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THE IRISH
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MAN OR MONKEY?

"Que l'homme s'examine, s'analyse et s'approfondisse, il reconnaîtra bientôt la noblesse de son être, il sentira *l'existence de son âme*, il cessera de s'avilir ; *il verra d'un coup d'œil la distance infinie que l'Être suprême a mise entre lui et les bêtes.*"—BUFFON.

FAITH alone can teach man his true position. Whenever left to determine this question for himself, he invariably errs by excess or by defect. In byegone years it was customary to exalt human nature beyond all limit; to raise corruptible men to the position of gods; to build altars to them and to offer incense at their shrines. We find pagan temples filled with the images of heroes and heroines, who were honoured with supreme worship, and treated as divinities. Now, the changing pendulum of human judgment has swung to the opposite view. If in past centuries men were placed among the gods, as in the Olympus of the Greeks or in the Walhalla of the Scandinavians, there to receive divine honours, now, woe to any man who dares to aspire to be anything better than a beast. He would be denounced as behind the age, and strangely ignorant of the important disclosures of modern science. Like the guest at the wedding feast, who began by incautiously seating himself too high, and then through very shame proceeded to take the lowest place, man, who began by claiming divine honours now thinks it necessary to renounce even those which are human. He professes to be nothing more than a developed monkey—an orang-outang or a baboon—or at least a descendant of one of their remote ancestors, with whose plastic form the pass-

ing ages have taken strange liberties, moulding and kneading it until it has reached its present human condition!

It is a clever child that can narrate its own early history from conception to birth, and recount all its experiences, impressions, and feelings, when living within its mother's womb. Yet this would be a trivial task, compared to that undertaken by a certain class of modern scientists, who have written detailed accounts of the very first of our race, and who have undertaken to trace every step in his development, with all the confidence and minuteness of an actual observer, from a mere dab of protoplasm to a simple cell, from a cell to a mud-fish, from a mud-fish to a ring-tailed spider-monkey, and so on and on, till at last we find him seated in the professor's chair at the university, clothed with cap and gown, lecturing on his own descent.

Here we may listen to him, as he solemnly informs his hearers that the present race has sprung from an elder branch of the anthropoid apes, and that so far from being created "a little lower than the angels," men have by dint of much labour and suffering succeeded in raising themselves a trifle higher than the brutes. In fact man is but a brute. His nature and character are indistinguishable, except in degree, from that of the lowest and loathsomest animals that inhabit the plains or range through the great forests. Man's highest faculties and capacities are mere acquisitions, and the fortuitous results of "a favourable environment," of "the survival of the fittest," and of "the general struggle for existence," and so forth. Except for such accidental circumstances he would be no better than the beast that perishes, and even now, he can only be considered as "primus inter pares."

What a debased condition of mind such a doctrine, calmly proposed and eagerly accepted, indicates! What an illustration is its marvellous diffusion, of the materialistic tendency of the age! Men seem to have lost the power of throwing their thoughts beyond the limits of mere sense; and are quite ready to argue an identity of nature and essence, from a mere external and wholly unimportant organic resemblance.

The superstition of man's ape-descent, which unhappily is gaining ground in some quarters, though we are glad to find

a reaction setting in in others, arises from neglecting and despising the very basis and only essential condition upon which man's real greatness rests; viz. his soul.

Material-minded scientists, with mere sense perceptions, notice a resemblance between man's corporal frame—his mere external envelope—and that of the ape. They study with infinite pains the morphological and physiological formation and growth of the material part of the man and the beast; and, noting the close similarity in *some* respects, conclude an equally close similarity in *all* respects. Upon the only really vital distinction, namely, the soul, they lay no stress whatsoever; probably because its presence cannot be verified either by the scalpel or by the microscope.

Yet, the likeness of man's material part to that of the beast, is no recent discovery. Has he not always been considered, in all that relates to his physical being, an animal as truly as any other? Does he not live by food, and breathe the air, and feel the cold of winter and the heat of summer as truly as others? Will not the water drown and the fire burn one as readily as the other? And when death comes and arrests the action of the heart, and stiffens every limb, does not the body of the king and the philosopher corrupt and fall to pieces like that of the lowest beast and resolve as surely into the same gases and primordial elements?

No one—be he saint or theologian—denies the animal nature of man's body. No! It is not that which we have in view, when we extol and celebrate his grandeur and nobility. It is rather the great and immortal principle that animates that body,—that stirs in every limb, that throbs in the overburdened heart, that strives in the seething brain—that immaterial essence that looks out of its prison house of clay, and gazing beyond this puny earth, interprets the signs in the heavens, measures the distance and magnitude of the stars; traces their paths through sideral space, or turning to earth, reads its history in the very rocks, robs the seas and the mountains of their hidden treasures, and compels the powers of nature to serve its purpose and to do its will. Yes, it is this active, energetic secret principle of life, of thought, of love, that we have in our minds, when we think

of man's greatness, not the corruptible vesture of vile clay, with which it is momentarily encumbered and which may be thrown away to-morrow, and made to feast the worms. "On earth there is nothing great but man," says the poet, "and in man, there is nothing great but soul."

It is true that even though our examination were confined to bodily structure we should still discover many and important contrasts between man and all inferior animals. This is undeniable. Yet, it is not a matter of any great importance, nor a point we need waste any time in discussing. The most advanced scientists have pointed out a number of striking differences—especially in the size, weight, and convolutions of the brain; in the form of the skull, and the relative proportions of certain parts of the skeleton, etc.

These are some of the chief points of divergence. Many others might be mentioned, but there is not the slightest need, in fact my whole purpose is to show that the very foundation of the distinction between man and beast is wholly independent of all such physical differences, which so far as our argument is concerned, might, or might not exist.

I may here, however, call attention to a very common objection, urged with considerable effect by our opponents. They endeavour to cut the ground from under our feet by assuring us with an extraordinary arrogance of superior authority, that no one without an intimate knowledge of anatomy, physiology, and morphology, is in a condition to form any opinion whatsoever, as to whether there be sufficient grounds for believing in man's development from the ape or not. That, in fact, unless a man has passed through the schools of medicine, and has every artery, nerve, bone, and articulation at his fingers' ends he has no business to form a judgment of any kind; that, to speak plainly, his only proper attitude is one of silence and respectful attention to the oracles of science.

This may be a very convenient way of forcing down our throats a hostile creed, and compelling orthodox believers to hold their tongues, but happily it is in no way a contention we are bound to respect. And why? Well, for this reason, that the question is rather a question of philosophy than

comparative anatomy; and further, because we may grant, even without examination, all the close physiological resemblance that is supposed to exist *on the authority of scientists alone*, and still be more than ever persuaded of the infinite and wholly impassable gulf that separates man from the most cultured ape that ever scrambled up a cocoanut tree, or swung by its tail from a bough of the baobab or (in scientific language) the *Adansonia digitata!* Nay, we are prepared to go further than even the most exacting man of science. We will allow, not merely all that he asks, but a great deal more, and will prove that, notwithstanding, man is something more than a developed gorilla.

For many years past it has been the ambition of naturalists to discover some creature that should resemble us more nearly than any yet known. Let us suppose such hitherto fruitless searches, to be at last crowned with complete success, and that in the year 2000, the perfect remains of an extinct race of monkeys are discovered in some land just raised by "a freak of nature" above the level of the sea beneath which it had been till then submerged. During an indefinite number of centuries they had lain entombed and hermetically sealed in some convenient recess, like the famous pre-historic toad (20,000 years old, and, in September last, *still living!*) of the London *Times* (see Sep. 25, 1888), and at last they are brought to light and submitted to a most careful and exhaustive examination. Every nerve, artery, muscle, bone, articulation, gland, duct, fibre, and cellular and other tissues, has been preserved and is now made to submit to the most delicate and exquisite tests. Not the smallest fibre or microscopic cell, (we will suppose) escapes observation. We will suppose—what has never yet been shown, and what never will be shown—that the discovered bodies resemble the body of man in every particular. Let us assume that they are even indistinguishable, nay positively identical with the body of the most highly cultured and intellectual man that ever lived.

What then? Does that prove man's bestial origin? Does it even tend in any measure to give weight to the theory of man's identity with the ape? Prove it! Just

the reverse. For—if two creatures—say a Shakespeare and an Orang-outang be exactly alike in body, we can no longer seek in the material structure of either the secret cause of their extraordinary difference in character, in disposition, in faculty, habits of life, tastes, preferences, and moral nature. The underlying cause—and a cause, there must be—cannot be in the body, since the bodies *ex hypothesi*, are co-equal and similar, therefore it must lie in what is distinct from body—in what is immaterial and spiritual.

Thus a discovery which agnostic naturalists think would serve to clench their argument, would in reality only supply us with a fresh proof of the existence of man's reasoning soul; and would render yet more emphatically necessary the hypothesis, that man possesses a spiritual substance, as the principle of life and thought, not shared by the lower orders of creation.

Man's life is essentially different from that of the brute. Man speaks, the brute is without articulate speech. Man has a sense of right and wrong, of true and false, of justice and injustice, of virtue and vice: a sense of responsibility; a perception of the ludicrous, of the incongruous, of abstract ideas, and of beauty, of harmony, &c. Man can think, argue, deduce consequences, feel genuine shame, remorse, and can exhibit pure affection and generous love: not so the brute.

In a word, a cursory glance enables us to detect a vast number of psychological and moral differences. It will not much interfere with the strength of our argument even if we admit for the moment the absurd contention that the differences are but differences of degree, and not of kind; for the extraordinary differences even of degree, which *all* must admit, requires an explanation as peremptorily as differences of kind.[1]

But whence do such differences arise? Not from any difference in the organism, or nervous structure, or convolutions of the brain, since we suppose (*ex hypothesi*) that no such corporal divergence exists. Then it must be in something distinct from organism, in something which man pos-

[1] Darwin writes:—"The difference in mind between man and the higher animals, great as it is, is certainly one of *degree*, and not of *kind*."—*The Descent of Man.* Such doctrine is of course *contra fidem.*

sesses and the beast lacks, in something independent of matter—in a word, we are compelled to admit, as the only conceivable explanation, a rational, intelligible, spiritual substance, or, in plain words, a human soul as distinct from a bestial soul.

Thus, so far from similarity in physical structure proving man's identity with the monkey, it proves more forcibly than ever the validity of his claim to the possession of an invisible and immaterial principle such as no other visible creature possesses. We are constrained either to admit this, or else to leave the difference of life and conduct in the two beings wholly without an explanation—*i.e.*, to assert an effect to exist without a cause, *quod est ridiculum.*

No! Let us look the fact straight in the face. The glory and dignity of man lies not in his body, however comely and beautiful. His pre-eminence is due to that marvellous intellectual principle to which we give the name soul. It was only when God had breathed the *spiraculum vitae* into the prepared clay that it became man. That is the seat of his royalty and the secret of his greatness. Blot out man's soul and you blot out the image of God; deny that and you strike the sceptre from his hand and the crown from his head. It is the gifts inherent in the soul—above all, the gifts of immortality, of reason, of memory, and of free will—that raise him up and set him on a pinnacle above the rest of the visible creation.

Time and space alike forbid me to attempt to dwell upon each of these gifts in detail. A word on the most important and the most difficult will sufficiently help us to think out the rest for ourselves. Let us, then, say a few words on the attribute of immortality.

Man's soul is immortal. Once produced by the omnipotence of God, it must endure for ever. The body will crumble away, disease will plough deep furrows in the cheek, the limbs will totter and sink beneath their burden, the entire organism at length falls to pieces, and disintegrates, but the soul lives on. All else will decay and pass; not the soul. Death comes and mows down the bodies of man and of beasts, as the sickle cuts the poppy with the corn; yet

death's dart cannot pierce or penetrate the soul. While all else corrupts, and changes, and falls away, the soul remains unaffected. As delicious music to the ear, so is this thought to the heart of the way-worn pilgrim of earth, so let us still speak on. The soul witnesses changes in all else, but it does not share in them. It is like the rock in the midst of the restless ocean, the tide of events rolls by, but it remains unmoved. Peoples come and go, generation follows generation, as the waves of the sea; empires spring up, rise to eminence, and crumble away when their day is done; but the soul is ever young and knows no decay. Amidst the unfolding of new planetary systems, as well as amid the crashing of falling worlds, the soul is still the same. Its life is endless and eternal. Centuries cannot measure it, nor can numbers represent it. The longest earthly life compared with it is less than a single instant, or the smallest fraction of an instant. There is indeed no proportion between time and eternity; and yet it is for eternity we are made. This would scarcely be a fitting statement to make in this connection were it *merely* the teaching of faith. It is because *independently of all supernatural* revelation, we have witnesses to this truth stirring and palpitating in our own hearts, that I now briefly refer to it, as an evidence of a spiritual and superior nature unknown to any other inhabitant of earth.

Our whole being feels the inspiration of immortality. It forces itself upon the mind of even the untutored savage. The very pagans exclaim, "non omnis moriar," "I shall not wholly die"—no, not my mind, not my spirit. The unfledged bird feels not more instinctively that it is not destined to dwell for ever within the narrow circle of its nest, than we feel that we are not made to dwell for ever within the confines of earth. What is the interpretation of all these yearnings that rise within our hearts, those longings for better things, those strivings after an impossible ideal? What are they but indications of the reality of a life beyond the narrow limits of earth—limits both as to time and as to space? Why will man's spirit never rest, never feel fully satisfied, never be wholly filled while in the corruptible flesh, but because he is made for something brighter, fairer, and far more beautiful

than anything that earth has to offer him? How else, indeed, account for our present deplorable state? There is no other solution possible but that which faith suggests or declares.

We have lived but a few years, and already have we learned the vanity and emptiness of all worldly joys, and how absolutely incapable they are of satisfying our hearts for more than one brief instant. Were this the only life, we should be the most wretched instead of the most enviable of beings. Other beings of more limited capacities are content with their lot; not man. The birds sing gaily through the limpid air, and there is no note of sadness in their song, and with joy unchecked by grief the sparkling fish dart in merry shoals through the summer seas. But man has not yet reached his full perfection, and therefore is still a stranger to perfect happiness. Never does he pause amid the bustle and strife of life, to listen to the secret beatings of his heart, but he hears it murmur of a home of peace and joy which he knows it is vain to hope for here, and which must therefore await him hereafter: for nature does not speak in vain: nor does it speak falsely; "vox cordis, vox Dei." All assures us that we are not as the flower that fades, nor as the butterfly which unfolds its beauty to one bright summer and is heard of no more. On the contrary our whole nature demands a future in which our capacities may receive their full development, and every wish its complete satisfaction. As well distrust the hunger that craves for food, or the thirst that seeks the cooling waters, as mistrust the deep and fervid language of the heart. He who has implanted these longings within us is God, the author of our being and the infinitely Wise. And does infinite Wisdom create without a just and holy purpose? If he fills our hearts with insatiable yearnings after an eternal life of light and love, are we to suppose He has made no provision for their realization? Impossible! The same God who instructs the new-born infant to seek its nourishment at its mother's breast, ordains also at the same time that it shall not seek it there in vain: and shall we dare affirm that God who plants the irresistible desire of eternal life in our souls, plants it there in mockery and derision? A thousand times, no! It

is as certain as we live, that if He has so constituted our nature that it clamours for the eternal joys of heaven, it is simply because He intends to stay the cry He has raised, and to grant us one day the desires of our hearts. Did God give to the great whale its colossal proportions and prodigious strength that it might be confined like the amæba in a miserable rain drop, or left to find its home like the loathsome frog in some stagnant pond? No; since its nature demanded a wider field of action, in which to sport and gambol, a wider field was provided for it in the boundless sea. And shall we nevertheless say, that the soul of man has been given its fathomless depths, and its limitless capacities for happiness, to be starved, or left to languish, on such vain pomp and idle pleasures as this life has to offer. Perish the thought! It is as insulting to God as it is outrageous to sound reason. Such dealing would be out of harmony with every lesson that nature teaches us of the wisdom, the goodness, and the providence of the Divine Creator and contrary to all analogy.

All shows us that we possess the inestimable treasure of immortality, and will live for ever. Eternity awaits us; and even now stretches out its arms to enfold us. We are children of eternity, not of time. Such a truth is not merely most consoling but it is one which must, when realised, exercise a most marked influence on our lives.

If made for eternity, then we must live for eternity; and not entangle ourselves in the interests of time. If we are destined to live for ever then we must not sacrifice everything for the vain and empty pleasures of a day; nor make any temporal pursuit whatever the end and supreme purpose of our life.

Darwinism has helped considerably to intensify the general apathy of men in the pursuit of the higher aims of virtue, and it is the duty of us priests to point that fact out. Look out upon the world around. Witness the lives of the multitudes. For what are they living? What is their great purpose in life? What thoughts are seething and swelling up from the secret recesses of their hearts? For the most part their thoughts are bent upon riches, honours, distinctions, influence, position, comforts, pleasures and amusements.

The sight of so much folly should force from us scalding tears. For what is this life? A moment; a brief instant; a mere point of time trembling on the confines of eternity: a veritable nothing: utterly valueless except in so far as it is related to eternity, and wholly vain except in as much as it is the seed of future glory. Such is the true view. But let man but once persuade himself that he has been derived from a mud-fish, and that he is nothing nobler or better than a developed ape or a refined and improved monkey; that the distinction between him and the arboreal inhabitants of a Brazilian forest or an Indian jungle, is one only of degree—of more or less—then, but one more step remains to be taken, and that is to lead the life of a beast; to eat, to drink, to sleep: to indulge every sensual passion, and to follow every low and brutal instinct: to seek pleasure and delight in the indulgence of gluttony, intemperance, and impurity.

By destroying the belief in our high and exalted nature, and denying any essential difference between ourselves and the senseless beasts, we destroy the strongest, if not the only, motives for self-respect and self-restraint. Once inoculated with this virus, men will speedily return, at least in disposition and character, to the condition of the beasts from which they are now pleased to boast their descent.

Let us draw the curtain over such revolting theories and such unsavoury doctrines, and listen rather to the voice of God, "our Father who is in heaven," who, with ineffable love, informs us that we are made but "a little lower than the angels,"[1] crowned with glory and honour, and set over the works of His hands (*Heb.* ii., 7). Only in proportion to the manner in which we realise our high estate, and keep the memory of it ever before us, shall we live up to the high standard set by Jesus Christ. *Noblesse oblige.* The tendency of modern science is to overlook our highest interests, and to induce us to forget what is in reality alone worth remembering; *Quod Deus avertat.*

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

[1] Allioli remarks regarding this text, "Die menschliche Natur unter die englische, nämlich *nur so lange sie auf Erden wallt;* denn im andern Leben sind die Menschen wie die Engel des Himmels" (*Matt.* 22-30), vol. ii., p. 10.

IRISH MISSIONARY TYPES.—II.

The Right Rev. Dr. Mullock, O.S.F.

THE religious and political history of the colonies has always largely reflected the story of the lands from which their most active popular elements are derived. Circumstances, however, which no Imperial influence could hinder or control, have enabled the newer Ireland to spring, as it were at a bound, from oppression and neglect to freedom and prosperity. Within half a century from their settlement, most of the colonies reached the goal of self-dependence and self-government. The mother land still strains towards it, painfully, "*tanquam in agone*," after centuries of suffering and misrule. But the political continuity of the race—the oneness of its aims, its methods, and its destinies, remains unbroken. The enforced dispersion of the Gael is more than compensated by his rapid and momentous rehabilitation. The scattered, yet undivided, groups of the family have cast off their political shackles. They have freed their hands and hearts, not merely for their own upraising, but for that also of the mother land to which they owe the instinct and the faculty of freedom, progress and right.

Reflections such as these come unbidden at the memory of the great Irish Missionary Bishop, Right Rev. Dr. Mullock, O.S.F. In one important colony he renewed the glory of Irish religious history. He carried out, moreover, to splendid issue, the struggle the race everywhere maintains for freedom, self-reliance, and self-rule. There is scarce a parallel in our days to his masterful influence on the destinies of his adopted land. Should we seek one in the past we must return to the palmy days of Ireland's great message to the nations and its magnificent fulfilment by the missionaries and the monks of the West. Among these, his compatriot, Firghill of Salzburg, is his true prototype, as being not only a great Prelate, but also a daring innovator in the realm of science and discovery. The memoir from which this paper is condensed abounds in facts and incidents, from personal observation, that reveal the great soul of the

man, and his power in every function of his office. Our task, however, is to present only the main points of his illustrious career. Too long has this task been neglected. We shall try to paint his portrait (till the fuller picture be exhibited) as a great Pastor, a bold and successful political reformer, and the very originator of the greatest scientific enterprise of our age—the Atlantic telegraph cable.

Right Rev. Dr. Mullock came to the colony of Newfoundland in 1848 as Coadjutor Bishop to Right Rev. Dr. Fleming. Thenceforward till his death in 1869, the great impulse given to religion and progress in the island sprang almost entirely from his splendid intelligence, concentrated energy, and devoted patriotism. He belonged to the same Franciscan family as all his predecessors in the spiritual government of the Island. At the time of his appointment as Bishop he was Guardian of the Franciscan Church and Convent, commonly called *Adam and Eve's*, Dublin. He was a native of Limerick City. He made his chief studies in Seville, Spain, but completed them at St. Isidore's Convent, Rome. The writer well remembers Dr. Mullock's first appearance in Newfoundland. The Bishop was then little over forty years of age. He was of middle stature, with sturdy robust frame, but with delicate hands and feet. His features were strongly marked. The forehead just above the eyes was prominent and full of force. His thick black hair, and complexion of a deep uniform brown, with dark eyes to match, gave him the appearance of a native of Southern Spain. His expression in repose was stern, almost forbidding. But when he smiled a perfect sunshine of mirth and kindliness beamed from his face. Every feature became illumined by it, and nothing could be more winning than his expression.

Such, outwardly, was the man who came to Newfoundland to shape the channel of the history, and sway the destinies of the country. This is not saying too much of his extraordinary influence upon every social and religious movement of his epoch. His was a mind that would have ranked among the very first in any land or in any condition of civilization. In this yet unfashioned colony it stood forth portentous. Having lived and thought much amid nations hoary with

the greatness of the past, his judgment on men and measures were not those of experiment, but of experience.

If a man could be too great for such an office as that of Bishop, no matter how primitive or how narrowed the scene and scope of his authority, then Dr. Mullock was too great a Bishop for Newfoundland. However, he accommodated himself to the circumstances, or rather accommodated the circumstances to himself. He was not impressed by his surroundings, but they were impressed by him, and they bear his impress to-day, and will bear it for ever. He set his high energy and cultivated taste to work, at once, in the service of religion. Finding the Cathedral built, but not by any means finished, in a very short time he furnished it on the style of the great temples amongst which his earlier life had been passed. The towers soon echoed to a chime of bells unrivalled at the time on this Atlantic side. The high altar was erected and faced with malachite and other rich stones which his Roman experience had taught him to value, and qualified him to select. It was soon surmounted by a colossal group in marble representing the Baptism of St. John, and by a bronze crucifixion that had erst adorned the high altar in the Cathedral of Ypres. Underneath reposed a dead Christ, a masterpiece of Hogan. A beautiful mural tablet in relievo recorded the memory of his predecessor. Paintings and sculptures—in number and excellence unknown in that colony—perhaps in all America at that day—adorned the church, and even the grounds outside it. Conspicuous among them are life-size statues of the Blessed Virgin, St. Patrick, and St. Francis, the founder of his order. Instead of the little wooden house, called "The Bishop's Palace," a fine substantial stone dwelling for himself and priests soon stood beside the Cathedral. A new stone church—and a very fine one—dedicated to St. Patrick, rose from its foundations in another quarter of the town, and was so far advanced towards completion by him that, as he once said to the writer, it would have to be finished after his death. Schools were founded broadcast over the land in every cove and harbour. Convents were established wherever they could be supported. His indefatigable activity knew no repose. He procured the division of the island into

two Dioceses, and fixed a new see in the North, and an Apostolic Prefecture in the West of it, after having visited the whole himself time after time.

One of the objects dearest to him was the encouragement of priestly vocations, and the formation of a clergy from the youth of the colony. As early as 1856, when he had not long been bishop, he spoke most earnestly of this his desire to the writer, then a student at Rome. And on appointing him some years after to teach in the college he had erected chiefly for this object, the Bishop strongly recommended the furtherance of this project. He said:—

"Since emigration from the old land to this colony has ceased for a long time, and is not likely to be revived while the great West, the land of promise for the Irish people, spreads out its more tempting lures to them, we cannot expect to recruit our clergy from the youth of Ireland who will naturally follow their people and choose, even for their own sakes, a more congenial field than this for their labors. The country, therefore, will have to depend on itself for its clergy sooner or later, and the sooner we realize this necessity the better."

So he commissioned the writer to choose among the youth of the place who frequented the College of St. Bonaventure, built by him (a mixed institution for day scholars, a few boarders, and normal teachers), those who seemed to promise well for the Sacred Ministry. Means or condition he said were not the qualifications chiefly to be considered in the selection—but the more sterling qualities that would fit them for a humble and laborious life in accordance with the directions given to bishops by the Council of Trent in reference to seminaries. (*Sess. XXIII. Cap.* 18 *de Reform.*)

Following out the Bishop's instructions the writer selected seven or eight youths, who already knew something of classics, and formed them into a class of philosophy. They were all young men of talent and good conduct, and most of the number persevered and attained the office of the priesthood. Their theological studies in most cases were afterwards pursued in the larger institutions of Europe, but here in Dr. Mullock's college their dispositions received their first decided bent towards the holy ministry, and a good foundation was

laid for the marked success that attended the studies of many of the young Newfoundlanders during their collegiate course in Ireland, France, and Rome. Out of that class, first formed at St. Bonaventure's, St. John's, one, Rev. William Fitzpatrick, became himself afterwards President of the College, but died young and greatly regretted. Another, Rev. H. Kavanagh, joined the Jesuit Order. He was preceded in it by Rev. Frs. Ryan and Brown, both also Newfoundlanders, and the latter late Provincial of the Jesuit Order in Ireland. Father Bennett, another Newfoundlander, and a former student of St. Bonaventure's, is now a Redemptorist and Rector of the delightful retreat of that order in Perth, Scotland. Very Rev. M. F. Howley, D.D., one of the early students of the College, has lately been appointed Vicar Apostolic of West Newfoundland. In Harbor Grace, the second diocese of the island, splendid success has waited on the fostering care bestowed on the formation of a clergy from the youth of the place.

So far, we have been observing what may be called the material evidence of Dr. Mullock's episcopal zeal. As a shepherd of his flock—feeding them in person, in season and out of season, with the bread of life and of the word, he was no less a great and remarkable Bishop. For nearly a quarter of a century, up to the very day of his death, he might be seen every morning upon the altar, at the same early hour, winter or summer, celebrating his humble Mass, "the Bishop's Mass" as it was called, without ceremony, without even an attendant priest, except on Sundays to help him to administer Communion. He always communicated the people himself, on Sunday, at his own 8 o'clock Mass, and the labor was not trifling. But it was one he loved, and deemed particularly his own. Thus, too, he spared the priests who had later Masses, and out missions to serve. This he continued to do throughout all his episcopal life.

For the same lengthened period of over twenty years, besides frequently during the year, he preached *every evening of Lent.* Thousands will recall those stirring exhortations full of fire and energy, and full also of the pathos that lay deep down in the character of the man, and that flowed out

on those occasions to his people. On those Lenten evenings a stream of people poured in from all points to the Cathedral, and its immense interior was always crowded. Often there was scarce standing room. It was the same at the last year of his life as at his first coming. He had no airs or studied elegance about him in the pulpit. It was quite evident he was not thinking of himself. He was the shepherd feeding his flock and thinking of them. His gestures were quick and emphatic. His voice wonderfully sweet, sonorous, and far reaching. His dark Spanish features, always strongly marked, had an expression, when he was preaching, that was solemn and awe-inspiring. His diction and delivery were rapid and forcible. He was at all times impressive, and frequently rose to a rare pitch of eloquence. The matter of his discourses was plain and practical, but full of both the spirit and letter of the Scriptures and the Fathers. Of the latter, St. John Chrysostom was a favourite study of his when preparing his thoughts (he never prepared his words) for these Lenten discourses. He often spoke of the wonderful aptitude of this Saint's homilies to all Christian times and circumstances. The "*virilis simplicitas*" so strongly commended by St. Charles Borromeo, was the only art Dr. Mullock employed.

The Bishop was always ready to help his priests in every way, besides in the pulpit, which, to their great delight, he monopolized. When the cholera broke out in the city in 1854, he was always one of the first in the hospital to administer to the sick and dying, and one of the last to leave it. He could do more and better work in an hour than another in twice that time. He always retained, and sometimes exhibited, a pocket knife that was most useful to him in administering the last rites during that visitation. The poorer classes of the people in Newfoundland, and, doubtless, also elsewhere, have an inveterate habit of wearing their stockings in bed. Before indulging in exclamations of horror at this practice, let the non-colonial reader try the effect on his circulation of a winter in Newfoundland. He may not even then approve of the custom, but how often do we not adopt what we do not approve of. Nothing used to

try our patience more, when we had a long list of calls, and, only a limited time to give to them, than to be brought up short in the act of administering Extreme Unction by finding the feet encased in long coarse woollen stockings. This is quite a minor misery of the missioner, but a frequent one, and in many cases the operation of discalcing falls to the priest himself. We often spoke against this custom at Stations and elsewhere, but it was all to no purpose. Well, the Bishop on the first day of his ministrations to the cholera patients found his work retarded by the stocking impediment. He was the last man in the world to brook obstruction of any kind; so, after the first day's experience, he provided himself with the aforesaid pocket knife, as one of the instruments of his office at the sick bed. When he came to the anointing of the feet he used very coolly to rip the soles of the stockings, and so complete the rite of Unction without delay. This accounts in part for how he did more work than any two priests in that hospital. It was also a most useful, social, and economical lesson, and a good hint of hygiene. He never used words when facts would answer better. He had that knife in his possession after fifteen years, and used to produce it, occasionally, as a memento of the cholera time.

His adventures by sea and land in his visitations would fill a volume, and, at some early day it is to be hoped they shall fill one, but the hope will be rendered more difficult of fulfilment on account of an act of Vandalism by which a great portion of his documents and correspondence was destroyed after his death.

Dr. Mullock was indeed a rare man in his ceaseless devotion and noble straining towards what was perfect in the fulfilment of his high office. He had the special gift of concentration of all his powers and endowments upon a given purpose. That purpose again was focussed upon one only object, the charge assigned to him, the flock he ruled, and the land he lived in and loved. There the iron grasp of his mind was riveted; thereunto all his energies converged. His life was outwardly full because it flowed from a full inward source. His work was rounded and complete because

the eye that directed it was simple, the hand that executed it was skilful and strong.

It is hard to select something special amid the wealth of evidence he gave of devotion to his people. The deepest feelings of a man are expressed when care and suffering—above all—the shadow of death, hang heavy upon him. How did Dr. Mullock speak of and to his people when thus conditioned? In 1865, when already stricken with the malady that in a few more years proved fatal, he says, replying to the condolence of the Benevolent Irish Society:—

"For your expression of regard towards myself, accept my most grateful thanks. *I have but one object in life, the spiritual as well as the temporal advantage of the people entrusted by Divine Providence to my care*; and my greatest earthly consolation is to know that they faithfully follow the teachings of their pastor, and that we all—priests and people—are united in one great object, our eternal welfare. The union between the pastor and the flock, '*to die together and to live together*' (2 *Cor.* c. 7), is the strength and glory of the Church, and when we look round on the religious, educational, and artistic monuments which adorn the Capital, and spread in all directions over the diocese, we see the substantial proof of the value of this union."

Again, to the same Society, on the occasion of his departure for Europe in August of the year 1866, he says:—

"Accept my most grateful thanks for your kind Address on my departure for Europe. I go not with my own will but by the advice of my physicians, to whose unremitting attention during my sickness I owe so much. But I fear that all the resources of science would have failed, were it not for the prayers of my flock. The knowledge that so many were imploring the Throne of Grace in my behalf, and the sympathy of all classes and of every creed were a source of the greatest consolation to me amidst my sufferings. Prayer is all-powerful, and the sympathy of friends is the balm of the afflicted. I leave you, I hope, but for a short time. *Should it be the Divine will to restore me to perfect health, I value that greatest of blessings chiefly as enabling me to discharge the duties of my office to the flock entrusted to me; to their spiritual advantage my life is devoted, while anxious at the same time to advance, if I could do so, the interests and well-being of every inhabitant of Newfoundland without distinction of class or creed or nationality. The prosperity of all classes has always*

been my most ardent wish. . . . Praying the Almighty to grant you every blessing, and hoping soon to meet you all again,

"I remain, Gentlemen,

"Your ever grateful and humble servant,

"✠ JOHN T. MULLOCK,

"*Bishop of St. John's.*

"St. John's, *August 5th*, 1866."

He repeats the same to the Mechanics' Society in the following words, on the eve of his departure for Europe :—

". . . I hope our separation will be very short, and that soon again I shall be enabled to resume as usual the labours of the Episcopacy. *The great blessing of health which I hope to recover by this journey I value, I may say, altogether, that I may dedicate myself heart and soul entirely to the service of my flock.* Begging your prayers for this object, and wishing for you all every spiritual and temporal blessing,

"I remain, Gentlemen,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"✠ JOHN T. MULLOCK,

"St. John's, *August 5th*, 1866."

Immediately on his return he speaks to the people through their representative societies in words, which we must here reserve, that leave no doubt of his joy in returning to them, of his deep attachment to them, beyond every love and leaning of his youth to his early home, beyond every enticement of the beauties and glories of the old lands, beyond all the respect and consideration extended to him in the great centres of religion, science, and civilization.

Patriotism was a passion with Dr. Mullock. The day has gone by when the outrageous expression, "Anything will do for the colonies," shall be permitted to be uttered and acted upon, or find a slavish echo in the spirit of a young but vigorous civilisation. This was always the idea of the bishop, frequently and most emphatically expressed. He loved the country he came to cast his lot in, and was even proud of it. He was filled with an exaggerated good opinion of it. "It is a great and noble country"[1] he wrote, "of untold wealth, of won-

[1] In his *Lectures on Newfoundland.*

derful and unknown resources. The people, sprung from the most energetic nations of modern times, English, Irish, and Scotch, are destined to be the founders of a race which, I believe, will fill an important place hereafter among the hundreds of millions who will inhabit the western hemisphere in a few ages." If his deeds had not spoken even more eloquently, such words, repeated as they were at every opportunity, would tell what the man was, and what the colony expected and did receive from him.

He was one of those men in whom will was so powerful, perception so clear, that even death seems no hinderance to the results of his energy. What he saw and proposed for the good of the country—though often beyond common ken, and apparently credited to an improbable future—has already, in great part, come true, and the rest will also come true. No one ever will be able to efface his mark from the features and institutions of Newfoundland.

On account of the remarkable candour and straightforwardness of Dr. Mullock's character, manifesting itself often in words of sternest reproof, as well as from his torrent-like energy that brooked no obstacle, many might have fancied that his rule over his clergy would have been rigid, exacting, and ill-regulated. Nothing could be further from the truth. No man ever possessed a keener sense of equity than he, or was ruled by motives more essentially humane. Should impetuosity lead him, on occasion, to an exercise of authority too sweeping for the limits of pure justice, he was ever ready to restore the lost balance. Never did he give one of us reason to doubt the purity and equity of his intentions.

It was his custom to consult his priests, all of them, young and old, in an informal, conversational way, but in a manner that showed he regarded their judgment, and had no doubt of their zeal for the people and of their conscientious regard for their duties towards them.

We were all deeply impressed with this sense of the Bishop's trustfulness in his clergy. A stranger would imagine that he never knew or cared what we were engaged in, or how we discharged our duties, so perfectly independent did

he leave us in the management of our proper work. Yet he knew, and saw, and cared for everything with a wise and comprehensive care, never stooping to littleness, undertaking petty burthens, or urging petty inquiries. The man was large in everything. He watched from the house-top, not from behind the door. All our relations with the world, beside our own duties, seemed removed from his ken. He never sought to influence our private concerns, relations, tastes or opinions. In all these things we were free as air. He even fostered a manly freedom of thought and expression among his priests. He enjoyed contradiction on a free topic if it were well sustained and respectfully urged. In one word, Dr. Mullock respected all the rights of his clergy whether as priests or men, and he was served by a fearless but obedient and loyal brotherhood. We were not chained to our oars, but rowed the bark freely and cheerily under the guidance of our expert and sympathetic helmsman. There were no dissensions or jealousies amongst us because there was over us no favouritism, injustice, or caprice.

It only remains, in the brief record here permitted, to give a short sketch of Dr. Mullock's influence on the temporal and political progress of the colony. In 1832, a representative government and local legislation were conceded to the island. But this was an imperfect and unsatisfactory system, as it would be in Ireland if it were all she could obtain. It was simply a transfer of the right of appointment to offices (except the Governorship) from the Cabinet in London to an agency in St. John's called "the Governor in Council." This political concession of 1832 did not work well. The machinery creaked because it was not fashioned freely. It was, however, a step, a needless and useless one to the perfect system of Home Rule to which it had to give place in 1854. A good lesson, this page of colonial history, for those in whose hands shall be placed the framing of a Home Rule policy for Ireland. "Give generously or keep back your gift," is a royal rule in statecraft as in all else.

By the concession of 1854 real self-government was established. The executive was made responsible for its acts, not to the Crown, but to the popular House of Assembly.

At this time, 1854, Dr. Mullock had been five years Bishop of the Island. From the very first he was a man of weight, a power to be recognised and conciliated in every political movement. The mass of his mind leaned heavily upon the social springs. They had to be adapted to him. Home Rule was just the measure calculated to enlist his sympathies and command his support. He was, in very truth the father and founder of that system of freedom in the country. Two years before the granting of "Responsible Government" he rang the *reveille* of the popular cause in the following memorable letter, written officially to Hon. P. F. Little, on the 7th February, 1852. The agitation for Self-Government had at that time reached a white heat in the colony, and the arbitrary rejection of the popular suit by Earl Grey, then Colonial Secretary, gave occasion to this magnificent protest of the bishop. The letter is so expressive of the exalted sentiments and masterly style of Dr. Mullock that we here reproduce it in full. It has become a rare document at the present day.

"HARBOR GRACE,
"*7th Feb.*, 1852.

"MY DEAR MR. LITTLE,

"I was never more pained in my life than when reading this evening the insulting document forwarded by the Colonial Secretary, in answer to the address for Responsible Government. Holding, as I do, an office of some consideration in Newfoundland, deeply anxious for the welfare of the country to which I am bound by so many ties, I feel the ill-judged and irritating Despatch an insult to myself and to my people.

"Nothing, since the days of the Tea Tax which raised the trampled provinces of the American colonies to the first rank among nations, as the great Republic, has been perpetrated, so calculated to weaken British connexion or cause the people of Newfoundland to look with longing eyes to the day when they can manage their own affairs, without the irresponsible control of some man in a back room in Downing-street, ignorant of the country and apparently only desirous of showing British colonists that they are but slaves to a petty, mercenary, intriguing clique.

"Acquainted as I am with many forms of government, having lived and travelled in many lands, having paid some little attention to the history of despotic and constitutional goverunments, I solemnly declare that I never knew any settled government so bad, so weak, or so vile as that of our unfortunate country; irresponsible, drivelling

despotism, wearing the mask of representative institutions, and depending for support alone on bigotry and bribery. I see the taxes wrung from the sweat of the people, squandered in the payment of useless officials: the country, after three centuries of British possession, in a great part, an impassable wilderness, its people depressed, its trade fettered, its mighty resources undeveloped, and all for what? To fatten up in idleness, by the creation of useless offices exorbitantly paid, the members of a clique.

"A tabular statement of the offices, the salaries, the families, and the religion, of these state pensioners will show that I overstate nothing.

"I was anxious, however, hoping for a reform, to give the present government, if it can be called one, a fair trial. As a matter of conscience I can do so no longer. My silence would betray the cause of justice and of the people. I hope that all honest men will unite in demanding justice, and by an appeal, not to the Colonial office, but to the British Parliament.

"Lord Grey's cautious retreat on the Treasury Note Bill shows that justice must be done, if demanded by a united people. Should any petition for this object be forwarded before my return, I authorise you to put my name to it, and to state publicly to the people my sentiments. I do not aspire to the character of a demagogue—every one in Newfoundland knows that in my position I need not do so. But it is the duty of a Bishop to aid and advise his people in all their struggles for justice, and I have no other desire than to see justice done to the country, and equally administered to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in this colony, irrespective of denominational distinctions, without seeking, or submitting to, the undue ascendancy of any class. And the people should know that government is made for them, and not they for the government.

"The puerile threat of withdrawing the Newfoundland Companies merits only supreme contempt. Gross as is the ignorance of the Colonial Office regarding the colonies, no minister would dare advise such a suicidal act. Our present Governor, a brave and experienced soldier, or Colonel Law, 'the hero of a hundred fights,' knows full well that 500 Americans or French, occupying Signal Hill, one of the strongest maritime positions in the world, would jeopardise the Naval supremacy of Britain in these Northern Seas. No, as long as England can spare a soldier, she will never give up Newfoundland. It is in all probability the last point of America where her flag will wave, and should the dark cloud which looms on the political horizon, burst on England—without a friend or ally on the continent of Europe, with Ireland biding her time, her colonies impoverished, discontented, or in open rebellion, and an ambitious and unscrupulous Republic eager for Canada, the St. Lawrence and the West Indies—not 300 but 2,000 troops will be stationed in St. John's, if England can find them, and the people will be solicited to accept what is now contemptuously refused them.

"I remain, my dear Mr. Little, with the highest sentiments of respect for your talents, and thanks for your manly, honest, and powerful advocacy of the principles of justice, your obedient servant and sincere friend,

"✠ John T. Mullock.

"P. F. Little, Esq."

Considering his position and the immense influence he exercised on all parties and creeds in the community, this letter placed him at once in in the position of father and leader of self-government for the colony. It removed all hesitation from the minds of his own people, and stirred up the whole population to that bold determined spirit which at all times and in all nations is sure to achieve the ends of freedom and justice.

Another specimen of his independence of mind and force of expression is furnished about the same time in an answer to a charge made against the Catholic clergy of undue influence exercised by them in the General Election of 1850. A stronger statement of the rights of Catholic priests to interest themselves in, and to influence, the body politic never issued from the pen of prelate or statesman. This letter was written in 1852 to the *Pilot*, a paper then in existence in St. John's. The Bishop says in reply to the charge made upon the clergy:—

"I cannot see why a priest is to be deprived of his right o citizenship, more than anyone else; he pays his portion of the public burthens; he is subject to the same laws; his interests are affected by the return of a member as well as those of another. St. Paul claimed his Roman citizenship; a priest by his ordination does not forfeit the privileges of a British subject; every elector under a representative Government has not alone a right to vote himself, but to canvas others to vote with him. Deprive any citizen of that right and he is a freeman no longer. Every man's position gives him a certain amount of influence. The landlord has it in England; the merchant in Newfoundland; and the priest everywhere. The influence of the landlord, the merchant, the employer, is exercised by pressure—vote for me or my friend, or I will stop the supplies, I will eject you, or I will dismiss you. The priest's is a moral influence—vote for such a candidate, for he will make the best representative, he is no jobber, no place seeker, no bigot, he will represent *our sentiments* better than the other; one appeals to the pocket, the other to the people's feelings, or prejudices as some would say. The people

know that individually to the priest, the return is of little importance; that he only influences them to do what he considers best; that his interests and theirs are identified; they believe him to be a disinterested guide; they venerate his sacred character: they respect him as a man superior in education and acquirements to themselves; all this gives him a powerful influence, which they believe has never been exercised except for their benefit.

"Now, it may not be very pleasing to the individual possessing an influence of one sort, to have a counteracting influence opposed to him; but we must only accept all these things, as facts, disagreeable ones it is true, but still stubborn facts. I know this influence has not been brought to bear at the last general election, therefore the resolution has no foundation. What may be necessary at the next election, I know not; but, while admitting the right of every man, no matter what his political or religious creed may be, to express his opinions and use any influence his position may give him, to induce others to embrace them, and to participate as far as he can in all the honors and emoluments of the government, bearing as he does his equal share of the burthens, I claim the same right for the Catholic clergy. I know of nothing in the Canon or civil law which prevents it.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"✠ JOHN T. MULLOCK.

"St. John's, *February 25th*, 1852."

We have omitted from this letter a short paragraph dealing with the facts of the case, and proving that no clerical influence was exerted upon the voters in that particular election. That fact was only of local and transitory importance. But mark the principles conveyed in the letter, and the bold defiant front maintained by Dr. Mullock against a class whose dictates hitherto all had blindly accepted, and before whose threats all had trembled. These are the points that exhibit the strong character of the man, and prove him to have been the regenerator of the land. Clearly he had come to enlighten and to uplift a people enslaved by a corrupt political system and an arrogant mercantile ascendancy. Here this paper must end. The proofs that establish the great Irish Bishop as the originator of the project of Transatlantic Telegraphy shall hereafter appear in the RECORD if this slight sketch should awaken in its readers an interest in their gifted fellow-countryman. R. HOWLEY.

A DAY AT CLONMACNOISE.

A DAY spent amidst the ruined treasures of Ireland's most famous sanctuary has proved so full of pleasant memories, that I have ventured to place them on record in the hope that my experience, though rudely chronicled, may induce some, who wander by mead and stream in the leisure of summertide, to follow the winding course of the lordly Shannon, and linger for a time beneath those hallowed walls whose shadows fall across its placid waters.

The morning of our pilgrimage was in keeping with our anticipations, bright and beaming, and full of promise, as we launched our little bark close to the site of the old bridge of Athlone, where once a heroic stand was made in defence of hearths and homes against the invader.

The picturesque outlines of the war-scarred old town ranged fully into view, as we slowly pulled away down the stream, and scanned each familiar feature claiming recognition. Rising high above the surrounding mass of roofs and turrets, the graceful spire of St. Mary's Church tapers aloft, the central figure of a scene replete with objects of historic interest. Near it is clustered a group of buildings comprising the new Convent of La Sainte Union, placed on a height from which Ginckle's artillery once belched forth its destructive fire on the Irish army. Farther down stands out the black tower of the Dominican abbey, whose sweet-toned bell on a calm evening in June, 1691, rang forth the signal for the passage of William's army across the Shannon, and sounded the knell of the dying hopes of the cause which St. Ruth in vain defended.

Grim, and dark, dwarfing into mean dimensions the adjoining steeple of the Protestant Church, it seems to protest against the persecution that profaned the altars it guarded, and banished the white-robed monks who dwelt in peace beneath its protecting shadow.

Away across the river loom into sight the frowning walls that surround the old castle, the centre of many a hard-fought battle. A large flag waving from its summit

reminds us of the fruitlessness of the heroic efforts made to preserve in the place it now occupies, a standard of a different colour, around which once rallied the flower of Ireland's chivalry. In pleasing contrast to the sad reflections called up by the associations that cling around those memorials of a dark past come the sights and sounds of country life, that steal in upon our senses, and waft our thoughts to more peaceful scenes.

Scarcely have the last pinnacles of the old town faded from view, when the tall towers of the seven churches rise up from the plain and appear to come forth to greet our approach. Following the circuitous winding of the river which seems to encircle the ruins in its ever changing course, we leave our little craft at the foot of the hill crowned with the tottering battlements of an ancient fortress, called De Lacy's Castle.

Ascending a gently rising slope whose summit is dotted with the gleaming headstones of generations of the children of Erin, we enter the sacred precincts of the ancient cemetery by a small gate on the eastern side of the enclosure, and find ourselves suddenly in the midst of varied groups of towers, churches, tombs, and crosses.

The principal of the latter—the celebrated *Cros-na-Sceaptru, Cross of the Scriptures*, is the first object of our pilgrimage.

It is one of three erected on a mound called the Cairn of the Scriptures—the goal of many a procession of priests and penitents. Two of these monuments remain, and the shaft of the third is visible. Time has levelled the Cairn, but its destroying influences have not succeeded in obliterating the traces of the old causeway connecting it with a venerable ruin in the distance, which antiquarians tell us was once a nunnery, where lived for a time Devorgail, the unfortunate wife of Ruarc, Prince of Brefni. The great Cross of Clonmacnoise stands opposite the largest of the churches, called the Cathedral.

