Alphonsus. The same. 1897. Pp. 438; pr. 50 cents to $2.50.

THE WONDER-WORKER OF PADUA. By Charles Warren Stoddard. Notre Dame, Ind.: *The Ave Maria.* 1897. Pp. 193; pr. 50 cents.

A GENERAL AND CRITICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE. By A. E. Breen, D.D., Rochester, N. Y.: The John P. Smith Printing House. 1897. Pp. 606. Pr. $4.00

THE WORST BOY IN THE SCHOOL. By Michael J. A. McCaffrey, LL.D. With illustrations by George F. Of, Jr. New York: G. W. Dillingham Co. 1897. Pp. 59.

SAINT AUGUSTINE OF CANTERBURY AND HIS COMPANIONS. From the French of Father Brou, S.J. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company; Catholic Truth Society; New York: Benziger Bros. 1897. Pp. 188.

PRINCE ARUMUGAM, the steadfast Indian convert. Translated from the German by Helena Long. Second edition. St. Louis: B. Herder. 1897. Pp. 115; pr. 45 cents.

A PAGE OF CHURCH HISTORY IN NEW YORK: St. John's Church, Utica, N. Y. Addresses By the Very Rev. J. S. M. Lynch, D.D.

STORIES ON THE ROSARY. By Louisa Emily Dobrée. Longmans, Green & Co.: London, New York, Bombay. 1897. Pp. 172; pr. 50 cents.

ILLUSTRATED EXPLANATION OF THE PRAYERS AND CEREMONIES OF THE MASS. By the Rev. D. I. Lauslots, O.S.B. New York: Benziger Bros. 1897. Pp. 327: pr. $1.25.

A ROUND TABLE of the Representative Irish and English Catholic Novelists. The same. 1897. Pp. 338; $1.50.

HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND. By William Cobbett. Revised, with Notes and Preface, by the Very Rev. Francis Aidan Gasquet, D. D., O S.B. The same. 1897. Pp. 406, pr. paper, 25 cents.