Seen from the interior of this ruin, with the old doorway forming a fitting framework, and having as a back-ground the undulating plain of King's County, brightened by the

silver streak of the Shannon, with its outlines softly pencilled in relief against the clear sky, this beauteous monument of Irish art seems as fresh and graceful in artistic design as when eight centuries ago Devorgail, the penitent, wept and prayed beneath its shadow. On a near approach traces of the heavy hand of time reveal themselves, and obscure to some extent the excellence and finish of the carving that has rendered the monument so famous.

The figure of the Redeemer is clearly discernible in the central compartment of the western side, and different scenes of His sufferings are easily made out on the front of the shaft. On the opposite face the centre of the cross is occupied by the representation of a man with arms raised, bearing in either hand an emblem that has been the subject of various interpretations.

Canon Monahan, in his *Records of the Diocese of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise*, which, with its accurate map of the locality, proved to us invaluable as a guide and instructor, gives the opinion of Dr. Ledwich, an eminent archaeologist, in reference to the signification of those objects.

The learned Doctor writes:—

"The other ornamental cross is at Clonmacnoise. The stone is fifteen feet high, and stands near the western door of Teampull Mac Diarmuid. Over the northern door of this church are three figures: the middle, St. Patrick, in pontificalibus; the other two, St. Francis and St. Dominic, in the habits of their Orders. Below these are portraits of the same three saints and Odo, and on the fillet is this description:—'Doms. Odo, Dean of Clonmacnoise, caused this to be made.' This inscription refers to Dean Odo's re-edifying the church, and must have been about the year 1280, when the Dominicans and Franciscans were settled here, and held in the highest esteem as new Orders of extraordinary holiness. The figures on this cross are commemorative of St. Kieran, and this laudable act of the Dean. Its eastern side, like the others, is divided into compartments. Its centre or head and arms, exhibits St. Kieran at full length, being the patron of Clonmacnoise. In one hand he holds a hammer, and in the other a mallet, expressing his descent, his father being a carpenter. Near him are three men and a dog dancing, and in the arms are eight men more, and above the saint is a portrait of Dean Odo. The men are the artificers employed by Odo, who show their joy for the honour done their patron. On the shaft are two men, one stripping the other of his old garments, alluding to the new repairs. Under these are

two soldiers with their swords ready to defend the church and religion. Next are Adam and Eve and the tree of life, and beneath an imperfect Irish inscription. On the pedestal are equestrian and chariot sports, &c."

At variance with this explanation of the sculptured portion of the Eastern face of the Cross, is another interpretation that I have received from Mr. Kieran Molloy, whose name is familiar to every visitor to Clonmacnoise, and whose memory is stored with valuable information, obtained from such men as Graves, O'Donovan, and a host of others, who found rest and hospitality beneath the shelter of his cozy little cottage which nestles in a grove of trees close to the entrance of the enclosure.

He states that some thirty years ago an antiquarian named McNeill made a minute examination of the large cross, and as the result of his researches, asserted that the Redeemer, and not St. Kieran, was represented in the central compartment of the east, as well as of the west side. In the one respect He is the Christ of the Scriptures, dying for love of mankind, in the other He is the Judge, bearing in one hand the sceptre, in the other the cross, emblems of His power and justice. The figures on either side represent the reward of the just, and the punishment of the wicked, the former in an attitude of exultation, the latter departing to their doom in despair, driven by the devil in the shape of an animal described as a dog, by Dr. Ledwich.

The carvings in the face of the shaft are intended to designate the different chieftains in friendly intercourse, thus denoting the work of reconciliation effected by Kieran amongst his people. Instead of Adam and Eve and the tree of knowledge, is suggested by this authority the more appropriate interpretation of Kieran and King Diarmid clasping the first pole of the structure which afterwards became the Cathedral of Clonmacnoise, a view adopted by Canon Monahan, who advances it as a proof of the foundation of the churches sanctified by Kieran the Blessed, and guarded by Diarmid the Powerful.

Turning from this monument of ancient skill to the remains of the Cathedral with whose erection it seems to be

inseparably connected, we are confronted with a sad scene of desecration and decay. There is no roof on the sacred edifice except the blue expanse of sky. The floor is paved with tombs of every age and form. The walls are clad with ivy, while high above from the grass grown summit a young tree springs forth, joyous in its wealth of foliage. Traces of the space occupied by the High Altar are clearly visible, and a tablet placed in the adjoining wall tells us that "Charles Cochlan, Vicar-General of Clonmacnoise, at his own expense restored this ruined church, A.D. 1647."

Here have rested the ashes of Roderick O'Connor, after his troubled life of bitter fight and vexatious toil. Here also lie

> "Muirich, the son of Fergus,
> The son of Roedh, with hundreds of shield bearers,
> Cathal the Great, the son of Ailill,
> Cathal, the son of Finnach Fiachra,
> Donncaith of the curly hair, from Breag Moig,
> The powerful and noble King of Etar."[1]

In this precious soil the best blood of Erin was interred. Every foot of earth "bright with dew and red rosed" was to the men of old more valuable than gold and precious stones.

To be laid at rest beneath these hallowed walls, near as might be to the relics of St. Kieran, was the last prayer that trembled on the lips of dying chieftains and kings.

Adjoining this temple of the dead is a chapel or sacristy, whose arched ceiling and strongly built walls, are in good preservation. It is a treasure house of interesting relics reverently laid aside and guarded with jealous care. Tombs of priests and scholars with the Irish inscriptions wonderfully fresh and legible, parts of architectural ornaments, stones with Ogham letters, those mystic characters so simple and apparently so settled in phonetic value, yet so difficult of interpretation, lie around in picturesque confusion.

From the midst of the sacred pile rises a primitive altar constructed of the flat stones that once covered the remains of the holiest of Erin's sons. Here once a year on St. Kieran's

[1] Irish poem translated by Professor O'Looney.

feast, the Holy Sacrifice is offered, and the same mysterious words are uttered that centuries ago fell from priestly lips now sealed in death.

It is a hopeful sign, this annual atonement for the years of spoliation that have passed away, and for the desecration that has culminated in the erection of a temple of heresy in the soil, consecrated by a thousand sacred associations.

No wonder that one of Kieran's most distinguished successors, whose brilliant career was cut short in recent years by an untimely end, should exclaim: "Our holy places have come into the hands of strangers, our temple has become as a man without honour. What sin have his people done that their father's grave should become the dishonoured temple of heresy?" No wonder that this foul blot on the fairest spot of his diocese should cause many a painful moment to him who now rules it with firm and gentle sway. May his years not fail until he has seen this vestige of a hateful oppression swept away, and replaced by a structure whose glories may rival, if not surpass, the splendour of other days, whose walls may re-echo with the once familiar sound of sacred psalmody which, mingled with the murmur of the waters against the shore, may rise in fitting harmony to Heaven.

Another valuable collection of relics is grouped together in a small church called Temple Dowling, to the south of the Cathedral. Prominent amongst these stands the shaft of the ancient Cross of Banagher, commemorating the death of Bishop O'Duffy, in the year 1297, by a fall from his horse. The history of this monument forms the subject of a very interesting article in Canon Monahan's *Records*. The outlines of the bishop and the horse are traceable, but the remaining features are indistinct. Opposite to this church stands the second large cross. It is in fair preservation, covered with ornamental tracing of varied character, but bearing no sculptured figures.

Passing through a wilderness of headstones in every variety of shape and state of decay, all bearing evidence of the faith that once burned in the hearts that have smouldered beneath their shelter, we find ourselves close to

the large tower of O'Ruarc, situate on the north west of the cemetery, beside the flowing river. Outlined boldly against the sky, with a scarce perceptible incline it raises its aged head full sixty feet aloft, and stands revealed in all its dignity one of those favorites of time whose history is shrouded in a cloud of obscurity that has baffled the researches of the most eminent antiquarians.

Without daring to enter into the controversy dealing with the date and purpose of the erection of those "puzzles of the past," it may not be considered presumptuous to hazard a remark suggested by simple observation regarding the indications presented by this tower of O'Ruarc as well as by its less stately companion, which takes its title from the McCarthy family, of construction previous to the erection of the surrounding buildings. The former stands alone without vestige of connection with any other structure. The latter bears traces on the surface that go to prove that the adjoining church was an addition made, perhaps, after the lapse of centuries.

Again, the larger of those pillar temples is constructed of fine sandstone, skilfully prepared for building, knitted together with a scientific skill and masterly finish seemingly quite distinct from the style of execution with which the adjacent churches were built.

There is no feature in their appearance, and no fact in their history, to disprove the theory which asserts that, like the other towers, that

> "In mystic file, through the isle lift their heads sublime"

these venerable structures were once the temples of forgotten gods, and the shrines of Pagan worship, and that they awaited the advent of the Apostle of Erin, who preserved and purified everything most beautiful in the refined idolatry of Pagan Ireland, to change them from pillars of "error and terror" into centres of love and truth.

> "Where blazed the sacred fire, rang out the vesper bell,
> Where the fugitive found shelter, became the hermit's cell."

From their summits, instead of the hoarse summons of the "Stuic[1]" calling the multitude to greet the luminary of the day as his silver rays first shone on the trembling waters of the river, the sweet sounds of the *stocc* filled the plain with its joyous melody, inviting priest and scholar to hasten and proclaim the glories of the Heavenly Sun whose brilliancy had banished the darkness of other days.

Though their past has been a mystery, they have been the standing witnesses of a bygone civilization, and refinement of the country they adorn. May they prove "prophets of the future" and pillars of light brightening the pages of Erin's history, and guiding her children to a destiny worthy of her former reputation.

But the lengthening shadows that steal along the plain and darken the face of the majestic stream remind us that our day is closing, and that we must hasten homewards leaving unvisited the holy wells, the nunnery, the crumbling mass of ruin, called De Lacy's Castle, and many other relics of the buried past, each with its own record of glories dimmed by oppression and desecration.

Swiftly and silently we glide out on the river of "dark mementoes" in the solemn hush of eventide, when even insect life is still, and there is no sound save the ripple of the wavelets as they dash against our little craft.

Suddenly the musical peal of a dinner bell in a neighbouring mansion is borne upon the breeze, and its echoes seem to set again a-ringing the famous silver *Cloccas* that ages ago called to praise and prayer the crowds of priests and students who now sleep beneath the grassy mounds of Clonmacnoise. We would fain fancy the solitude once more filled with a busy throng hurrying forth from cell and cloister to add their voices to the flood of sacred harmony which once rose and fell across the tranquil bosom of the waters, but the stern reality of the city of the dead that we had just left with its dark history of plunder and desolation forbid

[1] "The *stuic* or *stoc* was used as a speaking trumpet on the tops of our round towers, to assemble congregations, to proclaim new moons' quarters, and all other festivals."—*Memoirs of the Irish Bards*—WALKER.

the pleasing vision. Yet, there is consolation in the thought that even in its decay and fallen splendour, Clonmacnoise is the treasured shrine of a nation's faith as strong, as fresh, and as pure as when Kieran and Diarmid in loving union grasped the first pole of its Cathedral, and laid the foundation of its imperishable glory.

THOMAS MCGEOY, Adm.

THE DIOCESE OF DUBLIN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

IV.

THE OLD CHAPELS OF DUBLIN.—(CONTINUED).

SS. MICHAEL AND JOHN.—The Parish of St. Michael, or Union of Parishes formed under the title of SS. Michael and John, next challenges our attention. In one sense it might claim precedence, inasmuch as it included the larger half of the city proper, which was thickly inhabited, and mostly too, by Catholics of good means and position. The English priest, Paul Harris, who gave such trouble to Archbishop Fleming, describes it in 1631, as "*locus primarius in civitate, et parochia spatiosissima.*" Few will be inclined to question the accuracy of this latter superlative once they glance at its boundaries, which may be most readily conceived by adding to the present Parish of SS. Michael and John the entire Parish of St. Andrew, for, at the time we write of (1700) they were *one.*

This spacious area, previous to the great apostasy, comprised no less than *seven* distinct parishes and parish churches within the city, and *four* parishes and churches, with *four* religious communities, beyond the walls. The city parishes were:—The Deanery or Close of Christ Church Cathedral, St. Michael's, St. Olave's, St. John's, St. Mary del Dam, St. Werburgh's, and St. Nicholas Within. The suburban district included—St. Andrew's, St. George's,

St. Stephen's, St. Peter's, with the ruined Church of St. Paul, and the (Calced) Carmelites, the Hermits of St. Augustine, the Priory of All Hallows (Canons Regular), and the Nuns of St. Mary le Hogges.

Let us briefly trace the history of each, and account for the disappearance of most of them.

Christ Church Cathedral.—Founded by Sitric the Dane, in 1038, the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, as it was always called in Catholic times, ranks as the oldest and most honoured church in Dublin. The old Church of St. Michael le Pole, in Ship-street, in its round (belfry) tower, gave some evidence of a pre-Danish structure, but, as practically all traces of this church have disappeared, the cathedral holds undisputed claim to highest antiquity. Donatus, a Dane, was its first Bishop. He built an episcopal palace close to the cathedral, and the chapel of the palace was dedicated to St. Michael; so that the title of St. Michael, with a distinct chapel, was contemporaneous with the cathedral itself. In 1152 the see became metropolitical, and Gregory, its first archbishop, received one of the palliums brought by Cardinal Paparo. The cathedral at the time was served by a Chapter of secular canons. When St. Laurence succeeded to the mitre of Dublin, his first care was his cathedral. He changed the condition of the canons by making them Regular Canons of St. Austin, according to the rule of Arroasia, and he himself became one of the community, wearing the religious habit under his episcopal dress, and in every other way possible conforming to the rule. Henceforward the community of clerics serving the cathedral was a *religious* body, and was always quoted as the "Prior and Convent of the Most Holy Trinity." With the help of some of the Anglo-Norman chieftains, St. Laurence beautified and enlarged the cathedral, the transept and chancel of which still bear some traces of his work.

The earliest enumeration of the emoluments of the Cathedral is contained in two contemporaneous documents, one the Bull of Alexander III. in 1179, defining the possessions of the See of Dublin, after its extension southwards to Bray, and the other a Charter of St. Laurence, issued about

the same time confirming and identifying the several possessions of the cathedral acquired to it both before and after the arrival of the English in Ireland. I select the latter document, because amongst the witnesses we have the first available list of the Dublin clergy. It is dated 24th of May, year uncertain, but either 1178 or 1179, and is preserved amongst the archives of Christ Church.[1]

"Lawrence, Archbishop of Dublin, grants to the Canons of Holy Trinity of the Order of St. Augustine, in frankalmoign, the Church of Holy Trinity, with the Churches of St. Michan, St. Michael, St. John the Evangelist,[2] St. Brigid and St. Paul, their gardens and houses without the wall, the mill near the bridge, the fishery and tithes of salmon and other fish on both sides of the Anilyffy, the lands of Rechrann [Lambay], Portrechrann, [Portraine], Rathchillin [Clonmethan], and Censale [Kinsaly], third parts of Clochuri [St. Doulogh's] and Cellalin [Killeigh ?], Lesluan [unknown], Cellesra [Killester], Duncuanagh [Drumcondra], Glasnoeden [Glasnevin], Magduma [unknown], Celidulich [Grangegorman], Ballemecc-Amlaib [unknown], Cluaincœin [Kill of-the-Grange], Talgach or Kalgach [in Kill], Tulachcœin [near Kill], Cellingenalenin [Killiney], Celltuca [Kiltuck, on the road from Loughlinstown to Bray], Rathsalchan [Rathsallagh *juxta Bree*, near Rathmichael; see Proctor Andowe's account in Monck Mason's History], Tillachnaescop [*Collis Episcoporum*, Tully], Drumhyng [not known unless Drimnagh or Dundrum], Ballerochucan or Ballencharain [not known], half of Rathnahi [not known], Tiradran, Ballerochan (or Ballyogan between Leopardstown and Kill) and Ballemoaelph [unknown.]

Witnesses—Edanus the Bishop; Malachy, Bishop of Lubgud; Eugenius, Bishop of Cluainirairt; Nehemiah, Bishop of Celdarch; Thomas, Abbot of Glendalacha; Radulphus, Abbot of Bildwas; Adam, Abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin: Patrick, Abbot of Mellifont; Christinus, Abbot de Valle Salutis (Baltinglass); Torquil, the Archdeacon (a Dane, and the first name procurable on the List of Archdeacons of Dublin); Joseph, Priest of St. Brigid's; Godmund, Priest of St. Mary's, (del Dam); Edan, Priest of St. Patrick's; Cenninus, Priest of St. Michael's; Peter, Priest of St. Michan's; Richard, Priest of St. Columba's (Swords); Gillibert, Priest of St. Martin's, Hugh de Lacy, Constable of Dublin, etc."

In a Charter of King John[3] confirming these grants we

[1] See 20th Report Public Records, Ireland. Appendix vii.

[2] In Urban Third's Bull confirming this grant in 1186, this Church is styled of "St. John the Baptist."

See 20th Report P. R. I., Ap. vii., p. 103.

have enumerated for us the names of the donors, Natives and Ostmen, from which it would appear that most of these endowments were conferred upon the cathedral, prior to the arrival of the English. In 1190, Malchus, Bishop of Glendalough, reciting a deed of Raymond le Gros, patron of Kilcullin, institutes the Canons of the Holy Trinity, into the said church; and all through the history of the cathedral grants of lands, houses, churches and tithes were being constantly made, the most considerable of which were Balscaddan, which was taken in exchange from St. Patrick's for Rathsallagh and Ballyogan, and Rathfarnham, about which there was much litigation between the two Chapters. St. Bride's in Archbishop Comyn's time passed also to St. Patrick's. Walter Rokeby, Archbishop in 1504, again confirms by charter all the possessions up to that time acquired and retained, and from this deed we are better enabled to identify some of the localities as well as learn the titles of the churches. Thus, "the Church of Balgriffin with the Chapel of St. Doulagh's: the Churches of St. Fyntan of Clonkene, St. Brigid of Stalorgan, St. Brigid of Tyllagh (this last was not of St. Brigid of Kildare, but of Brigid, one of the daughters of Lenin, to whom Killiney was dedicated and whence it got its name); Chapel of St. Brigid near Carrickmayne (Carrickmines); St. Begnet of Dalkey, etc."[1]

The change of St. Patrick's from a collegiate into a cathedral church in 1219, somewhat disturbed the quiet and uneventful history of the Prior and Canons of Holy Trinity. Every vacancy of the See on the death of an Archbishop and the election of his successor furnished an occasion for arousing the jealousy of the older chapter, and forcing it to an assertion of its ancient privileges. Up to this event it was *the* cathedral and the *only* cathedral, but Archbishop Henry, as Dr. Reeves surmises, "wished, without destroying the old mother church, to have a cathedral in which he should be supreme." Whatever may have been his motive in changing the condition of St. Patrick's, a spirit of rivalry very soon developed itself, and continued more or less marked

[1] See 20th Report P. R. I., p. 109.

throughout the ensuing century. Archbishop Luke, Henry's successor in 1230, made an award, "that, when the See is vacant, the Prior and Canons of Holy Trinity, *and* the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's shall assemble in Holy Trinity Church, and in due form proceed to unanimously elect a Pastor." (Archives of Christ Church.) But in 1253, the dispute broke out afresh, and was referred to Innocent IV., who commissioned the Bishops of Emly and Limerick, and the Dean of Limerick, to hear the matter if the parties acquiesce, otherwise to remit the trial to Rome. What the immediate outcome of this investigation was, we know not, but Nicholas III. twenty-five years later, had the case again before him, and his Decree may be read in Theiner,[1] practically confirming the award of Archbishop Luke. Again the vacancy of the See in 1285 renewed the friction, and Honorius IV. interfered, confirming the award of his predecessor.[2] Still the chapters were not happy, and in 1300, Archbishop Richard de Ferrings drew up the so-called *compositio pacis* which is given in Number VI. of the Appendix to Monck Mason's history. By this it is agreed that the Consecration and Inthronization of the Archbishop should take place in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity. That both churches should be cathedrals and metropolitical, "*ita quod Ecclesia S. Trin. tanquam major, matrix et senior, in omnibus juribus Ecclesiae seu negotiis praeponatur.*" Likewise that the cross, mitre and ring of each Archbishop as he died should be delivered to the custody of the Prior and convent. That the body of each Archbishop deceased, should be buried alternately in either cathedral unless otherwise determined by will. That the consecration of the chrism and holy oils, and the reception of the penitents should take place in the Cathedral of the

[1] *Monumenta Vetera Hib. et Scotorum*, p. 119.

[2] On this occasion the number of electors from either Chapter was was very small and the Pope felt bound to issue a special Bull to protect the rights of the Chapter of Holy Trinity:—"Quamvis in electione super celebrata, quatuor de canonicis ecclesiae S. Fatritii et duo duntaxat de canonicis SS. Trinitatis interfuerint, juri tamen ejusdem ecclesiae S. Trin. non derogetur in aliquo quin juxta ordinationem Nicolai Papae III. in electione Dublinensis Archiepiscopi facienda pro tempore procedatur. Datum ad S. Petrum, 30 Maii, 1285." Vide "Registres d'Honorius IV." par Maurice Prou, p. 31.

Holy Trinity. Finally that the said cathedral and metropolitical churches be considered *one*, and equal in all their rights and liberties. This carefully detailed arrangement seems to have settled the question as to respective rights and privileges, but did not effect that happy union of sentiment so much desired, for though both Chapters met to elect on the occasion of the next vacancy, the election proceeded on strictly party (chapter) lines, Richard de Havering, Precentor of St. Patrick's (a sub-deacon) being elected by the Dean and Chapter, and Nicholas "le Butiler," by the Prior and Convent. Clement V. declared both elections void and *proprio motu* appointed Richard, who strangely enough though he administered the Diocese as Archbishop (or ordinary) for over four years and then resigned it, never took Holy Orders higher than Deaconship.

Finally, the last struggle in this unbecoming contest had rather a tragic ending. On the death of John Leech, who succeeded Havering, Walter Thornbury, Precentor of St. Patrick's, and Alexander Bicknor, Prebendary of Maynooth, were both elected. Both left for Rome to get their nominations confirmed; but three years having elapsed without Walter's appearance, either by self or proctor, it was then ascertained that the night after he had sailed, he, with one hundred and fifty-six other persons, were drowned in the harbour of Dublin. On confirmation of this news, Bicknor resigned his claims, whereupon the Pope appointed him from himself (A.D. 1317), and commanded both chapters to receive and to obey him. This tragic mishap seems to have effected what decrees of archbishops and Papal confirmations failed to do, for after this incident we hear no more of the quarrel of the chapters beyond a slight breeze concerning the consecration of Walter Fitzymons towards the end of the fifteenth century; but the right of precedence was always accorded to that of Holy Trinity, as appears from the Decree of Archbishop Richard Talbot (1421), in which, after reciting "that in solemn processions the Prior of Holy Trinity and the Dean of St. Patrick's together took the principal place after the archbishop, then came the Sub-Prior of Holy Trinity and the Precentor of St. Patrick's together, and after

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them the canons of the churches, two by two, directs the Prior and Canons of Holy Trinity to wear cloaks with grey fur outside and menyver inside in solemn processions. Dated at the Church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, 1 March, 1421." In 1486, Lambert Simnel the impostor was crowned king in this cathedral; but all that were concerned in it had to do ample penance very soon after. In 1537, Wm. Hassard, prior, resigned, and in the same year we have the following entry: "William Power, Archdeacon of Dublin, declares that, in pursuance of a mandate from George, Archbishop of Dublin, he has installed Robert Payneswyke, late Canon of the monastery of Lanthony, as Prior of Christ Church. 4th July, 1537." This is the first time we find it called *Christ Church*, and hereby hangs a tale, and a very doleful one.

In July, 1534, John Allen, Archbishop of Dublin, was brutally murdered by the agents of Silken Thomas at Artane, whither he had fled for refuge. This untoward event afforded an opportunity to Henry VIII. of testing what blessings might result to the Irish Church by setting aside the privilege of the Roman Pontiff and filling up the see himself. Wherefore, early in March, 1535, Henry appointed Dr. George Brown Archbishop of Dublin. A few days later, without waiting to receive any confirmation from Rome, Brown was consecrated by Cranmer, and in compliance with the schismatical act lately passed in the English Parliament, received the pallium, *not* from the tombs of the Apostles, but from the *married* Archbishop of Canterbury. Brown was an Augustinian friar—indeed, he was provincial of his order both in England and Ireland, for at that period they formed but the one province. He was, moreover, confidential agent of Cranmer, enjoyed the friendship of Cromwell, and was a favourite courtier of the monarch for whom he obligingly condescended to perform a *secret* marriage with Anne Boleyn in January, 1533, even without waiting for Cranmer, in the might of his assumed authority, to pronounce the divorce from Catherine.[1] A man of such great parts and promise could not be overlooked by Henry.

[1] See *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. 1, by F. A. Gasquet, p. 151

Moreover he was an excellent Protestant, having rejected, as Ussher tells in his sketch of his early career, "the doctrines of Rome," and was a man, as Dr. Mant describes him, "happily freed from the thraldom of Popery." No better agent could Henry have selected for his intended Reformation [?] in Ireland. And this is the man we are asked to regard as the successor of St. Laurence O'Toole! The Holy See, when confirming the nomination of the next Archbishop, Curwen, ignores *George*, and appoints *Hugh* as successor to *John* (Allen) "of happy memory." So George remains the first Protestant Archbishop of Dublin. These few facts make us look with suspicion on the character of the late Canon of Lanthony, who by mandate of George was installed Prior of *Christ Church*. He was not long in developing his views. The suppression of all monasteries and religious houses had been decreed by the king, and notwithstanding many influential protests, the Decree was extended to Ireland. Cistercians and Dominicans and Franciscans and Canons Regular, all went down before the storm; but Prior Paynswick, *alias* Castell, and his community, whom doubtless he had influenced, thought well to adopt the inspired suggestions of certain commissioners (John Alen, chancellor, George, archbishop, and Wm. Brabazon, sub-treasurer), and *petitioned* Henry VIII. to make them under letters patent secular priests, to change them into the Dean and Chapter of Holy Trinity Church, "and that Robert Payneswick, the prior, and Richard Ball, Walter Whyte, John Mosse, John Curraghe, John Kerdiff, Christopher Rathe, Oliver Grant, William Owen, and Nicholas Owgaan, canons thereof, should become secular priests; that Payneswick should be dean, Ball, Whyte, and Mosse precentor, chancellor, and treasurer" respectively, and so forth. They were wise, perhaps, in their generation, but they were basely wise, as if a licentious king, who had no respect for any vow, could dispense them from the solemn vows they had made to God when they first entered religion.

This petition was of course complied with, and "Robert Payneswick," the Decree goes on, "shall be dean, and he and his successors shall enjoy Clonkene for his dignity and the

Church of Glasnevin for his prebend, with the temporalities in Glasnevin and Clonmell (near Drumcondra), tithes being excepted; Drumcondra, with its tithes; Clonkene, Dalkey, Killiney, Balleloghan and Hayhurter, Ballybrennan, Ballytipper, Ballyogan, Ballymoghan, Farnicoast, Kilmahyoke, the spiritualities in Ballyfinch and Ballycheer, the temporalities of Balscadden and Smothescourt (Simmonscourt), Priorsland and Ketyngesland, near Carrickmayne, Tullagh, Stalorgan, Clonkyne, Kilmahyoke, Dalkey, Killiney, Ballybeghan, Rochestown, Cornellscourte, Kylbegote, and Newtown, with their chapels and tithes, etc." And so forth, the other dignitaries in proportion.

The change in religion, which at best could not extend beyond the limited boundaries of the Pale,[1] did not proceed quite so rapidly as George Brown could have wished. Though strongly opposed to the Mass, which a contemporary wrote, "he doth abhor," he had still to put up with "Massing;" and the Act of the Six Articles affirming transubstantiation, celibacy of the clergy, private Masses for the dead, and auricular confession, with the known terrible penalties with which Henry enforced its observance in England, kept him prudently reserved on these points. Moreover the Lord Deputy Grey and the Irish judges were most hostile to Brown. They had heard of the king's claims to be head of the Church with dismay, but a prelate *with a wife and two mistresses*,[2] they would not tolerate. His fanatical zeal therefore had to be confined at this period to denying the authority of the Pope, and waging war upon images and relics. In this latter achievement he distinguished himself. He proceeded to demolish the statues that adorned the interior of St. Patrick's. He removed the valuable religious paintings and whitewashed over the decorations of Christ Church Cathedral, and collecting all the relics into a heap, including that most venerable and most venerated of Irish relics, the

[1] The Pale at this time extended from Dublin to Dundalk, about fifty miles to the north of Dublin; from Dublin to Kilcullen, about twenty miles west; and from that round under the Wicklow mountains to Dalkey, about eight miles south of Dublin. That was the whole extent of country in which Henry's writs could run.

[2] See *Historical Portraits of Tudor Dynasty*, vol. i., p. 509.

crozier of St. Patrick, said to have been given him by our Lord himself, and hence called "*Baculus Jesu*," burnt them to ashes. In 1540 Sir Anthony St. Leger succeeded the unfortunate Leonard Grey as Lord Deputy, and Lockwood, Archdeacon of Kells, in 1543 succeeded Paineswick as Dean of the Holy Trinity. This Lockwood was the most conformable of men; nothing came amiss to him. Whether it was royal supremacy under Henry, or religious chaos under Edward, or restored Catholicity under Mary, or rank Protestantism under Elizabeth, like the historic "Vicar of Bray," Lockwood remained Dean of Christ Church. In 1547, on the death of Henry and accession of Edward VI., he was afforded an opportunity of displaying his manysidedness. The first official establishment of the English Liturgy in this country may be said to date not from any Act of Parliament, but from a Royal Order of Edward VI., issued February 6th, 1551, and promulgated by the Lord Deputy on the 1st of March following. Immediately after the arrival of this order St. Leger summoned the clergy to meet him in Dublin. Here the order was read. "For the general benefit of our well-beloved subjects," the king was made to say, "whenever assembled and met together in the several parish churches, either to pray or hear prayers read, that they may the better join in unity, hearts, and voices, we have caused the Liturgy and prayers of the Church to be translated into our mother tongue of this realm of England." "Then," interrupted Primate Dowdall, "shall every illiterate fellow read Mass," and threatening the Viceroy with the clergy's curse left the hall with all his suffragans, except Staples, the Bishop of Meath. St. Leger then handed the order to Brown, who received it standing, and promised to have it carried out faithfully. St. Leger did not like the duties cast upon him in this matter. He had no fancy for the office of forcing the reformed doctrines on the reluctant Irish, and in an interview with Alen the Chancellor, one of the most zealous of the reformers, undisguisedly expressed a preference for an appointment in Spain or any other place where war was being waged. He disliked Brown even more than his predecessor, and Alen who after the interview

went straight to sup with Lockwood where he found the Archbishop and Basnet,[1] was not slow to communicate its substance. Whether on account of Alen's and Brown's representations, or for other reasons, St. Leger was soon after recalled, and Sir James Crofts appointed his successor.

This latter wrote to Primate Dowdall, who had remained at Mary's Abbey, inviting him to a conference on religion. Dowdall refused to attend the Lord Deputy at Kilmainham, though agreeing to the conference, whereupon the Deputy resolved to go to the mountain, and the conference was held in the great hall (most probably the still existing chapter house) of St. Mary's Abbey. Nothing, however, came of it. Dowdall fought valiantly but unavailingly in defence of the Holy Sacrifice, but the Royal Order had gone forth—"*Delenda erat Missa.*" A few days later Dowdall left the country, and Armagh was declared vacant, as if by resignation.

On Easter Sunday therefore of that same year 1551, the English service was first read in Christ Church in presence of the Lord Deputy, the Mayor, and Bailiffs, and the Archbishop was the preacher. What a profanation! The relics and statues and pictures had been long before removed, the Holy Rood representing Our Lord crucified with the Blessed Virgin and St. John had been taken down from over the chancel screen, and in its place was set up that *holier* emblem of supremacy, *the Royal Arms*; little more than the altar now remained. Dr. Martin, at Oxford, thus reproached Cranmer

[1] Sir Edward Bassenet, late Dean of St. Patrick's. St. Patrick's was suppressed in 1547 by Henry just before his death, the chapter strongly protesting and refusing to surrender; but Bassenet imprisoned them, and kept them locked up until they yielded. He was a Welshman from Denbighshire who came over in St. Leger's train on his first visit. The see being vacant at the time (1534) the King gave him the Vicarage of Swords, and on the death of Geoffrey Fyche in 1537 promoted him to the Deanery of St. Patrick's. He was a thorough reformer in the sense of having taken a wife, and on the suppression did not quit the deanery empty handed, but largely enriched himself with the spoils of the suppressed chapter. Out of them he bountifully provided for his four sons and one daughter, and of Deansrath executed a lease to his brother. This deed falling into the hands of Dean Swift he wrote on the back of it, "this Bassenet was related to the scoundrel of the same name who surrendered the deanery to that beast, Henry VIII."

in 1556:—"The devil's language agrees well with your proceedings. For *mitte te deorsum*, cast thyself downward said he, and so taught you to cast all things downward. Down with the Sacrament, down with the Mass, down with the altars, down with the arms of Christ, and up with a lion and a dog."[1]

Lockwood made a contemptible effort to fall back upon the Roman (Latin) Ritual at the consecration of Bale—"the foul-mouthed Bale"—as Bishop of Ossory. He feared invalidity, or at least illegality, but Bale told him he was "an ass-headed dean," and insisted on the rite being gone through in English.

The boy-king Edward VI., died in July, 1553. His remains were buried on the 8th of August following in Westminster Abbey, in accordance, it would seem, with ancient funeral ceremonies, and in the following November "a dirge was sung in Latin, and the Masse on the morrowe."

Heretical worship therefore profaned the cathedral only for the short space of two years and a few months, at this time, and the extent to which heresy was pursued in worship is still an open question. Of course Divine service or celebration of the Holy Mass (if that was what was intended) in a language other than what was authorised by the Church was distinctly wrong and schismatical, but in Edward's first prayer book, which was the only one adopted in Ireland at that time, "what is commonly called the Masse," was prescribed, and the consecration of the elements was spoken of, and the use of holy water, and the sign of the Cross, and lamps before the sacrament, and anointing of the sick, and prayers for the dead. These things did not harmonise with the views of the more advanced English reformers, and so a second prayer book was issued cancelling all the doctrines practices, and injunctions of the first, and substituting *tables* for altars, the *Lord's Supper* for the Mass, and abolishing all anointings whether of baptism or of the sick. This second prayer book however had not had time to get introduced into Dublin before Queen Mary ascended the throne,

[1] II. Cranmer, 227. *Parker Society.*

who resolved to re-establish the Catholic Faith in all her dominions.

Goodacre, appointed by Edward to Armagh, had just died, and Mary nominated the exiled Dowdall for the Primacy, which nomination was confirmed by the Holy See in consideration of his valiant defence of Catholic doctrine in Mary's Abbey, and his first schismatical appointment under Henry was condoned.[1] Then steps were taken, both in England and Ireland, to proceed against such bishops as favoured the Reformation, the ground of offence put forward being their having married. This struck at Brown directly, who, as we have seen, was very much married. He was accordingly deposed, and withdrew, it is thought, to England whence he came, and where he appears to have got the grace of repentance, Cardinal Pole absolving him from all censures, and to have died reconciled to the Church. Such was the end of the first Protestant Archbishop. *Requiescat in pace.*

On the 18th of February, 1555, "Philip and Mary require the Dean and Chapter of the Metropolitan Church, Dublin, to elect Hugh Corren (Curwen), LL.D., to be Archbishop of Dublin" (archives of Christ Church). This was the customary *congé d'élire;* and on the 21st of June following, the Pope, on the petition of Philip and Mary, appointed this Hugh Curwen Archbishop of Dublin, vacant by the death of John (Allen) of good memory. He was consecrated in St. Paul's by Bonner, Bishop of London, and on the 15th of September Mary issued a mandate from Greenwich to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, to obey the Archbishop of Dublin, lately appointed. The dean (always Lockwood) respectfully received the mandate, and obeyed it.

Dr. Curwen celebrated a Provincial Council in Christ Church, in order to re-establish Catholic worship and restore obedience to the Pope, and once more the walls of the cathedral re-echoed to the psalmody of its ancient Liturgy, and were again blessed with the presence of the Most Holy.

[1] The Pope never recognised his first appointment by Henry, and actually appointed Robert Wauchop archbishop in succession to Dr. Cromer. In the Bull confirming Dowdall he is named as successor to Robert.

In a manuscript chapter book of the cathedral, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, we have a detailed regulation of the order to be observed in the celebration of Masses and the Divine Office, signed by Hugh Curwen, chancellor (he was lord chancellor as well as archbishop), T. Lockwood, dean; Christopher Rathe, chauntor; Jo. Harman, chancellor, etc.[1]

In the third year of the Queen's reign a parliament was convened at Dublin, when a Bull from Pope Paul IV., pronouncing absolution for the temporary separation from Rome, was read by Archbishop Curwen to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. It, however, confirmed the dispositions of benefices, dispensations, and other ecclesiastical regulations. One of the first cares of the Queen was to restore the suppressed Cathedral of St. Patrick, with its dean and chapter, and for its first dean under this new charter, she appointed Dr. Leverous, who afterwards became Bishop of Kildare, suffered so much in Elizabeth's time, and died in the odour of sanctity near Naas in 1577. On the 2nd of July, 1556, the new Lord Deputy Sussex was received in great religious state in St. Patrick's the ceremony of his installation ending with Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. (See Monck Mason.)

Catholicity thus restored, affairs proceeded tranquilly during the few, too few, alas! remaining years of Queen Mary's reign. The disturbances in England did not extend to Ireland, and many English Protestants were induced by the peaceful condition at least of the Pale to come and reside in Dublin.

But this peace was short lived. In 1558 Queen Mary died, and was succeeded by her step-sister, Elizabeth. She delayed sometime before she took any step. Eventually she revived the policy of her father and brother, and once more severed the realm of England from Rome. In Ireland the Act of Uniformity and the Act of Supremacy did not become law until after the Parliament of 1560. The Earl of Sussex who was for the second time appointed Lord Lieutenant in this

[1] See *Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church*, by Dr. Todd, p. cxiii. of Introduction.

year received a letter from the Queen "signifying her pleasure for a general meeting of the clergy of Ireland, and the establishment of the Protestant religion through the several dioceses of the kingdom," in other words, the people were to discard the religion taught to them by Christ and his Apostles and their legitimate successors, and accept the gospel of the daughter of Anne Boleyn. All had to be therefore undone, and, worse than all, the pastor in charge of the flock in Dublin was found to be no better than a hireling. It is not easy to understand why Mary ever destined him for the See. His previous record should not have recommended him to the daughter of Catherine of Aragon. When Henry appeared in the Church of the Observants at Greenwich with Anne Boleyn as his wife, Friar Peto denounced him to his face, and told him such marriage was unlawful.[1] The King did no violence to Peto, but the next Sunday, being the 8th or 18th of May (1533), Dr. Curwen, by order of the king, preached in the same place, and sharply reprehended Peto, calling him a dog, slanderer, a base, beggarly friar, rebel and traitor. Elstow, another of the friars, took Peto's part, and, interrupting the preacher, denounced Curwen as one of the four hundred prophets into whom the spirit of lying had entered. Curwen was first a canon of Hereford. On the death of Bishop Fox he was appointed *by Cranmer* to administer the diocese *sede vacante*. He was made Dean of Hereford in 1541, and from that promoted to the mitre of Dublin in 1555.

No sooner had Elizabeth commenced operations than Curwen at once sought to accommodate his conscience and conduct to suit her fancy. His first care, after submitting to her decrees, was to remove the statues and ornaments with which he himself had re-adorned the cathedral and parochial churches, to newly paint the walls of St. Patrick's, effacing the beautiful fresco paintings that still remained, and to order that in Christ Church all remains of Popery should be removed. I need not further particularise the

[1] Stow, *Annals*, ed. 1615, p. 561.

career of this apostate, except to mention that in 1567 he petitioned the Queen to remove him to the See of Oxford, where in 1568 he died. Thus the cathedral was once more and finally profaned. The lamp was extinguished, the Presence removed, the Sacrifice forbidden, and the consecrated pile given over to the cold and comfortless ceremonial of the Reformers.

For a short time under James II., who made it his chapel royal, it was restored to Catholic worship, when Dr. Stafford (who fell at Aughrim) was made Dean, and Dr. Dempsey (afterwards Bishop of Kildare) Precentor; and during this brief period the learned Dr. Michael Moore pronounced the sermon which offended the king. But from 1690 it remains alienated from its original purpose. The wooden Tabernacle used on the High Altar in James the Second's time is still preserved in the storeroom of the synod house adjoining, but the door of it was secured by the late Dr. Spratt, and now forms the door of the Tabernacle on the High Altar in Whitefriar-street Carmelite Church.

The material edifice underwent many changes from the time of St. Lawrence. The most extensive alteration and repairs, previous to recent restorations, were first those effected in 1350 by the Archbishop John de St. Paul, who at his own cost built the choir. But his work was sadly at variance with the other portions. For the north wall of his choir he utilised the then existing south wall of the Lady Chapel, which deflected at an angle from the transept, and thus gave his prolonged choir an appearance of not being in line with the nave. This architectural anomaly existed until Mr. Street recently brought back the choir to its original shape as indicated by the foundations.

In 1562, owing to the bad construction of the piers, the massive stone-groined roof gradually spread the walls of the nave asunder, and on the 3rd of April it came with a crash to the ground carrying with it the greater portion of the south wall of the nave, and most of the western front, leaving only the north wall standing, but sadly shaken and out of the perpendicular as it may still be seen. It was in this catastrophe Strongbow's tomb was broken. Great efforts were made to

repair the disaster, and it is during the course of the work that we learn of the fidelity of the Dublin artisans to the faith and ordinances of the Church. One of the devices to root out Popery was to command all workmen under heavy penalties to work on the Catholic holidays. The Proctor reports that notwithstanding threats and menaces the masons would not work on *Corpus Christi* or the Feast of the Assumption, and the only ones he could get to work on those days were Thady Helier (the tiler) and his three assistants putting on slates. At the end of the seventeenth century the courts of law were erected on the site of the old priory and cloisters, and around them were grouped several alleys and passages called Christ Church yard. Amongst those passages was the slype, a dark passage running alongside the chapter-house, and from its obscurity denominated *Hell*, wherein apartments were advertised to let and recommended in the newspapers of the time, as "suitable for lawyers." On the completion of the new Four Courts all these buildings including the remains of the chapter-house were demolished and the space cleared in front of the cathedral.

The munificence of a single citizen enabled the dean and chapter quite recently to effect the restoration which now forms such a beautiful *coup d'œil* both externally and internally; and casual employment in a season of distress two years ago brought to light the foundations of the chapter-house which are now exposed to view.

I fear that this paper will be regarded as a formidable digression from my original purpose, but the subject of the mother church of the city was one too interesting to pass over without some, however compendiated, historical details. One lamentable fact may be elicited from what we have been considering, namely, that from the murder of Archbishop Allen in 1534, and the unrecorded disappearance of his bishop-assistant, Richard Gamme, a Franciscan, down to the appointment of Archbishop Mathews in 1611—a period of seventy-seven years—except for the four short years that Curwen remained faithful, Dublin was without a resident Catholic bishop. By way of consolation we may also recall that with the exception of the Dean (Lockwood) and one of

the Vicars Choral, William Dermott, who was made Chancellor in 1562, no member of the Chapter of Christ Church, as it was in Mary's time, remained in it after 1560. Cotton in his *Fasti*, tells us that Rathe the Precentor *resigned* in that year, for his death did not occur until 1565. In the introduction to the *Obit. Book* there is an entry of money given by Mayor (Fyan) in 1565 to have the month's mind of Sir Christopher Rathe celebrated. We may presume that the others followed Rathe's example, for the list for 1561 with the two exeeptions mentioned, is quite new.

In the calendar of Christ Church documents given in Appendix VII, to the Twentieth Report of the Public Records in Ireland just issued, there is one that attracts attention at page 122, No. 466. It recites that "Pope Innocent X. directs the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishops of Leighlin and Ferns, or their Vicars-General, to admit Patrick Chaell (Cahill), vicar of St. Michael's, Dublin, to the office of dean of Holy Trinity Church, vacant by the death of William Beorrex." This is dated 3rd November, 1644. From this it might appear that the deanery and chapter of Christ Church were continued titularly by the Catholics as well as that of St. Patrick's. D'Alton's reason for such not being the case is scarcely sufficient, for although originally it was the exclusive creation of Henry VIII., yet it was acknowledged and ratified by the Pope as we have seen under Mary. However, some doubt may be thrown on this document. Cardinal Moran says that the counterpart is not to be found in Rome, and it seems strange how a Papal document of 1644 could come among the archives of Christ Church. William Beorrex is clearly a mistake for William Barry, was Dean of the Metropolitan Church of Dublin in 1623. (See Dr. Moran's *Archbishops, etc.*, page 287). But may it not be St. Patrick's that is thus described as the Metropolitan Church? In any case the document is curious as the Cahill in question was some years previous (1629) deprived by Archbishop Fleming of the parish of St. Michael's, and it is not quite clear that he was ever restored thereto.

The Deanery or Close of Christ Church, forming the parish of the cathedral, was extremely limited. In 1818,

when Whitelaw's *History of Dublin* was published, it only numbered four houses on the east side of Christ Church-lane (now expanded into Michael's-hill), 15 in Christ Church-yard (demolished), and four in *Hell* (this also happily has been swept away). To these should be added two houses in Fishamble-street, all containing a population of only two hundred and thirty-three souls. In 1871 this number had shrunk to ten, and in 1881 to nine, all Roman Catholics. Not much of a parish according to modern ideas, and even that little is now entirely gone, and changed into the handsome open space that at present surrounds the cathedral.

✠ N. D.

DE MONTAULT ON CHURCHES AND CHURCH FURNITURE.

I—Altars.

MONSEIGNEUR de Montault's excellent volumes on churches and their decorations correspond in many ways to Mgr. Martinucci's well-known work on Ceremonial. He gives us a practical description of the materials required for the proper execution of the Church's ritual prescriptions. His long experience of the best Roman traditions, and his accurate acquaintance with the legislation of the Church on the matters which he treats make him a writer of very high authority. Besides the authentic ritual books of the Church, he makes use of St. Charles Borromeo's two treatises on the building and furnishing of churches, and of Benedict XIII's "Il rettore ecclesiastico instruito nelle regole della fabrica e della supellettile ecclesiastica" (Benevento, 1729); he also uses the more recent writers who have treated these topics.

It has been thought that the readers of the Record might be glad to have their attention called to some of these subjects, and to have the benefit of Mgr. de Montault's

learning and experience. We will begin with the matter of altars.

The High Altar.

The high altar may be placed in two positions; either standing out by itself towards the front of the sanctuary, and this is the earlier practice, or else against the wall, according to the method most in use since the sixteenth century. In either case the church should be so placed that the celebrant and the altar may be turned towards the east. The altar now used for the Chapter Mass in St. John Lateran has been turned towards the people, during the restorations recently carried out by Leo XIII., and the Pope's throne is permanently fixed at the end of the enlarged apse. Even when placed near the wall, the altar should be detached from it, as is that of the Sistine chapel. Benedict XIII. insists on a space of at least two feet and a-half between the wall and the altar, so as to allow room for passing round it. This space is required on the one hand by the very rite of consecration, and on the other, for the convenience of the divine service. In Rome, a wooden stair-case is added behind the altar terminating in a platform which runs the whole length of the super-altar; this is necessary for the purpose of decorating the gradines, and prevents the necessity of the sacristans standing on the altar itself, which is extremely unseemly and is calculated to give scandal to the faithful.

The Congregation of Rites decided for the Cathedral of Troia, in 1610, that the altar which was at the extreme end of the apse, should be brought forward to the entrance of the choir, so that the celebrating priest should face the people; the throne then resumed its original place opposite the altar at the further end of the apse, and the canons' stalls were arranged on the right and left of the throne.

The altar is made of stone or marble, because it should be consecrated. Wooden altars, condemned by St. Evaristus, are only allowed in exceptional cases. It is to be hoped that cast-iron altars, one of the results of modern industry, will never be admitted into a church.

The high altar must be raised by at least three steps above the pavement of the sanctuary; if the existence of a

crypt necessitates there being more, they should be of unequal number; there are seven at St. Peter's in Rome. These steps are of wood or stone. The lowest must, according to Benedict XIII., be at least six feet from the balustrade. The two first extend beyond the altar on each side. Their depth is two feet 8 inches and their height 6 inches. The pradella is made of wood, in order to prevent cold, and is of the same width as the altar. The Ceremonial prescribes that the steps should be covered with carpet, at least on solemn occasions.

The following are the dimensions of the high altar in the Cathedral of Benevento, consecrated by Cardinal Orsini in 1692 :—Length, 10 feet 4¾ inches; height, 3 feet 5½ inches; depth, 2 feet 4 inches; gradines, height, 6¾ inches; depth of the first, 7¼ inches; of the second, 2 feet.

The table of the altar is supported by a base, *stipes*, the form of which admits of four different types.

(*a*) The *solid altar* is the one commonly used in Rome. It is rectangular, built of stone, and closed on all sides. The corners are rectangular. This kind of altar lends itself best to the use of a frontal. Benedict XIII. recommends that a cross should be placed in the front; in Rome this is of inlaid marble or gilded metal. This cross reminds us that the altar symbolises Christ.

(*b*) The altar which is hollow inside is the *sepulchre altar*. It has inside the stonework a leaden coffin, containing the body of a saint, whose name is inscribed on the front. Here are some examples from Rome of these commemorative inscriptions: at the Church of St. Balbina, on a wheel of alabaster :—

CORPORA · SS.
BALBINAE · V. M.
ET · FELICISSIMI · M.

At the Church of St. Clement, in letters of gilded bronze, on red porphyry :—

FLAVIUS · CLEMENS
MARTYR
HIC
FELICITER
EST · TUMULATUS

At the Church of San Marco, in letters of gold, on violet porphyry :—

IN · HOC · ALTARI
QUIESCIT · CORPUS · SANCTI · MARCI
PAPÆ · ET · CONFESSORIS

Sometimes the inscription concerning the relics is placed away from the altar.

At the Baptistery of the Lateran, in the Oratory of St. Justina :—

DD. CYPRIANO · DIAC. ET · IUSTINÆ
VIRGINI · MM.
QUORUM · CORPORA · ARA · CONDIT

At the Church of St. Eustace, on a white marble slab under the porch, we read these words in praise of Cardinal Nereus Corsini :—

Nereo tit: S. Eustachij diac : card : Corsino
Clementis XII. pont. opt. max. fratr: fil:
quod aram maximam
elegantissimis marmoribus
ceterisq. praeclaris ornamentis
ad corpora SS. Eustachij et socior. martyrvm
tegenda
ingenti liberalitate construxerit
cap: et canonici huiusce basilicae
nomine suo devinctissimi
mem. pos. anno MDCCLIX.

(*c*) The *shrine altar* is so arranged that the whole space between the table and the sides is filled by a shrine of wood or metal, in which rests the body of a saint, which can be seen through glass. This plan is modern: the saint lies with the head raised on a cushion, and is clothed in his vestments. Such are in Rome the bodies of St. Paul of the Cross, St. Leonard of Port Maurice, and of the Blessed Cardinal Tomasi and the Blessed Crispin of Viterbo. In the case of martyrs taken from the catacombs there is added to the relics a waxen statue, artistically worked.

(*d*) The *empty altar* rests at the four corners on small pillars, or, as at the side altars in the Cathedral of Benevento, on two brackets, which join the table to the stone on which the altar stands.

The table of the altar covers the base, and protrudes a little beyond it. It is rectangular on every side. Nothing is more inconvenient than the altar tables cut out in a crescent in front, like that of the high altar of the Cathedral of Angers, constructed in the last century, or rounded at the edge, for then it is not easy for the priest to hold his fingers as the Rubric prescribes.

The high altar in the great basilicas has no gradines. In isolated altars more than one is scarcely possible, for two or three would prevent the officiating priest from being seen. For those placed against the wall, the number is not limited; it is generally two, three, or more. One would be enough, if there were only to be a crucifix and six candlesticks, but then more candles are needed for Benediction and Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. The gradines are made of wood, painted and gilded, or of stone or marble. Their width is generally the same as that of the altar table, on which they must not encroach; nevertheless, it is not unusual in Italy, to see them protruding on each side, and then this prolongation is supported by a bracket or by masonry. Add a frontal and a baldaquin, and the altar is complete. In parish churches a tabernacle is also necessary.

The altar may not be built over a tomb or a mortuary vault; the prohibition extends even to the steps, which must not cover the body or bodies of one or more dead. Benedict XIII. condemns "holes, cupboards, &c., in the altar to keep the cruets" or other things necessary for its decoration or service. The altar should under no pretext be converted into a cupboard; the mere respect which we should have for the table on which the Holy Sacrifice is offered requires this. In all that concerns the high altar, the Sacred Congregation of Rites makes it of strict obligation to conform to the Ceremonial of Bishops, and to obey its own injunctions which contain the interpretation of the same.—(*Comen.*, 30 Sept., 1628).

The high altar in a Cathedral is reserved for the bishop and chapter, for public and solemn functions. It would therefore not be befitting to use it habitually for the celebration of Low Mass, especially should the canons be in choir for the recitation of divine office. In a parish church, the high altar should be appropriated exclusively to public and solemn offices, such as parochial Mass, high Mass, burials, weddings, &c.

In churches belonging to the religious orders, especially those of the friars mendicant, the altar has a particular form. It is joined to the side walls by a partition-wall, panelled and ornamented, and there is a door on the right and left leading to the choir. When it is not possible to have this partition-wall, an iron rod is used, on which curtains run, as at the Minerva. The doors are closed with a *portière*, which, on solemn occasions, is of the colour of the day. As the choir of these religious orders is behind the altar, a square opening is sometimes made in the middle of the gradine, so that the celebrant may be visible. This opening is sometimes filled with a gilt grating as at S. Maria del Popolo. This is also done in convents, when the nuns' choir is in the same situation, as at San Cosimato.

Side Altars.

In the construction and ornamentation of the side altars, the same rules must be followed as for the high altar. Nevertheless there are some differences to be noticed; they should have only one step and one gradine. The proportions are also smaller, excepting the height, which should usually be the same. St. Charles gives the following dimensions: height, 3 feet ¾ inches: width, 6 feet; depth, 2 feet 8 inches. At the Chiesa Nuova in Rome, these are the measurements: height, 3 feet 8 inches; width, 7 feet 3½ inches; depth, 2 feet 4 inches; height of the gradine 9¾ inches. All the side altars of this church date from the sixteenth century. Here are some more measurements, taken at Bologna. At St. Isaias, height, 3 feet 3¾ inches; width, 7 feet 9¼ inches; depth, 1 foot 10 inches. At the Madonna di S. Luca, height, 3 feet 8 inches; width, 7 feet; depth, 2 feet 1¾ inches. At S. Catarina, height,

3 feet 4 inches; width, 7 feet $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches; depth, 1 foot $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches. At Cività Vecchia at the Conventuals, height, 3 feet 4 inches; width, 7 feet; depth, 1 foot $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

These altars should be less decorated than the high altar; but they may have two or four candlesticks, a frontal, a reredos and a baldaquin. Each altar has its own titular, who is given to it by the bishop in the ceremony of consecration, or by the simple fact of its erection. The dedication is indicated by a picture on the reredos, and by an appropriate inscription. The titular once in possession, it is forbidden to substitute another, as long as the altar remains morally the same. Such a change would only be allowable in case the altar were completely reconstructed. In France, too often the caprice of a parish priest or of some devotee changes the titular, setting aside right and tradition.

Benedict XIII. willingly conceded the right of patronage over an altar, when an agreement was made to provide for its maintenance by an annual rent. If the rent was not paid, after a warning from the Ordinary, the patron was declared to have forfeited his right, by virtue of which he could otherwise choose the titular, and put his coat-of-arms on the reredos and on the frontal, and an inscription stating his privilege; he had also the power of naming the chaplain attached to the service of the altar, and of having it privileged to the exclusive profit of the deceased members of his family. It may be useful to give the formula employed by Cardinal Orsini for the assignment of these endowments.

"R. D. N. Vicarius generalis sedens, et viso supplici libello porrecto pro parte N., petentis facultatem et licentiam erigendi intus ecclesiam sub titulo S. N., oppidi N., altare S. N.; viso consensu Rmi. D. N. rectoris praefatae ecclesiae; visa infrascripta assignatione dotis pro manutentione ejusdem altaris, quae dos consistit in . . licentiam et facultatem erigendi altare in honorem S. N. intus dictam ecclesiam concessit et impertitus fuit, servatis tamen de jure servandis et cum obligatione quod dos praedicta omni futuro tempore per procuratores cleri administretur, ut ipsi de ea rationem reddant huic nostrae curiae, salvisque semper et reservatis juribus episcopalibus et non alias nec alio modo.

"Datum . . . die . . .

"N. vic. gen."

The Council of Trent desires that, in remembrance of churches which are destroyed for any reason, there should be erected in the church, built on the same land as many altars as they contained, and under the same invocations.

When altars have been dedicated to saints of the Old Testament, the tradition can be left undisturbed; but there is no reason to erect others under their invocation. (S. R. C., 3rd Aug., 1697.) Neither can altars be set up in honour of the Beatified, for they do not enjoy the universal worship which is accorded only to the saints. It is necessary, should occasion arise, to ask for an apostolic indult from the Holy See, in order to keep within the law.

No altar can be demolished, or moved from one place to another, without the previous permission of the ordinary. Before profaning it, certain rites, accompanied by prayers, must be observed.

A certain hierarchy ought to be observed among the altars, which is regulated according to the relative dignity of their titulars. The Litany of the Saints fixes the order of precedence. The first in dignity should be nearest to the high altar, the right hand having precedence over the left. Thus the Lady altar should be, if not behind the high altar, in an apsidal chapel, for this is not always possible, at least on the right hand side, as understood in the Liturgy, and not at the right of the spectator.

In many places a special altar is erected to the titular of the church in order to honour him more particularly. This is done from want of reflection, for it would seem to be forgotten that the whole church, with its high altar, is already dedicated to the saint, as follows from the ceremony of benediction or consecration itself:—*Ut hanc ecclesiam et altare ad honorem tuum et nomen Sancti tui N. purgare et benedicere digneris.* The Congregation of Rites has therefore condemned such an abuse.

If an altar which already has a titular is required for some new devotion, a smaller picture may be placed for this purpose on the gradine under the crucifix. Benedict XIV., in a dissertation on these *sottoquadri*, ordains that they should not be allowed to interfere with the conspicuous size and

position of the crucifix. When the title of an altar is changed, and the picture of the titular moved elsewhere, the altar does not thereby lose its consecration. (S. R. C., 7th July, 1759.)

During the last twenty years there are to be seen in France casings for altars made of repoussé and gilt metal, of very good style and execution. As, however, they are a sort of rich frontal, it would be best to keep them for solemnities, and to use a more simple form of decoration habitually.

J. Rouse.

GLEANINGS IN SCIENCE.[1]

In a popular scientific lecture, clear exposition and simplicity in experimental illustration are, of all things, essential; both these characteristics are conspicuous on nearly every page of the interesting volume of popular lectures before us. The author has acted wisely in retaining the form in which the lectures were originally delivered; for with the aid of copious illustrations, the intelligent reader will be able to follow each special line of thought with nearly as much ease, as if he heard the living voice of the speaker, and saw the experiments performed in his presence. The two kindred subjects—Heat and Electricity—are those mainly dealt with: they are the subjects which, more than any others, have occupied scientific men for many years past; and they are likely to engage a still larger amount of attention in the future. The two first lectures are devoted to Latent Heat—the great stumbling block of the Physicists and Chemists of the last century. It is well known that when a vessel filled with ice is put on the fire, although many hours may elapse before all the ice is melted, no increase of temperature can be detected, even with the most delicate

[1] *Gleanings in Science.* By Gerald Molloy, D.D., D.Sc. London: Macmillan & Co.

thermometer, until the last ice-particle disappears; and a corresponding phenomenon is observed in the conversion of water into vapour. Were any one to ask, a hundred years ago, what became of all the heat—he would be told it was *latent*, owing to water having a greater capacity for caloric than ice, and vapour a greater capacity than water; and a similar explanation served to account for the development of heat which takes place when a liquid solidifies, or a vapour condenses. There were a few sceptical people, indeed, who shook their heads, yet said little; for so long as heat was regarded as a distinct kind of matter, it was difficult to suggest a more satisfactory answer. But as experiments multiplied, the old theory proved altogether inadequate to account for the phenomena; and when it was found that the amount of heat produced by friction, or other mechanical means, always bore a fixed relation to the energy expended in its production, the new theory, which regards heat as motion, and not as matter, was established on a firm basis. It was then seen that the heat-motion which entered into the melting ice was entirely expended in shaking asunder the solid particles and freeing them from the bonds of their mutual attractions, so that none was left to increase the temperature. We would strongly recommend a careful perusal of these lectures on heat to the writers of our text-books in a different department of philosophy. It is painful to read, even in some of the most recent, that Heat and Light are "imponderable matter;" as well might the singing of a bird, or the sound of a drum, be called imponderable matter. A Materialist of the present day is not likely to be much influenced by arguments deduced from such statements. The *Gleanings in Science* will have done good service if it help in preventing a repetition of such blunders in the future.

Closely connected with the lectures on Heat are two on *The Sun as a Storehouse of Energy*. The subjects treated under this head are (*a*) the vast amount of heat which the sun is constantly sending forth into space; and (*b*) the means by which, notwithstanding this great expenditure, its temperature has been preserved so long, practically un-

changed. In the present state of knowledge, it is impossible to form any exact idea of the actual temperature of the solar mass; we know, however, that it far transcends any attainable by human contrivance. The spectroscope furnishes evidence that substances such as iron, copper, and several others with which we are familiar on the earth, exist as glowing gases in the sun's atmosphere; and iron requires a temperature of fifteen-hundred Centigrade degrees to melt, and a still higher temperature to pass into vapour. But the dark absorption lines, which the spectroscope reveals, prove that even this metallic atmosphere is cold, compared with the hot nucleus or central body of the sun. Regarding the condition of that central body, very little is known with certainty. A solid or liquid state seems hardly compatible with the high temperature; and the density is such as might easily be produced in a gas subjected to the pressure arising from the sun's enormous mass. In whatever state it exists, one would think that a white-hot globe of matter, eight-hundred-and-fifty-thousand miles in diameter, and having a temperature of many thousand degrees, must possess an inexhaustible store of heat. Yet, when accurate methods of measurement are applied, the solar radiation is found to be so immense, that in a globe, having the dimensions of the sun, and composed of any solid or liquid terrestrial substance, a few centuries would suffice to detect a diminution of temperature. And notwithstanding this, in the unaltered condition of the vegetation at known parts of the earth's surface during the last two thousand years, we have evidence that no appreciable change has taken place in the solar radiation during that time. Of the many theories proposed to account for this remarkable phenomenon, two only have survived.

Following in the footsteps of Kant and Laplace, Helmholtz has given to their theory an extension hardly contemplated by its authors. The condensation of gaseous particles which once filled the realms of space, and out of which the solar mass was originally formed, he considers is not yet completed in the sun. The collisions of these particles in falling together under the influence of their

mutual attractions, generate an amount of heat which, while it retards further condensation, fully compensates for the loss sustained by radiation; and as many million years must elapse before condensation ceases, owing to the immense mass of the sun, not till then can any great change of temperature be detected.

Mayer, and after him Thomson and others, have traced the uniformity of the sun's temperature to a different cause. It is well known that countless myriads of meteors are flying with almost incredible speed through the realms of space. The earth, in its annual path about the sun, encounters over a hundred distinct swarms of them. When they enter the earth's atmosphere, the friction raises their temperature to vivid incandescence, and many are wholly converted into vapour, presenting the familiar appearance of "falling stars." The speed of others is so diminished by the resistance they encounter that they are pulled down by the earth's attraction, and fall on its surface. An approximate estimate, resting on unimpeachable data, gives the number which fall to the earth every twenty-four hours as twenty million, and this is only a fractional part of the total number which enter the earth's atmosphere during the same period. They vary in weight and size from the two ounce 'elf-stone,' which the humble peasant regards with superstitious awe as the harbinger of future misfortune, to the large meteoric masses, weighing several hundred pounds, preserved in the museums of both hemispheres. In the absence of proof to the contrary, it is not unreasonable to assume that, equally with the spaces traversed by the earth, the regions in the neighbourhood of the sun are peopled by those mysterious bodies. Drawn gradually from their paths by the sun's mighty attraction, they fall, one by one, to its surface, and by their impacts produce the heat and light which warm and illumine our earth. We think that the author goes a little too far when he states that this latter theory is now practically abandoned. No doubt it requires modification. But quite recently it has been dressed in a new garb, and at the present moment is engaging the attention of some of the best-known authorities in astronomical science.

In one of the concluding paragraphs the question is asked:—

"What has become of that vast quantity of energy which has gone forth from the sun during the long ages of past time?"

And in a subsequent paragraph the answer is given:—

"You know that there are stars in the heavens so distant that the light by which they are now visible to us, the light that enters our telescopes, night after night, and announces to us their existence in far off space, has been thousands of years on its journey hither. May we not suppose, then, with some reason, that the light which went out some thousands of years ago from the sun, which is the fixed star of our system, is, in like manner, still pursuing its career in distant space?"

For our part, we would prefer to go some distance further, and follow in their progress the waves of heat and light till they reach the rock-bound coast of the ethereal ocean in which the sun and stars, the earth and planets, are immersed. There, striking against the impenetrable barrier which absolute vacuity presents, we should see them reflected back, widening out as they pursue their return journey through the vast expanse of occupied space, and gradually diminishing in intensity owing to the internal friction of the medium, until finally, under their influence, the universe assumes a state of uniform temperature throughout.

It would be difficult to find a book in which any department of electricity is discussed without some allusion to Thales' amber, Galvani's frog, or Franklin's kite. We have searched in vain for the two first; but, as might be expected in a lecture dealing with "Lightning and Lightning Conductors," the kite has received the usual amount of attention. For the last hundred years physicists have been experimenting with electricity and lightning rods, and yet it sometimes happens that spires are rent and chimneys shattered, as if Franklin had never lived nor Richman died. It is also true, however, that since the days of Watt engineers have been improving the steam engine and its boiler without being able to prevent an occasional explosion. Defective construction and neglect to maintain in proper

condition are the usual causes of catastrophe in both cases; and so long as the erection of conductors is intrusted to builders or architects having little or no knowledge of the fundamental laws of electricity, lightning rods will continue to be a source of positive danger to the structures they are intended to protect. But the statistics of injuries from lightning furnish instances where even conductors erected under the best scientific guidance have been found inefficient; and some recent experiments seem to show that the most approved plan of construction at present in use is far from perfect. In a treatise on lightning conductors by a practical electrician of some name, published only a few years ago, we read of the Hotel de Ville, in Brussels, that "probably no other building is so completely guarded from the dangers of thunderstorms;" and yet this same building suffered much damage, last June, from a fire caused by lightning. It is stated in our text-books that with a half-inch copper rope, well soldered and riveted to a stout, branching, and pointed terminal rod, and having, above all, a good earth connection, there is nothing to fear, care being taken that all large masses of metal in the structure are connected with the conductor. And it can hardly be questioned that in most cases such an arrangement will afford protection. During the discussion, however, which took place on this subject at the last meeting of the British Association, the pertinent question was asked—How has it happened, in buildings injured by lightning, that the electricity left the conductor, where the resistance was less than a hundred ohms, to follow a different path through a resistance amounting to several thousand ohms? It may, no doubt, be answered that the electricity which caused the injury was only a part of the entire discharge, the remainder having passed harmlessly through the conductor to the ground. But even if the ordinary law by which an electric current divides itself were followed, the very small fractional part which flowed through the greater resistance, in some cases, at least, would hardly suffice to produce the disastrous results observed. The author wisely, we think, abstains from hazarding an answer to this difficult question till further data

are obtained. And in reading the accounts furnished of accidents which have occurred great caution is always necessary, for in philosophy, as in medicine, when a patient dies who has been attended by several independent physicians, the cause of death is found to vary with each one's diagnosis of the symptoms.

A lecture on the dynamo would be very imperfect which made no reference to Faraday. Every modern form of Electric Generator is as much his offspring as the Lightning Rod is the child of Franklin. More than this, if we except, perhaps, the principle of the Bell Telephone, it would be difficult to point out even one really new discovery made in electricity, since Faraday's death. The last twenty years have been fruitful chiefly in extensions and practical applications of principles discovered by him, or known before his time. But these have been extensions and applications, which have converted the simple apparatus of the laboratory into complicated and ponderous machines capable of driving tramcars, lighting cities, and doing an endless variety of other useful work. Looking back, with our present knowledge, one easily sees how even Faraday's most brilliant achievements might have been anticipated, had Oersted's chance discovery, of twelve years before, received its full interpretation. A little acquaintance with the Convertibility and Conservation of Energy would have shown that the work done in moving Oersted's magnet, if expended in bringing it back again, should reproduce the current which caused the displacement. This was Faraday's experiment—only slightly altered; and the steam-engine which rotates the armature of the modern dynamo a thousand times per minute, does little more than repeat the same experiment in a greatly exaggerated form. For years past, the dynamo has been the property of the machinist rather than of the physicist; and, like its twin-brother the steam-engine, it has undergone many changes of shape and size to suit each special purpose. With its construction, the general reader will not trouble himself much more than to learn that it consists of a bar, or ring, of soft iron, or a bundle of thin iron plates, covered with several layers of insulated copper wire, and the whole—

technically called an *armature* — kept rapidly revolving between the poles of one or more powerful electro-magnets. When a steam-engine, turbine, or other motor, is employed to rotate the armature, an electric current, suitable for lighting and many other purposes, is produced; and when an electric current flowing from some other source, is already available, and is sent through the wires of the dynamo, the latter may be used sometimes with advantage, to replace the steam-engine.

But it is as a generator of electricity, especially for lighting purposes, that the dynamo is most likely to receive its full development. The production of an intense light, by sending a strong electric current through two stout carbon pencils, has been known since the commencement of this century. Owing to the expense involved, however, it is only on rare occasions that it has been seen outside the precincts of the lecture-hall. The introduction of the dynamo, by cheapening the cost of the current, has already shown that the adoption of this method of illumination is, in many cases, commercially feasible. But it is only for large areas and open spaces that the Arc Light—as this arrangement has been called—is suitable. Besides the unsteadiness of the light which they emit, the white hot carbons heat and vitiate the air even more than gas does. The Incandescent Light, on the other hand, is entirely free from these inconveniences. It is produced by means of a thin filament of carbon which is enclosed in an exhausted glass vessel, and made white-hot by the passage of the electric current. The advantages of such an arrangement are obvious. The light is both brilliant and steady; and there is no consumption of oxygen, and no noxious gases produced to vitiate the air. When it is remembered that a common fish-tail burner, with average pressure, consumes as much oxygen as five men, the superiority of the Incandescent Light over the ordinary means of illumination, where pure air is of great importance, will readily be admitted; and, as matters stand at present, the greater cost which, in most cases, it entails is the only obstacle to its supplanting gas as an illuminant for domestic purposes.

To what extent the dynamo will hereafter serve as a substitute for the steam-engine, it would be premature to predict. The ways of trade do not always lie along the lines traced out by science. But on the cost involved in producing the electric current required to work the dynamo, its future progress as a motor must depend. No form of galvanic battery yet invented, or likely to be invented, can be used with economy for that purpose. A second dynamo, employed as a generator, gives the only prospect of success. Here, again, however, a difficulty arises; for if steam be used to rotate the armature of the generator, loss and not gain, will necessarily follow. Nature has established an immutable law which forbids more work being got out of any combination of machines than the equivalent of the energy, in whatever form supplied to them. A given weight of coal, acting directly through the steam-engine, will do a greater amount of useful work than when one or more dynamos are interposed; for additional friction always involves additional loss. But when water-power is available, the case stands differently. The kinetic energy of the mountain-stream—too often allowed to expend itself uselessly, if sent through a turbine or other form of water-wheel, would do all the work of which the costly fuel of the steam-boiler is capable; and a well insulated copper or iron rod, not thicker than one's finger, would transmit the electric current from the generator to the motor-dynamo—several miles distant, with only slight diminution. The current which propels a tramcar would suffice to drive a saw, throw a shuttle, or turn a lathe; and many a town, and distant village, with inexhaustible stores of energy within easy reach, now languish silently in decay, which, if Nature's resources—as pointed out by Science—were fully utilized, would long since be all astir with the busy hum of many industries.

F. Lennon.

ANTWERP CATHEDRAL.

THE traveller who visits Antwerp by train, and who hopes as he approaches to see the cathedral with its graceful tower rising above the public buildings of the city is doomed to disappointment. Its pious founders in the middle of the fourteenth century laid its foundations on the low ground adjoining the river, and it is thus hidden away in what is practically the centre of the old town. It has to be sought out therefore through a labyrinth of narrow streets; but the streets with their quaint architecture are interesting. They witnessed the pageants of Alva, and they also witnessed his expulsion, and the triumphant vindication of the liberties of a nation. And those statues of our Lady, which you notice on most of the street corners, seem to greet you from their niches as you pass. And long before your pilgrimage to the cathedral can grow wearisome, you hear the unrivalled music of its carillon floating in magical sweetness through the air—

> "Low and loud and sweetly blended,
> Low at times and loud at times,
> And changing like a poet's rhymes."

When at length a view is obtained of the historic pile, one's feelings are apt to be those of impatient surprise. The view of the transept and choir from the "Place Verte," is disappointing. The front view from the "Grande Place," though much better, is not quite satisfactory. It is painfully evident that the spoiler's hand had been busy here, though the work of restoration is progressing. There are still some crumbling buttresses, shattered pinnacles, and niches to which the statues have not yet been restored. The deeply recessed doorway, though much injured, is very striking; but still more striking is the richly traceried window by which it is surmounted. On either side of the entrance the towers rise, having the different stages of their elevation marked by galleries of rich and delicate tracery. Were both towers complete they would form a front unique

in its beauty. The southern tower has, however, reached only the third gallery; while the other reaches the extraordinary height of four hundred feet. But from so near a view it is impossible to realize its height, its proportions, and delicacy of design.

From any view which one can have of the church from the exterior, it is difficult to form an exact idea of its outline. It is in fact disfigured or partially lost by what are correctly designated in the guide books as "the mean houses" clustered against it. It is, however, a cruciform church, with transepts, and triple aisles running round the nave. Its style is decorated Gothic; though at the intersection of nave and transepts a Byzantine dome forms a very conspicuous feature, and strikes one by its singular incongruity.

The richness of the interior compensates in a great measure for the somewhat disappointing character of the exterior. But even the richness of the interior can scarcely reconcile one to the absence of harmony manifested even there, between the general design, and matters of detail. Immediately on entering we are surprised at finding that the rich marbles of the porch speak of classic architecture. The designs of the prominent monuments in the church are classic also. Even the high altar, with its beautiful reredos, which forms a striking setting for Rubens' altar piece, and was designed for the purpose by the gifted master's own hand, is but another specimen of the Renaissance. Yet all seem willing to admit that this arrangement, with its incongruities, is glorified, nay, rendered sacred by the artist's fame, and the recognized merit of his great painting. Indeed, one's whole attention is soon concentrated on the magnificent altar piece; and other feelings are quickly lost in the admiration of its beauty. In the "Assumption" one has all the marvellous colouring for which Rubens is so justly celebrated. A light almost dazzling pours its golden glory upon our Lady as she seems to soar upwards to the skies. Her hair floats loosely on her shoulders, and the face and features seem to have regained the beauty of her early years. Angelic forms are visible amidst the bright clouds by which she is enveloped. On the earth below her, the

apostles and holy women are grouped around the tomb—some engaged in prayer, some conversing in wonder—probably at finding that the sacred body of our Lady was no longer there; while others with arms raised are looking intently towards heaven as if entranced by the vision of her Assumption thither, with which they seem to have been favoured. On the marble canopy immediately surmounting the painting is a richly sculptured representation of the Trinity as if awaiting to introduce her into heaven, who was henceforth to be heaven's queen. In a church dedicated to our Lady, as is Antwerp Cathedral, the Assumption must be regarded as an appropriate subject for an altar piece. Yet the altar piece cannot be regarded by those familiar with the works of Rubens as his greatest work. His "Crucifixion," which is at present preserved as a priceless treasure in the ancient Art Gallery of the city, is, perhaps, a far more wonderful work. It is difficult to realize anything more suggestive of what is touching and awe-inspiring in the "Crucifixion." The figures on the canvas are few; for the artist has selected for representation a moment when the multitude may be supposed to have dispersed. A soldier having found our Lord already dead, is engaged in the brutal work of breaking the limbs of the dying thieves. On the other side the centurion has just buried his lance in the Redeemer's sacred heart. On his eyes, then sightless, there is stamped a strange expression of malignity. But across the neck of his spirited charger, and towards those sightless eyes, the blood and water gushes on its errand of mercy from the Sacred Heart.

Magdalene kneels at the foot of the Cross with all that peculiar beauty with which Rubens loves to represent her. Her head leans towards the feet of her crucified Lord; but her hands and eyes are raised in eager and horrified protest against the centurion's sacrilege.

The figures of our Lady and St. John complete the group. The Blessed Virgin's face is slightly averted, while she seems to accept a little the support of the Virgin Apostle. A death-like pallor overspreads her features, except where an inky black has settled around the eyelids.

The eyes are raised in inexpressible agony, and show the eyeballs and lids stained red as if with blood. The sensitive lips are parted as when a sob is wrung from the heart and becomes an agonising cry. Altogether the attitude and expression could only be fittingly given to her whom the Church reveres as "Queen of Martyrs."

On every member of our Lord's sacred body are stamped the chilling evidences of his late harrowing sufferings. In the dislocated arms, the muscles stand out with a painful distinctness, while the pressure of the finger joints against the palms indicate the agony of their fearful strain. Those wounds in hands and feet and side are more than mere pictures: they seem ghastly realities. The livid tints of face and members can only belong to a body that is really dead. And while His sacred features retain, even in death, the expression of an agony that is indescribable, they retain also an expression of resignation that is divine. No wonder that the pictures of this great artist should retain the high place they hold in the estimation of his countrymen and of the world generally, despite the calumnies of such men as E. J. Poynter, R.A., who would represent him as an artist in whose works "there is no soul."

Though the cathedral does not possess Rubens' "Crucifixion," it possesses others of his masterpieces better known to the general public. The "Taking Down from the Cross" is the best known of his paintings in Antwerp Cathedral. It is perhaps the work with which his name is most generally associated in the minds of the public. This great work hangs in the south transept. It is a triptych, having the Visitation on its right wing, and the Presentation on its left. The central picture is well known to the world through photographs and engravings, but without conveying more than a faint idea of the beauty of the original. They cannot even remotely reflect its religious pathos or tragic sublimity. The crown and nails have been but just removed, and laid in a basket. The wounds on the hands and feet, look painfully fresh, owing probably to the recent removal of the nails, while there are darker traces on the sacred side of the recent shedding of His precious blood, The hair flows freely now over

His shoulders from His drooping head, and leaves the wounds inflicted by the thorns more painfully visible. His sacred lips are parted, and His eyes are bloodstained and slightly opened. It is difficult to realise anything more true than the death-like appearance of the Sacred Body, or anything more pathetic than the evidences of the recent agony on His face and members. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea and others are straining to lower the body gently by the sheet, which is regarded by critics as a marvel in drawing and colouring. Saint John stands at the foot of the Cross, utilising all his youthful strength to support the weight of the Sacred Body as it descends. The Marys are kneeling with faithful and sorrowing devotion to receive it. There is infinite tenderness in the manner in which Magdalene extends her hands to kiss the Saviour's feet; and in the simple treatment of drapery and figure, as well as in the rich tints which glow upon their features, we recognise those marvellous powers for which Rubens is so universally celebrated.

The figure of our Blessed Lady is easily recognised. The treatment is very similar to the manner in which she is represented in the "Crucifixion," only that she looks much older. Those hours that have marked the interval between those two great events seem to have come upon her with more than the weight of as many years. She seems to stand with difficulty. Her eyes are fixed with unspeakable sadness on the descending body of her Son, and she extends her hands towards him with affecting eagerness, as if to guard against the least possibility of accident. Indeed, her figure and features bear upon them unmistakable evidence of her unequalled sorrow.

Passing on to the north transept, we are before another of Rubens' great works, the "Raising of the Cross." It is, like the "Descent from the Cross," a triptych, and the great event forms the subject of the central picture. The executioners are engaged in raising the Cross, now weighted by our Lord's sacred body. Some strain with all their strength at the ropes; others, with equal energy, keep the foot of the Cross pressed against the earth. In the

malignant earnestness which they manifest in accomplishing their fiendish work there is a something painfully revolting. The wounds on hands and feet and brow are bleeding slowly. The agony of the features is indescribable; but the eyes raised to heaven express the supreme strength of divine resignation. On the left wing of the picture are represented the Roman soldiers, with their Imperial standards. Critics speak of them as perfect in design and colouring. Our Blessed Lady and the beloved Apostle occupy a conspicuous place on the other side. Her anguish is as powerfully and as touchingly delineated as in his other pictures in which she is represented associated with the sufferings of her Son. She bends forward with clasped hands to gaze in awe upon the agonising form of her Beloved, now exposed to the gaze of a mocking multitude.

There is also another group, representing probably the women of Jerusalem. They, however, only manifest such commonplace feelings as the sad event must have rendered inevitable in the case of any ordinary spectator. They are worthy of Rubens only in drawing and colouring. They represent so much of the merely natural and material, as to detract from the general effect of the picture, and to give to the unfavourable criticisms of some a partial justification.

The chapels which surround the choir are generally interesting, and contain a few noteworthy monuments. Amongst the most interesting of these, I may mention that to Bishop Ambrosius Capello, whose life-size effigy, carved in alabaster, with mitre and episcopal robes, rests in a recumbent position on his monument. The monument to the Plantin family is also interesting. The name is associated with the well-known Plantin Museum of the city. The monument of Isabella of Bourbon, wife of Charles the Bold, is specially noteworthy. It is situated immediately at the back of the high altar, and has a life-size recumbent effigy of the good lady wrought in bronze. The face is beautiful. The drapery of the figure is arranged in graceful folds. The hands, closely joined, rest against the bosom as if in prayer. There hangs just above the monument a beautiful painting

by Mathysens, which may, perhaps, be justly regarded as amongst the most striking and interesting in the cathedral. It represents the death of our Blessed Lady. She seems to have sunk back upon a couch in a peaceful swoon. Her hands are joined. Her face, unique in its beauty, has upon it the solemn pallor of death. The apostles, disciples, and holy women are around her, with faces expressive of the deepest sympathy. The angels are seen descending in clouds of light, bearing beautiful wreaths in their hands; and, above them all, the Redeemer's face is revealed in the opening skies as He descends to meet His Holy Mother. This truly beautiful picture wants the brilliancy of Rubens' colouring, but it possesses much of the grandeur of design and boldness of execution for which he is also so justly famous.

In a chapel at the Gospel side of the high altar there is a small copy of the Christ—*à là paille*—by Rubens, which deserves more attention than it usually seems to attract. The Sacred Body, just taken down from the Cross, does not rest on our Lady's lap. It is laid on a stone bench, and is supported from behind by Joseph of Arimathea, who bends over it with the deepest reverence. Magdalene kneels, and holds the Saviour's hand in hers. Her lips touch it with reverential tenderness. The Blessed Virgin stands near, supported by St. John. Her features and attitude are alike indicative of helpless and hopeless sorrow. The pallor of her face is like that of the dead; yet the blood-stained eyes and the pathetic strain of the attitude as she inclines towards the lifeless form of her Son, indicate a vitality which sorrow is powerless to destroy. Nothing can be more beautiful, or more sad withal, than the representation of the Sacred Body, which retains in death all the pathetic marks of his recent sufferings.

The adjoining chapels also contain some very interesting works, among which I may mention a Madonna after Van Dyke and a "Descent from the Cross," by De Vos.

In the Chapel of St. Joseph a beautiful rose window merits attention. In this window the "Tree of Jesse" is represented in imperishable colours, from designs said to

have been furnished by Stalens and Jansens. Indeed, the interior of this fine old cathedral owes much of its beauty to the glass with which its windows are enriched. The magnificent transept windows have glass which dates as far back as the beginning of the seventeenth century. The subjects, which are partly sacred and partly historical, are beautifully executed, and do much to beautify the interior, the columns and capitals of which they bathe in their mellow tints. The stained windows of the south aisle, which light the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, are, perhaps, the oldest in the cathedral, and are said to date from the beginning of the sixteenth century. That in the north aisle, which lights the Lady Chapel, was presented by Leopold II., and, though more modern, can hardly be considered less beautiful.

An interior elevation of one hundred and thirty feet for the roof of nave and choir can hardly be considered sufficient in a church which has triple aisles on either side, and covers an area of over 70,008 square feet. The absence of a triforium seems also to detract from the elevation of the roof and from that appearance of airy lightness which we admire so much in the vaulted roofs of our great cathedrals. But in Belgian cathedrals the omission of a triforium is no unusual feature. Its omission will be noticed in the Cathedral of Bruges and in those of other Flemish cities. Perhaps the omission would be less noticeable were the clerestory stained, and not glazed, as it is, with cathedral glass.

Though the rood screen is also a familiar feature in our mediæval churches, visitors may not regret its absence in Antwerp Cathedral. Owing to the existing arrangement there, the visitor, on entering the nave, can see at once the altar, and the beautiful altar-piece, with its gorgeous setting. The entire choir is visible also—its richly-carved stalls, its lines of sacred figures, its exquisite canopies and delicately-wrought pinnacles—all rise before one in quite a bewildering show. The great crucifix, which is suspended over the entrance of the choir, seems an effective substitute for the usual group of the rood screen arch.

In a notice, no matter how meagre, of this interesting

cathedral, reference to its exquisite woodwork cannot be omitted. The woodwork of the choir, just referred to, commands general admiration. But the confessionals and pulpit are, we think, equally marvellous specimens of artistic wood-carving. They are beautiful in design, and in execution they are exquisite. The confessionals are arranged along the northern aisle. On either side of the confessional doorways, and also at the approaches for the penitents, are carved figures, nearly life size—generally of angels with wings and flowing drapery, and sometimes of saints. Many of those are designed by Van Brugen, whose genius has demonstrated that results can be obtained, even in wood, which rival the best results that sculpture has achieved in marble. In grace of outline, those figures might have been modelled on the sculptures of the Parthenon; and with the excellence of those classic works they may be also said to possess, in part, their faults. They are, in truth, far more suggestive of the naturalism of the Renaissance, than of the sacred traditions of purely Christian art. It is needless to add that all the ornamental detail in connexion with the finish of those confessionals is simply faultless.

Many of the pulpits with which Flemish cathedrals are enriched exhibit developments in wood-carving equally curious and interesting. It would seem, indeed, as if Flemish artists made a special selection of pulpits as subjects on which they might put forth all their powers, and which they might enrich with everything in art or nature that their fertile imaginations might suggest. In those labours of love they seem to revel in the illimitable resources of their own genius, regardless of those recognised canons of usage and design to which art had rendered faithful homage in the past. The pulpit of Antwerp Cathedral is no exception to this rule. It was designed by Van Der Voort, and is said to have been brought to Antwerp from the Abbey of St. Bernard, on the Scheld. Who but the artist, or one of his school, would have thought of surrounding it with the trellised branches of trees which spring up behind it, and help to form and to support the magnificent canopy which is surmounted? Birds of various size and form hide in its leafy shelter, or

openly display their graceful plumes before the spectators' wondering eyes. Festoons of richest foliage and flowers hang in graceful wreaths around pulpit and canopy. Underneath, the four large allegorical figures which support the pulpit are faultless in *pose* and execution, and those cherubs which help, with easy grace, to support the canopy might have been designed by Correggio.

Though the cathedral is, as we have seen, unencumbered by pretentious monuments, the dead are by no means forgotten there. There is hardly an available portion of the pavement that does not mark the resting place of some one, more or less notable, in the chequered history of the Flemish people.

Amongst the many interesting inscriptions there, that which marks the grave of Quentin Matsys is specially noteworthy. Once a blacksmith, he became one of the most famous painters of the Netherlands. His grave is close to the cathedral tower. The statue of the mythical Silvius Brabo, in front of the cathedral, is one of the many existing works of this extraordinary man.

Leaving Antwerp by the evening boat for Harwich, the traveller can obtain such a view of the cathedral and its tower as should compensate him for his disappointed expectations when approaching the city by train. As he floats down the "lazy Scheld," the busy wharves and lofty warehouses are quickly lost to view, though the Church of Notre Dame of Antwerp continues visible and clearly defined. And as the intervening distance increases, it seems only to gain in delicacy of outline, and may not probably be lost to sight till the shadows of the evening settle on the broad bosom of the river.

J. Fahey.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

May a Surplice be Lent to a Protestant Clergyman?

This question was proposed in June, 1875, to Father Edmund O'Reilly, S.J. His answer has been found amongst the papers of the priest who consulted him on behalf of another, and it may be given as a proof of the care that he bestowed on such matters:—

"As to the surplice, I would not venture to say there would be anything *essentially* wrong in lending it, so that the act could be justified by no possible reason, as the act is indifferent in itself, and is only materially connected with the Protestant service. Practically, however, in ordinary circumstances, I consider it wrong, as involving a kind of co-operation with the parson in his clerical functions, and a degree of fraternization calculated to give scandal. The answer might be that the priest would be most willing to do the minister a merely personal favour, to oblige him or serve him in his private capacity, but that Catholics consider it objectionable to connect themselves at all with the religious services of Protestants; that this is his own (the priest's) view, but that, even if he could justify the thing to himself, it might disedify the laity who would come to know of it; that he feels distressed at having to decline compliance with any request of Mr. ——, but hopes the explanation he has given will be considered a sufficient excuse."

II.

Clandestinity and Domestic Servants, etc.

May I ask for the solution of the following cases in the Record.

First Case: "A female servant who being hired by the half year, has spent four or five years in her present situation, and having arranged to marry a person who belongs to a different parish from that of her place of service, gives notice to her mistress of her intention to leave. Another servant is engaged to take her place at her departure. Although she has a domicile at her mother's house which is situated in the adjoining parish, her wish is to be married in the parish of her place of service, not before her departure, but immediately after it. She, therefore, asks the parish priest of her mistress to assist at the

marriage immediately after she shall have left her service but before her departure from his parish. Can he validly assist at it? I know there are many who feel quite sure that he can. They hold that as she has not yet left his parish, she has not yet lost her quasi-domicile there. I am inclined to think that after having given up her service and taken her departure from the house of her mistress, she loses her quasi-domicile in that parish even before leaving it The moment she quits her place of service it would appear that the *factum habitationis* and the *animus permanendi per majorem anni partem* have ceased to exist, and that she at once becomes a *peregrina* in that parish, even before she goes beyond its boundary. If this be a correct opinion it would seem to follow that even though she were to proceed direct, after having quitted her service, to the parish priest of her late mistress, he could not validly assist at her marriage."

Second Case: "Bertha lives in the country with her brother Caius in whose house she has had a domicile all her life long. A misunderstanding of a very serious nature arises between them. She sees she must leave at once, nor can she ever expect to return. She engages to marry Peter who belongs to a neighbouring parish. She leaves her brother's house on the day fixed for the marriage, and feels on her departure that should the marriage not come off she cannot return to her brother's house in any sense. The parish priest of her brother's house assists at her marriage in Dublin. Does he do so validly? Here again *scinduntur theologi rustici.*

"I think she is a *vaga* and consequently he cannot assist validly at her marriage outside his own parish. *Quid sentiendum?*

"M. H."

I. Many—we are told—feel quite sure that the parish priest of her late mistress can validly assist at this servant's marriage. She had undoubtedly acquired a quasi-domicile in the parish. She had a home in the house of her mistress and she had the intention of continuing her residence there; and though she has changed her residence, her intention of residing in the parish—though in a different abode, still firmly perseveres. Therefore, they think the parish priest of her mistress can validly assist at her marriage.

He could certainly assist at her marriage if she got married before she severed her connection with her late mistress, before she ceased to reside in her house. But I think this parish priest cannot assist at the marriage after

the servant has ceased to reside in the house of her late employer. She has then lost her quasi-domicile in the parish.

A quasi-domicile ceases when the two conditions necessary for its inception cease. It is necessary, therefore, to treat briefly of these conditions.

Two things are required to acquire a quasi-domicile, *factum* and *animus*:—(*a*) *Factum.* This implies two things.—that a person should have a fixed abode in the parish; and that he should have commenced to reside therein. (*b*) *Animus:* The person shall have the intention of residing in the parish *per majorem anni partem.* The nature of both conditions is very clearly described in the following extract from an Instruction of the S. Congregation (dated 7th July, 1867):—"Præterea manifestum quoque est actualem habitationem ineptam esse ad quasi-domicilium pariendum, si quis in ea regione more *vagi* ac *itinerantis* commoretur, non autem *vere proprieque habitantis*, quemadmodum scilicet cæteri solent qui in eodem loco *verum proprieque dictum domicilium* habent." Hence Ballerini writes "A fortiori vagus dicitur qui nullibi *certam* et *constantem sedem* habet aut vult habere." Actual residence therefore in some fixed, more or less permanent home, and the intention of residing in the place for the greater part of a year, after the manner of those who have a *domicile* in the place, are essential to the inception of a quasi-domicile; both together constitute a quasi-domicile; take away *both* again and the quasi-domicile ceases.

Now does this girl retain a fixed residence in the parish? Does the intention of continuing to reside in a fixed abode, as people who have a domicile, persevere? Leaving her former mistress she left the only fixed residence she had, or hoped to have in the parish: she has no longer any home in the parish: she may during the interval before her marriage spend a few days successively with her acquaintances in the parish; or she may go to lodge in one particular house; or she may go directly from the house of her mistress to the parish priest, get married and leave the parish. In all those cases, when she removed her effects, and ceased to reside with her late mistress, she had no longer

a fixed residence in the parish, nor an intention of residing in a fixed abode "quemadmodum ceteri solent, qui in eodem loco *verum, proprieque dictum domicilium* habent." Her intention of continuing a *resident* of the parish had ceased, and she remained there only "more vagi ac itinerantis." She was as a visitor in the parish. I think, therefore, that the girl's quasidomicile ceased on leaving the house of her mistress; and as she was not a *vaga*—it is supposed that she still retains a domicile in her mother's parish—the parish priest of her late mistress could not assist at her marriage.

II. Again, some think that her former parish priest could assist at her marriage in Dublin. But is it not manifest that the girl had lost her domicile in her brother's parish, before she reached Dublin? Marriage or no marriage, to escape the wrath of her angry brother she was obliged to leave home without hope of returning. "She sees she must leave at once, nor can she ever expect to return." Suppose she withdrew from her brother's house, not to get married, but to lodge permanently in Dublin; or suppose she went to procure permanent employment in Dublin; or suppose she proceeded to America, never expecting to return, would she not have lost her original domicile? The case is not altered because she left home in those circumstances to get married. Had she not discontinued to reside with her brother? And had she not determined never to resume residence in her paternal parish? "She feels on her departure that should the *marriage not come off* she cannot return to her brother's house in any sense."

I think, therefore, with M. H., that the girl in question was a *vaga,* and that her former parish priest could not validly assist at her marriage outside his own parish, unless he were delegated by the parish priest of the place in which the marriage was celebrated.

III.

Evicted Tenants and Matrimony.

"A family who have been evicted from their home in a neighbouring parish of a neighbouring diocese have resided continuously in this parish for the greater part of a year.

All along they intended to return to their former home as soon as they got a settlement, which they expected from day to day, but have not yet obtained. A girl belonging to this family is about to get married to a young man who lives in a neighbouring parish of this diocese, In which parish can the marriage be validly and licitly celebrated? "SACERDOS."

The condition of evicted tenants differs widely in different circumstances, and in different cases. Before the present agrarian movement eviction generally meant irrevocable expulsion from home. Nothing remained for the evicted tenant but to transfer, and seek elsewhere an abode for his penates. Even in recent times there is a very great difference in different cases. Sometimes the farm is purchased by another tenant, whilst the evicted tenant procures for himself a permanent home and employment in the neighbourhood, though he may still fondly hope to recover his former holding. Again, as our correspondent writes, the farm may be vacant whilst the tenant is temporarily residing in an adjoining parish.

Now in all those cases where the tenants evicted from their home, go to reside in a different parish, they lose their former domicile.

They have no longer a home in the parish; the landlord becomes sole owner of the house and land; they have to depart, and transfer their effects to some other place. They are therefore—as far as home in the parish is concerned—homeless upon the world. Deprived of a home in the parish, and departing therefrom, they necessarily lose the intention of residing in the parish for some time—it may be long, and it may be short; but they are unable to determine it. They expect, no doubt, to obtain a settlement, and return to their former home. I hope they will not be disappointed, and then they will commence anew their domicile; but meanwhile they have lost their former domicile.

What is their position in their present parish?

"All along they intended to return to their former home as soon as they got a settlement, which they expected *from day to day.*" They are therefore *vagi* in their new parish:

they have no intention of acquiring a domicile or quasi-domicile there. "Quando deest *animus* figendi alicubi domicilium aut quasidomicilium nihil refert, brevisne an longa ibi mora trahatur; ita v. gr. si peregrinus in quapiam consistas urbe . . . . [opperiens] cessationem difficultatum quae reditum in patriam retardant . . . . ; etsi enim etiam quinquennio, immo vel decennio *moram in dies precariam* ibi trahens permaneas, nunquam illud domicilii jus acquires quod ad matrimonium coram parocho, quasi tuo valide contrahendum sufficiat."

Precarious residence, therefore, from day to day, does not constitute a domicile or quasi-domicile. And as the family have lost their former domicile they are *vagi*, and the marriage can, therefore, be validly and licitly celebrated in either parish, provided it is witnessed by the parish priest of the place in which the marriage is celebrated, or by his delegate. "Parochus eorum est parochus loci in quo actu contrahunt." (*Murray*, n. 387-1°)

D. Coghlan.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

The Ceremonies of some Ecclesiastical Functions.

Introduction.—Section I.

Obligation of the Ceremonies.

The word *ceremonies* has various significations. Here we shall use it to signify the laws to be observed in public worship.[1] These laws are contained in the Rubrics. Theologians it is true distinguish between *preceptive* and *merely*

[1] Vide O'Kane, *Notes on the Rubrics*, 5, 6.

directive Rubrics. But it must be admitted that even the latter impose some kind of obligation. For, undoubtedly, every one who has a share in public worship is bound by the very nature and end of worship to perform his part, not only with recollection of mind, but with grace and composure of manner. Now the very object of the Rubrics called *directive* is to enable the cleric while discharging any sacred function to attain this ease and gracefulness, without which he will bring discredit on both himself and his office. Hence speaking of the Rites or Ceremonies of the Church as a whole Benedict XIII. said that "in minimis etiam sine peccato negligi, omitti, vel mutari haud possunt."[1]

The rites with which God was worshipped under the Mosaic Dispensation were, in the words of St. Paul, but "weak and beggarly elements," compared with those with which He is now worshipped; the ceremonies necessary for the solemnity and decorum of divine worship then, were but the shadows of the ceremonies employed in Christian worship; nevertheless God Himself was pleased to command the exact observance of those ceremonies, and to threaten with maledictions all who would neglect them, "But if thou wilt not hear the voice of the Lord thy God to keep and to do all His commandments and *ceremonies*, which I command thee this day, all these curses shall come upon thee, and overtake thee, cursed shalt thou be in the city, cursed in the field," &c.[2] From this solemn command and threat, and from the infinite superiority of our worship over that of the Jews, we are justified in inferring that to neglect the ceremonies in discharging any sacred function, or to make light of them, would be a great insult to God. We should never regard anything pertaining to the worship of the Almighty as of little moment, or beneath our notice. The Jews, we know, were scrupulously exact in fulfilling down to the minutest detail the multitude of ceremonies, of sprinklings, and ablutions, which the law commanded. Even Pagan priests would lose their lives rather than omit or

[1] *Con. Rom.*, 1725, *Tit.* xv., 1. [2] *Deut.* xxviii, 15–16.

hurry over any part of the ceremonies which regulate their superstitious and degrading cult.

"The High-priest of the Law" (says an eloquent writer) "entered but once in the year into the Holy of Holies, and what solemn preparations, what careful precautions, what infinite attention were used that he might not fail in the minutest of the ceremonies prescribed for an action, of which after all, the mere blood of an animal constituted the whole majesty. . . . Read the histories of ancient nations and you will learn with what respect the priests of their idols performed the ceremonies of their extravagant and sacrilegious worship; they would have fancied the empire menaced with the greatest calamities, if through want of caution and exactness, the empty pomp of their ceremonies were disturbed, or the least circumstances omitted in the superstitious detail."[1]

Surely the Christian priest or cleric, whose high privilege it is to worship the true God in the truest and most perfect manner, will not consider himself less bound to the exact observance of everything which the solemnity and decorum of his sacred functions demand than did those priests, who either worshipped mere idols, or offered but a very imperfect worship to the true God, consider themselves bound not to omit one jot or tittle of all that they were commanded to observe in the discharge of their office.

Section II.

Object and Effect of the Ceremonies.

The object for which the Ceremonies of the Church were instituted is, as Clement VIII. expresses it, "ad Dei gloriam augendam, et ad Catholicae fidei unitatem ubique retinendam."[2] They are intended to contribute to the solemnity and majesty of divine worship, to raise the minds of men above material surroundings, and to help them to wing their flight to the Heavenly Sanctuary where the Blessed ever chanting hymns of praise prostrate themselves before the throne of the *Ancient of Days*. Were men like angels, pure spirits, they could worship God without ceremonies, and without any external symbols, but being corporal as well as

[1] Massillon, *Conferences*, translated by Rev. C. H. Boylan, vol. II., Discourse II.

[2] Constitution of the 10th February, 1596.

spiritual, worship in some sensible form is essential to them. "Men," says St. Augustine, "cannot be collected in any name of religion, unless the bond of certain signs, as if of visible Sacraments, connect them together." To satisfy this natural craving, is one, and not the least, of the objects of the Sacred Ceremonies. And who, that has ever been present at any solemn function where all the ceremonies have been religiously observed, will say that they do not perfectly attain that object?

In Rome heretics and infidel philosophers are almost every year brought to recognise the truth of the Catholic religion, and to embrace it through the impressions made on their minds by the grandeur and majesty of some Solemn Office to which mere curiosity had led them. "They came to scoff but remained to pray," overcome by the supernatural beauty and sublimity of the worship they witnessed. Their conversion is the effect, God so directing, of the sacred ceremonies—but, of the sacred ceremonies exactly observed in all their details, in spirit as well as in letter, not, of the sacred ceremonies neglected altogether, or observed in a careless and slovenly manner.

Such effects were the sacred ceremonies at all times capable of producing: such effects have they at all times actually produced, "Brother Theodoric" writes Caesar of Heisterbach "as he often told me, when a youth in the world, came merely to visit a certain novice who was his relative, without any idea of being converted. It happened that one of the monks was buried on the same day, and when the community, having said the antiphon *Clementissime Domine* proceeded, then round the grave, with great humility imploring pardon, saying *Domine miserere super peccatore*, he was so struck and excited, that he who before had resisted all the exhortations of the Abbot Gerrard now sought with many prayers to be received to conversion."[1] "We cannot tell" says a learned and holy bishop "how often we have seen the faithful confided to us moved even to tears by our solemn majestic offices; and were we then to ask a poor sinner whom we

[1] Müller, *Christian Priesthood*, ch. 24.

should see coming to our confessional, what it was that brought him again to this practice of religion, which he had so long neglected, we should receive no other reply than the earnest and heartfelt exclamation: 'Ah! the beautiful office.'"[1] It is within the present writer's own knowledge that a Protestant of the Protestants, who happened to be present while an Irish bishop, still alive, was conferring the Sacrament of Baptism on an adult, was so moved by the impressive ceremonies employed in this rite, that he asked to be instructed, received baptism himself, and became a most devout Catholic. Instances such as these could be multiplied indefinitely.[2] But enough has been said to prove how effectively the ceremonies of the church appeal to the minds as well of the faithful as of unbelievers, and how powerful an instrument they are in the hands of God for bringing people to acknowledge and love the one true Religion. But, we repeat, if the ceremonies are not observed with scrupulous fidelity, so far from drawing men to reverence religion, they will but lead them to despise it.

(To be continued).

I.

Solemn Requiem Mass on Privileged Days.

"It is said, in the Record for December, 'On simple doubles and greater doubles only one Requiem Mass, and that only *praesente cadavere*, can be *said*' (p. 1125). It is plain from the context that this applies only to the private Mass de Requiem permitted by the Indult of 29th June, 1862. But I find that a great many priests are under the impression that in doubles (minor or major) a Solemn Requiem Mass cannot be celebrated unless the corpse is present.

[1] *Cérémonial des Évêques*, commenté et expliqué par un Evêque Suffragant, Preface, 22.

[2] We take the following apposite note from the *Irish Catholic* of December 8, 1888. "The well-known American General, Joe Wheeler, has become a Catholic. At General Sheridan's funeral he was a pall bearer. The Requiem Service at St. Matthew's Church, Washington, on that occasion so impressed him, that he began to attend the Catholic Church. Then he asked for instruction, and through a well-known priest's explanation of Catholic doctrine he was convinced that the Catholic was the only true religion.

Now, I think that the corpse need not be present—for instance, on the third day after death, usually the day of burial, on greater or simple doubles. At p. vii. of the *Latin Directory* for this year the days are given on which Solemn Mass for the Dead is prohibited, even when the body is present. Then the days are given when it is prohibited when the body is absent *even* on the privileged days, *sc.*, *3tia*, *7ma*, etc., and among these days doubles, simple or greater, are not mentioned. Hence I infer that on these days, 3rd, 7th, etc., Solemn Mass for the Dead may be celebrated *etiam absente corpore.*

"K."

Solemn Requiem Masses, as such, enjoy no privilege, and can be celebrated only on such days as the Rubrics permit private Requiem Masses. There are, however, certain days which are privileged with regard to Solemn Requiem Masses. These days are: the day of death or burial, or any intermediate day; the third, seventh, and thirtieth days, each of which may be numbered from either the day of death or the day of burial; and, finally, the anniversary day. The nature of the privilege attaching to these days is that a Solemn Requiem Mass can be celebrated on them, though the occurring feasts be of a rite that would ordinarily exclude Requiem Masses. The occurrence of a feast of even double major rite on one of these days does not exclude a Solemn Requiem Mass. The impression of which our correspondent speaks, therefore, in as far as it refers to the privileged days, is erroneous.

II.

The Indult of 1862 regarding Private Requiem Masses.

"In reply to a subscriber, in the December number of the Record (in reference to the number of Masses de Requiem that can be said *praesente cadavere*), you write, 'Our correspondent's inference that by virtue of the Indult to which he refers only one Requiem Mass is permitted is quite correct.' Now, I think the very opposite conclusion should be arrived at, for the following reason:—The privilege granted with regard to the Requiem Masses was precisely that which the bishops asked, 'Sanctissimus Dominus . . . annuit pro gratia *juxta preces.*' But what the bishops asked for was that in those places in which . . . '*missa solemnis* celebrari non possit de requiem legi possint missae privatae de requiem." As the bishops,

speaking of private Masses, use the plural number, '*missae privatae*,' and use the singular only when speaking of the Solemn Mass, '*missa solemnis*,' I think they could not have asked in clearer terms, that where the Solemn Mass could not be celebrated private Masses de Requiem might be said. Their petition was granted *juxta preces*. If I have arrived at the wrong conclusion, will you kindly inform me in the next number of the RECORD in what my reasoning has been inconclusive, and oblige

"ANOTHER SUBSCRIBER."

We have no fault in the world to find with our esteemed correspondent's reasoning. The keenest logician could not, we believe, discover a flaw in it. He lays down his major and minor premises, and from these the conclusion follows in the most natural manner possible. But this notwithstanding, we are reluctantly obliged to reject his conclusion, and to stand by the statement already made. Our correspondent's argument may be put in this form: The privilege granted to the Irish bishops by the Indult of 1862 was precisely that which was asked. But the privilege asked was permission to celebrate *several* private Requiem Masses *praesente cadavere* on a feast of double rite where a Solemn Requiem Mass could not be conveniently celebrated. Therefore, by the Indult of 1862, *several* private Requiem Masses can be celebrated on a feast of double rite. The conclusion, as we have said, and as is quite evident, is clearly contained in the premises. Since, then, we reject the conclusion, it must be that one or both the premises are false. The major premise cannot be false, for in the response to the petition of the bishops, the Cardinal Secretary says expressly, "SS. Dominus . . . . annuit pro gratia juxta preces," as our correspondent has taken care to point out. It remains, therefore, that the minor premise must be false. Here, then, we respectfully join issue with our esteemed correspondent, and beg he will excuse us for denying that the Irish bishops asked for permission to have *several* Requiem Masses *praesente cadavere*, on doubles or other days, on which the Rubrics do not permit private Requiem Masses.

In the first place, we may safely assume that their lordships did not ask a privilege for private Requiem Masses

which has never been granted even to Solemn Requiem Masses. Plainly their prayer was that a private Mass might be substituted for a Solemn Mass in the many cases in which it is found impossible, in this country, to have a Solemn Mass. They never, we may rest assured, thought of petitioning the Holy See to admit into the Liturgy of the Church a principle till then unheard of. Now, it is well known to our learned correspondent, we presume, that *only one Solemn Mass de Requiem*, even *praesente cadavere* can be celebrated on any day on which the Rubrics prohibit private Requiem masses.[1] Should, however, any doubt of this linger in his mind we beg to refer him to De Herdt who—vol. 1, n. 57—asks "Quot missae in exequiis diebus quibus prohibentur missae privatae de Requiem in nigris celebrari possunt?" And this learned rubricist replies, "*Unica tantum.*" We might also, were it necessary, quote many decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites in which this doctrine is expressly laid down.[1] Such being the law regarding Solemn Masses it is hard to believe that the Irish Bishops would ask for private masses the privilege which our correspondent maintains they did ask. And if they only asked as we believe they did, that it might be permitted to substitute in certain circumstances a private for a Solemn Requiem Mass, it is clear they did not ask to have several on the same day.

Secondly, the bishops are their own best interpreters. If they meant to ask for the privilege contended for by our correspondent, or if they believed that privilege was granted, then in the decrees of the Synod of Maynooth, they should have stated that a concession had been granted to them by which they were enabled to permit *several* private Requiem Masses at funerals on certain days. Instead of this, however, they state that they can permit *one private Mass*,—missam privatam—"Speciali indulto concessum est omnibus Hiberniae praesulibus *missam privatam* (de Requiem) permittere die depositionis."[2]

[1] For example, Jan. 29, 1752, 4074-4223; 12, May 23, 1846; 4904-5050, 13.

[2] *Acta et Decreta, etc. Syn Mayn.*, ch. 13, n. 70.

These reasons justify us we think, in denying the minor premise, and therefore in denying the conclusion drawn by our correspondent. We beg to remark, though it does not enter strictly into the particular phase of the question now under discussion, that any privilege against the Rubrics is to be interpreted in the strictest manner.

We have but a word more to say. We cannot at present lay our hands on a full copy of the petition of the Irish bishops in response to which this privilege was granted. The extract given in the Directory, page xi., is all we have to guide us. For its accuracy we are not prepared to vouch. That it is incomplete is evident. Until we can see a full and authentic copy of it, it would manifestly be presumptuous in us to attempt to explain, defend, or condemn the style in which it was couched, or to reply to the argument so ingeniously drawn by our correspondent from the change in the number of *missa*.

D. O'LOAN.

DOCUMENT.

SUMMARY.

The Feast of the *Decollatio S. Joannis Baptistae* takes precedence of the Feast *de Consolatione B.M.V.*

DECRETUM S.R.C (IN FESULANA).

Pluribus e Consociatis nuperum Decretum exoptantibus, festa respiciens occurrentia S. Ioannis Bapt. Decollat et B. V. M. satisfacere optimum iudicamus.

"Rmus. D. Ferdinandus Masoni Canonicus Theologus et Kalendarii Redactor Fesulanae Diocesis de consensu Rmi Episcopi sequens dubium proposuit;

"An festum Decollationis S. Ioannis Baptistae occurrens proximo anno die 29 Augusti cum festo mobili B. M. V. de Consolatione sit huic praeferendum utpote eiusdem ritus, et diei mensis affixum, et id vi Decreti S.R.C. 22 Iulii 1848 in Senen. licet hoc Decretum respiciat duo festa B. M. V." "*Affirmative:* atque ita rescripsit die 13 Septembris, 1885."

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THEOLOGIA MORALIS. Juxta doctrinam Sti. Alphonsi Liguori. Auctore Joseph Aertnys, C.SS.R. 2 Vols.

COMPENDIUMS of Moral Theology are now so numerous that there must be, to some extent, a prejudice against any additional one. And the prejudice is strengthened by the fact that some of those already favourably known, such as Ballerini's Gury and Lehmkuhl's *Compendium* are so excellent, as, one would think, to leave no room for a competitor in the same field. The author of this *Compendium* seems to feel all this, and while admitting it, he gives his reasons for the appearance of his work. Taking the book on its own merits, the reader must admit that the author has done his work exceedingly well, that the book is a useful and valuable one. It is a faithful Compendium of St. Liguori. The Saint's order is followed throughout, and continual references are given to his works. Then there is some additional matter rendered necessary by the circumstances of our times. The author aimed, he says, at stating his doctrine so clearly that there could be no mistaking his meaning; and that his book may be practically useful, he was careful that it should not be so diffuse as not to be easily read, nor so concise as to be wanting in any essential matter. In all this, he has succeeded. The book is a model of clearness, and an additional advantage is, that the headings of all important paragraphs are in large type, so as to attract the reader's attention. Then the order, throughout, is very judicious, and a very large amount of practical information is scattered through the work. On the treatment of *occasionarii* and *recidivi*, he has some excellent remarks; and in speaking of reserved sins, he condemns, very justly, a practice that is in many places very prevalent, namely—that of the confessor applying in all cases for faculties, instead of sending the penitent to the superior, as the letter and the spirit of the law require. He has an admirable *schema* of consanguinity, so arranged and so explained as to enable one at a glance to trace up the most complicated degrees of relationship. Then he has the latest instructions with reference to dispensations, and in his censure tract, the *Apostolicae Sedis* is throughout embodied in the tract. Among the new matter may be classed the question of "mixed education," which he treats at some length, embodying all the latest decisions of

the Holy See on the subject. The question of "Spiritism" is also treated at some length. The author adopts the view of Perrone (*De Vera Religione*), attributing the alleged phenomena of Spiritism to the agency of the demon. The same view was very ably advocated by Dr. Murray, in the *Dublin Review* for October, 1867. A glance at the 23rd Chapter of Tertullian's *Apology* will convince anyone that "*Spiritism*" is "a new fashion of an old sin." In that Chapter the great Apologist has evidently before his mind something that differed not by one *iota* from our supposed modern *Spiritualism*.

The hard worked missionary priest, whose reading time is necessarily limited will find this *Compendium* useful and valuable; and among the many excellent works of the same class it will hold, and deservedly hold, a high place.

BURKE'S CLASS-BOOK OF ELOCUTION. Dublin: Weldrick Brothers.

THAT a man may possess a vast deal of promiscuous information, which neither benefits his fellowmen, nor gains for himself the reputation of a scholar and a man of culture, is a deplorable fact. Such a possessor of profitless knowledge, Pope forcibly describes as

> "The bookful blockhead ignorantly read,
> With loads of learned lumber in his head."

Now, it is the province of Elocution to point out the most effectual method of turning to advantage our intellectual acquirements, which otherwise must ever remain so much "learned lumber;" or, in other words, to teach us the art of enunciating our ideas and sentiments, clearly, accurately, and impressively. A sound training in the principles and practice of Elocution, therefore, is an essential element of a useful education. Nor is its importance confined to the pulpit, the platform, the bar, or the stage; its influence extends to the most colloquial form of intercourse between man and man. Hence, though there already existed numbers of books treating of this important subject in a manner that could not easily be surpassed, there was still ample room for a small, inexpensive work like Professor Burke's *Class-Book of Elocution*.

The aim of Mr. Burke is very praiseworthy, indeed; many of his hints are practical for backward pupils; and we are sure the reputation he enjoys as an Elocutionist will cause his book to be purchased by many.

He will, however, excuse us if we express some reluctance to

abandon the time-honoured pronunciation of such ordinary words as *lieutenant* (*lef-ten'-ant*), until we have some further evidence that usage has been legislating anew. The dual substitute he offers as the correct and received method of pronouncing this word, is *lu'-ten-ant* or *léf-ten-ant*; he altogether ignores the pronunciation we have ventured to give. We fear that as an orthoepist, his delicate ear, in its abhorrence of vulgarisms, must have become excessively sensitive. Many of the mistakes he points out, are either rare or imaginary.

We would respectfully suggest the excision of the closing scene in *Steward Moore*.

SERMONS FROM THE FLEMISH. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

ANOTHER volume of *Sermons from the Flemish*, on devotion to the Blessed Virgin, is before us, supplemented by a number of short readings arranged for the several days of the Month of Mary. With the simple and practical style which characterises the preceding volumes, there is in this one an amount of useful information which have an interest for every child of our Virgin Mother. For those who wish to become intimately acquainted with the mysteries of her life, and to cultivate in honour of them a practical devotion, it will be very valuable, while to the library of those engaged in preaching the Word it will prove an important addition. In few books on devotion to the Blessed Virgin with which we are acquainted is there contained such an amount of instruction.

STORIES FOR FIRST COMMUNICANTS. By Dr. Kelleher. New York: Benziger Brothers.

DR. KELLEHER'S little book, translated by him from the French deserves also a word of notice. For children, in whose hands the little volume is for the most part intended to be, it seems admirably adapted. They are invited to read it by the ease and simplicity of its style, while the dispositions, in every case so good, of the communicant pourtrayed in the stories at once appeal to their young minds for imitation. A perusal of its pages will result in pleasure and profit.

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THE ACTION OF DIVINE GRACE IN THE SOULS OF THE JUST.

I PROPOSE in the following pages to discuss in the light of theological science the action of grace in the human soul. It will be necessary by way of introduction to say something upon the soul itself. The soul of a newly-born infant is a spiritual substance endowed with certain powers or faculties. These powers are not the soul itself. They are qualities inherent in it. It is by these qualities reduced to act that we come to the knowledge of the soul. They are not, however, to be confounded with the substance in which they are inherent. This is the doctrine which St. Thomas teaches when he says that the essence of the soul is not identical with its powers.[1] The soul considered in its essence is simply the act or form of the body whereby the newly-born infant is constituted a human being. Under this aspect it is capable of no further development. The infant is as essentially a human being as the man of twenty-one.

The soul of the infant is endowed with certain powers all of which are capable of development. These powers are the faculty of growth, the faculty of sensitive perception, the faculty of will or desire, the intellectual faculty. The

[1] Unde quod sit (anima) in potentia ad alium actum, hoc non competit ei secundum suam essentiam, in quantum est forma, sed secundum suam potentiam, et sic ipsa anima secundum quod subest suae potentiae dicitur actus primus ordinatus ad actum secundum. (1 pars, q 77, art 1, cap.)

faculty of will or desire is twofold according to the object on which it exerts itself. With reference to material objects this faculty is called the sensitive appetite: with reference to immaterial objects it is called the will. We will ask the reader to confine his consideration for the present to the essence of the soul, the soul's faculty of understanding, the soul's faculty of willing. These are the elements of the soul which are immediately affected by habitual grace.

When the infant child whom we have been contemplating receives the Sacrament of Baptism a change takes place in the essence of the soul, in the intellect and in the will. The essence of the soul receives the baptismal character and a new quality called sanctifying grace. The intellect receives the gift of faith. The will receives the gift of charity and of hope. From these primary gifts there flow certain subordinate perfections of intellect and will. The intellect is endowed with the four gifts of wisdom, understanding, counsel, knowledge; and the will with the three gifts of fortitude, piety, and fear of the Lord. From these again are derived habitual gifts called the infused virtues. For convenience sake we shall reduce these virtues to four: namely, prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance. This then seems to be a complete account of the subjective psychological changes which have been effected by the Sacrament of Baptism in the soul of the child.

These psychological changes, however, have had the effect of putting the soul of the child in new relations to the Blessed Trinity. The three Divine Persons now *inhabit* the child's soul. This ineffable union with the three Divine Persons is the crowning excellence of sanctification, and the end to which all the created gifts we have enumerated are directed.

No change takes place in the supernatural condition of the baptised child during the years of infancy. When these come to an end reason begins to operate. Responsibility is contracted, and the supernatural existence and life implanted in baptism become capable of indefinite increase.

Two agencies combine in producing this increase. The first agency is divine, the second is human. Both are

equally necessary. No increase of the habitual supernatural gifts is possible unless God moves first the intellect and will. This is what theologians mean when they say that for a salutary act we require exciting and helping grace. This divine action will infallibly take place. The indwelling of the Trinity is mainly established with a view to the exercise of this form of divine operation. If baptismal innocence is preserved, divine supernatural action will commence with the dawn of reason, and will continue through the whole range of eternity.

This divine action will be conducted through the instrumentality of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, four of which reside in the intellect and three in the will. Faith, hope, charity, the infused virtues, never come into play except through the operation of one of the seven gifts. These are the connecting links by which the electric current is completed, and whereby the throb of divine wisdom and holiness is transmitted through the subordinate endowments of the justified soul. The more these seven gifts are perfected within the soul, the greater will be the individual perfection of the Christian.

From this exposition of Catholic doctrine it is easy to discover the reasons of the difference existing between the Church and the world in the matter of education. The world holds that education consists in the development of the natural powers of man; the Church requires besides, and principally, that his supernatural gifts should be developed. The world holds that the working of the natural intellect and will is an agency sufficiently powerful to achieve the end and purpose of human life. The Church holds that natural will and intellect are powerless in this matter unless prevented by divine grace. The world holds that man is self-sufficing. The Church holds that he never can attain to the dignity of his destiny except by union with the Blessed Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

In a subsequent paper I hope to trace in detail some of the ordinary forms which divine supernatural action takes within the soul of the just.

WILLIAM HAYDEN, S.J.

SHRINES OF OUR LADY IN BELGIUM.

I.—Montaigu.

NOTHING, perhaps, is more striking to the Catholic visitor in Belgium than the number of shrines of our Blessed Lady, few parishes being without some venerated and miraculous statue; and in some churches there are more than one, as, for example, in that of the "Princely" Béguinage in Bruges, which possesses no less than three. Hal, Oostacker, Hansuyck, Dadizeele, and Ypres are among the most celebrated, but beyond a doubt Montaigu holds the first place. This shrine, set on the top of a hill, attracts so many pilgrims from all parts of the world that its latest historian[1] not inaptly applies to it the words of the prophet Isaias, "The mountain of the house of the Lord shall be prepared on the top of mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it."

The little town of Montaigu, or Scherpenheuvel, as it is called in Flemish, is situated at a distance of about three miles from Diest, and at a rather shorter distance from Sichem, in both of which places there are also miraculous shrines of Our Lady. Montaigu owes its very existence to the statue, for which, in point of fact, it was built. At the beginning of the seventeenth century it was nothing but a hamlet, but in the year 1607 the Archduke Albert and his consort, Isabel, determined to build a town around the sanctuary in honour of Our Lady. The new town was laid out in the form of a star—*Stella Maris*—of seven rays; a few years later it was surrounded by ramparts and a moat—*Hortus conclusus*. Lying before the writer is an old engraving of a plan of the town made in 1660, in which the ramparts, the moat, and three gates are faithfully represented. The ramparts and gates were destroyed at the end of the eighteenth century; but the moat, or, at any rate, a portion of it, remains, and in other respects the town is little changed,

[1] Mgr. Van Weddingen, D. Ph., D.D., Chaplain to the Court, to whose work, *Notre Dame de Montaigu*, the present writer must acknowledge his indebtedness.

most of the houses even dating from the seventeenth century. The plantation of trees, too, round the church, the paths of which form a star, is the same now as it was then. A large proportion of the houses are either inns or shops; the latter are mainly for the sale of rosaries, medals, and other objects of piety, not forgetting the little banners (*banderoles*) which are stuck in the harness of horses returning with their masters from the shrine. The permanent shops, however, are insufficient for the needs of the pilgrims; for six or seven months in the year the town has the appearance of a fair, so many are the booths set up for the sale of similar objects.

The history of the shrine cannot be traced as clearly as that of the town which surrounds it: in short, till the end of the sixteenth century legend for the most part supplies the place of history. The legend may be briefly summed up. At the beginning of the fourteenth century an oak, whose foliage had taken the form of a cross, drew together many who were crippled or suffering from other ills. This continued for about six months, when it would appear to have ceased. To the oak, however, a little statue of Our Lady was attached, and became an object of veneration to the peasants dwelling in the neighbourhood. At the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century this statue became detached from the tree, and was picked up by a shepherd, who thought he would keep it for himself. He had no sooner formed this resolution than he became glued to the spot. Some hours later he was found, nearly beside himself with fright, by his master, to whom he related the circumstance. The latter immediately replaced the image, and the peasant was set free. This was noised abroad, and from that time the flow of pilgrims was continuous and ever increasing. So much for the legend.

It is beyond a doubt that at the end of the sixteenth century a much venerated statue was attached to an oak tree on the top of a hill, in the province of Sichem. This hill was Montaigu. We have the evidence of a writer in the year 1606 *that from time immemorial* crowds had gone there to venerate Our Lady; and of another, writing a few years earlier, who said that he had himself seen over two

hundred extraordinary cures. It must certainly have acquired considerable celebrity, for we find that, in 1578, Alexander Farnese made a pilgrimage to the shrine before laying siege to Sichem, which was then in the power of the *Gueux* or Iconoclasts, and, what is of much greater interest, that during the progress of the same war the Irish recruits who joined the Spanish forces used regularly to visit the shrine, being taken to it by Walter Talbot, one of their chaplains. About this time the venerated image disappeared, how is not known, but probably by the agency of the Iconoclasts. Another was given by the sacristan of a neighbouring church, a woman who had piously collected many such objects, saving them from the insults of the heretics. Some, indeed, have thought that it was the old statue: this, however, is but a conjecture, and hardly a probable one. The important point is that the prodigies recommenced, and the Name of Mary continued to be magnified in Montaigu.

In the year 1602, the parish priest of Sichem erected near the oak, a small wooden chapel, in which at the end of five months more than one hundred and thirty crutches had been left. Towards the end of the same year the town of Brussels sent a silver crown bearing the inscription *à la reine des cieux, la Très-Sainte Mère de Dieu la Vierge Marie Bruxelles affligé de la contagion*, 1602; the plague was stayed, and Montaigu became yet more renowned. The foundation stone of a new church was laid on August 19th, 1603; and on the feast of our Lady's Nativity of the same year, twenty thousand pilgrims were gathered together from all parts of the Low countries. In this year, it may be noted, was established the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary still existing in Montaigu. The new building, erected at the cost of Albert and Isabel, was consecrated on the Feast of the most Holy Trinity, 1604, and narrowly escaped destruction, a few months later, at the hands of the Iconoclasts. These heretics, exasperated at a grant of indulgences to pilgrims, entered Montaigu on the Eve of our Lady's Nativity, and attempted to destroy the church; but, not being able to set it on fire, they contented themselves with burning the high altar.

They failed in their endeavour to destroy the whole image, which was removed in time to be saved from the insults of those, who by their hatred of the Mother of God, proclaimed the connection with him whose head She crushed.

The royal consorts continued to have a lively devotion to our Lady of Montaigu, to whom they often went in pilgrimage, on one occasion, at least, going on foot from Diest to the shrine, where they heard three masses, communicating at the first. The Archduchess worked not a few ornaments with her own hands—vestments, robes for the statue, and more than one antependium—many of which are still in use. After a time they commenced a second church, built over the spot formerly occupied by the oak, which had been cut down a few years before.[1] The new church was begun in 1609, the foundation stone being laid by Albert and Isabel on the feast of the Visitation, but the work had to be stopped for want of money. The building was only actively resumed in the year 1617, when Philip III. supplied the necessary funds. It was not finished till 1627, six years after the death of the Archduke Albert. As this church is the one still existing, a brief description of it may not be considered out of place.

The building, which holds about 3,000 persons, is hexagonal, and surmounted by a dome, which on the outside is covered with gilded stars. Behind the church is a tower. The sanctuary is very small, but contains a rich renaissance altar, on the top of which is an oak tree covered in marble, in allusion to the tradition that it stands on the spot formerly occupied by the oak. The tabernacle and the gradines, as well as all the furniture of the altar, are of solid silver: the lamps hanging in the nave, but eight out of the thirty-five found there before the French Revolution, are of the same precious metal. The painting of the Assumption at the High Altar, and the altarpieces of the six side chapels are by Devos. It was originally intended to have fourteen

[1] From its wood little statues were made, some of which still exist *e.g.* those in the churches of St. Charles at Antwerp, and St. John at Mechlin. (Mgr. Van Weddingen.)

exterior chapels, in honour of the Seven Joys and the Seven Dolours of Our Lady, but only seven of them were completed, and in these Mass is never said, though the altars are consecrated. It has been said that the church is built on a hill; on its slope are the fourteen Stations of the Cross—seven are passed in mounting the hill, the other seven in going down again: here, even in the most inclement weather, the Stations of the Cross are made every Friday.

Before passing on, mention must be made of the sacristy and treasury, which contain articles of rare value. To pass over the banners given by various towns, magnificent antependia and vestments, amongst which are two chasubles said to have been used by St. Thomas of Canterbury.[1] There is a baldachino, borne over the statue in processions, the frame of which is of solid silver weighing about *eighty* pounds, the canopy being of velvet richly embroidered. There are also in the treasury the crowns used on great feasts, of solid gold encrusted with pearls, and a rich collection of sacred vessels. Before the French Revolution the treasury was yet richer, as town had vied with town, and prince with prince, in making resplendent the Shrine of Mary; one of the earliest of the royal gifts being a golden chalice given by the Queen of Charles I. of England, in gratitude for restored health. Many of these precious objects were "annexed" by the friends of "liberty," on the outbreak of the Revolution, but the most valuable perished in the fire which destroyed the house of the Oratorians in the Island of Nordstrand, to which they had been removed for safety.

To return to the history of the Shrine. In 1610 Montaigu was separated from the parish of Sichem, and in 1624 confided to the Oratorians of S. Philip Neri, who retained the cure of souls till the time of the Revolution. When this broke out most of the priests retired to Nordstrand, but a few remained. On the feast of the Epiphany 1797, the superior and four of his companions were arrested: the superior escaped but the others were sent to the Island of Cayenne,

[1] One of them is always used on his feast. It is a matter for deep regret that these valuable relics should not have been left in their original condition.

where ill-treatment hastened their death. During the sad times which followed, the inhabitants of Montaigu remained true to their faith and refused to assist at the Mass celebrated by an apostate, who had taken possession of the church. The pilgrimages recommenced after the signing of the Concordat, and became even more numerous than of old. The shrine received a signal mark of the favour of Pius IX. of blessed memory, when, in answer to a petition of the Rev. J. G. Jonghmans, who for more than three decades has been parish priest, he gave permission for the solemn coronation of the statue. This was done in the name of the Pope, by the Archbishop of Mechlin, on the last Sunday in August, 1872. So great was the concourse of pilgrims on the occasion, that an altar was erected in the open air, at which the statue was crowned, High Mass sung, and the Apostolic Blessing imparted; the last having been granted by his Holiness with a Plenary Indulgence.

Pilgrimages to our Lady of Montaigu are very numerous, and have been made by foreigners as well as by natives for centuries. The Irish soldiers, Alexander Farnese, Albert and Isabel, have been already mentioned, but a host of other examples might be cited from among the great ones of the Church and the world, by beginning with St. John Berchmans, who when a student at Diest, used frequently to visit the Shrine. Amongst celebrated ecclesiastics who have visited the Shrine must be named the first Archbishop of Westminster, and several, if not all, of the nuncios to the Court of Brussels: first among whom comes Mgr. Pecci, now His Holiness Leo XIII., gloriously reigning, to be followed by Monsignori, now Cardinals, Ledochowski, Cattani and Vannutelli. One of these, Mgr. Cattani, led to the Shrine some forty thousand pilgrims on May 5th, 1871. Nor have sovereigns and secular princes been behind hand; amongst them stand out in bold relief many members of the House of Lorraine, not the least devout of whom is the present Queen of the Belgians. The pilgrimage season begins about Easter and goes on till the beginning of November, but it is impossible to form any estimate of the number of pilgrims in the course of the year; the hundred thousand communions made at the

Shrine being no criterion, because a large and ever increasing number go to communion before setting out for Montaigu. There are during the year about two hundred and fifty public pilgrimages: on the occasion of each there is a procession in honour of Our Lady, in which the sacred statue is borne. The most celebrated of these processions, that *of the candles*, takes place on the first Sunday in November, the feast of Our Lady's Patronage according to the Mechlin Kalendar, in annual commemoration of, and thanksgiving for, the staying of the plague in 1659. The parish priest told the writer that generally speaking there are from forty to fifty thousand pilgrims on that day. Last year there were fewer than usual on account of having rains and severe cold, though many thousands were assembled from all parts, some even coming from Germany. During the procession everyone had at least one candle—some a dozen. Very many approached the Sacraments: some stayed the night to be able to do so, and heard Mass at four o'clock on a cold November morning, after which they set out for home with the little banners, stuck in the harness of their horses, the ordinary mark of an accomplished pilgrimage. The majority, of course, do the journey on foot, and the writer has heard of some devoted Germans—one of them, a priest serving on the English mission, personally known to him—who, in this way, went to Montaigu from their homes, a hundred and thirty miles away. Mgr. Van Weddingen tells a touching story of a pilgrimage from Turnhout, in which, when yet a child, he took part. Many of the pilgrims were taking part in the annual pilgrimage from their town for the *sixtieth* time, and their leader was their venerable parish priest, ninety, or more, years of age. On the return journey all stopped at Averbode, a famous Premonstratensian abbey, and turning took their last look at the starry dome of the Shrine. Then the old parish priest, bursting into tears, addressed his flock:—"I shall never more lead you here, he said, for before the procession of next autumn my course will be run. Remember my children the advice of your pastor. Never cease loving Mary, and in memory of me come, each year, to her sanctuary: I shall be with you in spirit. And now, O

Virgin of Montaigu, farewell; farewell my queen, my mother; I shall see you on high." He then blessed the weeping pilgrims, whom, in accordance with his prediction, he never more accompanied.

The Sovereign Pontiffs have done much to encourage the pilgrimage. Paul V. granted a plenary indulgence for the Feasts of the Nativity, Immaculate Conception, Purification, and Assumption of Our Lady, and another at the hour of death, to all who, having once made the pilgrimage, and possessing a medal or picture of Our Lady of Montaigu, should confess and receive Holy Communion, or, failing the possibility of so doing, should say, or wish to say, *Jesus, Mary.* In addition, he granted some very great partial indulgences. Gregory XVI. added another plenary indulgence; and Pius IX., in response to the petition of the parish priest, in perpetual commemoration of the coronation, granted a plenary indulgence, to be gained on the last Sunday in August or on one of the seven following days. His Holiness also gave permission, in 1854, for a Votive Mass of Our Lady to be said on the occasion of every pilgrimage, and for *every* priest accompanying a pilgrimage to say this Votive Mass on all Wednesdays and Saturdays, the ordinary exceptions of privileged fasts, feasts, and octaves being made in either case.

Before ending this brief sketch of the history of the sanctuary of Montaigu, it is only fitting that something should be said about the miracles and extraordinary cures which have happened there. As has been already related, a writer at the end of the sixteenth century mentioned that he had seen over two hundred extraordinary cures. A few years later, in 1605, the celebrated Juste Lipse wrote a history of the Shrine, in which he recorded many prodigies. In the following year, at the request of Matthias Hovius, Archbishop of Mechlin, Philip Numan, a lawyer, wrote a similar account in Flemish, in which he recorded many extraordinary cures, the particulars of which, in not a few instances, he had learned from eye-witnesses. All the miracles recorded by Numan were approved of, after being rigorously examined by the Archbishop of Mechlin and the Bishop of Antwerp, men of great learning. In 1664 a book

was published containing an account of between seventeen and eighteen hundred extraordinary cures which had happened in connection with Montaigu; the censor, a professor of theology in the University of Louvain, permitted *one hundred and thirty-seven* of these to be called miracles, as they had, after examination, been approved as such by the Ordinary.[1] He permitted the remaining sixteen hundred to be cited as special favours obtained by the intercession of Our Lady, but forbade them to be published as miracles till they had been approved as such by legitimate authority. At the beginning of the next century the successor of M. Hovius in the chair of St. Rombald approved a further number of miracles. It is difficult to pick and choose, but the following are fair examples of the cures obtained by the the intercession of Our Lady of Louvain:—

In the year 1604 a young Scotsman, who from an early age had been deaf and dumb, was sent by a friend to Montaigu to implore the assistance of Mary; but he, thinking that a course of baths would do him more good, went to Spa. Instead of deriving any benefit, he was struck down with fever. When able to leave the hospital he went to Montaigu, where, kneeling, he at length invoked Our Lady's aid. He *immediately* recovered the faculties of speech and hearing, and retained them till his death, which occurred thirteen years later. The next example is also to be found in the records of the first half of the seventeenth century. A pious woman, Margaret, the wife of John Clercq, gave birth to a dead child. The father, praying that it might have life, took it to a room adjoining the church, where he left it for four days, at the end of which period the parish priest begged him to be reasonable and remove it. He did so, but only to carry it to a statue of Our Lady, made from the Montaigu oak, before which he laid it. To the amazement of a large number of persons who had followed him, the dead body received life, evidence being given of the fact by the colour which suffused its cheeks, and by the opening of its mouth and eyes. One of the bystanders bap-

[1] Quae enim a num. 1 usque ad num. 137 inclusive referuntur ab Ordinario loci examinata, et ut vera miracula approbatim esse constat.

tised it, and then the little one died, heaven having been gained for it by its father's faith in Our Lady.

To come to the present century: In 1819 a man named Peter Covelius, aged forty-three, came to the Shrine with a distressing sore which had troubled him and defied the doctors for a year. He went to Confession and Holy Communion, and there implored Our Lady's help; he was immediately cured. During the same year two children, *about seven months old*, who were totally blind, were taken by their parents to Montaigu, where they received their sight in the presence of many persons. In 1838 a girl, seven years of age, was cured of paralysis, from which she had suffered for three years; her cure was attested by the magistrate and burgomaster of Hierenthals, her native town. In 1845 a boy of ten was cured of blindness, which his doctor had pronounced to be incurable. In 1880 a gentleman holding a public appointment wrote to the parish priest to make known the wonderful cures of *three* of his children. Two of them, one suffering from meningitis, the other from kidney disease, were given up by their medical attendant; the parents made a vow that should their children be spared to them they would send a portrait of them to the Church of Montaigu. To the amazement of the doctors these two children recovered. A few days later a third child, only a few months old, was seized with such violent convulsions that death seemed imminent: without any delay the father went to Montaigu, and returned to find his child out of danger.

The case just mentioned is the last recorded by Mgr. Van Weddingen. Feeling that it would be satisfactory to lay before the readers of the RECORD something even more recent, the writer, emboldened by having received much previous kindness from the parish priest of Montaigu, applied to him for information, which was most kindly given without delay. After saying that nothing, however wonderful, could be claimed as a miracle till it had been recognised as such by the Church, this venerable priest went on to state that every year many remarkable cures were effected, of which, in many cases, he and his fellow-priests were eye-witnesses; but he added that it was very often difficult to get proper

confirmation of them, as doctors, either from scrupulosity or human respect, shrank from making declarations which would be published. He then gave two examples of recent cases, one of which was effected in 1887, the other apparently last year.

The first case was that of a boy, aged ten, whose legs had remained hopelessly paralysed, from the foot to the knee, after a severe illness, during the course of which his life had been despaired of and the last sacraments administered. His pious parents, seeing that it was useless to seek the help of man, joined the pilgrimage from their village to Montaigu, and there sought the help of the Consoler of the Afflicted, to whom they vowed a novena of prayers. So great was the press of pilgrims that they were unable to enter the church before eleven o'clock: a matter to be noted, for *at the same hour on the last day of the novena* the child threw away its crutches and ran to his mother, who was working at a place about three-quarters of a mile from the house. All the circumstances were public property, and a full account of them appeared in the daily papers. The child, with its parents, has been twice to Montaigu to thank his benefactress; and, as the parish priest attests, on these occasions was nimble and apparently in robust health. The other case is that of a boy, aged fifteen, suddenly cured of paralysis, from which he had suffered for nine years. The next pilgrimage from his village, which sends one annually, will afford the opportunity required for further inquiries into his case.

Much more could be written on this fascinating subject, but the space allotted by the editor has already been exceeded, and this too brief account of the wondrous shrine of Montaigu must suffice. Enough, however, has been said to show that an old historian of the Shrine[1] was justified in thus addressing our Blessed Lady of Montaigu :—

> Te fusa gens mortalium
> Per abditos mundi sinus,
> Iber Britannus Sarmata
> Civisque flavi Tybridis,
> Salutis indigens adit.

[1] Erycius Puteanus (Henry Van des Putte), who in his history recounts a number of miracles, approved by authority; he expressed his opinion that the man who could doubt them would doubt the power of God Himself.

True as these words were in the seventeenth century, they are much more so in the nineteenth. Go and see.

In conclusion a few words of a practical nature. Montaigu is easily reached from Antwerp *via* Aerschot, or from Brussels *via* Louvain and Aerschot: the nearest station is Sichem, and omnibuses meet more of the trains. The inns at Montaigu are to be highly commended if the *Hotel du Cygne* is a fair specimen of them; the writer stayed there last November, and for five francs a day, had board and lodging *everything included*, even beer *ad lib.*: the inn is somewhat rough and the cooking plain, but the food abundant and the attendance willing. The pious people of Montaigu do not try to make extortionate profits out of pilgrims. Those wishing to buy rosaries, &c., would find everything of the sort at the little shops within the enclosure and close to the door of the church: the profits made in which are for the poor. Speaking of rosaries, there is at Diest a convent of Canons Regular of the Holy Cross who attach 500 days' indulgence to each bead; the good landlady of the *Cygne* is always ready to send them for her guests. The usual *honorarium* for masses is two francs and a-half, but, in spite of there being six or seven priests attached to the church, none can be guaranteed under six months, unless for the sick when it is said at once: should anyone wish a Mass to be said sooner he is expected to give a somewhat larger *honorarium*, three francs, even then it can rarely be promised before three weeks or a month. Finally, if any English-speaking visitor wishes to find some one who knows his language he will probably do so at the Ursuline Convent where there are usually some English-speaking religious: the chapel and refectory of this convent, it may be added, are the only remains of the school formerly kept at Montaigu by the Oratorians.

E. W. Beck.

DE MONTAULT ON CHURCHES AND CHURCH FURNITURE.

II.

Altars.—The Reredos or Retable.

VIOLLET LE DUC, in his *Dictionary of Architecture*, under the words "Autel' and "Retable," points out that the early altars had no reredos. In France, he says, the cathedrals were the last to admit the reredos and the longest preserved the ancient traditions of the altar. The use of the reredos dates only from the period when the bishops' thrones and the presbyteries were placed in front of the altars.[1]

Pugin holds that the early basilican arrangement "was undoubtedly in use in England prior to the thirteenth century, after which the throne was placed at the eastern extremity of the stalls on the Epistle side of the choir, as at Durham, Exeter, Wells, Winchester, etc. In the foreign churches, where the apsidal form of the east end was always retained, the bishop's throne kept its original position much longer; and De Moleon mentions some cathedrals in his time where the bishop or archbishop was seated at the extremity of the absis. . . . In Canterbury Cathedral the stone chair in which the archbishops were enthroned is still preserved in the eastern chapel of the cathedral, commonly called Beckett's Crown."[2]

Monseigneur de Montault says that the mediæval reredos was made of metal, of stone, or of wood. It was of the same dimensions as the altar, very low, and nearly always straight at the top. An attempt has been made in some modern restorations to imitate these retables, which are generally ungraceful, and they do not answer to present ideas, or even to the wants of our times. If one or two gradines are placed at the foot of this sort of reredos, it is a departure from the style. Besides, candlesticks and flowers would completely hide the pictures or carvings with which it is decorated. If the candlesticks are put on the reredos itself, they produce a singular effect, being perched up

[1] Cf. Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, s. v. Reredos.
[2] Cf. Pugin's *Glossary of Gothic Ecclesiastical Ornament*, page 57.

too high; and besides in the Middle Ages such a system was unknown. Still less do those ages furnish an example of those fantastic retables in which the sides are cut into steps.

To have a reredos of pure style is, then, impossible. This difficulty, he thinks, will be obviated if the reredos used since the second half of the sixteenth century is taken as a type, suiting it to the style of the church. The best examples of this kind are to be found in Rome—for instance, at S. Silvestro in Capite, at Sta. Maria del Popolo, and at Sta. Maria della Pace.

A reredos can be raised only where the altar is against the wall or at a little distance from it; an isolated altar does not allow of this kind of decoration. In its actual form it consists of a wall springing from the ground, against which the altar rests. Its width is that of the altar steps, and its height proportionate to that of the church. It is made of marble, stone, or wood, and it gains in richness if it is brightened up with gilding and paintings. It is composed of three distinct parts: a base which rises to the height of the table of the altar, and which bears both on the right and left sides the arms of the church or of the donor; a table bounded by pilasters or columns, which correspond with the basement, ornamented in the centre with a picture or statue, representing the titular[1] saint or mystery; a frieze, on which the dedication or some analogous text is inscribed; a pediment or gable crowning the whole, and terminating in a cross, which, should it be made of wood or metal, is gilded. The following will give an idea of the kind of inscription required:—At St. Agostino on the Lady altar (seventeenth century):

CAELI · GAVDIVM
MVNDI · AVXILIVM
PVRGATORII · SOLA
TIVM.

[1] Visitator congregationis et provinciae Neapolitanae S.R.C. humillime supplicavit, ut quoniam in hujus ecclesiae ara principe nulla exstet icon, collocari ibidem valeat illa B.M.V. Conceptionis titulo, sed illa forma effigiata, quam refert numisma Parisiis anno 1830 cusum? S.R.C. resp: Negative, et apponatur imago S. Nicolai titularis.—Die 27 Aug., 1836, in *Una Cong. Miss.*

At S. Carlo ai Catinari (17th century), on the altar of St. Anne:

GRATIA · SVPER · GRATIAM
MULIER · SANCTA
ECC. XXVI.

The same was customary in France. Thus, in the last century at the altar of St. Sebastian in the Church of Montjeau, in the diocese of Angers:

TOLLE · CRVCEM · SI · VIS
AVFERRE CORONAM

and at Grézillé, on the Lady-altar:

ECCE
MATER
TVA.

At St. Peter's in Rome, the dedication of the Lady-chapel, called the Gregorian chapel, is thus set forth on a black marble tablet:

DEI
GENITRICI
MARIAE · VIRGINI
ET · S. GREGORIO
NAZIANZENO.

The picture of the Blessed Virgin is framed in the reredos, and the body of St. Gregory of Nazianzum is enclosed in the altar in a square urn of grey granite.

At Monte Calvo, arch-diocese of Benevento, in the eighteenth century, at the altar of Our Lady of Mount Carmel:

Ama ut mater, ora ut filia, dirige ut Spiritus Sanctus.

And at the Altar of the Guardian Angel:

Datus sum tibi ut praecedam, et custodiam te in via et introducam te ad caelum, Exo., cap. 23.

At S. Maria Liberatrice, in Rome, eighteenth century, the inscription is changed into a prayer to St. Michael:

Princeps gloriosissime, esto memor nostri hic et ubique, semper deprecare pro nobis Filium Dei. S. Michael, archangele, in judicio tremendo nos defende.

If the design in the centre is large and represents the crucifixion, as at S. Lorenzo in Lucina, or the figure in relief of Christ, as at the Cathedral of Pisa, it is, strictly speaking, allowable to dispense with the crucifix in the middle of the altar between the candlesticks.

In Germany two traditions of the middle ages have been preserved: first, in the triptychs, the wings of which are only opened during the offic ;[1] secondly, in the hangings of the colour of the day, and often figured, which form the background of the altar. The Visitation of the Cathedral of Alby, in 1698, mentions "a piece of tapestry, made on purpose, very fine and beautiful, five *pans* in height." The Archbishop adds in his decree: "There should be a whole set of silk hangings of the ecclesiastical colours, to cover the said retable on ordinary days." Such hangings are described in Pugin's *Glossary*, under the word Dossel or Dorsal.

The most simple and most suitable reredos is that of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, and indicated in the *Ceremonial*,[2] which admits of nothing but a suite of hangings, shewing the mystery appropriate to the day; it has, therefore, to be changed according to the various solemnities. The picture on the reredos is covered during Passion-tide with a violet veil which is not allowed to be withdrawn under any pretext even for the feast of the titular. In Rome, if the picture is precious, on account of the artist who painted it, or because of the devotion in which it is held, it is covered by a veil, which is removed only on Sundays and feast days. From its not being always exposed to view, the desire to see it on the reserved days is intensified. This veil, for a picture of Our Lady, is white, often embroidered with a monogram encircled by rays and flowers, as at S. Agostino, S. Maria del Popolo, S. Maria della Pace, etc. A transparent gauze would be in bad taste and opposed to the liturgy. On either side of the picture are branches with sockets for one or two candles, which are lighted on the days on which it is uncovered.

[1] Cf. Pugin's *Glossary*, p. 236, "Triptych Altar Tables."

[2] Quod si altare parieti adhaereat, applicari poterit ipsi parieti supra altare pannus aliquis ceteris nobilior et speciosior, ubi intextae sint D. N. J. C. aut gloriosae Virginis vel Sanctorum imagines, nisi jam in ipso pariete essent depictae et decenter ornatae. *Caerem. ep.* Lib. 1, cap. xii., n. 13.

The Baldaquin.

"A ciborium," writes Pugin, "is, beyond doubt, the most correct manner of covering an altar, and, at the same time, by far the most beautiful. It is much to be wished that they were generally revived in all large churches, instead of altars built against walls, which last are after all of comparatively modern introduction. There are several ancient ciboria yet remaining in Italy, very similar in design and arrangement to the cut given, but the curtains have been removed. The ancient ciboria were composed of wood, stone, marble, brass, and even precious metals."

"The altar screens of Winchester and St. Alban's, beautiful as they are in the abstract, are injurious to the effect of the churches in which they are erected, and by no means comparable either in majesty or utility with a magnificent ciborium covered with gold and imagery, and surmounting an elevated and detached altar. These elaborate screens are quite in place in collegiate chapels like New College or Magdalene, Oxford, where the east end is a blank wall; but in a great church terminating in a Lady chapel and eastern aisles, it seems most preposterous to erect a wall the whole breadth of the choir, nearly equal in elevation to the vaulting, cutting off half the proportion of the building, and solely for the purpose of rearing an altar three feet high by ten feet long, to which it does not even form a canopy." (Pugin's *Glossary*, under the word *Ciborium*, page 73, where a drawing of a baldacchino is given.)

Monseigneur de Montault says that the dais or canopy is the greatest mark of honour that can be shewn to a sovereign. How then can we refuse it to the Heavenly King who deigns to humble Himself on our altars? There are two forms of baldaquins: the fixed *ciborium* and the hanging *umbraculum* or canopy. The ciborium is the most ancient and the most monumental. In Rome it may be seen in all styles and of all epochs. It is an architectural structure, the summit of which, more or less pyramidical, rests on four monolith pillars, placed at the four corners. In the middle ages these pillars started from the pavement, in the modern style, as at St. Peter's, Sta. Maria Maggiore, and St. Paul's

Without-the-Walls, they are raised on emblazoned pedestals. They are placed at the four corners of the steps, which are included in its circumference. A dais of metal or of gilded wood rests on the capitals of the pillars, the valance being carved and emblazoned, and the ceiling ornamented with a dove hovering in a halo of light. The top is decorated with angels, or with urns, corresponding to the columns, and with a domed roof, or else, brackets of open-work, terminating in a globe, surmounted by a golden cross. At the Church of St. Agnes Without-the-Walls, the name of Paul V. is inscribed on it:—

PAVLVS V. PONT. MAX. ANNO. SALVTIS MDCXIII., PONTIFICATVS X.

The altar, under the canopy, is not exactly in the middle; it is thrown back by the steps. This is very apparent at St. Peter's in Rome. In the Roman churches, when there is not a fixed canopy, a square or elliptical dais is hung from the roof by cords or chains. It is made of wood, carved and gilded, or furnished with valances of red silk damask, braided and fringed with gold. It covers only the altar and its predella. The Ceremonial of Bishops prescribes[1] that the colour of the suspended canopy should change according to the feasts. This injunction is nowhere observed, and would be difficult of execution. The difficulty is obviated by using permanent hangings of, for example, tapestry or painted stuff, with a gold ground and coloured ornaments, as is done at St. Peter's in the *loggie* of the cupola.

Velvet must not be used, for it belongs exclusively to the functions at which the Pope celebrates or is present. Strictly speaking, every altar at which Mass is said ought to have its baldaquin;[2] at least there should be one at

[1] Desuper in alto appendatur umbraculum, quod baldachinum vocant, formae quadratae, co-operiens altare et ipsius altaris scabellum, coloris ceterorum paramentorum. Quod baldachinum etiam supra statuendum erit, si altare sit a pariete sejunctum, nec supra habeat aliquod ciborium ex lapide aut ex marmore confectum. Si autem adsit tale ciborium, non est opus umbraculo. (*Caer. Episc.* lib. 1, cap. xii., n. 13, 14.)

[2] An in omnibus altaribus sive cathedralis, sive aliarum ecclesiarum, debeat erigi baldachinum, vel in majori tantum, in quo asservatur augustissimum Sacramentum? Et S. R. C. respondit: In omnibus. Die 27 Aprilis, 1697. In Cortonen.

the high altar and at the altar of the Blessed Sacrament,[1] which are the two most important. In cathedrals, if the baldaquin be absent at the high altar, there may not be a canopy over the episcopal throne, and the episcopal canopy should be less costly than that of the altar. This follows from the rubrics of the Ceremonial,[2] and from the practice of the Papal functions.

In the Middle Ages the canopies, with a valance of drapery were very common, as is seen from miniatures and paintings. They are also mentioned in the inventories of churches.[3]

[1] SENEN.—Quum equites Marcus et Alexander Saracini, in oppido Castrinovi vulgo *della Berardenga* in archidioecesi Senensi, e fundamentis excitarint parochialem ecclesiam, ut ecclesiasticas sanctiones adimplere adamussim valeant, S. R. C. enixe rogarunt ut declarare dignaretur, num super omni altari, in quo SS. Sacram. asservatur, apponi omnino debeat baldachinum? Et S. C. comperiens usque ab an. 1697 quinto Kalendas maias, in una Cortonen. sancitum fuisse ut baldachinum omnino apponatur super altare, in quo augustissimum Sacram. asservatur, rescribendum censuit: Detur decretum in una Cortonen. diei 27 Apr., 1697. Die 23 Maii, 1846.

[2] Super eam (sedem) umbraculum seu baldachinum . . . appendi poterit, dummodo et super altari aliud simile vel etiam sumptuosius appendatur, nisi ubi super altari est ciborium marmoreum vel lapideum, quia tunc superfluum est nec aptari commode potest (*Caerem. Episc.* lib. 1, cap. xiii., n. 3).

[3] "Pour XXV. palmes et demi du dit drop (of cloth of gold) emploié en ung dociel de autel.

"Pour troys ymages de broderie pour mettre audit dociel, c'est assavoir Nostre-Dame, S. Michiel et S. Maurice" (Comptes de René d'Anjou, 1449).

"Summam 10 scutorum auri . . . . pro componendo caelo seu tabernaculo," au chapitre de S. Maurille d'Angers (Compte de 1531).

"Les autres (les Huguenots) rompoient le ciel de dessus le grand autel estant de damas rouge" à la cathédrale d'Angoulême "Plus un ciel carré estant de damas cramoisy, estant sur le grand autel, contenant douze aulnes trois quarts . . . plus, en frange, estant autour dudict ciel, qui est une livre de sarge cramoisie" (Enquête de 1562).

"Un ciel ou poille, au-dessus du grand autel, de sarge de Caen rouge, avec ses pantis et tours de reseul de fil blanc et ouvrage de point couppé" (Invent. de la Cath. de Tréguier, 1620).

"Marché fait (a Angers en 1631) avec Coustard peintre, pour peindre sur bois et à l'huile dans le fond du dais ou poële du grand autel de cette église (S. Maurille) un tableau de la Résurrection de Notre-Seigneur" (*Rev. des Soc. Sav.* 1872, t. iii., p. 358).

"Un tableau des quartre évangélistes, qui sert de dais sur le grand autel" (Compte de S. Laurent de Baugé, 1654).

"Un autre dais de velours viollet à ramage, estant au-dessus du grand autel" (Inv. de N. D. Beaufort, 1683).

"Il y a au-dessus dudit autel (à la cathédrale d'Alby) un grand dais, suspendu à la voute de l'eglise avec une chaine de fer, qui couvre tout l'autel. Ledit dais est garny de pentes rouges de camelot ondé fort vieux. Il faut d'autres pentes de damas ou autre estoffe unie, afin que la poussière ne s'y arreste pas" (Visite de l'an. 1698).

"When the ciboria fell into disuse," says Pugin, "the altars were protected by a canopy of cloth of gold or silk, suspended over them." Bocquillot mentions that the image of a dove was frequently embroidered or painted under these. These canopies were common in England. John Almyngham, by will, Oct. 7th, 1500, gave—

"£20 to the Church of Walberswic: £10 for a payr of orgonys; and with the residue of the said sume, I will a *canope* over the high awter, welle done with our Lady and four aungelys and the Holy Ghost, going upp and down with a cheyne."—*Churchwardens' Accompts of Walberswick.*

"For Freshynge the conopy at the high awter 1*s.* 8*d.*, St. Mary's Hill, London."—*Nichols's Records of Ancient Times*, p. 187.

"These canopies were sometimes composed of wood, painted and gilt, as in the Lady Chapel at Durham; but owing to the universal destruction of altars in the reign of Edward VI., we have very few existing examples."—*Glossary*, p. 111, under the word "Dais."

Consecration of Altars.

Our author gives a summary of the rules in the Pontifical and from other sources for the Consecration of Altars. He does not approve of the use of altar stones, unless in exceptional cases. He desires that at least the high-altar and that of the Blessed Sacrament should be consecrated. He attaches importance to a permanent memorial of consecration being kept. Not only should there be a document preserved in the Archives of the Church, but also an inscription, carved along the edge of the altar table, or on a wall near the altar. The former method is preferable because then the inscription and the altar are inseparable. This epigraph should contain the names and titles of the consecrator, of the saints whose relics he has enclosed in the altar, and of the titular saint, with the day, month and year of the consecration. The indulgences accorded for the anniversary may also be inscribed on it.

Here are some examples of the two systems:—The Church of St. Francis, dedicated also to St. Onofrio, and situated outside the walls of Rome, on the summit of Monte Mario, had its high-altar consecrated by Benedict XIII., on

the 2nd of July, 1728. The dedicatory inscription is engraven on the edge of the altar table :—

BENEDICTUS XIII. PONT. MAX. ORD. PRÆD. ALTARE HOC CONSECRAVIT DIE II. IVLY. MDCCXXVIII.

The cell in the Capuchin monastery of the Piazza Barberini in Rome, in which St. Felix of Cantalice lived, died, and had a vision of the Blessed Virgin, was turned into a chapel. Benedict XIII. consecrated the altar on the 18th of May, 1726, and deposited there the relics of the holy martyrs Gaudentius and Magnus. He granted on this occasion an indulgence of 15 years and 15 quarantines, and on the anniversary for ever, 7 years and 7 quarantines. The commemorative inscription is fixed to the right side of the altar;—

D. O. M.
ET
S. FELICI · A · CANTALICIO · CAPUCCINO
ARAM · HANC
SS. GAUDENTII · ET MAGNI · RELIQUIIS · INCLUSIS
RECURSO · TEMPORE
QUO · S. FELIX · IN HAC ANGUSTA · CELLULA · MORIENS
A · DEIPARA · CHRISTUM · DEUM · GESTANTE
OLIM · FUIT · INVISITUS
BENEDICTUS · XIII. PONT. MAX.
XV. CAL. JUN. MDCCXXVI
PROPRIA · MANU · VOVENDO · SACRAVIT
IN · IPSA . CONSECRATIONIS · DIE
XV. INDULGENT. ANNOS · TOTIDEMQ. QUADRAGENAS
IN · ANNIVERSARIA · AUTEM
SEPTENOS. ET · SEPTENAS
PONTIFICIA · LIBERALITATE
IN · ÆVUM · USQUE · DURATURAS
INDULSIT. CONCESSIT. RELAXAVIT.

Here is a recent example copied from the high altar of *Sant' Angelo-in-pescheria* in Rome ;—

✠ ROGERIVS. ANTICI. MATTEI. PATR. CONSTANTINOP. III. ID. IVLII. AN CHR. MDCCCLXXIII. ALTARE. HOC. A. PIO IX. P. M. DONATVM. SOLEMNI. RITV. CONSECRAVIT. IN HONOREM. SS. MICH. ARCHANG. GETVL. SYMPH. ET. VII. FIL. MM.

The placing of an inscription was recommended by a Council of Worcester,[1] and Cardinal Orsini when Archbishop of Benevento prescribed it in the authentic document which was to be kept in the Archives as a certificate of the consecration. "Mandavit marmoreum lapidem posteros de huiusmodi consecratione admonentem infra tres menses apponi."

J. ROUSE.

A SKETCH OF PALLADIUS.

IRELAND'S first bishop was, as indicated even by his name, of Eastern or Grecian origin. Members of the Palladian family attained to eminence in Church and State during the fourth and fifth centuries. If the name of Palladius stand prominent in the ecclesiastical roll of Constantinople and Alexandria it was no less conspicuous among the officers of the imperial army. One of these, a Christian, is said to have been the father of the Irish bishop, and to have been sent to Britain by Julian the Apostate. But while it is certain that Palladius was of Eastern extraction, his birth-place is quite uncertain. Some contend that he was by birth an Italian, as he was deacon or archdeacon of Pope Celestine; others that he was Gaulish, as several of the name were distinguished prelates in France, and as our Palladius was closely connected with Germanus of Auxerre: while others maintain that he was British, because both of his special interest in the Welsh Church and of his alleged connexion with a famous school said to have been established in South Wales by the father of Theodosius the Great.

Whatever doubt hangs round the birth-place of Palladius cannot affect the certainty of his mission to Ireland from Pope Celestine. Of this we are assured by a contemporary, Prosper of Aquitaine. He states, under the year 431

[1] Annus et dedicationis dies ecclesiarum quae consecratae fuerint, et altarium, et a quo consecrata fuerit superscribantur altaribus evidenter, Conc. Wigornien., an. 1240, c. 11.

in his Chronicle which ends at the year 455, that Palladius was consecrated and sent as first bishop to Ireland by Pope Celestine, that there were there already some Christians, and that this took place under the consulship of Bassus and Antiochus. While the statement of Prosper as to the mission of Palladius is confirmed by the *Book of Armagh* it vouches also for the shortness and ill success of that mission. One of its writers in the seventh century, and I pray the reader to bear in mind, for reasons that shall appear by and by, the antiquity of the testimony, states that Pope Celestine sent Palladius to convert Ireland from infidelity, but that God did not vouchsafe success to him; and that the fierce and savage people did not readily receive Palladius, nor did he consent to remain in a strange country, but returned to him who sent him. On his return from Ireland, after crossing the first sea, and after having begun his journey by land, he died on the confines of the Britons.[1]

The next paragraph in the Patrician documents assures us that St. Patrick was consecrated only after the death of Palladius; and subsequent writers and Lives in accord with this statement add that St. Celestine lived only a few days after the consecration on the 8th of April, 432. The death of Palladius in the year 431 or early in 432 considered, it is doubtful if his mission lasted even for a year. With good reason then the summary of contents to the *Book of Armagh* under the heading of one of its chapters alludes to his consecration and immediate death. (*Ordinatione Palladii et mox morte ejus, Fol.* 20 *ab.*)

And turning to another Life in the *Book of Armagh*, as given by Tirechan, we learn that Palladius, according "to the holy ancients, suffered martyrdom among the Scoti." The writer, while giving with some reserve the death of Palladius in Ireland, testifies both to the abruptness with which his mission was cut short, and to the obscurity into which that mission had passed. The *Second* and *Third Lives*,[2] repeat substantially the statement of the *Book of Armagh*--

[1] *Documenta de S. Patricio*, p. 25, learnedly annotated by Rev. E. Hogan, S.J.

[2] Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*, pp. 13, 23.

that Palladius having crossed the first sea and begun his land journey died on the confines of the Picts—in the country of the Britons. The *Fourth Life*[1] gives the opinion that Palladius on his way to Rome died in the country of the Picts. The *Fifth Life*[2] states that Palladius having determined to return to Rome crossed the sea, and having reached the confines of the Picts died. The *Sixth Life*[3] also states that on his way to Rome Palladius died in Britain but within the confines of the Picts. The *Seventh Life*[4] states that Palladius bent on returning to his own left Ireland accordingly, but that seized with mortal illness he died in the land of the Picts. Our native writers from the seventh to the twelfth century put beyond reasonable doubt several points in regard to Palladius—that he was sent by Pope Celestine to convert the Irish, that his success consisted in the conversion only of a few souls and in the erection of a few wooden churches in Leinster, and that on his return to Rome he died on the confines of England and Scotland.

Scottish historians in comparatively modern times have attempted to prove that Palladius was sent originally not to Ireland but Scotland, because they appear to have forgotten that Ireland was called Scotia till the eleventh century; but since the days of Ussher they have been satisfied with claiming Palladius only after he left Ireland: they maintain that he evangelized Scotland, and that after many years of missionary labour there he died under the shadow of the Grampian hills in Fordun. I shall as briefly as possible discuss the grounds of these statements, and endeavour to identify the place where our first though unsuccessful apostle died.

Modern historians have fallen into mistakes in regard to the passage of Palladius from Ireland. The Patrician documents already referred to state that on his way to Rome Palladius died after crossing over to Scotland; but the Scholiast on Fiacc states "that he sailed along the northern coasts till driven by a storm he reached a Scottish headland."

[1] Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 38. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 68. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

Dr. Todd fancies a contradiction to exist between both statements. But there is no evidence of a contradiction. For the *Book of Armagh* does not deny the existence of a storm during the passage of Palladius; nor does the scholiast, on the other hand, necessarily allude to an elemental storm. The trouble raised in Leinster, where he first landed, against Palladius could mean a moral storm: and the greater troubles that gathered round him as he cruised along the northern coasts could be described under the name of a great tempest, which determined him to return to Rome and drove him accordingly to Scotland. But as the Scholiast appears to copy Nennius we must weigh his words. Dr. Todd says (*St. Patrick*, p. 290) that Nennius mentions the storm. Let us see. Nennius states that "Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine to convert the Irish, who, however, was prevented of God by *some storms*, for no one can receive on earth what has not been granted in heaven; and Palladius set out for Ireland, arrived in Britain, and there died in the land of the Picts." Now does not the writer here speak of a moral storm? He mentions not a storm but storms. If there had been question of elemental strife one storm would have been sufficient to inflict serious loss on Palladius during a few hours' sail from Ireland to Scotland. Besides, Nennius states that God made use of certain storms to prevent the success of Palladius' mission, who in consequence of them left Ireland: now the storms must have been of a moral nature, for they were the occasion of his leaving Ireland, and therefore did not affect his passage to Scotland. The storms are stated to have occurred in Ireland, and to have led to the abandonment of the Irish mission. In the same sense the accurate Irish writer, Mark, in the year 822, spoke of the storms: he stated that Palladius was prevented from succeeding "owing to storms and remarkable indications, for no one can receive aught on earth that has not been granted in heaven"—(*Hist. Briton.*). Palladius interpreted such indications as the will of Heaven adverse to his mission. The meaning attributed to *storm* (*tempestas*) by the British Nennius and the Irish Mark is borne out as well by sacred and mediæval as by classical

writers; thus the Psalmist says that[1] he "was saved from pusillanimity and a storm." Here then there was question only of a moral storm or mental distress. In like manner St. Gregory in his *Morals* (*Lib.* ix., ch. vi.) associates the idea of a tempest with human persecutions (*remota tempestate persecutionis*). But it matters little to our purpose whether the word *tempestas* was used in a classical sense by Nennius, when it is certain he used it in the sense of trouble or opposition. We are therefore driven to infer that the Irish scholiast, in the tenth century, attached the same meaning to *tempestas*, unless we suppose he, like Dr. Todd, misunderstood Nennius in the sixth, a writer in the *Book of Armagh* in the seventh, and the Irish Mark in the ninth century.[2]

But where in Scotland did Palladius land, and where did he die? To answer these questions it is well to notice the earliest effort at identification by the ancient Irish scholiast. He states that Palladius having sailed along the northern coasts of Ireland "reached the south-eastern headland." (*Cenn airter descertach*). Dr. Todd appears to have grossly missed the meaning of this phrase. He suggests (*St. Patrick*, p. 290) that *Cenn airter* may mean Kinnaird in the North-east of Aberdeenshire, and that Palladius having been driven by storm up to the north of Scotland came down southwards (*descertach*), and arrived in Fordun, where, according to the Scholiast, he established a church. But nothing could be more wildly improbable than this translation of the Irish phrase. Firstly, an Irish writer speaking of the passage of Palladius from the north of Ireland to the eastern coast opposite, must naturally have meant the next or western coast of Scotland rather than its eastern coast.

Secondly, it were almost an impossibility that a boat

[1] *Ps.* liv., 9.

[2] "Missus fuerat ad hanc insulam, sed prohibuit illum (Deus) quia nemo potest accipere quicquam de terra nisi datum fuerit de cœlo . . . reversus ad eum qui misit illum. Revertente vero eo hinc et primo mare transito cœptoque terrarum itinere, &c." (*Documenta de S. Patricio*, p. 25. Nennius, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, ch. 55.) "Palladius . . . qui prohibitus est a Deo per quasdam tempestates, quia nemo potest quicquam accipere in terra nisi de cœlo datum illi fuerit. Et profectus est ille Palladius de Hibernia pervenitque ad Britanniam."

impelled, as groundlessly alleged, by a storm could thread its way along the entire western coast, through the Hebrides and through the Orcades, shoot through Pentland Frith, and double Dunnet Head. There are 280 miles of coast from the port in Galloway, the next to the north of Ireland, on to Dunnet Head. The western coast juts into the sea in high, narrow peninsulas here, and there recedes inland in lake-like gulphs, so that in one place the breadth of Scotland expands to 146 miles, while in another place it is narrowed to 30 miles, and the sea is dotted with innumerable isles: and that a little or large boat should make its way there in a storm, by day or night, double the cape and come down to Kinnaird, is what Dr. Todd must admit would be "extraordinary," and, he might have added, would be almost incredible. This was so incredible in the eyes of Dr. Lanigan that, in his opinion, Palladius passed over by land to the Fordun of the Scholiast.

Thirdly, Dr. Todd's translation is untenable in that it represents the scholiast as describing the journey of Palladius only on the north-east of Scotland down southwards (*descertach*) to Aberdeen, a comparatively short distance, and making no allusion to the marvellous alleged sailing up to the north and then southwards to Kinnaird. Dr. Todd's translation then, while outraging common sense, outrages Celtic proprieties.

Instead of attaching *airter* to *cenn*, and thus making out Kinnaird, Dr. Todd should have joined it to the next word thus: *airter descertach* "south-east." The Irish writer intended to state that Palladius having sailed across in the usual way to the next port in Scotland reached "the south-eastern headland" (*Cenn airter descertach*). Thus in a homily on the Archangel Michael, found in the *Leabhar Mor Duna Doighre*, mention is made of the south-eastern door of a cave.[1] So too (in p. 277, col. 1) a writer of the same manuscript giving a very old form of consecration for a church, tells us that the alphabet is to be written twice on the floor of the church; the first alphabet was to begin at the south-eastern angle

[1] P. 213.

(*ullind iarter descumtaig*), and to end at the north-western angle (*airter thuaiscumtaig*); but the second alphabet was to begin at the north-eastern angle (*airter thuaiscumtaig*), and to end at the south-eastern angle (*airter descumtaig*). Again (p. 278, col. 1, C. 19), at the close of the ceremony the pontificating bishop officiated at the north-western gable (*iarter descumtach*), afterwards at the south-eastern gable (*airter descumtach*), and then made the sign of the Cross, beginning at the south-eastern gable (*airter descumtach*), and also at the south-western gable (*iarther descumtach*). In these passages we have the form of expression, nay, even the very words, used by the scholiast, and about their meaning there need not be the shadow of doubt.

But faulty as is Dr. Todd's translation, more outrageously so is that by Colgan. He renders the Irish phrase *Cenn airter* into "the extreme part of Modhaidh," by which he understands the territory of Mar; and he renders the Irish word *descertach*, by "southwards." Why, Mar is more northwards than southwards; and the Irish phrase no more represents southwards or eastwards than does the meeting point of two perpendicular lines pointing respectively due south and east. Of course the point indicated by the south-eastern headland may not, owing to the irregularity of the Scottish coast, be mathematically determined, but it is practically so through the additional remark of the Irish writer in regard to Palladius—that "he founded there the Church of Fordun." Colgan's translation proves the power of prejudice against evidence. As the Scottish writers assigned a long missionary career to Palladius about Aberdeen, Colgan, who followed them, placed the Fordun of the scholiast in Kincardineshire.

Taken as true the authoritative statement that Palladius sailed from Ireland as directly as possible to Scotland, he should have come to the southern headland of Galloway, and then have made for the old Roman road at the extremity of the Picts' wall; but as he died after having begun his land-journey, I may say at once, I judge it probable that he died at Wigton, and that this was the Fordun of the scholiast.

Wigton, the only fortification, and a most important one

on the southern coast of Scotland was situated on the Bay of Wigton, on an eminence of some 200 feet above the level of the sea. It lay almost in a direct line between Portpatrick, the nearest and safest landing place for Palladius, and the old Roman road at the rampart of Severus. Wigton was not so called always. It was called, acccording to Beaudrand and Propertius, Victoria by the Romans; and thus Victoria-dun was contracted into Wigton. And, indeed, such changes were quite common. Thus we have Bridlington from the Celtic Brilledunum, Seaton from Maridunum, Seton from Segodunum, and Warrington from Rhigodunum. Thus, too, our Irish Ben Edar was changed into Duncriffan, and this again into the Danish word *Howth*. While then it is certain that the Saxons did not adopt the name *Victoria*, it is equally certain that the Romans did not adopt the *Fordun* of our Celtic ancestors. Fordun meant a "frontier fortification" on the southern cost of Scotland, and commanded the Irish Sea.

Scottish writers understand the Fordun of the Irish scholiast, where Palladius came to die, to be situated in the north east of Scotland, and we have seen the improbability of such a supposition; but still more improbable is the superstructure of which this false supposition is the basis. It is falsely maintained that Palladius laboured for many years as a successful apostle in Scotland, and that his relics were enshrined in the northern Fordun. Keith, in his Calendar of Scottish Saints, states that Palladius lived twenty or thirty years in Scotland, while other Scottish writers assert that he evangelized the Orkneys and the Isle of Man. Now if Palladius had been patron and apostle of Fordun in Kincardine-shire, within a score of miles from Aberdeen, there would have been some allusion made to him by Barbour, who gave a list of many saints, and the Lives of several connected with Aberdeen.[1] He gives the Life of St. Columba, and of the Irish Machar who preached in Aberdeen. Barbour was a native of Aberdeen, and how can we reconcile his silence on Palladius with a belief that he was an apostle in Aberdeen

[1] *Altenglische Legenden*, Heilbronn, 1884.

and was buried in Fordun? Scottish writers in their legends about Palladius are consistent neither with themselves nor the facts of history. Spotiswode assigns thirty years to his mission in Scotland. Hector Boetius would extend it to thirty-three years. He asserts that Palladius appointed as archbishop Ternanus whom he had baptised. But the *Breviary of Aberdeen* (for June 12th) states that Ternanus visited Pope Gregory the Great, who died in the seventh century! The statement of the *Breviary* is borne out by Barbour, who wrote in the fourteenth century, that Ternanus, and Machar, and St. Columba were on friendly terms.

Servanus is another Scotchman said by Boetius to have been an adult when converted by Palladius, and subsequently consecrated; and the *Breviary of Aberdeen* (Prop. SS. July) states that he was appointed bishop for the whole nation of the Scots (*omni Scotorum gente*): this supposes the absence of diocesan divisions, but an earlier authority than the *Breviary* of the fifteenth century assures us that there had been diocesan arrangements before the time of Palladius. Thus the *Lives of Ninian* by Bede and by Ailred (ch. 6) inform us that he consecrated bishops and divided the whole country into dioceses (*Bede*, lib. 3, ch. 4). Nor can it well be said that while Ninian was apostle of the southern Picts, Fordun was the scene of Palladius' labours in northern Pictland. For Joceline, in his *Life of St. Kentigern* assures us that the work of Ninian was consolidated and extended by St. Kentigern and by St. Columba, apostle of the northern Picts.[1] There has been no allusion to Palladius. The claims of Scottish writers do not rest on any authority higher than the *Breviary of Aberdeen* written at the close of the Middle Ages; and these claims, apart from the contradiction which they receive from authentic early history, carry their own refutation.

Even though we had no direct evidence in contradiction of the Scottish theory it appears beset with inherent incon-

[1] "Per sanctos Kentigernum et Columbam fidem susceperunt."

sistencies. If we believe Hector Boetius, William Schewes, Archbishop of St. Andrews, in the year 1494, had the supposed remains of Palladius disinterred at Fordun and placed in a silver shrine. But the *Breviary of Aberdeen*, printed at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as observed by Dr. Todd, represents Palladius as buried not in Fordun but in Langforgund. The former is in Kincardineshire, the latter in Perthshire, in a different diocese; and Aberdeen is scarcely 20 miles from Fordun.

It is strange that Irish historians who reject the Scottish mission of Palladius on the unquestionable authority of Patrician documents should admit his death at Fordun, for these expressly state that after passing over to Scotland he died there. This has come of confounding the Fordun in Kincardineshire, whose existence in the fifth century is very questionable, with the ancient Fordun under a Saxon name. The *Vita Secunda* states that Palladius died in MaghGhergin, the plain of Gergin, in a place called Fordun; and the Irish Nennius (p. 100) states that "he was driven from Erin, and he went to serve God in Fordun, in Mairne." The learned O'Flaherty would have Mairne a contraction of MaghGhergin and situated in Kincardineshire, and that this is the same as the *Mearnes*, the common name for Kincardineshire. But firstly, the letter *g* need not disappear in compounds with *Magh*, as proved in the words Magh Gailline, Magh Glae, Magh Glinne, and Magh Glass. But it is at variance with the rules that govern contractions that Ghergin would terminate in Mairne and Mearnes. Secondly, if "Mearnes" were derived from MaghGhergin, how is it that the term "Mearnes" has been applied to other places? Thus the *Breviary of Aberdeen* states that Palladius rested full of years and blissful peace at Langforgund in the Mearnes (*in Mernis in pace*). Thirdly, if O'Flaherty's derivation were correct we should expect a singular rather than the plural termination as indicated by the English (Mearnes), by the Irish (Mairne), and by the Latin (Mernis) forms of the word. The root of the word is the Celtic term *Maghair* or *Machair* a plain, pronounced like *Ma-ir*, whose plural is *Mairne*.. Machair appeared sometimes under the English forms of Mayor and

Meere.[1] The Mairne were level tracts; and the Scotch knowing that they had a plural signification but a singular termination, and forgetting that *Mairne* was a Celtic plural, changed the word into "Mearnes." The word has been found in manuscripts under the form of Moerne as well as Mairne; but this is quite common in words compounded of *Magh* a plain. Thus we have such forms as Moville (Maghbile), Moymore, Mowney, and Moynalvy.[2] There is strong reason then for judging that Colgan and modern Irish writers were not wise in adopting the wild fancies of the antiquarian O'Flaherty. Finally, Fordun could not be in Magh Gergin, the "plain of Gergin;" so far from being in a plain, Fordun is in a hollow or *Howe* of the Mearnes, formed by a spur of the Grampian mountains and the range of hills which separate it from the coast district In good truth geography as history has been revolutionised since the 17th century in order to place the scene of Palladius' death in Kincardineshire, called the *Mearnes* commonly but improperly in comparison to the unbroken succession of plains or Mechars in Galloway.

Furthermore, in no part of Scotland more than in Wigton do the plains properly so called appear. A line from Wigton to Portwilliam defines the country which goes by the name of *Machars* or *Mechars*, the "plains." These are formed from a Celtic word which received a plural termination in English, just as the really Irish plural *Mairne*, having apparently a singular termination, received the English plural "Mearnes." The *Mechars* consist of a series of gently undulating plains, and exhibit the lowest elevation of any part of Scotland. And if we suppose that Palladius died at Fordun or Wigton, in the "Mechars," a military fortification, it is not unlikely that his relics or body were removed to Candida Casa, in the centre of the "Mechars," the capital civilly and ecclesiastically of the Roman province of Valentia. This capital is only 13 miles from Wigton. Ptolemy's map represents Candida Casa under the Greek form of Leucopibia.

[1] *The Four Masters* by O'Donovan, sub. an. 701.
[2] *Vid.* An. 4, M. sub. an. 649, 691, 936, 1350, 1580, 1600.

Now it is very remarkable that the scholiast on the Festology of Aengus represents Palladius "as having gone to and died in Scotland, and having been buried in Liconio."[1]

Let us now gather up the several scattered points in the *Lives*, and see how they harmonize with the Fordun in Wigtonshire. The *Vita Secunda* states that Palladius died on the confines of the Picts.—(*Tr. Thaumaturga.*)

Vita Quinta states that after crossing the sea and touching the confines of the Picts Palladius died. (*Ibid.*, p. 48). Now it is well known that the Picts after the withdrawal of the Roman legions from Britain burst through the wall of Antoninus, and established themselves as they had been in the time of Severus, whose rampart along the Tweed was called the Wall of the Picts. The Patrician documents state that Palladius having begun his journey by land died on the confines of the Britons. (*Book of Armagh*, fol. 2, ab.). Nennius (*Hist. Brit.*) assures us that Palladius having come to Britain died in the land of the Picts. *Vita Quarta* states that Palladius wishing to return to Rome (*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 38) went to the Lord in the land of the Picts. *Vita Sexta* (*Ibid.* p. 70) states that Palladius on his way to Rome died in Britain within the land of the Picts. The *Vita Septima* (*Ibid.*, p. 113) states that Palladius intent on going to his own died in the land of the Picts. Barbour, already referred to, speaking of his own day, says "the name is Scotland, but Pychtis in it then were dwelland": so that Picts or Pictland represented the present Scotland.

Furthermore, St. Patrick in his letter to Coroticus complained that he having captured Irish neophytes sold them to the "apostate Picts." Now it is admitted that the Picts converted by Ninian, and who afterwards apostatized, were southern Picts, as the northern Picts were reserved for the zeal of St. Columba. There was no need then of going up to Abernethy, the capital of the Pictish kingdom, or the Grampian hills in order to find Picts in the days of Palladius; and when the *Book of Armagh* assures us that Palladius having begun his journey Romewards in Scotland died then and

[1] "*Condechaid in Albain* hic sepultus est in Liconio." L. B., p. 89.

there, it is unwise to listen to a contradictory statement made 700 years subsequently, and replete with absurd consequences. One thing is certain, that if Fordun in northern Scotland were, as stated by Scottish writers, an archiepiscopal residence, and the head-quarters of a national, apostolic, and successful mission, it would have been different at some time from what it always remained—the pettiest of villages.

The spiritual achievements of our national saint here in Ireland were so general, so decisive, and so brilliant, as to throw into shade the short and unsuccessful mission of Palladius, who appears to have been lost sight of by our Irish historians before he had well left our shores. The result has been that other nations claimed for him as their apostle amongst themselves, after his departure from Ireland a long missionary career, and made him the central figure of a history woven out of the visions or dreams of their writers. In this I specially allude to the monks of Glastonbury. All this has had a mischievous effect on Irish history. I will not trace the gradual steps that led up to this, but observe that, through forgetfulness of Palladius in Ireland, error crept into the lists and dates of our primatial succession and into the twelfth-century Lives of our national apostle, St. Patrick.

In following the fortunes then of Palladius till we have laid him in a certain, though foreign grave, we are paying a filial tribute to the memory of Ireland's first apostle, while, at the same time, we are taking direct steps for the correction of those grave mistakes that meet us at the threshold, nay, underlie the very foundation, of Irish Church history.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

THE CATHOLIC BISHOP AND THE ATLANTIC CABLE.

SO many and varied have been the discoveries of science within the last twenty-five years, that we have almost forgotten the accomplishment of a work—the greatest of all her triumphs—that set the whole world open-mouthed with wonder. The successful laying of the Atlantic Cable seemed at one time the final development of human genius, skill and perseverance. Mortal intelligence seemed at last released from material bonds, and mankind almost placed in rank with the spirit world in power and rapidity of intercourse. Two hemispheres were linked together by a chain of light. Two worlds were united in instant mutual consciousness and converse.

Now this work, in its original concept, and its first public proposal as a practical enterprise, belongs of right to a great Catholic Prelate, the Right Rev. Dr. Mullock, O.S.F., late Bishop of St. John's, Newfoundland.

This fact has never been duly proclaimed. The writer of this paper announces it now very seriously. The claim of the Bishop has been called in question, not by actual denial, but by unheeded alienation. This statement is therefore written with the desire and intent that it may be noted, debated, and, if possible, controverted.

The writer has long felt that justice should be done to the memory of his former Bishop on this point, for Dr. Mullock's own sake first, and also for the honour of the episcopal order, of the Church herself, and of that always magnificent body to whom Dr. Mullock belonged, and which at all times has shed lustre on the history of religion and civilization—the Order of St. Francis.

Right Rev. Dr. Mullock was the first man in the world to advocate the laying of a wire along 2,000 miles of the ocean's bed, and the flashing through it of an electric spark from shore to shore. This is our statement, and we shall presently proceed to prove it and so establish this Catholic Prelate on the height he should occupy as one of

the boldest thinkers and greatest practical benefactors of our time and race. Having once conceived and proclaimed the undertaking of this enterprise, he never once lost faith in its final accomplishment. When it failed on a first and again on another trial, and when (the conductor being laid at last) the spark seemed to tire and fail on its weary way through the unseen deep, the world (even of science) wagged its wise head in sorrow if not in scorn. The Bishop was never heard to cast a doubt on the realization of his own scheme. Up to the moment of its successful ending, he gave it his constant support and encouragement. The respect paid by him to the men practically engaged in it, on their frequent visits to St. John's, was gratefully acknowledged by Mr. Peter Cooper, of New York, the wealthy and influential Chairman of the American Transatlantic Company. The writer of this paper, as Secretary to the Bishop, answered a letter addressed to Dr. Mullock by Mr. Cooper in the name of all the Members of the Company. The letter enclosed a donation (not a very generous one indeed) for the Cathedral of St. John's, but the real truth was not formally acknowledged as it ought to have been, viz., that the Bishop was not only the warm supporter but the very originator of the project of the transatlantic cable. Let us now to the proofs of this memorable fact.

The claim of Dr. Mullock to the honor of originating the project of the transatlantic and Gulf of St. Laurence telegraph system is founded chiefly on the following letter written by him to the Editor of the *Morning Courier* of St. John's on November 8th, 1850. It has only lately come to the writer's hands through the kindness of Hon. E. D. Shea, Colonial Secretary, St. John's.

To the Editor of the "Morning Courier."

"Sir,—I regret to find that in every plan for transatlantic communication, Halifax is always mentioned, and the natural capabilities of Newfoundland entirely overlooked. This has been deeply impressed on my mind by the communication I read in your paper of Saturday last regarding telegraphic communications between England and Ireland, in which 'tis said that the nearest telegraphic station on the American side is Halifax, 2,155 miles from the West of Ireland. Now would it not be well to call the attention of England and America to the extraordinary capabilities of St. John's as the nearest

telegraphic point? It is an Atlantic port, lying, as I may say, in the track of the ocean steamers, and by establishing it as the American telegraphic station, news could be communicated to the whole American continent, 48 hours *at least*, sooner than by any other route. But how will this be accomplished? Just look at the map of Newfoundland and Cape Breton.—From St. John's to Cape Ray there is no difficulty in establishing a line passing near Holy Rood, along the neck of land connecting Trinny and Placentia Bays, and thence in a direction due west to the Cape. You have then about 41 to 45 miles of sea to St. Paul's Island, with deep soundings of 100 fathoms, so that the electric cable will be perfectly safe from icebergs; thence to Cape North in Cape Breton is little more 12 miles. Thus, it is not only practicable to bring America two days nearer to Europe by this route, but should the telegraphic communications between England and Ireland, 62 miles, be realised, it presents not the least difficulty. Of course we in Newfoundland will have nothing to do with the erection, working, and maintenance of the telegraph, but I suppose our government will give every facility to the company, either English or American, who will undertake it, as it will be an incalculable advantage to this country. *I hope the day is not far distant when St. John's will be the first link in the electric chain which will unite the Old World with the New.*

"J. T. M."

"*St. John's, November 8th*, 1850."

The reader is requested to pay particular attention to this letter. Our argument upon it is this: 1. That it suggests and advocates the actual union of the two Continents by "an electric chain" through the Atlantic and the Gulf of St. Laurence. 2. That it is the first authentic written proposal of that project. 3. Therefore that the writer of the letter (Dr. Mullock) was the first known inventor and projector of a transatlantic telegraph line.

Observe that the letter is divided into two parts, relating to two distinct branches of the intercontinental telegraphic chain. The first part, down to the few lines at the end (emphasized here by italics) refers principally to the project of connecting St. John's N.F., with *the Continent of America*, by a land line running from St. John's across the island west to Cape Ray, and thence by a submarine line from Cape Ray to the American Continent through Cape Breton island. This in itself was, at the time, a great and a happy thought. Dr. Mullock was the very first to propose this project, in the letter we are considering. He shows the advantages of this

line by practical arguments. With the English Channel cable (then about to be laid, 1850) completed; with this Gulf of St. Laurence cable, as proposed by Dr. Mullock, added at the American side; and with St. John's, the nearest point of America to Europe, established as the international telegraphic post, quick steamers might call and deliver and receive news at St. John's as they passed to and fro across the Atlantic. Thus news could be delivered at each continent, as Dr. Mullock points out, forty-eight hours sooner than by any other plan in existence, or proposed, up to that time.

All this portion of the letter supposes what all the suggestions made up to that day supposed, viz., *that the ocean portion of the system should be supplied by steamers.* Had there been, before the date of this letter, any definite project of a *cable*, or other instrument of telegraphy, across the Atlantic, what would have been the meaning of this portion of Dr. Mullock's letter, referring as it does, to steamers across the ocean to form part of a rapid system of communication of news? Why should he so strongly advocate a plan that would merely shorten communication by forty-eight hours if another system had already been in discussion that would reduce it to forty-eight minutes? It is evident, therefore, that all this part of his letter refers to improving and facilitating the only telegraphic connection between the two continents then existing, or considered as practicable. This was the mixed system of land and submarine (gulf) telegraphy, supplemented by *ocean* steam. To this very system Dr. Mullock suggests a notable improvement, and it is entirely his own idea, viz., that of a submarine cable through the narrowest part of the St. Laurence Gulf connecting Newfoundland with the American Continent. (See letter.) So much for the first portion of this very remarkable document.

But, observe its last few lines, "*I hope the day is not far distant when St. John's will be the first link in the electric chain which will unite the Old World with the New*"

We maintain that the bishop here plainly advocates the completion of the telegraphic system between Europe and

America by a continuous telegraphic line through the Atlantic ocean. The steamers that had heretofore furnished an awkward and unreliable link in the line of communication, must disappear and their place be taken by an "*electric chain*" instantaneously connecting the old world with the new. Dr. Mullock is not here stating the possibility but the reality, the near actual accomplishment of the design of a translantic cable. The "electric chain" may have been, in his mind, a tube, a wire, a "long drawn link" of any kind; he may not have determined upon its mechanical form. But, that he meant by the term a real, material conductor of electricity there can be no doubt, if words have any value. There are many now living to whom he explained his expression in this very sense at the period when he wrote this letter, 1850. The writer is also aware that a correspondence yet exists on the subject that defines his concepts most particularly. But no explanation is needed of the plain sense of his words. So much for the first member of our argument in favour of Dr. Mullock's claim, viz., that he advocated in his public letter of November, 1850, the *actual union* of the two continents by an "electric chain" through the Atlantic ocean.

Now, for the second and more difficult proposition, viz. "that this was the first authentic published proposal of that project." The reader will observe that we word our statement so as to exclude altogether from this discussion all consideration of secondhand or hearsay claims, as also of *inferential* claims founded on the electrical theories, statements or experiments of others.

The question is not, who was the first to assert the *possibility* of ocean telegraphy, but who was the first to propose and advocate that actual definite thing the Atlantic cable. We answer, Dr. Mullock was. The case against us is put as strongly as it can be in the excellent text book of Newfoundland history by Rev. M. Harvey, Presbyterian minister, published in Boston in 1885, and only lately come to our hands. Mr. Harvey, as well as every one in the colony had often heard of the claim put forward by the friends and admirers of Dr. Mullock. Though the bishop's name is not

mentioned by Mr. Harvey, this claim is clearly the one contested in the Appendix I. to the work above-mentioned.

Mr. Harvey says first, that Mr. F. N. Gisborne, F.R.S.C., at present Superintendent of the Telegraph and Signal Service of the Dominion of Canada, was the inventor and projector of the enterprise under discussion. As authority for this he quotes only a statement of Hon. Joseph Howe, late Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. Mr. Howe's statement is dated February 12, 1867, the year after the successful laying of the Atlantic cable, and seventeen years after the date of Dr. Mullock's letter in 1850. Mr. Howe says, thus late in the day—that Mr. Gisborne laid before a telegraphic commission in Halifax in 1850 (the year of Dr. Mullock's letter) "a plan for connecting Newfoundland with the continent of America by a Submarine cable." Mr. Howe adds that Mr. Gisborne "spoke confidently" of being able to extend it across the Atlantic. Here then are two pieces of evidence set over against one another whose comparative value we must estimate.

First, we have the Atlantic telegraph line proposed and advocated to the world in a public letter by Dr. Mullock in 1850.

Against this we have a statement made by Hon. Mr. Howe, seventeen years later, that another man, Mr. Gisborne, proposed the very same plan as Dr. Mullock's to a Commission in Halifax, in the same year 1850.

Now, there are several questions that the merest novice in historical criticism would put, and require to have satisfactorily answered, concerning the matter of this statement of Mr. Howe.

Why did not that Halifax Commission or Mr. Gisborne himself, or some one interested in such a stupendous project, publish that "plan" of Mr. Gisborne's during all these years from 1850 to 1867? There were surely discussions enough in those years about telegraphic enterprises.

At what date in 1850 did Mr. Gisborne propose his plan to the Commission? Was it done *before* or *after* the 8th November of that year, the date of Dr. Mullock's public letter?

Was Mr. Gisborne's communication to the Halifax Commission in 1850 a verbal one, as would appear from Mr. Howe's statement that "he *spoke* confidently, &c," or was it a written one? If the former it is not a subject for critical discussion. If the latter, why was it never made known to the public till 1867 by Mr. Howe? Why, was it never at any time brought forward authentically by its originator Mr. Gisborne? Where is Gisborne's written proposal now? Who has it? Who can produce it? Mr. Gisborne is still alive, why did not Mr. Harvey procure from him the original or an authentic copy of "the plan" and settle the claim in favour of Mr. Gisborne at once and beyond dispute? Why recur to a statement made in 1867 by Mr. Howe, long since dead, of what Mr. Gisborne still living, and able to speak for himself, did or said, at a private assemblage in 1850 concerning an enterprise of such immense importance?

Altogether Mr. Gisborne's claim, as defended by Mr. Harvey, cannot stand. The defence set up for it could not be accepted by any critical tribunal.

The fact that Mr. Gisborne, two years after Dr. Mullock's published letter, *i.e.*, in 1852, actually succeeded, as Superintendent Engineer, in laying the *Gulf cable* adds nothing to Mr. Harvey's argument. We have every ground for supposing that Mr. Gisborne got the idea of the project from Dr. Mullock's letter, or from Dr. Mullock himself, for that matter. Mr. Gisborne was much in St. John's from 1850 to 1852. He knew of Dr. Mullock's letter as well as every one else in St. John's. He was a frequent guest and a personal friend of Dr. Mullock. Had the project originated with Mr. Gisborne, Dr. Mullock would have been among the first to know of it, and, knowing, he would have been the last man in the world to write of the project as his very own without mentioning Mr. Gisborne in connection with it.

We, therefore, absolutely reject this claim set up for Mr. Gisborne until more authentic and substantial arguments are produced in its favour.

Mr. Harvey's plea in favour of Professor Morse as originator of the great enterprize, found in the same Appendix I. to the History, is a much better plea, and may be therefore more briefly dealt with.

It is perfectly true that the great Professor, the father and founder of magnetic electric telegraph, was virtually the projector of every system and instrument of electric transmission. When he discovered and demonstrated that the electric spark could be directed from point to point, conveying intelligent expression as it went, then and there he established the practical possibility of communicating by electricity to any distance and through any surrounding medium, air, water or earth. He knew this perfectly well, though the world of statesmanship and of science, in those early days, was slow to admit it, and the man of science had to fight his way to the world's convictions. He is quoted by Mr. Harvey as writing to the Secretary of the United States in 1848[1]—

"The practical inference from this law is, that a telegraphic communication on the electro-magnetic plan may with certainty be established across the Atlantic Ocean. Startling as this may seem now, I am confident the time will come when this project will be realized."

This was a plain statement of the possibility of applying his invention to every purpose, and through any distance of intercommunication. No one can share the glory of electrical invention and its possibilities with the great discoverer.

But we still maintain that Dr. Mullock first proposed the practical act of laying a cable or *electric chain* from the old world to the new. The idea of it was undoubtedly involved in Mr. Morse's discovery and proclaimed, perhaps as above, by Mr. Morse himself seven years before. Dr. Mullock was a great student of mechanics, and a reader of the lives and books of scientific men. We have no doubt that this passage of Mr. Morse's letter to the Secretary was quite familiar to him. We are ready to admit that this, or similar statements of scientific men may have set the Bishop's mind at work on the subject of ocean telegraphy. All we claim is that Dr. Mullock first suggested and advocated the *actual project* of a line of telegraph across the Atlantic. Finally, we entirely

[1] Without venturing to express any doubt about the letter of Professor Morse, I intend to investigate its authenticity and accuracy.

disagree with Mr. Harvey's definition that "The original inventor is he who produces the first tangible result." The original inventor of a project is he who first conceives and proposes it. The person who, acting on such expressed idea, "produces (therefrom) a tangible result," is an adapter, artificer, or mechanician. He is the inventor only of the machinery by which the project is worked out. He is in no sense "the original inventor" of the project itself. The person who first proposed the laying of the electric cable was "the original inventor" of the enterprise, not any of the persons engaged in the act of laying it. That person, the original proposer of the scheme, was Right Rev. Dr. Mullock, and none other. There is no document, no known and accepted tradition, no rumour even extant that attributes the project to any other mind and pen but his. His letter herein produced antedates all expression whatever of opinion concerning this greatest enterprise of our age. He, therefore, this zealous and accomplished Irish Catholic Bishop, was the father and founder in our age—as others of his condition and country have been in other periods of human progress—of one of the most marked and signal successes of practical genius. This is the more worthy of record since an impression has gained ground both at home and abroad, that Celtic genius—excellent indeed in poetry, music, and the finer arts—has lacked that practical and exact complexion that alone bestows taste and warrants success in the fields of experimental and economic science. How little is it understood that the imaginative faculty is the true creator, and inspirer of all that science or skill has even accomplished. Those nations, and individuals alone who possess it, have been, are, and shall be the leaders of all their progress and civilization.

R. Howley.

A SHORT SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF DOGMATIC THEOLOGY—II.[1]

C.—The Modern Epoch.

ABOUT the end of the fifteenth century and the opening of the sixteenth, three events produced a new epoch in the history of theology, and determined its characteristic tendencies: the invention of printing, the revival of the study of the ancient classics, and the attacks of the Reformers on the whole historical position of the Church. These circumstances facilitated and at the same time necessitated more careful study of the biblical and historical side of theology, and thus prepared the way for a more comprehensive treatment of speculative theology. This new and splendid development which, like that of the thirteenth century, was closely connected with mystical theology and Christian art, had its seat in Spain, the land most backward in the Middle Ages and now the least affected by the heretical movement. The Universities of Salamanca, Alcala (Complutum), and Coimbra, now became famous for theological learning. Spanish theologians, partly by their labours at the Council of Trent (Dominic Soto, Peter Soto, and Vega), partly by their teaching in other countries (Maldonatus in Paris, Toletus in Italy, Gregory of Valentia in Germany), were its chief promoters and revivers. Next to Spain, the chief glory belongs to the University of Louvain, in the Netherlands, which were at that time under Spanish rule. On the other hand the University of Paris which had lost much of its ancient renown, did not regain its position until towards the end of the sixteenth century. Among the religious bodies the ancient orders, who were the heirs of the theology of the thirteenth century, were indeed animated with a new spirit; but the lion's share of the glory fell to the newly-founded Society of Jesus, whose members laboured most assiduously and successfully in every branch of theology, especially in exegesis and history, and strove to develop the

[1] This Paper is based on Scheeben's *Dogmatic*.

medieval theology in an independent, eclectic spirit and in a form adapted to the wants and progress of the age. The continuity with the theological teaching of the Middle Ages was preserved by the Jesuits and by most of the other schools, by taking as a text-book the noblest product of the thirteenth century—the *Summa* of St. Thomas, which had been placed on the table of the Council of Trent next to the Holy Scriptures and the *Corpus Juris Canonici* as the most authentic expression of the mind of the church.

This modern epoch may be divided into four periods:—

I. The PREPARATORY PERIOD, up to the end of the Council of Trent;

II. The FLOURISHING PERIOD, from the Council of Trent to 1660;

III. The PERIOD OF DECAY to 1760.

Besides these three periods which correspond with those of the Patristic and Medieval Epochs there is another,

IV. The PERIOD OF DEGRADATION, lasting from 1760 till about 1830.

I. The PREPARATORY PERIOD from 1500 to 1570 produced comparatively few works embracing the whole domain of theology, but it gave proof of its activity in treatises and controversial writings, and also of its influence as may be seen from the decrees of the Council of Trent and the Roman Catechism.

The numerous controversialists of this period are well known, and an account of their writings may be found in the Freiburg *Kirchen-Lexicon.* We may mention the following: in Germany, John Eck of Eichstätt, Frederick Nausea and James Noguera of Vienna, Berthold of Chiemsee, John Cochlœus in Nüremberg, Fred. Staphylus in Ingolstadt, James Hogstraelen, John Gropper and Albert Pighius in Cologne, Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius and Martin Cromer in Ermland, and lastly Blessed Peter Canisius; in Belgium, the Louvain Doctors, Ruard Tapper, John Driedo, James Latomus, James Ravestein (Tiletanus) and others; in England, the martyrs Blessed John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (Roffensis), and Blessed Thomas More, Card. Pole, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; and later Cardinal

Allen, Blessed Edmund Campion, S.J., and Nicholas Sanders; in France, Claude d'Espence, Claude de Sainctes, John Arborée, Jodocus Clichtovée, James Merlin; in Italy, the Dominicans, Sylvester Prierias, Ambrose Catharinus, and James Nacchiante (Naclantus), and Cardinal Seripandus (Augustinian); in Spain, the Minorites, Alphonsus de Castro, Andrew Vega and Michael de Medina, the Dominicans Peter and Dominic Soto, and Melchior Canus; in Portugal, Payva de Andrada, Perez de Ayala and Osorius. These writers treat principally of the Church, the sources and the rule of Faith, Grace, Justification, and the Sacraments, especially the Blessed Eucharist, and are to some extent positive as well as controversial. The following treatises had great and permanent influence on the subsequent theological development; M. Canus, *De Locis Theologicis*, Sander, *De Monarchia Visibili Ecclesiæ;* Dom. Soto, *De Natura et Gratia*, and Andr. Vega *De Justificatione*, written to explain the Sixth Session of the Council of Trent, in which both authors took a prominent part; B. Canisius, *De Beata Maria Virgine*, a complete Mariology; his great Catechism or *Summa Doctrinæ Christianæ* with its copious extracts from Holy Scripture and the Fathers may be considered as a "Book of Sentences" adapted to the needs of the age.[1]

Apart from controversy, few works of any importance appeared. Among systematic works we may mention the *Institutiones ad Naturalem et Christianam Philosophiam* of the Dominican John Viguerius, and the *Compendium Instit. Cathol.* of the Minorite Cardinal Clement Dolera, of which the first named, often reprinted and much sought after, aims at giving a rapid sketch of speculative theology. On the other hand, important beginnings were made in the theologico-philological exegesis of Holy Scripture, especially by Genebrard Arboreus, Naclantus, D. Soto and Catharinus, the last three of whom distinguished themselves by their commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans which was so much discussed at this time. Sixtus of Siena furnished in his

[1] On the works of these controversialists see Werner, *History of Apologetic Literature* (in German), iv., p. 1, sqq.

Bibliotheca Sancta (first published in 1566) abundant materials for the regular study of Holy Scripture.

II. The FLOURISHING PERIOD began immediately after the Council of Trent, and was brought about as much by the discussions of the Council as by its decrees. This period has no equal for richness and variety in the history of the church. The strictly theological works (not including works on Moral Theology, History, and Canon Law) may be divided into five classes: 1. Exegesis; 2. Controversy; 3. Scholastic; 4. Mystic; 5. Historico-patristic Theology. These classes, however, often overlap each other, for all branches of theology were now cultivated in the closest connexion with each other. Exegesis was not restricted to philology and criticism, but made use of the acquisitions of scholastic and patristic theology for a profounder knowledge and firmer consolidation of Catholic doctrine. The great controversialists gained their power by uniting a thorough knowledge of exegesis and history to their scholastic training, Moreover, the better class of scholastic theologians by no means confined their attention to speculation, but drew much from the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers. On the other hand the most eminent patristic theologians made use of scholasticism as a clue to a better knowledge of the Fathers. Finally many theologians laboured in all or in several of these departments.

1. EXEGESIS.—At the very opening of this period Exegesis was carried to such perfection, principally by the Spanish Jesuits, that little was left to be done in the next period, and for long afterwards the fruits gathered at this time were found sufficient. The labours of the Protestants are not worthy to be compared with what was done in the Catholic Church.

The list of great exegetists begins with Alphonsus Salmeron, S.J. (1586.) His gigantic labours on the New Testament (15 vols. folio) are not a running commentary but an elaboration of the books of the New Testament arranged according to matter, and contain very nearly what we should now call Biblical Theology, although as such they are little used and known. Salmeron is the only one of the first

companions of St. Ignatius whose writings have been published. He composed this work at Naples in the last sixteen years of his life, after a career of great public activity. His brother Jesuits and fellow-countrymen Maldonatus (in Paris), and Francis Toletus (in Rome) and Nicholas Serarius (a Lorrainer) should be named with him as the founders of the classical interpretation of Holy Scripture. We may also mention the following Jesuits: Francis Ribera, John Pineda, Benedict Pereyra, Caspar Sanctius, Jerome Prado, Ferdinand de Salazar, John Villalpandus, Louis of Alcazar, Emmanuel Sa (all Spaniards); John Lorin (a Frenchman), Bened. Justinianus (an Italian), James Bonfrère, Adam Contzen and Cornelius à Lapide (in the German Netherlands), the last of whom is well-known for his copious and painstaking collection of the detailed labours of his predecessors. Besides the Jesuits, the Dominicans Malvenda and Francis Forerius, and Anthony Agelli (Clerk Regular) distinguished themselves in Italy; and in the Netherlands, Luke of Bruges, Cornelius Jansenius of Ghent, and William Estius.

For dogmatic interpretation, the most important, besides Salmeron, are—Pereyra and Bonfrère on *Genesis*; Louis da Ponte on the *Canticle of Canticles*; Lorin on the *Book of Wisdom*; Maldonatus, Contzen, and Bonfrère on the *Gospels*; Ribera and Toletus on *St. John*; Sanctius, Bonfrère, and Lorin on the *Acts*; Vasquez, Justinianus, Serarius and Estius on the *Epistles of St. Paul*; Toletus on the *Romans*, and Justinianus, Serarius, and Lorin on the *Catholic Epistles*.

2. Controversy.—During this period, in contrast to the preceding, controversy was carried on systematically and in an elevated style, so that, as in the case of Exegesis, there remained little to be done in the succeeding ages except labours of detail. Its chief representatives, who also distinguished themselves by their great speculative learning, were Robert Bellarmine, Gregory of Valentia, Thomas Stapleton, Du Perron, Tanner, Gretser, Serarius, and the brothers Walemburg.

Cardinal Bellarmine, S.J. (1621) collected together, in his great work, *Disputationes de Rebus Fidei hoc tempore controversis*, the principal questions of the day under three groups:

(*a*) on the Word of God (Scripture and Tradition), on Christ (the Personal and Incarnate Word of God), and on the Church (the temple and organ of the Word of God); (*b*) on Grace and Free Will, Sin and Justification; (*c*) on the channels of grace (the Sacraments). He treats of almost the whole of theology in an order suitable to his purpose. The extensive learning, clearness, solidity, and sterling value of his work are acknowledged even by his adversaries. It continued for a long time to be the hinge of the controversy between Catholics and Protestants.

Gregory of Valentia, S.J. (a Spaniard who taught in Dillingen and Ingolstadt, d. 1603), wrote against the Reformers a series of classical treatises, which were afterwards collected together in a large folio volume. The most important of these are *Analysis Fidei* and *De Trinitate*. He condensed the substance of these writings in his Commentary on the *Summa*.

Thomas Stapleton was born at Henfield, in Sussex, in the year 1535, and was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, of which he became Fellow. When Elizabeth came to the throne he was a prebendary of Chichester. He soon retired to Louvain, and was afterwards for some time catechist at Douai, but was recalled to Louvain, where he was appointed regius professor of theology. He died in 1598. Stapleton is unquestionably the most important of the controversialists on the treatment of the Catholic and Protestant Rules of Faith. He concentrated his efforts on two principal works, each in twelve books. The first of these combats in a manner hitherto unsurpassed the Protestant Formal Principle, Sources, and Rules of Faith: *Principiorum Fidei Doctrinae Demonstratio Methodica* (Paris, 1579), to which are added a more scholastic treatise, *Relectio Scholastica et Compendiaria de Princ. Fid. Doctr.*, and a long defence against Whitaker. The other deals with the Material Principle of Protestantism, Justification by Faith: *Universa Justificationis Doctrina Catholica hodie controversa* (Paris, 1582), corresponding with the second part of Bellarmine's work, but inferior to it. The two works together contain a complete exposition and defence of the Catholic doctrine concerning Faith and Justification.

Nicolas Sander or Sanders, born 1527, was also, like Stapleton, Scholar of Winchester and Fellow of New College. On the accession of Elizabeth he went to Rome, and was afterwards present at the Council of Trent. His great work, *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae*, was finished at Louvain in 1571. Another work, *De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani*, was published after his death, and has lately been translated and edited by Mr. Lewis (Burns & Oates, 1877). Sander was sent to Ireland as Nuncio by Gregory XIII., where he is said to have died of want, hunted to death by the agents of Elizabeth, about the year 1580.

Cardinal Allen was born in Lancashire in the year 1532, and was educated at Oriel College, Oxford. He became in due course Principal of St. Mary's Hall. On the death of Mary he left England, and resided for some time at Louvain. He was the founder of the famous English seminary at Douai, and was raised to the cardinalate by Sixtus V. His work entitled *Souls Departed: being a Defence and Declaration of the Catholic Church's Doctrine touching Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead*, has lately been edited by Father Bridgett (Burns & Oates, 1886). He died in Rome, 1594.[1]

Card. James Davy du Perron (a Frenchman, d. 1618), wrote in his own mother tongue. His chief works are the *Traité du Sacrement de l'Eucharistie*, his controversies with James I. of England, that is, really with Casaubon, and the celebrated acts of the discussion with Philip Mornay, the so-called Calvinist pope.

In Germany Valentia found worthy disciples in the keen and learned Adam Tanner (d. 1635), and the singularly

[1] The activity of the English Catholic controversialists at this time may be seen from the articles issued by Grindal previous to his proposed visitation of the province of Canterbury in 1576. "Whether there be any person or persons, ecclesiastical or temporal, within your parish, or elsewhere within this diocese, that of late have retained or kept in their custody, or that read, sell, utter, disperse, carry, or deliver to others, any English books set forth of late at Louvain, or in any other place beyond the seas, by Harding, Dorman, Allen, Saunders, Stapleton, Marshall, Bristow, or any other English Papist, either against the Queen's Majesty's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, or against true religion and Catholic doctrine now received and established by common authority within this realm; and what their names and surnames are."—*Art.* 41, quoted by Mr. Lewis.

erudite and prolific James Gretser (d. 1625), both Jesuits of Ingolstadt, who worked together and mutually completed each other. Tanner, who was also a scholastic of note, followed the example of his master by condensing his controversial labours in his commentary on the *Summa.* Gretser, on the other hand spread out his efforts in countless skirmishes especially on historical subjects. His works fill sixteen volumes folio. Germany was also the scene of the labours of the brothers Adrian and Peter Walemburg who were natives of Holland, and were both coadjutor-bishops, the one of Cologne, the other of Mayence. They jointly composed numerous successful controversial works, though only in part original, which were afterwards collected under the title of *Controversiae Generales et Particulares* in two volumes folio.

About this time and soon afterwards many classical treatises on particular questions appeared in France. Nicolas Coeffeteau, a Dominican, wrote against M. A. de Dominis *Pro Sacra Monarchia Ecclesiae Catholicae;* Michael Maucer, a doctor of Sorbonne, on Church and State *De Sacra Monarchia Ecclesiastica et Saeculari* against Richer, and the Jansenists Nicole and Arnaud composed their celebrated work *De la Perpétuité de la Foi* on the Eucharist, &c. Of the Controversies of St. Francis of Sales we have only short but very beautiful sketches.[1]

At the end of this period and the beginning of the next, may be mentioned Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations,* his celebrated *Exposition de la Foi,* and among his smaller works the pastoral letter, *Les Promesses de l'Eglise.* Natalis Alexander has inserted many learned dogmatic polemical dissertations in his great History of the Church.

3. Scholastic, that is, Speculative and Systematic Theology.—This branch of Theology, like Exegesis and Controversy, and in close union with them, was so highly cultivated that the labours of this period, although (at least in the early decades) inferior to those of the thirteenth century

[1] An excellent English edition of these Controversies has lately been published by Rev. Benedict Mackey, O.S.B. Burns & Oates.

in freshness and originality and especially in moderation and calmness, nevertheless surpassed them in variety and universality and in the use of the treasures of Scripture and early tradition. When Pius V. (1567) raised St. Thomas, and Sixtus V. (1587) raised St. Bonaventure to the dignity of Doctors of the Church on the ground that they were the Princes of Scholastic Theology, and, also at the same time, caused their entire works to be published, it was the Church herself who gave the impulse and direction to the new movement.

The great number of works and the variety of treatment make it difficult to give even a sketch of what was done in this department. Generally speaking, the theologians both of the old and of the newly-founded religious orders, and also most of the universities of every country attached themselves more or less to St. Thomas. Scotism, on the contrary, remained confined to the Franciscans, and even among them many, especially the Capuchins, turned to St. Thomas or St. Bonaventure. The independent eclectic line taken by the Jesuits, in spite of their reverence for St. Thomas, soon provoked in the traditional Thomist school a strong reaction which gave birth to protracted discussions.[1] Although the peace was thereby disturbed, and much time, energy, and acuteness were spent with little apparent profit, nevertheless the disputes gave proof of the enormous intellectual power and activity which distinguished the first half of this period. As the religious orders were still the chief teachers of Theology, we may group the theologians of the period under the schools belonging to the three great orders.

(*a*) The strict *Thomist school* was naturally represented by the Dominicans. At their head stand the two Spaniards, Dominic Bannez (d. 1604) and Bartholomew Medina (d. 1581), both worthy disciples of Dominic Soto and Melchior Canus, and remarkable for their happy combination of positive and speculative elements. Bannez wrote only on the *Prima* and *Secunda Secundae*, whereas Medina wrote only on the

[1] See Werner, *Thomas of Aquin*, vol. iii., page 378, sqq.

Prima Secundae and *Pars tertia.* Their works consequently complete each other mutually, and together form a single work which may be considered as the classical model of Thomist Theology. Bannez's doctrine of grace was defended by Didacus Alvarez, Thomas Lemos (*Panoplia Divinae Gratiae*) and Peter Ledesma (d. 1616.) Gonet (*Clypeus Theologiae Thomisticae*) Goudin, and the Venetian Xantes Marialles ably expounded and defended the teaching of St. Thomas. The Carmelites reformed by St. Theresa proved powerful allies of the Dominicans. Their celebrated *Cursus Salmanticensis in Summam S. Thomae* (15 vols. folio), is the vastest and most complete work of the Thomist school.

Among other theologians whose opinions were more or less Thomist may be mentioned the Benedictine Alphonsus Curiel (d. 1609), the Cistercian Peter de Lorca (d. 1606), the Augustinians Basil Pontius and Augustine Gibbon, an Irishman who taught in Spain and in Germany (*Speculum Theologicum*); and Louis de Montesinos, professor at Alcala (d. 1623). Among the universities, Louvain was especially distinguished for its strict Thomism. The *Commentary on the Sentences*, by William Estius, is remarkable for clearness, solidity, and patristic learning. The Commentaries on the *Summa*, by John Malderus (d. 1645), John Wiggers (d. 1639), and Francis Sylvius (dean of Douai, d. 1649), are written with moderation and taste. The three most important scholastic theologians of the Sorbonne were less Thomistic, and approached more to the Jesuit school: Philip Gamache (d. 1625), who was unfortunately the patron of Richer; Andrew Duval (d. 1637), an opponent of Richer; and Nicholas Ysambert (d. 1642). The last two are very clear and valuable. In Germany, Cologne was the chief seat of Thomism, and a little later the Benedictine university of Salzburg strenuously supported the same opinions. One of the largest and best Thomistic works, although not the clearest, was composed towards the end of this period by the Benedictine Augustine Reding (d. 1692), *Theologia Scholastica.*

(*b*) *The Franciscan School.* Scotism was revived and developed in Commentaries on the Sentences by the older

branches of the order, especially by the Irish members, the fellow-countrymen of Scotus, who had been driven from their own land by persecution, and were now dispersed over the whole of Europe; and next to them by the Italians and Belgians. The most important were Maurice Hibernicus (d. 1603), Antony Hickey (Hiquœus, d. 1641), Hugh Cavellus, and John Pontius (d. 1660). Towards the middle of the seventeenth century the Belgian, William Herincx, composed, by order of his superiors, a solid manual for beginners, free from Scotist subtleties, *Summa Theologiæ Scholasticæ*, but it was afterwards superseded by the work of Frassen.

The Capuchins, however, and the other reformed branches of the Order turned away from Scotus to the classical theology of the thirteenth century, partly to St. Thomas, but chiefly to St. Bonaventure. Peter Trigos, a Spaniard (d. 1593), began a large *Summa Theol. ad mentem S. Bonav.*, but completed only the treatise *De Deo;* Jos. Zamora (d. 1649), is especially good on Mariology; Theodore Forestus *De Trin. Mysterio in D. Bonav. Commentarii;* Gaudentius Brixiensis *Summa*, etc., 7 vols., folio, the largest work of this school.

(*c*) The *Jesuit School*, which pre-eminently united all the elements of exegetical and historical theology, applied these to the study of scholastic theology. As we have already observed, they were eclectics in spite of their reverence for St. Thomas, and they availed themselves of later investigations and methods. Thus we see among them a critical review of all that went before, but by reason of their freedom of treatment they themselves became split up into different schools towards the end of the period. Their system may on the whole be described as a moderate and broad Thomism qualified by an infusion of Scotism, and in many instances (*e.g.* Molina) even of Nominalism.[1]

The chief representatives of this School, next to Toletus are Gregory of Valentia, Francis Suarez, Gabriel Vasquez, and Didacus Ruiz, all four Spaniards, and all eminently acute

[1] On the Jesuit teaching in its relation to Thomism and Scotism, see Werner, *Thomas of Aquin*, vol. iii., p. 256, sqq.; on their theological opinions generally and the controversies arising therefrom, see Werner, *Suarez*, vol. i., p. 172, sqq.

and profound, thoroughly versed in Exegesis and the Fathers, and in this respect far superior to the theologians of the other Schools.

Valentia, the restorer of theology in Germany (d. 1603), combines in the happiest manner in his Commentaries on the *Summa* (4 vols., folio, often reprinted), both positive and speculative theology, and expounds them with elegance and compactness like Bannez and Medina.

Suarez (d. 1617, aged 70),[1] styled by many Popes "Doctor Eximius," and described by Bossuet as the writer "dans lequel on entend toute l'école moderne," is the most prolific of all the later Schoolmen, and at the same time renowned for clearness, depth, and prudence. His works cover the whole ground of the *Summa* of St. Thomas; but the most extensive and classical among them are the *De Legibus*, *De Gratia*, *De Virtutibus Theologicis*, *De Incarnatione*, and *De Sacramentis*, as far as Penance.

Vasquez (d. 1604) whose intellectual tendency was eminently critical, was to Suarez what Scotus was to St. Thomas. Unlike Scotus, however, he was as much at home in the exegetical and historical branches of theology as in speculation.

Ruiz surpasses even Suarez himself in depth and learning. He wrote only *De Deo* (in 6 vols. folio). His best work, and indeed the best ever written on the subject, is his treatise *De Trinitate*.

Besides these four chiefs of the Jesuit school, a whole host of famous writers might be mentioned. In Spain: Louis Molina (d. 1600) whose celebrated doctrine of *Scientia Media* was the occasion of so much controversy, was not really the leader of the Jesuit school, but was more distinguished as a moral theologian: Jos. Martinez de Ripalda (d. 1648) famous for his work against Baius (Michael Bay), and for his twelve books *De Ente Supernaturali* in which the whole doctrine of the supernatural was for the first time systematically handled; Cardinal John De Lugo (1660), better known as a moral theologian, is remarkable for

[1] See the beautiful work of Werner, *Francis Suarez and the Later Schoolmen*.

critical keenness rather than for depth and positive knowledge—his most important dogmatic work is the often-quoted treatise *De Fide Divina*. The *Opus Theologicum* of Sylvester Maurus, the well-known commentation on Aristotle, is distinguished by simplicity, calmness, and clearness, and by the absence of the subtleties so common in his day.

In Italy: Albertini, Fasoli, and Cardinal Pallavicini (d. 1667).

In France: Maratius, Martinon, and the keen and refined Claude Tiphanus (d. 1641) author of a number of treatises (*De Hypostasi*, *De Ordine*, *De Creaturis Spiritualibus*) in which the nicest points of theology are investigated.

In Belgium: Leonard Lessius (d. 1623) a pious, thoughtful, and elegant theologian, author of *De Perfectionibus Moribusque Divinis*, *De Summo Bono*, *De Gratia Efficaci*, and of a commentary on the third part of the *Summa*. Ægidius Coninck, John Praepositus, and Martin Becanus.

Germany at this time had only one great native scholastic theologian, Adam Tanner (d. 1632). His *Theologia Scholastica* (in 4 vols. folio) is a work of the first rank, and completes in many points the labours of his master, Gregory of Valentia. During this period, however, and far into the eighteenth century, German theologians directed their attention chiefly to the practical branches of theology, such as controversy, moral theology, and canon law, and in these acquired an acknowledged superiority. It is sufficient to mention Laymann (1625), Lacroix (1714), Sporer (1714), and Schmalzgrueber (d. 1735).

4. Mystical Theology.—We omit writers who treat of the higher stages of the spiritual life, such as St. Theresa and St. John of the Cross, and mention only those who deal with dogmas as subjects of meditation, or who introduce dogmatic truths into their ascetical writings. To this period belong the Dominican, Louis of Granada, especially on account of his excellent sermons; the Jesuits, Francis Arias, Louis da Ponte (commentary on the Canticle of Canticles), Eusebius Nieremberg, Nouet's numerous meditations, and Rogacci, *On the one thing Necessary*. Also Cardinal Bérulle, the founder of the French Oratory, author of many works,

especially on the Incarnation; St. Francis of Sales, *On the Love of God;* the Franciscan John of Carthagena, and the Capuchin D'Argentan. The works of Lessius may also be named under this heading, *De Perfectionibus Divinis* and *De Summo Bono.* The Sorbonne doctors, Hauteville, a disciple of St. Francis of Sales, Louis Bail, and later, the Dominican Contenson worked up the *Summa* in a way that speaks at once to the mind and to the heart.

5. Patristico-Historical Theology.—This branch of theology was cultivated especially in France and Belgium, and chiefly by the Jesuits, Dominicans, Oratorians, and the new congregation of Benedictines, and also by the Universities of Paris and Louvain. Their writings are mainly, as might be expected, dogmatico-historical or controversial treatises on one or other of the Fathers, or on particular heresies or dogmas. Thus, for instance, Garnier wrote on the Pelagians, and Combesis on the Monothelites, while Morinus composed treatises *De Pœnitentia* and *De Sacris Ordinibus;* Isaac Habert, *Doctrina Patrum Gracorum de Gratia;* Nicole (that is, Arnauld) on the Blessed Eucharist; Hallier, *De Sacris Ordinationibus;* Cellot, *De Hierarchia et de Hierarchis;* Peter de Marca, *De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii;* Phil. Dechamps, *De Hœresi Janseniana;* Bossuet, *Défense des Saints Pères etc;* and the Capuchin Charles Joseph Tricassinus on the Augustinian doctrine of grace against the Jansenists. Much good work was done in this department, but it is to be regretted that after the example of Baius many of the historical theologians such as Launoi, Dupin, the Oratorians, and to some extent the Benedictines of St. Maur, deserted not merely the traditional teaching of the Schoolmen, which they considered to be pagan and Pelagian, but even the doctrine of the Church, and became partisans of Jansenism and Gallicanism. The *Augustinus* of Jansenius of Ypres (d. 1648) was the unhappy result of the misuse of splendid intellectual powers and immense erudition unsurpassed since the time of Tertullian. The Jesuit Petavius and the Oratorian Thomassin attempted in their epoch-making works to treat the whole of dogmatic theology from a patristic and historical

point of view, but both accomplished only a portion of their design.

Dionysius Petavius (Petau, d. 1647) finished no more than the treatises *De Deo Uno et Trino*, *De Creatione* and *De Incarnatione*, to which are subjoined a series of *opuscula* on Grace, the Sacraments, and the Church. Louis Thomassin (d. 1695) has left only *De Deo Uno* and *De Incarnatione*, and among his *opuscula* treatises *De Prolegomenis Theologiæ*, *De Trinitate*, and *De Conciliis*. Petavius is on the whole the more positive, temperate, and correct in thought and expression; whereas Thomassin is richer in ideas, but at the same time fanciful and exaggerated in doctrine and style. The two consequently supplement each other both in matter and form, but both are wanting in that precision and clearness which we find in the best of the scholastic theologians.

III. The Period of Decay may be considered as a sort of echo and continuation of the foregoing, but was also a time of gradual decomposition. The Jansenists and Cartesians now played a part similar to that of the pseudo-mystic Fraticelli and the Nominalists at the end of the thirteenth century. Whilst the study of history and the Fathers was continued and even extended, systematic and speculative Theology became neglected. The change manifested itself in the substitution of quartos for folios, and afterwards of octavos and duodecimos for quartos. The best dogmatic works of the period strove to combine in compact form the speculative and controversial elements, and were, therefore commonly entitled, *Theologia Dogmatica Scholastica et Polemica* and often too *et Moralis*. Many of these works, by their compactness and clearness, produce a pleasing impression on the mind, and are of great practical value, but unfortunately they are often too mechanical in construction. The Germans especially took to writing hand-books on every department of Theology. In the former period Positive Theology was cultivated chiefly in France, while Spain gave itself up to more subtle questions. Now, however, Italy gradually came to the front. A host of learned theologians gathered around the Holy See to fight against Jansenism and Regalism which had spread over France and

were finding their way gradually into Germany. Most of the older schools still remained, but they had lost their former solidity. Another school was now added—the so-called Augustinian school, which flourished among the Augustinians and also at Louvain. It took a middle course between the older schools and the Jansenists in reference to St. Augustine's teaching.

Among the Thomists we may mention Billuart (d. 1757), Card. Gotti (d. about 1730), Drouin (*De re Sacramentaria*) and De Rossi (De Rubeis.) The two Benedictine Cardinals Sfondrati and Aguirre (*Theologia S. Anselmi*) belong to the less rigorous school of Thomists, and, indeed, have a marked leaning to the Jesuit school.

The Franciscan school produced the most important work of the period, and perhaps the most useful of all the Scotist writings: *Scotus Academicus seu Universa Doctoris Subtilis Theologica Dogmatica hodiernis academicorum moribus accomodata.* by Claude Frassen (4 vols. folio, or 12 vols. quarto.). Boyvin, Krisper, and Kick, also wrote at this time. The well-known works of the Capuchin, Thomas ex Charmes are still widely used.

It was from the Jesuit school, however, that most of the manuals and compendiums proceeded. These were skilfully drawn up and were well adapted to the wants of the age, Noel composed a compendium of Suarez; and James Plate an exceedingly compact and concise *Synopsis Cursus Theolog.* Antoine's *Theologia Speculativa* is to be commended more for its clearness than for its rigid opinions on morals. Germany produced many useful manuals, *e.g.*, for controversy, the short work by Pichler, and a larger one by Sardagna. But the most important, beyond question is the celebrated *Theologia Wirceburgensis*, composed by the Wurzburg Jesuits, Kilber and his colleagues, about the middle of the eighteenth century. It includes both the positive and speculative elements, and is a worthy termination of the ancient Theology in Germany.

The Augustinian school approached closely to Jansenism on many points, but the devotion of its leading representatives to the Church and to genuine scholasticism saved it

from falling into heresy. These leaders were Christian Lupus of Louvain and Cardinal Noris (d. 1704). Both were well versed in history and the Fathers, but they wrote only monographs. The great dogmatic work of this school is by Laurence Berti, *De Theologicis Disciplinis* (6 vols., sm. folio.) The Discalced Carmelite, Henry of St. Ignatius, is slightly Jansenistic, while Opstraet is altogether so. On the other hand, the Belgian Augustinian Desirant was one of the ablest and most determined opponent of the Jansenists and was consequently nicknamed by them, *Delirant.*

The French Oratory which had begun with so much promise, and had been so rich in learned historians, fell afterwards completely into Jansenism, *e.g.* Duguet, Quesnell, and Lebrun himself, and even the rest of its writers were far from correct. Its best dogmatic works are the *Institutiones Theol. Schol. et Polem,* by Caspar Juenin, and his *Comment. hist. dogm. de Sacramentis.* The French Benedictines, in spite of all their learning, have left no systematic work. Part of the Congregation of Saint-Maur inclined very strongly to Jansenism and Gallicanism. The Congregation of Saint-Vanne (Lorraine), on the other hand, was rigidly orthodox, and produced in Calmet the greatest exegetist of the age, in Maréchal and Ceillier excellent patrologists, and in Petit-Didier one of the most strenuous adversaries of Gallicanism, and a worthy rival of his religious brethren Strondrati, Aguirre, and Reding.

The Sorbonne was much infected with Jansenism, and after 1682, almost completely adhered to the violent Gallicanism of the French government. Nevertheless, a tendency, Gallican indeed, but at the same time anti-Jansenistic, was maintained, notably at S. Sulpice. We may mention Louis Abelly (d. 1619), *Medulla Theologiae,* Martin Grandin *Opera theol.* (5 vols.), Louis Habert (d. 1718, slightly Jansenistic), Du Hamel (a thorough Gallican), L'Herminier (Gallican), Charles Witasse (1716, Jansenist.) Tournély was the most learned and orthodox of this group, and his *Praelectiones Theologicae* had great influence in the better-minded circles until they were supplanted by the vile work of Bailly. The *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus,* by Duplessis

D'Argentrée, published about 1728, is an important contribution to the history of Theology.

In Germany, Eusebius Amort (Canon Regular), was the most universal theologian of his time; his principal work *Theologia Eclectica*, possessed abundant positive matter, and aimed at preserving the results of the past, while at the same time, meeting the claims of the present. We may also mention the Theatine, Veranus, the Benedictines Cartier Scholliner and Oberndoffer, the Abbé Gerbert de Saint-Blaise, and lastly, Joseph Widmann, *Instit. Dogm. polem. specul.* (1766, 6 vols. 8vo.)

Many large polemical and positive works on Dogma appeared in Italy in the first half of the eighteenth century: *e.g.*, Perimezzi, *In Sacram de Deo Scientiam: Dissert. selectae hist. dogm. schol.*; the Barnabite Venerius and the Carmelite Liberius a Jesu, *Controvers. hist. dogm. schol.* (8 vols. folio), against the Greeks and Anglicans, and treating of the whole doctrine of the Sacraments.

The chief theological works were polemico-historical treatises against Jansenism, Gallicanism, and Febronianism; Viva, S.J. *Damnatae Quesnelli Theses*, Fontana, S.J., *Bulla Unigenitus propugnata*, Faure, S.J. Commentary on the *Enchiridion* of St. Augustine, Benaglio, Scipio Maffei, the Dominicans De Rubeis, Orsi, Mamachi, Becchetti, the Jesuits Zaccharia, Bolgeni and Muzzarelli, also Soardi, Mansi, Roncaglia, and the Barnabite Cardinal Gerdil. The learned Pope Benedict XIV., although more celebrated as a Canonist, wrote on many questions of dogma. Above all of these, however, stands St. Alphonsus Liguori (died 1787), who was raised to the dignity of Doctor of the Church by Pius IX. more on account of the sanctity of his life, and the correctness of his opinions, especially in Moral Theology, than for his erudition.

IV. The Period of Degradation, 1760-1830 or 1840. The destructive and anti-Christian principles of Jansenism, Gallicanism and Regalism, which had been gradually gaining ground during the preceding period, led to the downfall of Catholic theology. These principles, in combination with the superficial philosophy of the day, and with

the deplorable reverence, disguised under the name of tolerance, for rationalistic science and Protestant learning, did much mischief, especially in Germany. Dogmatic theology naturally suffered most from these influences. In the plan of studies drawn up by Joseph II., it was quite degraded from its proper position. Theology became a sort of systematic collection of positive notions drawn from the writers of a better age, or more commonly from Protestant and Jansenistic sources. Any attempt at speculative treatment only meant the introduction of Protestant philosophy, particularly that of Kant and Schelling. Here and there indeed some better memories survived; but even with the best writers, the very notion of a supernatural order of grace, and in general the supernatural character of Christianity, were obscured and even lost in the notion of the "Moral Order" and the "kingdom of God." Theology came to be considered merely as the science of religion. Lawrence Veith, Goldhagen and the Augsburg Jesuits were worthy exceptions; but the best work of the period is Liebermann's *Institutiones*. Baader, Hermes and Gunther attempted a more profound philosophical treatment of dogma in opposition to the Protestant philosophy. Their efforts were signalised by great intellectual power, but, at the same time, by dissociation from genuine theology, and by ignorance, or at least neglect, of the traditions of the schools. What was said by Gregory XVI., in his Brief against Hermes, was true indeed of all three: *Magistri existunt erroris, qui non fuerunt veritatis discipuli*. Rationalism had much less influence on theology in France. Other causes, however, almost destroyed theological teaching there. Italy alone preserved the orthodox tradition; for many of the writers named in the period of decay continued their labours far into the present period. Mauro Capellari, who afterwards became Pope, under the name of Gregory XVI., published his classical work, *The Triumph of the Holy See*, in the year 1800, during the very darkest days of the period.

The toleration granted to Catholics in England and Scotland during the second half of the eighteenth century, gave them the opportunity of publishing works on Catholic doc-

trine. We may mention Bishop Challoner (1691-1781), *Grounds of the Catholic Doctrine*, *The Catholic Christian Instructed*, *The Grounds of the Old Religion*; Bishop Hay (1729-1811), *Sincere Christian*, *Devout Christian*, *Pious Christian*, and a treatise on miracles—an excellent edition of these has been published by Blackwood, Edinburgh; and Bishop Milner (1752-1826), whose *End of Controversy* is still the best work against Low Churchmen and Dissenters.

T. B. SCANNELL.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

CLANDESTINITY AND DOMESTIC SERVANTS.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—A decision of yours given in the last number of the RECORD causes me some anxiety, and may I trouble you for a decision in the following case. You state on the marriage of domestic servants, pages 82-83 . . . 'she may go *directly* from the house of her mistress to the parish priest, get married and leave her parish . . . . I think, therefore, that the girl's quasi-domicile ceased on leaving the house of her mistress; and as she was not a *vaga* the parish priest of her last mistress could not assist at her marriage.'

"Case—A girl from an adjoining parish lived here in the same house as servant for six years, and she wished to be married to a man from a distant parish. She consulted the parish priest of her mistress, and was told by him that she could get married either in her native parish or the parish of her mistress. She replied that she would be married in no other place than the parish of her mistress. The Bans were then published in the parish of her mistress, she remained in the house of her mistress till her marriage, slept there the night previous to her marriage, dressed there for her marriage, and went thence directly to the church, only a few yards distant; the man produced his certificate of freedom to marry, and your humble servant the parish priest of her mistress assisted at her marriage, *and she went away*.

"1st. *Quid sentiendum* in the case?

"2nd. Would it effect any change in the case if her mistress did not settle her account with the girl until the day after the marriage, and

if the girl returned to the house of her mistress after her marriage to take some refreshment, and take with her some of her effects that had been there?

"I regret to trouble you with this case, but your decision being altogether opposed to practice is my apology."

"P.P."

This question was addressed to me personally for a private answer by letter, and I have to thank the reverend writer for kindly permitting me to publish it, and reply to it also in the RECORD. It will enable me to remove a possible misconception of a sentence to be found in my answer to the case proposed in the last number of the RECORD. The interpretation which I wish to guard against would be quite erroneous, and the doctrine thus interpreted would of course be opposed to practice.

I may be allowed, before replying to the question, to repeat, and perhaps expand the answer given in the last issue of the RECORD, which was the cause of my reverend correspondent's anxiety.

I proposed to myself to try to determine when a quasi-domicile ceases by examining the conditions necessary for its inception; because "quibus modis domicilium, vel quasi-domicilium contrahitur, iisdem etiam solvitur."[1] Two conditions are required to constitute a quasi-domicile. 1st. It is necessary to have commenced to reside in some fixed home in the place. 2nd. It is necessary to have the intention of residing in the place for the greater part of a year. In the last number of the RECORD I described the nature of these conditions by an extract from an Instruction of the S. Congregation (7 July, 1867.) Schmalzgrueber, too, is very explicit on the nature of the *intention* required to constitute a domicile; and his doctrine is of course equally applicable to quasi-domicile. "Animus," he writes "volentis constituere domicilium in aliquo loco debet esse quod velit in eo loco constituere habitationem *perpetuam* ac *stabilem*" (L. 2, t. 2, n. 9.) For quasi-domicile, therefore, it is necessary to have the intention of establishing for oneself a permanent residence; of

[1] Laymann, Lib. v., Tract vi., c. x, n. 6.

course I speak of that qualified permanence which is proper to quasi-domicile, the intention of establishing for oneself a fixed abode for the greater part of a year.

Now for the cessation of quasi-domicile:—A quasi-domicile ceases when the *factum* and *animus* cease: when a person has ceased to reside in his fixed abode in the parish, and intends not to resume residence in that abode, nor in any permanent home in the parish. "Quibus modis quasi-domicilium contrahitur iisdem etiam solvitur." Therefore:—

1. As a servant who comes into a parish, and travels about in quest of employment; or who takes temporary lodgings whence to pursue her canvass for a situation, will not have a quasi-domicile, until she shall have actually commenced to live with some mistress, intending to abide in the place for the greater part of a year: so a servant who has had employment, who has had a quasi-domicile, loses this quasi-domicile when she ceases to reside with her mistress, and intends not to resume residence in that or any other such permanent abode; though after leaving she may spend a few days wandering through the parish.

2. It is a mistake to assume that a quasi-domicile once established in a parish, continues whilst the resident is within the confines of the parish. I will illustrate by an example. A labourer, let us suppose, is removing from the house he has occupied for a few years, to a house in a neighbouring parish: he had been living two miles from the confines of the parish: all his effects have been removed from his late home: he gives up possession of the house, where another labourer immediately succeeds him; and sets out for his new home. What is the position of the departing labourer in reference to domicile? Are we to suppose that he retains his former domicile until he crosses the frontier of the parish? Are we to suppose that a man who is homeless in the parish both in *fact* and in *intention*, has at the same time a domicile there? As domicile ceases when the *factum* and *animus* cease; when a person ceases to inhabit his late home and formally, or virtually revokes his intention of continuing to reside in any fixed abode in the parish afterwards; we must rather say that the domicile ceased when the poor labourer

departed from his late home. The same is true of quasi-domicile.

3. Again to illustrate from the case of domestic servants. Suppose a servant has given a few years of service in a certain house: her term of service is now expiring; she resolves to discontinue her residence in this house, and she intends moreover not to seek any fixed residence in the parish in the future. She wishes, however, to retain her quasi-domicile in the parish: and affecting some acquaintance with theology she argues:—"Having had a quasi-domicile it will not cease until the *factum* and *animus* cease. Suppose a gentleman removed from his old home into a newly-built habitation adjacent, who would say he had lost his domicile? Similarly though I am permanently leaving my present residence I intend to live continuously in the parish; I will allow no interruption of this intention; I shall therefore have a continuous quasi-domicile." She then leaves the house of her mistress, and commences to follow the avocation of itinerant merchant, or pedlar of no fixed residence. Does she retain her quasi-domicile? If not when did it cease? Was it a month after she had ceased to have a permanent home in the parish? Or a fortnight? Or a week? Even though she confined her perambulations within the boundaries of the parish, we must rather say that she lost her quasi-domicile when she ceased to reside with her mistress, resolving not to seek a fixed abode in the parish in future.

I will now consider four cases in connection with domestic servants; and in the progress of these cases I shall treat the question of my reverend correspondent.

I.

A servant employed in a parish distant from her native parish, and now about to get married, *finally* and *irrevocably* leaves the home of her late mistress. An interval elapses between her departure from the house of her mistress, and her marriage. During this interval she lives as a visitor with her various acquaintances in the parish. She has resolved *not to procure another fixed residence in the parish;* but to leave immediately after her marriage. Has she lost her quasidomicile?

She is supposed to have left the only permanent residence she had in the parish: she intends never to resume, never again to establish for herself a home in the parish: she has therefore lost her quasidomicile—she is in the same position in regard to quasidomicile as the labourer and servant above referred to. Suppose that in the meantime her intended husband died, or withdrew from his engagement, what would happen? The girl would perhaps return to her former mistress? But she has irrevocably severed her connection with her former mistress. Perhaps she would get employment and a home in some other part of the parish? Probably indeed, she would seek employment again in the parish; if successful she would acquire anew a quasidomicile; if unsuccessful she would be obliged to return to her parental home, or seek a home in some other parish. But when she left her late mistress she became homeless, and domicileless in the parish.

II.

A girl *similarly circumstanced* goes to a lodging-house during the few days, that may intervene, before the bridegroom comes to the parish to be married. Does she lose her quasidomicile?

This case does not differ practically from the preceding case. Suppose that having taken lodgings, the girl went home for a few days, and took away all her effects, and then returned on the eve of her marriage: would not a parish priest be rather nervous to assist at the marriage? Yet why this nervousness? If during her period of service—when she had a quasi-domicile, the girl paid a visit to her parents, there would be no anxiety about her quasidomicile.

I have now arrived, at that stage of my enquiry, where it becomes necessary to reply to the question of my reverend correspondent. The reverend gentleman's anxiety was occasioned by the following sentence in the last number of the RECORD. "Even" it was stated "if the girl left her employer's home, went directly to the parish priest, got married, and left the parish, she had lost her quasi-domicile." It is this sentence which is open to misconception.

And in order to prevent further ambiguity, to guard too against future disturbance, and disquietude of consciences, I shall consider still yet two distinct cases. But I will delay for a moment to direct attention to a parallel distinction of cases, connected with persons about to be married, and who have, or have had a *domicile* in their native parish.

Case A—Ladies from rural parishes, or from provincial towns, not unfrequently come to Dublin to be married; accompanied by their friends, and by their parish priest, or his delegate who assists at the marriage. These ladies, in the common estimation of men, have not forfeited the rights and privileges of their original domicile. They have still a fixed residence—a home in their native parish; they have not formally, or virtually, revoked the intention of residing in their native parish; and if anything unforeseen occurred to prevent the marriage, they would doubtlessly return home, as if their journey had been an ordinary pleasure visit to Dublin.

Case B—Again, a young lady may have had a serious misunderstanding with her family. She may know that she will be ignominiously expelled from home, unless she anticipates by flight any serious action on the part of her family. Married or unmarried she must leave; she then arranges with a young man from a neighbouring parish to get married in Dublin, and she finally and absolutely leaves home, intending never to return to her parental parish. This girl becomes a *vaga* when she leaves home, and if the *sponsus* withdrew from his engagement, return home would be for her impossible.

Now there are two corresponding cases in connection with servants, who are leaving their employment about to get married.

Servants sometimes present themselves for marriage, when, in the common estimation of men, they have not yet ceased to belong to their employer's household; when the employer's home is still their home; while they have yet a fixed residence in the parish; and when they have not yet absolutely revoked their intention of continuing residents of the parish. My correspondent's letter describes such a case. The girl slept in the house of her mistress on the night

before her marriage; in the morning she went directly from her employer's house to the church which was only a few yards distant; she returned for refreshments after her marriage, and then left the parish. This girl, of course, retained her quasi-domicile while she proceeded to the church on her wedding morning. Nor did the continuance of her quasi-domicile depend on her return, after marriage, for refreshments. Ladies coming to Dublin to be married, have no intention of returning for refreshments to their respective native parishes. The servant would be accompanied by some members of her employer's family, and would not be considered, in the common estimation of men, to have severed all connection with her employer's home before her marriage. What if the marriage were delayed for a day? The girl would return to the home of her mistress, as she would return from Mass on Sundays and Holidays. These cases correspond to "Case A," above described.

Again, a servant may have been giving extreme dissatisfaction to her mistress; the *sponsus* and *sponsa* may have been servants in the same family; they may have been guilty of several larcenies; and their doubtful morals may have caused serious annoyance and embarrassment to their employers. They are threatened with prosecution for their injustice, and the wrath of the parish priest for their immorality; unless, to save the character of their employer's house, they quit the parish without delay; finally they are dismissed. And now they hasten from the parish with all possible speed; and having heard that the parish priest could give them all the necessary dispensations, they approach him to get married, if possible, before they return to their parental parish; they are anxious to be married, but married or single they are determined to leave the parish as speedily as possible. These persons would have lost their *quasidomicile.* This case corresponds to "Case B" of domiciled persons.

Now, to continue the third and fourth cases—

III.

In all cases in which the servant has not absolutely severed her connection with her employer's home before her marriage;

in which she has not formally or virtually revoked her intention of continuing, even for a short time, her residence in a fixed abode in the parish; in all those cases the girl retains her *quasidomicile* in the parish.

How can this be determined? It will be difficult no doubt to determine it in some cases. But we may consider as determining elements the cordial relations that may have subsisted between servant and mistress up to the end of the servant's engagement; the fact that the members of her employer's family may have accompanied the servant to the church; that final leave may not be taken of her employers until after marriage; that if the marriage were delayed the girl would return again to the home of her mistress, &c.

IV.

In those cases in which the servant has finally and irrevocably left the house of her mistress; and has formally or virtually revoked her intention of continuing for a moment to reside in a fixed home in the parish, *quid sentiendum?*

This was the case I contemplated in the sentence cited from the last number of the RECORD. The servant to whom the correspondent in the last number referred, had given notice to her mistress of her intention to leave. Another servant had been engaged to take her place at her departure. She then asked the parish priest of her mistress to assist at her marriage immediately after she should have left her service, but before her departure from the parish; and meanwhile she absolutely withdrew from the house of her mistress, and went to visit or lodge elsewhere. In those circumstances the correspondent himself considered that the servant had lost the *quasidomicile.* He implied, beyond doubt, that an interval had elapsed between the girl's final departure from her employer's house and her marriage; because having stated his opinion about the case as it existed, he continued: "If this be a correct opinion, it would seem to follow that *even though she were to proceed direct* after *having quitted* her service to the parish priest of her late mistress, he could not validly assist at her marriage."

My principal purpose was to reply to the case as it existed; and I said, "Now does this girl retain a fixed residence in the parish? Does the intention of continuing to reside in a fixed abode in the parish, as people who have a domicile, persevere? Leaving her former mistress, she left the only fixed residence she had, or hoped to have, in the parish; she has no longer any home in the parish; she may during the interval before her marriage spend a few days successively with her acquaintances in the parish, or she may go to lodge in one particular house." And I concluded that, having ceased to inhabit her fixed abode, and having formally or virtually revoked her intention of continuing in any fixed permanent residence in the parish, she had lost her quasi-domicile.

When replying to my correspondent's hypothetical case I regarded it as governed by the same implied conditions; and I wrote, "Or [having finally left her employer's residence, and having revoked her intention of continuing in any fixed residence in the parish] she may go directly from the house of her mistress to the parish priest, get married, and leave the parish. In all these cases, when she removed her effects, and ceased to reside with her late mistress, she had no longer a fixed residence in the parish, nor an intention of residing in a fixed abode, '*quemadmodum ceteri solent, qui in eodem loco verum, proprieque dictum domicilium habent.*' (Inst. S. Cong.)"

Well, to return to my question under part iv., I am again logically compelled by the principles laid down to say that the girl lost her quasi-domicile when she finally departed from the residence of her late mistress. We may suppose the mistress and servant never to have been satisfied with each other; the servant may have been very improvident and disobedient; the mistress may have been too harsh and exacting: they may part in the greatest anger: the mistress may be exulting in the happy riddance of her servant, and the servant may depart fervently thanking God that the day had finally arrived which delivered her from the galling bondage of a service too harsh and intolerable. In this case if the marriage were frustrated the servant would not return

to her former residence; it had ceased to be her residence. She has now no home in the parish, nor the intention of continuing in any permanent home in the parish. Being therefore homeless both in *fact* and *intention* she has no longer a quasi-domicile in the parish.

V.

In the development of this subject even a fifth case suggests itself. A female servant has been hired for a half-year, her engagement will soon cease, she intends to get married at the end of a month or two after the termination of her engagement; she cannot remain in her present home as she would not engage herself for another half-year; she then gets employment for the two months, *e.g.*, in a factory, and procures for herself some other fixed abode in the parish. This girl's quasi-domicile would not cease; she does not cease to inhabit a fixed residence in the parish, though she changes her place of residence, her intention of continuing a resident of the parish, and of continuing for herself a fixed abode in the parish remains unrevoked. Her quasi-domicile therefore continues.

May I, in conclusion, again thank my reverend correspondent for his kind and courteous permission to publish his letter in the RECORD; it has enabled me, I hope, to allay any false alarm that may have been occasioned by the sentence quoted from last month's RECORD.

II.

OBJECTIONS TO THE DECISION OF THE I. E. RECORD REGARDING "CLANDESTINITY AND DOMESTIC SERVANTS."

"VERY REV. SIR,—In the January number of the RECORD, a case is decided in reference to 'Domestic Servants and Clandestinity,' which disturbs the consciences of many, and alarms not a few both in regard to marriages already contracted, and to those about to be contracted. For numerous cases come under the decision in the RECORD, and practice hitherto regarded as safe is now in danger of being disturbed owing no doubt to the weight deservedly attached to Theological answers in the RECORD. There is not, therefore, any

apology needed for setting forth all reasonable doubts in order to have them cleared up.

"In the case proposed,[1] the girl had had a *quasi-domicile;* but it is decided she has relinquished it before her marriage. Accordingly, the marriage was celebrated in presence of a parish priest who was not in law a *proprius parochus* of the girl. The marriage was, therefore, invalid.

"Many, however, still maintain that the girl in question had not relinquished her *quasi-domicile*, such as constituted the parish priest of the place a *proprius parochus in ordine ad matrimonium.*

"There appears to be solid reasons for this opinion, at least, when the case is limited to the third of the three hypotheses made at p. 82, 'Leaving her former mistress she may, during the interval before her marriage, spend a few days successively with her acquaintances in the parish, or she may lodge in one particular house, or *she may go directly from the house of her mistress to the parish priest, get married and leave the parish.*' The hypothesis I have marked in italics is for me the practical one. Those who maintain the *quasi-domicile in ordine ad matrimonium* had not been relinquished, give the following reasons:—

"1. From analogous cases, *v.g.*, a *sponsa* sends away all her effects from her father's house to the house of the *sponsus;* on the day appointed for the marriage she leaves her father's house, goes directly to the parish priest, gets married, and leaves the parish. Such a marriage is valid, so also is the marriage in the case proposed.

"2. Subsequent habitation is not required.[2] A *post factum* occurrence could not make a marriage valid.

"3. It is stated at p. 82:—'A *quasi-domicile* ceases when the two conditions necessary for its inception cease." It may be contended that this statement is scarcely accurate considering the meaning assigned to the conditions in the solution of the case. For the conditions which originated the *quasi-domicile* may cease, yet the *quasi-domicile* may not cease. For example: a person intends to reside only six or at most seven months in a given parish, he takes a house and begins to live there. He has from that instant a *quasi-domicile.* After five months he determines to change his residence to another house in the same parish, so that he might live there more comfortably for the remaining month or two. He has not relinquished his *quasi-domicile* on removing to the second house. Who would say

[1] I. E. Record, Jan. 1889, pp. 80–83.
[2] Benedict XIV., In. Const.: *Paucis.*

it? Yet both conditions by which the *quasi-domicile* had been initiated have ceased. The *factum habitationis* in the first mentioned house in the parish has ceased. He now lives in house No. 2. The intention of residing in the parish *per majorem anni partem* has also ceased. He now intends to reside only for the remaining month or two in the parish.

"4. It would appear, therefore, that the *factum habitationis* ought to get a wider interpretation than is given to it in the solution of the case proposed by M.H., the enquirer in the last number of the RECORD. Although it always pre-supposes some *fixed* residence, it is not confined to one house or to the precincts of a house. It is the *factum habitationis in paroecia.* One is just as much a resident of the parish, while in the parish church as while in one's own house in the parish. The girl in question was just as much a resident of the parish on her way to the parish priest to get married as she was a few minutes before that in the house of her mistress. She did not go to the parish church directly from her mistress *more vagantis ac itinerantis*, but *more vere proprieque habitantis.* In the eye of the law, therefore, she had not relinquished the *factum habitationis in paroecia.* Accordingly, she had not relinquished her *quasi-domicile.*

"5. I shall content myself with citing one authority. It covers not only the third hypothesis which I have singled out, but even the first and second hypotheses:—'Sedulo curandum est ut parochianus, vel parochiana non deserat suum *quasi-domicilium* ante diem celebrationis matrimonii, sed maneat *in parochia* sive in eodem, *v.g.*, famulatu, sive *in alia domo intra parochiam,* usque ad contractum in ea matrimonium, secus enim quasi-domicilium dispareret.'[1]

"I remain, Very Rev. Sir,

"Yours faithfully,

"C."

Had this letter reached the Editor a little earlier, the necessity of a special answer might be obviated. The answer to the preceding question could be easily adapted to both questions. I purpose now to regard the arguments of this letter as so many objections to the decision already given, and to reply to them *singillatim.*

Obj. 1. "From analogous cases, &c."

In reply to this objection, I will set down in parallel

[1] Feije: *De Impedimentis et Dispensationibus Matrimonialibus.* Ed. tertia, 229, 3°.

columns my analysis of these supposed analogous cases, leaving to the readers of the RECORD to judge of the analogy:—

I.—THE CASE OF THE SERVANT.	II.—THE ANALOGOUS CASE.
1. She finally and irrevocably leaves the home of her late mistress.	1. A *sponsa* sends away all her effects to the house of the *sponsus*.
2. She excludes the intention of returning.	
3. She removes all her effects.	
4. She is perhaps succeeded by another servant.	2. Her parental home is still her home, and if the marriage were prevented she would return home, as she would from Mass on Sunday.
5. If any mishap prevented the marriage she could not return to her late residence. It had ceased to be her residence.	
6. She has neither a home in the parish, nor the intention of continuing a resident with a fixed abode in the parish; on the contrary, leaving the parish she has a positive intention of not continuing a resident, of not procuring for herself another permanent home in the parish.	3. Having still a home in the parish, she presents herself for marriage to her parish priest.
7. Thus homeless in the parish she presents herself to the parish priest.	

Obj. 2. "Subsequent habitation is not required. A *post-factum* occurrence could not make a marriage valid."

Ans. Transeat. Where was it stated that a *subsequent* habitation was required? Where was it mentioned that a *post-factum* occurrence could make a marriage valid? If a person has ceased *before* his marriage to have a fixed residence in the parish, and has ceased to intend to reside henceforward in any fixed residence in the parish, he has lost his quasi-domicile in the parish. Domiciliary habitation will no doubt generally continue for some short time after marriage, but not necessarily. If the quasi-domicile snapped the instant matrimonial consent was given, the marriage would have been validly contracted.

Obj. 3. "The exposition of the conditions necessary for the cessation of quasi-domicile was scarcely accurate. For example: A person has commenced a quasi-domicile; after the fourth month he removes to a second more convenient house intending to reside there for the remaining two months of the half-year. Who would say he had lost his quasi-domicile? Yet the *factum habitationis* in the first mentioned house had ceased; he lives now in house No. 2. The intention of residing in the parish *per majorem anni partem* has also ceased. He now intends to reside only for the remaining month or two in the parish."

Ans. (*a*) *Quid ad rem?* This man's intention of continuing a resident in the parish remains intact, neither formally nor virtually revoked. The servant in the case contemplated left her residence, resolved, too, not to provide for herself another home in the parish, and therefore ceased to have the intention of continuing to reside in *any* fixed home in the parish.

(*b*) If the writer had merely stated that the exposition, of the conditions necessary for the cessation of quasi-domicile were scarcely accurate, I should not dispute his statement. "A quasi-domicile," I wrote, "ceases when the two conditions necessary for its inception cease." And again, "Two things are required to acquire a quasi-domicile, *factum* and *animus* . . . The person shall have the intention of residing in the parish *per majorem anni partem*." As we shall see, it is not necessary that these two conditions shall literally continue the whole time. In the example given the man changes his residence, nor has he the intention of residing *per majorem anni partem* in house No. 2; nevertheless he retains his quasi-domicile. Hence, I would not dispute the objection in this form.

The correspondent, however, says that the exposition is scarcely accurate, "considering the meaning assigned to the conditions in the solution of the case." Here I join issue with him. The exposition considered in itself was sufficiently accurate in all truth, but it did not preclude the possibility of cavil. The context did.

Before referring to the context let me again briefly state the conditions necessary for originating a *quasi-domicile.* In

the last number of the RECORD I was extremely nervous to deviate, even in words, from the hallowed definitions of the theologians. I will now rather *describe* how *quasi-domicile* originates.

Intention is the first active element of *quasi-domicile* in point of time. A person *intends* to become a resident in a parish, before he actually commences to live there. *Intention* differs from *election*: "Actus ii voluntatis quorum alter proponit *finem* assequendum alter statuit *medium* adhibendum, ita distinguuntur, ut prior, eaque sola dicatur intentio, altera vero electio appelletur."[1] Therefore to acquire a quasi-domicile there is (*a*) the intention of becoming and continuing a resident in the parish; the intention of establishing for oneself some real home in the parish for the greater part of a year. There is (*b*) the *electio mediorum*; a person selects some particular house in the parish, and resolves to reside therein. And there is (*c*) the *executio mediorum*; he actually commences to reside in his home. He is then a resident of the parish. Of course it would equally suffice to take lodgings for the *major pars anni*, and the quasi-domicile once established will continue until the conditions necessary for its inception cease. Now to return to the objection.

"Suppose a person removes to a second more convenient house for a few months, what change takes place?"

He has been living in the parish for some time. In changing to his new fixed abode, he does not cease for a moment, in the common estimation of men, to reside in the parish, "quemadmodum ceteri qui habent domicilium in parochia." As well might you say that a person changing from one suite of rooms to another *e.g.* in a college ceases during the interval to be a resident.

Again the intention of *continuing a resident* of the parish continues without interruption. The intention of continuously preserving for himself a real home in the parish perseveres. The *electio mediorum* no doubt changes. He selects a new house in which to continue to reside; but the cessation, and *a fortiori* the change of one of the conditions, does not destroy a quasi-domicile.

[1] Walsh; *Tractatus de Act. Humanis*, No. 148.

"But the intention of residing *per majorem anni partem* has ceased. He now intends to reside only for the few remaining months."

Might I suggest that this appears like a quibble? Is there question of the inception of a new quasi-domicile? Most assuredly no. It is not necessary to have at each moment the intention of residing *per majorem anni* [*novi*] *partem.* At the inception of quasi-domicile a person shall have the intention of residing in the parish *per majorem anni partem;* but afterwards it becomes the intention of continuing there with a fixed residence to the end of that same *major pars anni.*

Does our correspondent give this objection as a fair interpretation of my last answer? If so did he read the following sentences:—"The person shall have the *intention,* of residing in the *parish per majorem anni partem.*" "Actual *residence* in some fixed . . . *home,* and the *intention* of residing in the *place,* for the greater part of a year . . . are essential to the inception of a quasi-domicile."

Obj. 4. The *factum habitationis* ought to get a wider interpretation. It is the *factum habitationis in parochia.* One is just as much a resident of the parish, while in the parish church, as while in one's own house.

Ans. No doubt a person is not required to remain permanently within doors, in order to continue his quasi-domicile. As long as quasi-domicile continues, the individual is a resident of the parish, whether in his own house, or in the parish church, or even outside the parish. But destroy your quasi-domicile, give up your home, and the intention of continuing to reside in any fixed abode in the parish, and you cease to be a resident of the parish. Was the labourer described in the preceding answer departing as a *resident?* Was he *departing* from the parish "*more vere proprieque habitantis?*" Was he not literally departing *more itinerantis?*

Obj. 5. The authority of Feije.

Ans. How does our correspondent translate the sentence, "sed maneat in parochia sive in eodem *e.g.* famulatu, sive in alia domo intra parochiam?" Does he render it, "let her remain in the parish, either *v.g.* in the same employment, or

in some other *house* in the parish?" Then as the gentleman would attach so much importance to the word "house" (*domus*) in connection with quasi-domicile, we are entitled to ask, whether it shall be a house that is inhabited; or will it suffice to enter, and rest for the night before marriage in some deserted habitation? And how can a solitary night's lodging in a strange house, prolong the quasi-domicile of a person, who has no home in the parish, and who has formally or virtually revoked the intention, of continuing in any fixed residence in the parish? Again we may ask, shall the house be a human residence; or will an animal habitation suffice? And how could a night's rest in such an abode (*domus*) prolong one's quasi-domicile? Moreover if mere continuance in the parish is sufficient for the continuance of quasi-domicile, why not remain for a few nights under the cover of some sheltry hedge; or why not sleep in the open air beneath the canopy of heaven?

The passage quoted has a different meaning. The author is insisting on the necessity of continuing the quasi-domicile up to the time of marriage: "Sedulo curandum, ut parochianus, vel parochiana non deserat suum quasi-domicilium, ante diem celebrationis matrimonii." For the continuance of quasi-domicile a *home* in the parish is necessary; therefore the person intending to get married shall continue to reside in some *home e.g.* in the home of his late employer; or should he have left that, he shall continue to reside in some other home in the parish: "Maneat in parochia sive in *eodem e.g.* famulatu, sive in *alia* domo." By "domus" I understand therefore a house that, in the common estimation of men, is a real *home* for the person about to be married.

D. COGHLAN.

[We are obliged to hold over for next month our answers to other important Theological Questions.—ED. I. E. R.]

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

The Ceremonies of some Ecclesiastical Functions.

Section III.—The Choir.—Article I.

Position and Form of the Choir. Place of highest rank in Choir.

The space immediately in front of the principal altar of a church, and round about it, is called the *sanctuary*. The sanctuary is reserved for those ceremonies which are performed at the altar.

The space occupied by the clergy who assist at the sacred functions is known as the *choir*. Sometimes the floor of the sanctuary is raised one or two steps above the floor of the choir; sometimes both are on the same level[1]. In the latter case the respective limits of the sanctuary and choir are determined only by the ends of the choir-benches or stalls.[2]

In connection with the choir, three questions of great practical importance present themselves—1. What is the proper position of the choir in reference to the altar? 2. What is the form of the choir? 3. What is the first place, or place of highest dignity, in the choir? We will answer these three questions in order.

1. The position of the choir is regulated by the position of the altar. Usually the front of the altar is towards the nave of the church; but the altar may be so placed that the back of it, and not the front, faces the nave. When the front of the altar is towards the nave, the choir is between the altar and the people, and the altar is against the wall of the apse, or at a very little distance from it. But when the back of the altar faces the nave, the altar, it is evident, must be at a distance from the wall, and in this space the choir is situated.[3] In this latter case, there-

[1] Bourbon. *Introd. aux Cérémonies Romaines*, n. 47. [2] *Idem.*
[3] *Caerem. Epis.*, l. 1, c. 13, nn. 1, 2. Bourbon, *loc. cit.*, n. 75. Vavasseur, part 2, c. 2, n. 124.

fore, the altar is between the choir and the nave, and the celebrant at the altar faces the people. The great Basilicas in Rome are arranged in this manner.[1]

In the churches of some religious and in many churches in France the altar, though between the choir and the nave, is turned, not towards the choir, but towards the people, so that the back of the altar is actually facing the choir. This arrangement was introduced by the religious orders with the object of screening themselves from the gaze of the people in the church while reciting the Divine Office,[2] and was borrowed from the religious by the secular clergy of France. But, however convenient this arrangement may be for religious, it is wholly unsuitable for secular churches[3], and cannot be adopted or maintained in them without the sanction of the Holy See.[4]

In modern churches the altar is usually either against the wall or close to it, and hence the choir is merely a continuation of the sanctuary, stretching out towards or into the nave of the church. This is the arrangement we shall have principally in view, but where necessary we shall refer to the other arrangements mentioned.

2. The choir is generally rectangular in form. Choirs having the altar between them and the nave of the church are, however, curved or semicircular in the side opposite the altar ;[5] but this form, as is evident, would not suit churches in which the choir is between the altar and the nave. For this curved row of stalls would entirely shut off the altar from the view of the people. In this case it is usual to place the stalls or benches in parallel rows on each side of the choir.[6] These rows are terminated at one end by the sanctuary; at the other by the balustrade or *grille*, which usually separates the choir from the people. Where, however, the shape of the

[1] Vavasseur, *loc. cit.* note.

[2] De Conny. *Cérémonial Romain*, l. 1, ch. 1, note.

[3] "Cette disposition," says Bourbon (*loc. cit.* note) "motivée par les règles ou les usages des religieux serait inopportune dans les églises du clergé séculier." In another place the same writer says, "Un choeur placé derrière l'autel est contraire à la tradition romaine."

[4] *Revue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques*, vol. 14, p. 69.

[5] Vavasseur, *loc. cit.* and *plates* 2 and 3. Bourbon, n. 75.

[6] Vavasseur, *ibid. plate.*

church, or other local circumstances will permit, it is not forbidden to erect stalls or benches facing the altar at the end of the choir opposite the altar.[1] Thus arranged, the stalls will run along the three sides of the rectangle. It will, however, be generally convenient, if not necessary, to have a passage through the rows of stalls facing the altar.

There may be several rows of stalls on each side of the choir. They should be so arranged that the clergy occupying the stalls on one side would, when seated, have their faces towards those occupying the stalls on the opposite side.[2] The stalls may be either all on the same level, or the front row on either side may be lower than the row immediately behind it.[3]

3. As the position of the choir varies with the position of the altar, so does the place of highest rank in the choir vary with the position of the choir. In choirs situated on the opposite side of the altar from the nave of the church, the place of highest rank is, as the French Rubricists put it, *au rond-point*, or at the centre of the curved row of stalls facing the altar.[4] In cathedrals with this arrangement of the choir, the bishop's throne occupies the position indicated.[5] The place second in rank will then be to the right of the first place; and the third in rank will be to the left; and so on alternately. From this it follows that, when the choir is opposite the nave, the Epistle side is of higher rank than the Gospel side, contrary to the common rule. The reason for the departure in this case is, that the places take their rank not from the altar or the crucifix, but from the bishop, whose right is towards the Epistle side.

When the choir is in the nave of the church, or between the altar and the nave, the Gospel side has its proper rank, and the first place in the choir is that nearest the altar on the Gospel side; the second, the corresponding place, on the Epistle side and so on. In France this rule was not for a long

[1] Bourbon, n. 78. *Revue*, vol. xiv., p. 261.

[2] Bourbon, n. 75. [3] *Idem*, n. 77.

[4] Bourbon, n. 75. Vavasseur, *loc. cit.* and *plates*. *Revue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques*, vol. xiv., p. 260.

[5] *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, l. 1, c. 13, n. 1, and authors generally.

time, and is not, perhaps, even yet, universally admitted. French masters of ceremonies—whose practice, we are sorry to say, has found its way into places distant from France—held: first, that in the allotting of places in choir there was no general rule which all were bound to follow, but that each church was free to follow its own customs; and, secondly, that at least when the altar is separated from the choir, even by a large sanctuary, the Epistle side should rank higher than the Gospel side, and the first places should be furthest from the altar.[1]

But these contentions of the older French Rubricists, we need hardly remark, are quite unfounded, and have been ably disposed of in recent days by several of their own learned countrymen.[2] The *Ceremonial* regards it as a first principle,

[1] The writer of the article "Choeur," in the *Dictionnaire des Rites Sacrés*, referring to the two positions which the choir may occupy, writes: "Les uns (choeurs) sont separés et distants de l'autel, et les plus dignes du choeur en sont communément les plus éloignés, comme l'on voit dans les églises de France; dans ceux-ci le côté de l'Epitre est le plus digne." The character of the separation necessary to justify so radical a departure from the established usage is shown by a writer in the *Revue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques*, to whom we have already frequently referred. He thus writes, vol. xiv., p. 201: "En suivant cette théorie les plus dignes devraient être les plus éloignés de l'autel toutes les fois que le choeur se trouve séparé de l'autel par un large sanctuaire."

[2] Thus writes Mgr. de Conny (*loc. cit.*) "Le côté le plus digne est celui de l'évangile, et la première place, celle qui est la plus rapprochée de l'autel." In a note he adds, "Ces règles ressortent clairement du cérémonial, lequel a été écrit en vue d' une disposition du choeur dans laquelle l' évêque a son siège du côté de l' évangile, c'est à dire à la droite de l' autel et le clergé se place de telle fâçon que les plus dignes soient le plus près de l'autel, et préférablement du côté le plus digne, qui est le côté droit du crucifix de l' évangile. . . . Du reste le système de placer les plus dignes le plus loin de l'évêque ou de l'autel rompt avec tous les principes du cérémonial, et il en rend souvent les prescriptions impracticables."

Bourbon, n. 79, uses nearly the same words. "Les places les plus dignes sont les plus rapprochées de l' autel," and n. 80. "Au choeur le côté le plus digne est celui de l' évangile, lors même que le choeur serait séparé de l' autel par un large sanctuaire." Indeed this author boldly asserts that even where local circumstances make it necessary for the dignitaries to take the places farthest removed from the altar, the gospel side is still to be regarded as of higher rank.

Vavasseur, *loc. cit.* says "Les plus dignes sont les plus rapprochées de l' autel, et le côté de l' évangile est le plus digne." The same author adds in a note "Si l' on excepte le cas où le trône est au fond et en face de l' autel le cérémonial ne suppose jamais un choeur où les plus dignes soient les plus éloignés de l' autel." Favrel has the very same words. Tit. 3, ch. 1.

about which there can be no question, that the canons of highest dignity should be next the bishop, whose throne is placed on the gospel side of the sanctuary. The gospel side since it is to the right of the crucifix should certainly rank above the epistle side? Moreover, if the gospel side of the choir does not rank above the epistle side why is the bishop's throne placed at the gospel side? And if the clergy of highest rank should be farthest distant from the altar, on what principle, or for what reason are the principal clergy removed from beside the bishop, to give place to their inferiors? Why is the bishop left among or beside the inferior clergy, and not placed at a distance from the altar among the principal clergy? These arguments plainly have the same force with respect to non-cathedral churches as to cathedral churches. For though in the former there is no throne, still the choir regulations must be the same in both, otherwise endless confusion would result.

The first place, then, is on the gospel side, and nearest the altar. But when there are several rows of stalls or benches there are several places equally near the altar. It remains, therefore, to determine in what row the first place is situated. To do this we must revert to a distinction already made. Either the rows of stalls are all on the same level, or those on the same side rise gradually one above the other from the front to the back. In the former arrangement the front row ranks first, and hence the highest place in the choir will be at the end next the altar of the front row. If the stalls are arranged according to the latter plan the chief place is at the end of the back row nearest the altar.

Article II.—Order of Entering Choir.

There are two ways in which the clergy may enter choir. These are called by Rubricists the *processional* and the *non-processional* entry. The processional entry, if fully carried out, requires the clergy to walk two and two from the sacristy to the choir, preceded by the acolytes, and followed by the celebrant clad in sacred vestments.[1] But even when

[1] Vavasseur, Part vi., sect. 1, ch. 5.

the acolytes do not precede the clergy, nor the celebrant follow them, the entry may still be regarded as processional.[1] There is, however, a difference in the order which the clergy hold in the procession according as they are accompanied or not accompanied by the celebrant and the acolytes. In the former case those of highest rank are in the rere of the procession, and next the celebrant; those of lowest rank in front, and next the acolytes. In the latter the positions are reversed. The clergy of highest rank head the procession, those of lowest rank bring up the rere.[2]

This distinction as to the order in which the clergy should enter choir is indicated in the *Ceremonial*,[3] and is given by Rubricists generally; and from the same sources, moreover, we learn that the more solemn processional entry should be made on all the great feasts, and may, if the clergy please be made on any day.[4] In no case, however, should the clergy enter in this solemn processional manner unless for a function which requires the celebrant to be adorned with sacred vestments.[5]

This change of order among the clergy entering choir for the different circumstances in which they enter is somewhat difficult in practice, and is apt to cause from time to time considerable confusion. It would be convenient, then, could it be dispensed with altogether, so that the clergy might always preserve the same order. And if we accept the authority of the writer of the article in the *Dictionnaire des Rites Sacrés* already referred to, there need be no difficulty about this. According to this writer the custom is almost universal for the clergy of lowest rank *always* to go in front, those of highest rank *always* in rere of the procession.[6] We cannot see any very strong objection to the adoption of this custom.

[1] De Conny, ch. 8. De Conny, *loc. cit.*
[3] L. 1, ch. 15. [4] Bourbon, n. 412. [5] *Id.* 408.
[6] "Selon le Cérémonial livr. 1. ch. xv., les plus dignes du clergé doivent marcher les premiers au choeur quand ils n'y vont pas processionnellement, néanmoins, parce que l'usage contraire est presque universellement reçu, on peut faire marcher les moins dignes les premiers dans toutes les différentes manières d'entrer au choeur, et pour tous les offices, soit solennels, soit non solennels, afin d'éviter en ce point une trop grande singularité."

It may be laid down as a general rule, that the processional cross is never used in the procession to choir. There are, however, two exceptions, namely, when the clergy enter choir to assist at a Pontifical Mass, and when canons enter in solemn processional order.[1] In no case is a fuming censer carried in the procession ;[2] but, if the entry be for a function, such as exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, for which the censer is required almost immediately after the arrival at the altar, the thurifer may carry the censer furnished with fire, but without incense.[3]

A few minutes before the time for the commencement of the function at which they are to assist, the clergy assemble in the sacristy, or if the sacristy for any reason does not suit, in some other convenient place. They should be dressed in soutane, surplice and berretta. During the procession to and from the choir, the berretta is held in front of the breast, both thumbs being inside the berretta, and the hands joined or holding a book beneath.

At the given signal all make a moderate inclination of the body to the cross of the sacristy, and immediately move forward to the choir. On arriving in front of the high altar the two who head the procession genuflect; then rising and turning towards each other, again make a moderate inclination, and retire to their places. Those who follow do, two and two, precisely as the first two. If the Blessed Sacrament is not in the tabernacle canons salute the cross of the high altar with a profound inclination; all others with a genuflection.[4] If the number of those entering choir be odd, the last three will walk in a line, the most worthy in the middle, and, retaining the same relative places, will salute the altar.

[1] Bourbon, n. 416, and note.

[2] There is much diversity of opinion among Rubricists on this question. Bourbon (n. 417, note 1) cites four opinions. I. The fuming censer should be carried at the head of the procession when the clergy enter to assist at solemn Mass. 2. The fuming censer can be carried only where the custom of doing so has been established. 3. When the processional cross is used, the fuming censer should also be used. 4 The fuming censer is never used. The last opinion is adopted by Bourbon, who says it is held by the most correct of the modern Rubricists.

[3] Bourbon, n. 417.

Bourbon, 425. Vavasseur, part 6, sect. i., ch. 5, n. 30.

Should any one enter choir after the commencement of functions he will attend to the following rules:—On entering the choir he will kneel with his face towards the altar, and pray for a few minutes; rising, he will salute the altar, the celebrant and the choir, beginning with the gospel side, then retiring to his place he will salute the two between whom his place is situated.[1] If, before he arrives at his place, a part of the function is reached which requires an inclination or genuflection from those in choir, he will conform to the others, and remain inclined or on his knees until the part is finished.

All in choir of a rank equal or inferior to that of him who enters after the rest have taken their places, if seated rise to return his salute, and remain standing until he has taken his place.[2]

Article III.—General Directions for those in Choir.

After that interior devotion, which everyone should try to excite by attention to the presence of God, there is nothing of greater importance for those in choir than uniformity in observing the ceremonies. For this reason every one should be most exact in performing at the same time and in the same manner the actions common to all in choir, as in rising and seating themselves, in covering and uncovering, in genuflecting and inclining themselves.

The berretta should be taken off with the right hand. It should not be put on until one is seated, and should be taken off before one rises. All in choir are uncovered while standing or kneeling, covered while sitting, except when the Blessed Sacrament is exposed, or when it is necessary to make an inclination at certain words or verses. On these occasions they uncover, and holding the berretta in the right hand rest it on the right knee.

When one is uncovered he should always hold his berretta in his hand instead of laying it on the bench. The book which one uses can be held resting on the berretta.

When seated the body should be erect, the feet close to-

[1] Bourbon, n. 388, 442, 444. *Caerem.*, l. 1, c. 18, n. 4.
[2] *Caerem.*, *ibid.* De Conny, l., ch. 8. Vavasseur, *ibid.*, art. 3, n. 36.

gether, and not stretched out, and every appearance of lolling, or of seeking an easy position should be carefully banished, as being highly unbecoming in persons engaged in worshipping God, in the very house of God.

When it is necessary to change from a sitting to a kneeling position, one ought not to throw himself forward on his knees from his seat, but should first rise to a standing position, and then kneel in the ordinary way. Similarly when returning from the kneeling to the sitting position, one ought first to stand erect, and then take his seat.

No one in choir should use any other book than that in which the prayers of the function in which he is engaged are contained. Neither should any one give himself up to his private devotions, but every one ought to join in the recitation of the public prayers, and consequently no one should make any movement or sign not prescribed for the prayers said in choir.[1]

Article iv.—Order of Departure from Choir.

The rule generally given for leaving choir at the close of any function, is that the clergy should depart in the order in which they entered.[2] This, of course, refers only to the solemn or processional departure. For just as the clergy may enter choir before the arrival of the officiant in any order they please, so may they, after the departure of the officiant, leave in any order they please. Moreover, even when the entry is not strictly processional, custom has, as we have seen, sanctioned that the clergy of highest dignity should always bring up the rear. Similarly, then, when leaving choir those of highest dignity may go in front, and the officiant may leave at the head of the procession, or if the clergy do not leave the church by the same door as the officiant, he may leave immediately that the function is terminated, without waiting, as many suppose he should, until all have left choir before him.

The clergy then, when leaving choir, beginning with those of highest rank, will meet two by two in the centre of

[1] De Conny, *loc. cit.* Vavasseur, *loc. cit.*, ch. 6, n. 53.
[2] De Conny, *loc. cit.* Bourbon, n. 425 Falise, sect. 3, ch. 1, sec. iii.

the choir, genuflect before the high altar, and take their departure.

If any one is obliged to leave choir before the termination of the function, he will salute his two immediate neighbours, descend from his place to the centre of the choir, genuflect before the altar, and, lastly, salute the choir, beginning with the side on which the officiant is, if he is present, but with the Gospel side if the officiant is not present.[1]

D. O'Loan.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Irish Catholic Directory.

A Letter and a Request from his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin.

4 Rutland-square,
Dublin, 25*th January*, 1889.

Very Rev. and Dear Sir,

You are of course aware that the continued and apparently increasing irregularity in the publication of our Irish Catholic Directory is a subject of loud complaint among the clergy. The matter is sometimes spoken of as if the Irish Bishops as a body were in some way accountable for this irregularity. Sometimes the complaints take the form of remonstrances addressed personally to me as Bishop of the Diocese in which the publication takes place. I think the time has at length come for clearing up the confusion that seems to exist on the subject, and for taking some practical step to put an end, once for all, to a state of things which I know is regarded, and surely with very good reason, by many good friends of ours, both in Ireland and out of it, as by no means creditable to the Irish Church.

I was requested by my venerable colleagues, at our general meeting in June, 1887, to act for our Episcopal body in this matter. I feel, then, that I owe it to their Lordships as well as to myself to make it known that, short of a transfer of the publication to other hands, every conceivable means of securing the punctual appearance of the

[1] *Dictionnaire des Rites Sacrés art.* "*Choeur.*"

Directory at the beginning of the year has now been tried, but without success.

I speak, of course, throughout of the "Irish Catholic Directory" properly so called. The same cause of complaint, but in a lesser degree, existed until recently in reference also to our Latin *Ordo*. In both cases the same steps were taken to secure punctuality of publication. In the case of the *Ordo*, as the clergy are aware, the effort so made was successful. In the case of the "Irish Catholic Directory" it has proved a total failure.

It would be superfluous now to refer in detail to the efforts made in the course of 1887, in the hope of securing the timely publication of the Directory for 1888.

As regards the present year, the Directory for which has not yet appeared, I wish merely to mention that in the course of last year, an *ultimatum*, expressed in the most decided form, was sent in writing to the publishers. It was to the effect that the irregularity in publication could no longer be permitted to continue; that if the Directory for 1889 were not published before New Year's Day, some other arrangements would forthwith be made for the publication of the Directory in future years; that it would be quite useless for the publishers to hope for any departure from the terms of this intimation; and that in the event of the Directory for 1889 being delayed in publication, and of their addressing any remonstrance here upon the subject, they should not expect to receive any other reply than a copy of the very clear announcement that had been made to them by way of timely notice.

Notwithstanding the very notable delay that has already occurred, I have kept back this letter until the very last day on which, as I understand, it can be sent in time for insertion in the February number of the RECORD.

We have now reached the 25th of January, and our Directory for the year has not as yet made its appearance. It is fully a month since I received from London the Catholic Directory for England. Yesterday I received from across the Atlantic the Catholic Directory for the United States. These facts speak for themselves.

My object in writing this letter is twofold.

In the first place, I wish to make known, as I am sure that very many friends of Ireland at home and abroad will be glad to learn, that the responsibility for the strange and vexatious delay in the publication of the Catholic Directory for Ireland does not rest with the Irish Bishops.

Secondly, I wish to invite suggestions, as I have no doubt that

many useful suggestions can and will be made by priests throughout the country, in reference to our Irish Directory generally, its form and its contents.

The making of new arrangements for the publication of the Directory seems to afford a suitable opportunity of introducing into it many useful, and indeed obviously necessary, improvements.

I remain,

Very Rev. and Dear Sir,

Most faithfully yours,

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,

Archbishop of Dublin, &c., &c.

DOCUMENT.

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS LEO XIII. TO THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND, IN WHICH THE HOLY FATHER EXPRESSES HIS SYMPATHY WITH THE BISHOPS AND THEIR SUFFERING FLOCKS, AND ANNOUNCES HIS INTENTION TO SEND PRECIOUS GIFTS TO EACH CATHEDRAL CHURCH IN TOKEN OF HIS SPECIAL LOVE.

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILIS FRATER--Etsi cunctas et singulas partes Dominici gregis, cuius credita Nobis custodia est, paterno amplectamur caritatis affectu ; ad eas tamen potissimum cura fertur et cogitatio Nostra, quas in aliquo esse incommodo perspicimus. Scilicet in Nobis experimur, quod a natura parentibus inditum est, ut prae ceteris eos foveant curentque liberos, quos aliqua calamitas perculit. Quam ob rem singulari benevolentia semper dileximus catholicos ex Hibernia variis et diuturnis casibus vehementer exercitos : multoque cariores habere consuevimus, quod mirae fuerunt in patiendo constantiae, nec ulla vis aerumnarum ad labefactandam minuendamve apud eos avitam religionem valuit.

Quae monuimus eos non semel, quaeque postremo hoc tempore decrevimus, ideo decrevimus et monuimus, quod ea hinc cum veritate iustitiaque congruere, illinc profutura videbamus ipsis rebus vestris : neque enim Noster erga vos animus ferre potest, ut caussae pro qua contendit Hibernia noceatur quidquam, admiscendo quod possit iure reprehendi.

Iamvero quo testatior haec Nostra in Hibernos voluntas

sit, munera istuc mittimus, quorum pars est in vestibus, vasis et ornamentis, quae in sacra supellectile continentur; eaque Cathedralibus Hiberniae Ecclesiis destinamus, quo splendidior sit decor Domus Dei et divini cultus; pars alia minoribus donariis constat, quae Nosmetipsi benedictione lustravimus, eademque veluti instrumenta sunt ad singulorum pietatem fovendam, quibus munerari privatos volumus, prout explicatius significandum tibi curabimus.

Non dubitamus, quin vel hinc magis magisque appareat, paternam in Hibernos caritatem Nostram permansisse semper eamdem. Qua quidem caritate sunt etiam futuri digniores, si docilem animum fidentemque Nobis gerere perrexerint, attenteque caverint eorum fallacias qui consilia Nostra in deteriorem partem non dubitant interpretari, ut convellant, si fieri possit, spectatum illud in Ecclesiam catholicam obsequium, quod est in praecipuis Hibernorum laudibus ponendum, a patribus et maioribus, tamquam maxima et nobilissima hereditas, acceptum.

Optima quaeque gratiae caelestis munera adprecantes Tibi, Venerabilis Frater, Clero et populo cui praesides, Hiberniaeque universae, Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXI. Dec. An. MDCCCLXXXVIII., Pontificatus Nostri Undecimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

ST. PATRICK: HIS LIFE, HIS HEROIC VIRTUES, HIS LABOURS AND THE FRUITS OF HIS LABOURS. By the Very Rev. Dean Kinane, P.P., V.G., Cashel. Dublin: Gill & Son.

THE Venerable Dean of Cashel diocese has added one more to his list of invaluable books. He has chosen for his literary labours subjects of the most solid and profitable devotions in the Church, and the works he has written have this great merit that, while they supply to the educated and enlightened, on the whole, more edifying reading than far more pretentious volumes, they bring the practice and pleasures of devotion home to the poorest and humblest of the people. It is not for us to say what great profit has been derived by priests and people from his works on the Blessed Eucharist, on the Sacred Heart, on the Immaculate Mother, and on St. Joseph. The

good done by these works, great though it has been throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, is not by any means confined to our own or even to English speaking countries. "Der Wahre Pelikan, oder Liebe Jesu im Allerheiligsten Altarssacramente," the German version of his "Dove of the Tabernacle" has a wide circulation among the Catholics of the Fatherland. Some of the above mentioned works have also been translated into French, Italian and Spanish. But we believe that his latest work, *The Life and Labours of St. Patrick*, will become even more popular than any of its predecessors, at all events in Ireland and America. The fact that the zealous and venerable author has received most complimentary letters from two cardinals, seven archbishops, and a large number of bishops, and that the preface is written by the Archbishop of Cashel, leaves absolutely nothing for us to say by way of recommending the work.

With regard to its literary form we can testify that it is exceedingly simple and well adapted to the end the author has in view. It makes the subject accessible to all readers, and disposes the contents in the most natural order. A few grammatical slips, and words misapplied in sense, can be easily corrected in a second edition.

It was of course unavoidable to discuss the subject of the Saint's birthplace, but, without going much into the labyrinth of controversy that enshrouds it, the author declares plainly his predilection for the opinion of Dr. Lanigan, which "gives to France the glory of being his native land." From chapter to chapter we follow the simple narrative of the Saint's life and labours with suitable prayers now and then addressed to him that he might still watch over the faith in this island, and guard his children from the dangers that beset them.

It is hardly necessary to say that we give this little book a hearty welcome. Coming as it does, fresh with the warmth of piety and Christian faith, it is as the "salt of the earth" amidst the flood of pestilential books and perodicals that pour in daily amongst our people. J. F. H.

PASSING THOUGHTS FOR LENT AND HOLY WEEK. London: Burns & Oates (Limited).

THOUGH this attractive booklet is intended chiefly for Lent, it may be read with great profit at any time, particularly during a Retreat.

It depicts a few scenes preceding and following our Redeemer's death with great vividness, and a wonderful unction pervades the whole tiny volume. E. M.

THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MARCH, 1889.

THE RECITATION OF THE DIVINE OFFICE.

WRITERS deduce from various passages of Sacred Scripture that the Apostles compiled certain forms of public prayer which, at specified times of each day, were recited by the first Christians generally, and which, as a compiled formula of public worship, might legitimately be regarded as the book of Divine Offices *in protoplast.* The Sacred Scripture does not, it is true, make definite mention of such compilation, nor does it designate *in specie infima* the prayers that were thus recited; but it testifies to the fact that at stated hours the early Christians daily congregated for prayer, and that those stated hours were recognised by precisely the same distinctive names as our "Canonical Hours." Thus, it tells us of certain events which occurred "when Peter and John were going up to the Temple ad horam orationis *Nonam*;" how "Peter went up to the higher places ut oraret circa horam *Sextam*;" how "Paul and Silas praised God in prayer *Media nocte*," &c. This method of fixing events might not *per se* and of necessity point to an antecedent establishment of "Canonical Hours;" but since those determinate periods of the day are spoken of as *horae orationis*, it is manifest that, whatever might have been the selection and arrangement of the prayers themselves, there was beyond controversy an actual specification of certain prescribed hours which were known to be devoted to public prayer.

It is no very trying stretch of imagination to fancy that the devotional exercises assigned to those successive

assemblings, were neither of absolutely identical form, nor taken up without reference to order and system; and, on the easy assumption that the exercises were methodically diversified, we have traced to the Apostolic times the essence and substance of the Divine Office. Even the generic form of the Divine Office is sufficiently indicated in the Epistles of St. Paul; as, for example, in the Epistle to the Ephesians: "Be ye filled with the Holy Spirit, speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns, and spiritual canticles; singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord; giving thanks always for all things, in the name of our Lord Christ, to God and the Father." (chap. v.) It is only natural, therefore, to find Tertullian, amongst the earliest ecclesiastical writers, describing the daily periods of public worship as "Horae Apostolicae, Tertia, Sexta, Nona," &c.

No one, of course, contends that an identical form of liturgical prayer constituted the Divine Office universally throughout the Church of the first centuries. Like the form of tonsure and the fixing of Easter time, it admitted accidental variations in different provinces. At no period, however, was any province without some recognised Divine Office; and, notwithstanding all their aberrations, we find its recitation even still regarded as a duty amongst the schismatics of the fifth and sixth centuries. In further evidence of the Apostolic origin and universal adoption of a legalised public worship in minute correspondence with our Divine Office, writers mass together unmistakable passages from the Acts of the Council of Antioch in the third century, and from the writings of St. Justin, Tertullian, St. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, St. Basil, Theodoret, &c.

While these facts are beyond all controversy, the origin of that particular compilation, now universally called the Breviary, is involved in considerable obscurity—no doubt because of its great antiquity. Traces of it are plainly discernible in the works of Cassian in the fifth century; and St. Benedict, who lived a century later, and who in all probability followed the Roman usage, prescribed in detail the psalms, lessons and prayers to be recited by his followers in each division of the "Office." The monks of the Monte Casino Monastery held

in great reverence a manuscript written in the year 1100, which was entitled "*Breviarium, sive Ordo Officiorum per totam anni decursionem.*" It does not, of course, profess to be an original compilation of prayers; but, to an elaborate and artistically executed copy of those in common use throughout the Church, it appends a directory or guide for the due and befitting recital of them. Benedict XIV. (*Instit.* xxiv.) tells us that "in eo ritus totius Ecclesiastici Officii, et pro ipsius recitatione, Sacroque faciendo, caeremoniae continentur." The learned Pontiff thinks that the Benedictine Breviary is—in that specific form and under that name—the earliest of which we have historical cognisance; he therefore declines to accept the more common opinion that the first Breviary was that compiled by the Franciscan Fathers, approved of by Pope Nicholas III., ordered to be used "per omnes Urbis Ecclesias, and known as the *Officium Breviatum Curiae Romanae.*

Curiously enough, it is from Peter Abelard's writings against St. Bernard that the clearest light is shed upon this particular controversy; for he states in his *Epistola Apologetica* (written in 1140—just a century before the Franciscan Order received the approbation of Pope Honorius III.) that an "Officii Divini Compendium [Breviarium] per omnes Romae Ecclesias jam tunc inductum, probatumque fuisse." It is, however, right to observe—even parenthetically—that ecclesiastical writers generally maintain that the Franciscan Breviary was for a long time commonly used in the Church, and constituted the groundwork of the Breviary "revised" and prescribed for the Universal Church by Pope St. Pius V., in obedience to the Decree of the Council of Trent.

Having said so much (and yet so little) regarding the historical origin of the Breviary, there are some matters of practical utility to which reference may be made with advantage. In pursuance of the object immediately in view, this paper excludes all reference to those long and valuable dissertations in which our theologians discuss the best methods of so reciting the Divine Office as to secure the largest measure of merit before God. Such dissertations lie altogether outside the scope of the present paper. We shall

rather take what is, in some degree, the opposite course, and, with a view to removing those anxieties and scruples that very commonly shadow the discharge of a duty intrinsically onerous and involving many grave responsibilities, consider what manner of recitation is required, and will be absolutely sufficient, to discharge the obligation. There need be little fear that those who are obliged to recite the Divine Office will err through a deficiency of fervour and recollection—conscious, as they must be, that it consists chiefly of the very words of the Holy Ghost Himself, and, as to the rest, of those prayers and spiritual readings which, under His inspiration, the Church has formulated: conscious, too, that, in the words of St. Liguori, "*a hundred private prayers can never have the efficacy of a single petition presented in the Divine Office*" (Selva). One word more by way of preface or apology: the following notes are strung together with little or no pretention to order or method—merely as so many cuttings taken from the works of approved authors in intervals of comparative leisure.

I.

"Ne invertatur ordo Horarum, absque justa causa" is a universally accepted rule; but amongst the "justae causae inversionis" theologians recognise the circumstance that frequently occurs—when, namely, the Breviary is not at hand, and it is reasonable, desirable, or convenient to dispose of a portion of one's obligation by reading Lauds and the subsequent Hours from the Diurnal. Matins may then, "absque culpa," take last place. Again: it sometimes happens that "inter orandum advertas te aliquid omisisse"—for example, one of the Hours, a Commemoration, the Suffrages of the Saints, or the Ferial or Dominical Prayers—should this occur, the rule prescribed by La Croix and other approved writers is "perge et supple in fine."

Furthermore: even though one should not advert to the unconscious omission of *any* portion of the Office until the rest of it had been hours ago recited, "potes eam solam postea supplere . . nec opus est aliquid aliud repetere" (*ibid*). Lehmkuhl goes much farther when he adds—and the observa-

tion involves more than one important principle—"Si ad manum non habeas Breviarium, et scias *ex memoria* psalmos possis, *ne temporis dispendium facias*, Lectiones Nocturnorum remittere, postea suppleturus, et reliquum Nocturnorum nunc recitare." All this read side by side with the teaching to be referred to in the fourth paragraph manifestly meets another very possible case. Should a priest be taken away after midnight to a "sick call," miles from his home, there is nothing to prevent him, "ne temporis dispendium faciat," from reciting "ex memoria" all of that day's Office of which he has a distinct recollection. He will thus be enabled to "beguile the weary way," and occupy his time well and profitably.

II.

The teaching of La Croix, Lehmkuhl, and the others rests on the commonly accepted principle that "singuli psalmi imo et fere versus, singulaeque Lectiones vel orationes habent completam significationem, et satis uniuntur vel per intentionem continuandi, aut, si haec absit, saltem per hoc quod intra diem, aut tempus quo durat obligatio, addantur" (Concina, La Croix, Gury, &c.). When this principle is conceded it is easy to infer that "interrumpere unum Nocturnum ab aliis, *etsi fit sine causa*, non est peccatum, modo ne nimia fit interruptio. S. Alphonsus concedit tres horas" (Lehmkuhl). Nor can it be a violent straining of the principle to infer with Gury that "si adsit justa causa, cujus gratia Nocturni separari debeant, intervallum illud *pro ratione illius causae* etiam protrahi potest."

The question then naturally suggests itself, "an vel quomodo ille peccet qui, *recitato uno Nocturno in vigilia*, reliquam Matutini partem *tota nocte interjecta recitat?*" Gury replies that this is perfectly justifiable, "rationabili de causa v. gr., si Officium sit valde productum, ut Officium Dominicae, et recitato primo Nocturno, quis sit valde defatigatus, vel somno obrutus, &c. . . . justa enim de causa interruptio quaelibit licita est." La Croix quotes Tamburini, Gobat, and Stoz to the same effect, and has nothing more decisive to say against their teaching than "hoc non facile practicarem." No one should do it lightly;

but the slender "non facile" of La Croix is more than counterpoised by the "rationabilis causa," and this illustrious theologian may well be taken as adopting their view.

III.

Occasionally it will happen that in the middle of an Hour, or even in the middle of a psalm, some "causa utilitatis propriae vel alienae," some "ratio urbanitatis vel charitatis," will suggest the desirability of interrupting the Hour or psalm. In this event Lehmkuhl says that "*absolute loquendo* pergi potest ubi recitatio fuerat relicta." But he strongly counsels the repetition of the Hour, or at least of the interrupted psalm, "when only a small part of the Hour or psalm has been read, or when the interval has been protracted." This he believes to be necessary as a preventative against possible irreverence—not, however, to secure the substantial discharge of the obligation. In justifying this practice of resuming "ubi recitatio relicta fuerat" Lehmkuhl and the others are simply consistent; but the theory, read in all its fulness, seems to strain the principle almost to snapping.

IV.

"Ut quis licite possit anticipare vel postponere *debitum tempus* Horarum, sufficit quaevis causa utilis vel honesta . . . major devotio, sive quies, tempus aptius ad studendum et simile" (St. Lig., L. iv., n. 173). It would be a work of supererogation to specify any of those familiar causes relied on to justify the *postponement* of any of the Hours *ultra debitum tempus.* It is more to the point to inquire what causes would justify the reading of Vespers and Compline before noon. In developing the "causa quaevis justa et honesta" which would be sufficient, theologians enumerate, in addition to those mentioned by St. Liguori, "publica lectio, concio paranda, periculum impedimenti obventuri, iter obeundum, labor manuum et caetera id genus."

With this latitude of interpretation, and the still greater latitude which it suggests, we can hardly doubt that they would permit the anticipatory recitation of Vespers and Compline if a man foresaw that, by thus reciting them, he could the more

freely enjoy some lawful relaxation, for example, during his summer holidays; if he foresaw that, being thus set free for the day, he could devote his time without interruption to profitable secular study; and, *a fortiori*, if he foresaw that, by thus anticipating, he would be enabled and stimulated and "erubesced" to devote his free time—when it should come—to that most salutary of practices, the reciting of Matins and Lauds *in vigilia*. Here, beyond controversy, is a "causa utilis et honesta," and Concina, with all his inordinate rigour, having established that it is a "minus malum anticipare quam postponere," adds that "nulla culpa patratur, ne venialis quidem, quum justa anticipandi causa adest." By the way, it is interesting to observe that throughout this entire matter, the rigorist and benign theologians effect an almost perfect *volte face;* for while Suarez is revealed an uncompromising Conservative, Concina takes his place in the vanguard of advanced Liberalism.

V.

Theologians generally teach (1) "non peccat qui Horas *submisse* orat loco etiam sordidissimo;" and (2) "nullus situs corporis est de praecepto." "Quare," adds Lehmkuhl, "rationabili de causa etiam decumbens [in lecto] Officium Divinum recitare aliquis potest." This is also the teaching of very many others as summarised by Gury, who says: "quaecumque autem causa mediocris ab omni culpa excusabit, v. gr., morbus aut *infirmitas quaelibet*, dolor capitis, defatigatio, vel *si quis nocte dormire nequeat, Officium recitare potest, quin surgere teneretur*." In immediate connection with this the question may be asked, "an sit culpa non servare rubricam, ex qua preces quaedam genibus flexis sunt recitandae?" Of course the answer is that, "si agatur de recitatione extra chorum, nulla est culpa, quippe ex consuetudine et communi interpretatione haec rubrica solum chorum respicit." To this Gury subjoins the exceedingly useful observation: "*Idem dicendum de signo crucis et de aliis signis in choro usitatis.*" By remembering this decision, guaranteed as it is by legitimatised custom and the common interpretation of theologians, travellers in railway carriages and other conveyances will sometimes protect

themselves from scarcely suppressed insult, and the recitation of the Divine Office from irreverent comment. There is no necessity whatever for any—much less a demonstrative—*tunsio pectoris* or the making of the *signum crucis*, nor, in the circumstances that ordinarily occur, is such a challenging protestation of faith easily defensible.

VI.

(1) "Valet axioma *Officium pro Officio*"—at least when the Office which we unthinkingly substitute for our own is not *notabiliter brevius*. If it be, there seems to be a decided preponderance of opinion obliging us to supply from our own Office *pro rata omissionis*. For example, if instead of the "Sunday's" Office we have read that of a martyr, they tell us to add the psalms of the First Nocturn of the *Dies Dominica*.

(2) Can we deliberately make an exchange of Offices? "Illa permutatio, modo ne sit in notabiliter brevius, ex mediocri causa *raro facta*, peccatum non est, v. gr., si quis loco Officii proprii recitat idem *de Communi*, quando proprium Officium sine incommodo haberi nequit" (Lehmkuhl, S. Lig., Layman). By an *a fortiori* argument this decision must prove a relief to those who, journeying to a distance, find that they have taken with them the wrong quarter of the Breviary, and cannot, without giving or undergoing considerable trouble, procure the current quarter. On those exceptional and rarely occurring occasions, they are justified in reading *de Communi*. In the case of the "Night Call" alluded to above, and in all similar emergencies, those theologians would sanction the recitation of a prayer *de Communi* instead of that peculiar to the day, nor would they hold us bound *de praecepto* to afterwards supply the proper prayer.

(3) With all this indulgent interpretation, they are emphatic in asserting that, should we find that we have read the same Hour twice, we cannot, by applying the axiom *Officium pro Officio*, omit a subsequent Hour of like length.

(4) "*Error corrigitur ubi deprehenditur.*" If, therefore, it be discovered—say, at Prime—that a wrong Office is being recited, the subsequent portion must be recited as prescribed in the *Ordo*, no matter how dissimilar and seemingly discordant the component elements of the Office may be when completed.

(5) "Si quis mutando Officium erraverit," it is not unlawful to recite, on the day set apart for the Office which we have just now read by mistake, the Office that has been overlooked: but it is more commonly and authoritatively held that we should rather avoid making a second alteration in—rather divergence from—the Calendar, and should read the same Office a second time in preference. De Lugo has written a long, interesting and instructive chapter to establish this teaching.

VII.

"Pronunciatio vocalis est de substantia praecepti." This, as an axiomatic principle, is admitted by all, at least for secular priests; but there is a considerable diversity of interpretation in fixing the *volume* of vocalisation that is *de substantia.* There were two extreme standards, both of which have been long since abandoned: The first would regard as sufficient a mere *recitatio mentalis*, or, as some describe it, a "reading with the eye." No one would now think of defending its sufficiency; "*certo non sufficit*" (Lehmkuhl). The second would exact "quod quis recitat ita alte, ut a praesentibus audiri posset." While steering clear of either extreme Saurez emphatically requires such externation of voice "ut te ipsum audire possis." La Croix vehemently asserts "dicendum esse cum Castropolao et *aliis communiter*, debere [verba] ita proferri ut te possis audire, si nullum foret impedimentum, quia verba quae auditu percipi non possunt, non videntur esse verba, sed potius inchoatio verborum facta in gutture vel intra dentes."

It will be observed that the argument of those theologians does not affirm a direct necessity of *hearing* the words, which is nowhere prescribed; but it rests on the assumption that such a formation of words as is essentially involved in a true "pronunciatio vocalis" renders them positively audible—even though we should try to repress them. This much seems indisputable, that in a real "pronunciatio vocalis" the words must be distinctively *articulated*, and articulation requires the independent and effective employment of those individual organs of speech—the tongue, the throat, the teeth, the lips—without which words cannot be distinctly

formed. What is called "pronunciatio in gutture vel intra dentes" leaves some of those organs at least partially quiescent: the words so formed would not, *if* externated, stand forth, each complete in its own unabated fulness; and such imperfect formation of words, in the judgment of La Croix "*cum aliis communiter*," is a halting and mutilated travesty of "pronunciatio vocalis."

But is there no substantive medium between pronunciation "intra dentes aut in gutture" and that "qua te ipsum audire potes?" St. Liguori, Lehmkuhl, &c., affirm that "vocalis pronunciatio habere potest, etsi recitans se non audit," and they teach the sufficiency of such pronunciation—always assuming, as an indispensably necessary condition, that it be not "intra dentes aut in gutture," but that the "voces et syllabas *suis organis* efformatas fuisse." When Lehmkuhl adds "*probabile tantum* eam pronunciationem sufficere, quae ne a loquente quidem exterius audiatur," he raises no question as to the interpretation of *the law*, which is itself unalterable and must be absolutely fulfilled; but merely affirms the probability of a man's succeeding in fully forming his words "*silenti voce*." On this matter each man must, by actual experiment, establish his own individual capability; and unless he satisfy himself as to *the question of fact*, he has no escape from the obligation of so externating his words "ut se ipsum saltem audire valeat." In shorter form: The fulfilment of the obligation rigorously and imperatively requires such a casting and fashioning of the words that if those words were rendered separately sensible, each would be in all its syllables an articulate *vox humana*. If this be *de facto* accomplished, the obligation is probably, and therefore (according to Lehmkuhl), sufficiently fulfilled. If not, not.

Material remains in abundance for many interesting paragraphs. For example: What *intention* and what species of *attention* suffice for the discharge of this duty? What is the effect of voluntary distraction upon the recital of the Divine Office, and upon prayer generally? Can a priest, sojourning in a strange diocese, substitute for the Office of his own Ordo the shorter Office prescribed in the place of his sojourn? &c., &c. These may be discussed in a subsequent paper.

C. J. M.

ANCIENT IRISH SCHOLARS.

Dicuil the Geographer.

ONE of the most interesting monuments of ancient Irish scholarship is Dicuil's treatise, *De Mensura Orbis Terrae* written so early as the year A.D. 825. It is not very creditable to the Irish learning of the present day that no attempt has yet been made even by any of our learned societies to print this little work in Ireland. It is to French scholars we are indebted for printing and annotating Dicuil's treatise. In 1807 the *editio princeps* was published by M. Walckenaer from two manuscripts in the Imperial Library of Paris. In 1814 M. Letronne produced a still more accurate edition, enriched, too, with many learned notes, and important dissertations, in which he shows the advantages that scholars may derive from a careful study of this geographical treatise of the Irish monk. There is no doubt that M. Letronne expended much time and labour in the execution of this work, of which the full title is as follows:—*Recherches Geographiques et Critiques sur Le Livre De Mensura Orbis Terrarum composé en Irlande au Commencement du Neuvieme siècle par Dicuil.* This work is now very rare, and hence we shall present our readers with a brief account of this most valuable and interesting monument of ancient Irish learning.

Unfortunately we know nothing whatsoever of the personal history of Dicuil except what can be gathered from a few incidental references which he makes to himself in this treatise; but these, though very brief, are clear and definite. He tells us first of all that his name was Dicuil, and that he finished his task in the spring of the year A.D. 825. Like most of his countrymen at that time, he was fond of poetry, and gives us this information in a neat poem, written in Latin hexameters at the end of the MS., to which we shall refer again. He also implies in his opening statement, or prologue, that he had already written an *Epistola de questionibus decem Artis Grammaticae*, which was probably intended to be copied and circulated amongst the Irish monastic schools of the time, but of which we know nothing more. He tells us that

a certain Suibneus (Suibhne), or Sweeny, was his master to whom under God he owed whatever knowledge he possessed. His native country was Ireland, which he describes in affectionate language as "nostra Hibernia,"—our own Ireland—in opposition to the foreign countries of which he had been speaking. Elsewhere he calls it in accordance with the usage of the time *nostra Scottia*. He also adds when referring to the islands in the north and north-west of Scotland, that he had dwelt in some of them, he had visited others, more of them had he merely seen, and some of them he had only read of.

This is really all the information we have about Dicuil, and from data so meagre, it is very difficult to identify Dicuil the Geographer, amongst the many Irish monks who bore that name.

By a careful examination, however, of these and some other facts to which he refers, we can conjecture with some probability where and by whom he was educated.

When speaking of Iceland Dicuil refers to information communicated to him thirty years before by certain Irish clerics, who had spent some months in that island. This brings us back to A.D. 795, so that when Dicuil wrote in 825, he must have been a man considerably advanced in years. We may infer, too, that his master, Suibhne, to whom he owed so much, flourished as a teacher at a still earlier period than A.D. 795. There were several abbots who bore that name between A.D. 750 and A.D. 850; but it appears to me that the master of Dicuil must have been either Suibhne, Abbot of Iona, who died in 772, or Suibhne, son of Cuana, Abbot of Clonmacnoise, who died A.D. 816, and the former appears to be the more probable hypothesis. If Dicuil were, suppose, seventy-five when he wrote his book, he must have been born in 750. He would then be about sixteen years of age when Suibhne, Vice-Abbot of Iona, came over to his native Ireland in 766, where he remained some time. Suppose that Dicuil returned with him as a novice in that year, he could have been six years under the instruction of Suibhne before that abbot's death in 772. It is likely that Dicuil remained in Iona for several years after the death of his

beloved master. It was, doubtless, during these years that he visited the Scottish islands, and dwelt with some of the communities whom St. Columba had established there. On this point his own statement is clear and explicit.

But towards the close of the eighth century a storm burst upon the heads of the devoted inmates of these religious houses, when they were slain or scattered abroad. In A.D. 794 the Danes devastated all the "Islands of Britain," and in 795 they attacked and plundered Iona itself. In 798 they renewed their inroads, and harried "all the islands between Erin and Alba." Iona was burned again by "the gentiles" in 802, and the family of Hy, to the number of seventy-eight persons, was slaughtered by them four years later. Then nearly all the survivors fled to Erin, and built the City of Columcille, in Kells, next year, A.D. 807, to which, shortly after, the relics, or at least some of the relics, of the founder, were solemnly transferred. It is highly probable that it was at this period, when the community of Iona was dispersed, that Dicuil returned to his native country. It is very difficult, however, to identify him with any of the holy men who bore that name, and whose festivals are recorded in our calendars. Colgan mentions nine saints of this name; some of whom, however, certainly flourished at a much earlier period.

The founder of Iona, Columcille, with his kinsmen, originally came from Donegal, and the monastery seems to have been principally recruited at all times by members of the Cenelconaill race. Amongst the saints who were called Dicuil, or Diucholl, were two who were venerated in Donegal; one the son of Neman, whose memory was venerated at Kilmacrenan on Dec. 25; the other was Dicuil of Inishowen, whose feast-day is Dec. 18th. The latter is described as a hermit; and it may be that our geographer, after his return from Iona, retired to a life of solitude in Inishowen, and there, towards the close of his life, composed this treatise, of which the most valuable portion is that containing the reminiscences of his early life in the Scottish islands.

The chief difficulty against this hypothesis, that Suibhne, Dicuil's master, was the Abbot of Iona who died in 772, is the great age at which, in that case, the pupil must have

written his book, in A.D. 825. The monks of those days, however, were often intellectually and physically vigorous at the age of eighty, and even of ninety years.

If, however, anyone prefers the other hypothesis, which certainly fits in better with the dates, then we must assume that Dicuil was trained at the great College of Clonmacnois, which at this period was certainly the most celebrated school in Ireland, if not in Europe. Suibhne, we are told, was abbot for two years before his death, in 816; but had been, no doubt, for many years previously, a *fer-legind*, or professor, in Clonmacnoise. It was nothing new for the younger monks to travel to other religious houses in pursuit of knowledge and sanctity; and in this way Dicuil, like so many of his countrymen, would visit Iona and the Scottish islands.

The treatise *De Mensura Orbis Terrae* is especially valuable as affording evidence of the varied classical culture that existed in the Irish monastic schools at this period. In the prologue the author tells us that he derived his information mainly from two sources; first, from the Report of the Commissioners whom the Divine Emperor Theodosius had sent to survey the provinces of the Roman Empire; and secondly, from the excellent work of Pliny Secundus—that is, the *Natural History* which is so well known to scholars. Dicuil complains that the manuscripts of the Report in his possession were very faulty; but still, being of more recent date than Pliny's work, he values it more highly. He adds that he leaves vacant places in his own manuscript for the numbers, in order to be able to fill them in afterwards when he can verify or correct them by collating his own with other manscripts of the Report. He also quotes numerous passages from other writers, who, I am afraid, are not very familiar to the classical scholars of our own times. The first of these works is that of Caius Julius Solinus, known as the Polyhistor. Of his personal history we know as little as we do of Dicuil himself. He flourished about the middle of the third century, and appears to have borrowed his matter, and sometimes even his language, from Pliny's *Natural History*. The contents of this work of Solinus may be

inferred from the title of an English translation, published in 1587: "*The Excellent and Pleasant Work of Julius Solinus, Polyhistor, containing the Noble Actions of Humaine Creatures, the Secretes and Providence of Nature, the Description of Countries, the Manners of the People, &c., &c.* Translated out of the Latin by Arthur Golding, Gent." Another work, equally unknown to the present generation, but frequently quoted by Dicuil, is the *Periegesis* of Priscian. It is a metrical translation into Latin hexameters of a Greek work bearing the same title, which was originally composed by Dionysius, surnamed from that fact Periegetes, or the "Traveller," in Goldsmith's sense. He appears to have flourished in the second half of the third century of the Christian era.

Such are the principal authorities whom Dicuil follows; and as he knew nothing of foreign countries himself, he cites his authorities textually for the benefit of his own countrymen. It is surely a singular and interesting fact that we should find an Irish monk, in the beginning of the ninth century, collating and criticising various manuscripts of these writers either in some Irish monastic school at home, or in the equally Irish school of Iona, though surrounded by Scottish waters and in view of the Scottish hills.

For us, however, the information which Dicuil gives us of his own knowledge, or gathered from his own countrymen, is far more valuable; and to this I would especially invite the reader's attention.

In the sixth chapter, when speaking of the Nile, he says:

"Although we never read in any book that any branch of the Nile flows into the Red Sea; yet Brother Fidelis[1] told in my presence, to my master Suibhne (to whom, under God, I owe whatever knowledge I possess), that certain clerics and laymen from Ireland, who went to Jerusalem on pilgrimage, sailed up the Nile for a long way."

and thence continued their voyage by canal to the entrance of the Red Sea.

This Irish pilgrimage to Jerusalem is worthy of notice, for many of our critics where they find mention of such pilgrimages to Rome and to Jerusalem in the Lives of our early

[1] It might be rendered a trustworthy brother.

Saints, seem to regard it as an exaggeration, if not a kind of pious fraud. But here we have the testimony of one in every way worthy of credit, who himself spoke to such pilgrims after their return from the Holy Land.

Then their testimony is peculiarly valuable in reference to a vexed geographical question regarding the existence of a navigable canal in those days from the Nile to the Red Sea. A canal called the "River of Ptolemy" and afterwards "the River of Trajan," was certainly cut from the Pelusiac branch of the Nile to the Red Sea at Arisnoe. It was certainly open for commerce in the time of Trajan, but during the decline of the Roman empire became partially filled with sand. Trajan, it seems, however, when re-opening the canal connected it with the river at a point higher up the river than the old route, opposite Memphis, near Babylon, in order that the fresh water might flow through the canal and help to keep it open. Under the Arabians this canal of Trajan was re-opened, but geographers have asserted that it became choked shortly afterwards and remained so ever since. The testimony of the Irish pilgrims quoted by Dicuil is the only satisfactory evidence that we now possess to prove that this canal was open at the end of the eighth century for the purposes of commerce and navigation.[1]

The pilgrims also give some interesting information with reference to the Pyramids, which they call the "Barns of Joseph." "The pilgrims," he says, "saw them from the river rising like mountains four in one place and three in another." Then they landed to view these wonders close at hand, and coming to one of the three greater pyramids, they saw eight men and one woman and a great lion stretched dead beside it. The lion had attacked them, and the men in turn had attacked the lion with their spears, with the result that all perished in the mutual slaughter, for the place was a desert and there was no one at hand to help then. From top to bottom the pyramids were all built of stone, square at the base, but rounded towards the summit, and tapering to a point. The aforesaid brother Fidelis measured one of them

[1] See Smith's Dictionary of Geography.

and found that the square face was 400 feet in length. Going thence by the canal to the Red Sea, they found the passage across to the eastern shore at the Road of Moses to be only a short distance. The brother who had measured the base of the pyramid wished to examine the exact point where Moses had entered the Red Sea, in order to try if he could find any traces of the Chariots of Pharaoh, or the wheel tracks; but the sailors were in a hurry and would not allow him to go on this excursion. The breadth of the sea at this point appeared to him to about six miles. Then they sailed up this narrow bay which once kept the murmuring Israelites from returning to Egypt.

This is a very interesting and manifestly authentic narrative. Another interesting chapter is that in which Dicuil describes Iceland and the Faroe Islands. "It is now thirty years," he says, "since certain clerics, who remained in that island (Ultima Thule) from the 1st of February to the 1st of August, told me that not only at the Summer solstice (as Solinus said), but also for several days about the solstice, the setting sun at eventide merely hid himself as it were, for a little behind a hill, so that there was no darkness even for a moment, and whatever a man wished to do, if it were only to pick vermin off his shirt—vel pediculos de camisia abstrahere—he could do as it were in the light of the sun, and if he were on a mountain of any height, he could doubtles see the sun all through." This way of putting it is certainly more graphic than elegant, but it is at the same time strictly accurate, and shows that the Irish monks had really spent the summer in Iceland. For the arctic circle just touches the extreme north of Iceland, and therefore in any part of that country the sun would even at the solstice set for a short time, but it would be only, as it were, going behind a hill to reappear in an hour or in half an hour. So that by the aid of refraction and twilight a man would always have light enough to perform even those delicate operations to which Dicuil refers.

He then observes with much acuteness that at the middle point of this brief twilight it is mid-night at the equator, or middle of the earth; and in like manner he infers that about

the Winter solstice there must be daylight for a very short time in Thule, when it is noon-day at the equator. These observations show a keen observant mind, and would lead us to infer that Dicuil like his countryman Virgilius, who flourished a little earlier, had been taught the sphericity of the earth in the schools of his native country. He says also in this same chapter, what is certainly true, that those writers are greatly mistaken who describe the Icelandic Sea as always frozen, and who say that there is a perpetual day from Spring to Autumn, and perpetual night from Autumn to Spring. For the Irish monks sailed thither, he says, through an open sea in a month of great natural cold, and whilst they were there enjoyed alternate day and night except about the Summer solstice, as already explained. But one day's sail further north brought them to the frozen sea.

Dicuil's reference to Iceland is interesting from another point of view. In almost all our books of popular instruction, and even in many standard works on geography, it is stated that the Danes, or Norwegians, "discovered" Iceland about the year 860, and shortly afterwards colonized it during the reign of Harold Harfager. But Dicuil clearly shows that it was well known to Irish monks at least more than half a century before Dane or Norwegian ever set foot on the island, as is now generally admitted by scholars who are familiar with Icelandic literature and history.

The following interesting passage which shows the roving spirit that animated some of the Irish monks at that period is contained in the third section of the same seventh chapter. "There are several other islands in the ocean to the north of Britain, which can be reached in a voyage of two days and two nights with a favourable breeze. A certain trustworthy monk (religiosus) told me that he reached one of them by sailing for two summer days and one night in a vessel with two benches of rowers (duorum navicula transtrorum). Some of these islands are very small and separated by narrow straits. In these islands for almost a hundred years there dwelt hermits, who sailed there from our own Ireland (nostra Scottia). But now they are once more deserted, as they were from the beginning, on account of the ravages of the

Norman pirates. They, are, however, still full of sheep, and of various kinds of sea birds. We have never found these islands mentioned by any author."

It is quite evident that Dicuil here refers to the Faroe Islands, which are about 250 miles north of the Scottish coast. A glance at the map will show that they are rather small, and separated from each other by very narrow channels, and in this respect differing from the Shetland Islands, to which this description would not therefore apply. Besides, the Shetlands are only 50 miles from the Orkneys, about 100 from the mainland, and hence could easily be reached in a single day by an open boat sailing before a favourable wind; whereas the islands occupied by the Irish hermits could only be reached after a voyage of two days and a night, even in the most favourable circumstances. The word "nostra Scottia" of course refers to Ireland; for up to the time that Dicuil wrote, that word had never been applied to North Britain. Skene, himself a learned Scot, has shown by numerous citations from ancient authors that beyond all doubt the name "Scottia" was applied to Ireland, and to Ireland alone, prior to the tenth century.[1] Up to that time the name of Scotland was Alban or Albania.

The love of the ancient Irish monks for island solitudes is one of the most remarkable features in their character. There is hardly an island round our coasts, which does not contain the remains of some ancient oratory or monastic cells. But they did not always remain in sight of land. Inspired partly with the hope of finding a "a desert" in the ocean, partly, no doubt, also with a love of adventure and a vague hope of discovering the "Land of Promise," they sailed out into the Atlantic in their currachs in search of these lonely islands. Every one has heard of the seven years' voyage of St. Brendan in the western ocean. St. Ailbe of Emly had resolved to find out the island of Thule, which the Roman geographers placed somewhere in the northern sea. He was, however, prevented from going himself, but "he sent twenty men into exile over the sea in

[1] See *Introd. to Celtic Scotland*, page 3, vol. I.

his stead."[1] St. Cormac the Navigator, made three voyages in the pathless ocean seeking some desert island where he might devote himself to an eremitic life. It is highly probable he went as far north as Iceland; for Adamnan tells us that he sailed northwards for fourteen days, until he was frightened by the sight of the monsters of the deep, when he returned home touching on his way at the Orkney Islands.

When the Norwegians first discovered Iceland in A.D. 860, they found Irish books, and bells, and pilgrims' staffs, or croziers, which were left there by men who professed the Christian religion and whom the Norwegians called "papas" or "fathers." Dicuil, however, gives us the earliest authentic testimony that Iceland and the Faroe Isles had been discovered and occupied by Irish monks long before the Danes or Norwegians discovered these islands. Of Ireland itself, Dicuil unfortunately gives us no information. He was writing for his own countrymen, and he assumed that they knew as much about Ireland—"our own Ireland"—as he did. The only observation he makes in reference to Ireland is that there were islands round the coast, and that some were small, and others very small. But he takes one quotation from Solinus, who says that—

> "Britain is surrounded by many important islands, one of which Ireland, approaches to Britain itself in size. It abounds in pastures so rich, that if the cattle are not sometimes driven away from them they run the risk of bursting. The sea between Britain and Ireland is so wild and stormy throughout the entire year that it is only navigable on a very few days. The channel is about 120 miles broad."

Dicuil, however, good Irishman as he was, does not quote two other statements which Solinus made about the praechristian Scots—for he wrote before the time of St. Patrick—first, that the Irish recognised no difference between right and wrong at all; and, secondly, that they fed their children from the point of the sword—a rather inconvenient kind of spoon we should think. In fact the Romans of those days knew as little, and wrote as confidently about Ireland as

[1] See Reeve's *Adamnan*, page 169, note.

most Englishmen do at present, and that is saying a good deal.

There is one incidental reference in Dicuil—chapter v section ii.—which is of the highest importance, because it settles the question as to the nationality of the celebrated Irish poet, Sedulius, the author of the hymns *Crudelis Herodes*, and *A solis ortus Cardine*, in the Roman Breviary. Dicuil quoting twelve lines of poetry from the Report of the Commissioners of Theodosius, observes, that the first foot of the seventh and eighth of these hexameter lines is an amphimacrus. Here are the lines :—

> "Cōnfĭcī ter quinis aperit cum fastibus annum.
> Sūpplĭcēs hoc famuli, dum scribit, pingit et alter."

"At the same time," says Dicuil, "I do not think it was from ignorance of prosody these lines were so written, for the writers had the authority of other poets in their favour, and especially of Virgil, whom in similar cases *our own Sedulius* imitated, and he, in his heroic stanzas, rarely uses feet different from those of Virgil and the classical poets." "Noster Sedulius," here applied to the great religious poet by his own countryman, in the ninth century, settles the question of his Irish birth. The reader will observe also, what a keen critic Dicuil was of Latin poetry, and will probably come to the conclusion that they knew Prosody better in the Irish schools of the ninth than they do in those of the nineteenth century.

In the closing stanzas of his own short poem on the classic mountains, Dicuil implies that he finished his work in the Spring of 825, when night gives grateful rest to the wearied oxen who had covered the seed-wheat in the dusty soil.

> "Post octingentos viginti quinque peractos
> Summi annos Domini terrae, aethrae, carceris atri,
> Semine triticeo sub ruris pulvere tecto,
> Nocte bobus requies largitur fine laboris."

✠ JOHN HEALY, D.D.

THE ACTION OF DIVINE GRACE IN THE SOULS OF THE JUST.—II.

THE gifts of the Holy Ghost are the medium through which God acts supernaturally on the souls of the just. Hence it is that these gifts are necessary for good works and for perseverance in grace.[1] Their peculiar effect is to render the soul docile to the guidance of the Spirit of God. In rank and dignity they occupy an intermediate place between the theological and infused virtues. The theological virtues unite the soul immediately to God, who is their object. All supernatural action of the Holy Ghost on the souls of the just is directed to the promoting of this union. Hence this union of the soul with God is said to regulate the action of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. In other words, the gifts of the Holy Ghost are subordinated to the increase of faith, hope, and charity within the soul of man.[2]

The infused virtues are divided into two classes—the moral and intellectual. The intellectual infused virtues may be all grouped under the head of prudence. This virtue perfects the judgment in deciding upon the relative merits of human actions. It is no doubt a high intellectual endowment, but still it is inferior to the gifts of wisdom, understanding, counsel, or knowledge, which have the effect of bringing the intellectual attributes of God into contact with the human mind.

The moral virtues—justice, fortitude, and temperance—are all measured and directed by the intellectual virtues, and are consequently subordinate to them. If, therefore, the gifts of the Holy Ghost transcend in excellence the supernatural intellectual virtues, it is clear that they also excel the moral infused virtues.

If, however, we consider the theological virtues in their operations, we shall find that they depend upon the gifts of the Holy Ghost. The virtue of charity, for instance,

[1] *Summa Theologica*, i., ii., 68, 2. [2] *Summa Theologica*, i., ii., 68, 8.

is not capable of passing from quiescence to action without the help of grace. "No man can say the Lord Jesus but by the Holy Ghost," 1 *Cor.*, xii, 3. Acts of faith, hope, or charity, therefore, can only be exercised in virtue of the previous operation of the gifts of the Holy Ghost.

Charity, the chief of the theological virtues, may be considered as a habit and as an act. As a habit, it is the source from which the gifts of the Holy Ghost spring. The gifts invariably accompany it, and invariably disappear with its extinction.[1]

Actuated charity or charity in act, on the other hand, supposes the previous actuation of one of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. Under this aspect it is *posterius natura*, subsequent in the order of existence to the gifts.

The distinction between habitual and actual charity is forcibly exemplified in many doctrines which have the note, at least, of theological certainty. Thus we are told that, when our Lord is said to have increased in wisdom and age and grace, we are not to understand that the habit of charity increased in his soul. His acts of charity were multiplied as his years advanced.

Again, in describing the perfection which is the aim of the religious life, theologians tell us that this perfection does not consist in the increase of the habit of charity within the soul. On the contrary, they maintain that the habit of charity may go on increasing while religious perfection is growing less.[2] Every good work done in the state of grace increases the habit of charity. The just man, therefore, as a rule, increases from day to day in habitual charity. Still it may happen that from distraction, dissipation, and other impediments of actual grace, the frequency of his acts of charity grows less.

In such a state of things we have an exemplification of the common doctrine that venial sins lessen our love of God. They do not lessen our habitual charity; but they prevent it

[1] "Dona Spiritus Sancti connectuntur sibi invicem in caritate ita scilicet quod qui caritatem habet omnia dona Spiritus Sancti habet quorum nullum sine caritate haberi potest, i., ii., 68, 5.

[2] Suarez *de Virtute et Statu Religionis*, lib. 1., cap. iv., 11.

from existing and displaying itself in frequent acts. Whenever, therefore, a just man, while increasing from day to day in habitual charity, falls off in the frequency and fervour of his acts of the love of God, a condition of things arises which may be termed one of the anomalies of the spiritual life. The normal condition of the spiritual man exhibits a daily increase in the habit of charity, and a daily increase in the frequency and fervour of his acts of the love of God. The case of our Lord is no argument against this statement. Filled with the plenitude of sanctity from the moment of His incarnation, the human soul of Christ multiplied His acts of the love of God, though owing to the perfection of the subject, it was impossible that these acts could produce an increase of habitual charity in His will.

The action of Divine Grace in the souls of the just will be best exemplified by tracing the nature and qualities of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. Wisdom is a knowledge of things human and divine through their highest cause, who is God. It has for its subject the intellect of man, and it enables him to form correct judgments of all things. Every thing created is an emanation of God's power, wisdom and goodness. The wise man exhibits these attributes in their highest participation within his own soul, and his judgment, illuminated by Divine light, is enabled to discern and trace the being and operation of the Divinity in all which is submitted to his consideration. The habit of wisdom is an aid both in the contemplative and active life. In contemplation it enables us to judge truly of God, His angels and His saints, and of all the high truths which are connected with the Trinity and Incarnation. In its bearings upon the active life, it enables us to direct human actions according to the relation in which they stand to God.[1]

We may conclude this paper by pointing out what an aid the gift of wisdom is in the study of theology, dogmatic and

[1] Superior autem ratio, ut Augustinus dicit, intendit *rationibus supernis*, scilicet divinis, et conspiciendis et consulendis; conspiciendis quidem secundum quod divina in seipsis contemplatur; consulendis autem secundum quod per divina judicat de humanis actibus per divinas regulas dirigens actus humanos. (ii., iii., 3.)

moral. These two sciences suppose, in their acquisition, the exercise of human industry. This industry is exerted in diligently profiting of our teachers and our books; but it is exercised in a still higher and more effectual form by petitioning God for an increase of wisdom. It was by supernatural wisdom that the Doctors of the Church obtained their pre-eminence in theological learning. St. Thomas was in the habit of stating that it was not by study chiefly that he became learned, but by the infusion of supernatural light. It is also related of him that shortly before his death he stated to one of his intimate friends that all that was contained in his voluminous writings seemed to him as nothing, in dignity and importance, compared with the knowledge which he then possessed of divine things. The gift of wisdom had gone on developing and increasing within the soul of the saint, and, as death approached, it began to assume the aspect and hues of that consummate and celestial wisdom which is the portion of the blessed.

WILLIAM HAYDEN, S.J.

RELIQUIAE DOMINICAE.—II.

THE TITLE OF THE TRUE CROSS.

AMONGST the Greeks and the Romans, and wherever their laws had force, there was the custom of having the crime for which a person was condemned to death proclaimed to the people when the sentence of the law was about to be executed. That was done in various ways. Sometimes a public crier proclaimed it; but it was usually inscribed on a tablet of wood, and was called Titulus or Album Praetoris. This tablet was either borne before the condemned person on his way to the place of execution, or was suspended from his neck, or, if convenient, affixed to the instrument of punishment. History affords instances of each as practised by the Romans, both at home and through the provinces.

Eusebius[1] mentions, amongst the particulars of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, that a crier called aloud the cause for which he was about to suffer:—"Polycarpus confessus est se Christianum esse." Eusebius describes elsewhere[2] the martyrdom of St. Attalus of Lyons. He says that the martyr was carried around the amphitheatre, and that a tablet was borne before him bearing the inscription:—"Hic est Attalus Christianus." Dio Cassius writes of a Roman slave who was[3] condemned to death by his master, and who was made to carry through the market-place an inscription which made known the cause of his master's vengeance. History has left instances also in which the cause was affixed to the instrument by which the sentence of the law was to be carried out. Such was the case in the crucifixion of our Divine Lord.[4] St. John (chap. 19, v. 19) says, "And Pilate wrote a title also, and he put it upon the cross; and the writing was:—'Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews.' This title, therefore, many of the Jews did read, because the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city; and it was written in Hebrew, in Greek, and in Latin."

Those who have read what appeared in recent numbers of the RECORD[5] about the finding of the True Cross, will remember that part of it is preserved in the Church of Santa Croce, in Rome. In that Church also is to be seen a piece of wood about nine inches long, by about six inches wide, and about two inches thick. It bears traces of three lines of words carved on it. Three of its edges have been a good deal eaten away by time; and some of the words at both ends have disappeared altogether. The last traces of the top line can be discerned in five or six apparently shapeless curves that remain; and the letters that remain of the

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, Lib. iv., cap. 15. St. Ambrose similarly describes the martyrdom of St. Agnes.

[2] *Hist. Eccl.*, Lib. v., cap. 1. In *Vita Caligulae*, cap. 38, he gives a similar instance.

[3] Lib. liv.

[4] We preserve the tradition of it in the letters I.N.R.I. affixed to crucifixes. According to some it is not done quite correctly. They say that the True Cross was of the form of a T; and that the title placed above it gave it the form of the cross we use.

[5] See I. E. RECORD (Third Series), vol. ix., pp. 961, 1109, Nos. 11, 12 (Nov., Dec.), 1888.

other two can just be deciphered. It is closely fitted into a reliquary, and is padded on every side with red silk, evidently to preserve it from going to pieces. That piece of wood is shown to visitors as the veritable title that was affixed to the Cross on which our Saviour died; and the purpose of this paper is to show the grounds on which the tradition rests.

After what has been said to show that St. Helena found the cross, little need be done to show that she also found the title. One almost follows from the other. The title was fixed on to the cross when our Saviour suffered on it; and when His Body was taken to the tomb, the cross, with the title attached to it, was taken there also, or buried close by. And some writers, who bear testimony to the finding of the cross 300 years after, bear testimony also, and equally clear, to the finding of the title; they, in fact, attest the finding of both in nearly the same words.[1] St. Ambrose and St. Chrysostom even say that it was by the title the Saviour's cross was distinguished from the thieves' crosses. St. Ambrose describes how St. Helena, when the three crosses came to light, was at a loss to know which was the Saviour's cross, and how in her perplexity she bethought herself of the title and inscription that it bore; and he continues: "Hinc collecta est series veritatis; Titulo crux potuit Salvatoris."

The True Cross was, therefore, known by the title, because the title was there to mark it out and distinguish it from the other two. St. Chrysostom says that "the Lord's cross was known by the title; for the crosses of the thieves had not a title." It is not to our purpose now to inquire why the thieves' crosses had not a title;[2] it is enough for us to know that they had not, and that, according to two Fathers at least, the Saviour's cross was thus distinguished from them. But it may be as well to say here as elsewhere, that even though the other two crosses had titles, the Saviour's cross could nevertheless be identified by its proper title, which bore an

[1] References have been given already in November number, vol. ix., p. 961, and need not be reproduced here.

[2] Card. Toletus (*Comment. in Joan.*) says that probably the title was used only in the case of notorious culprits.

inscription recording the cause why He was put to death. Rufinus, in the same sentence in which he testifies to the finding of the cross, says, "and there was also there the title which was written by Pilate in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew letters, but that did not clearly enough determine the cross."

Similarly, Socrates writes :—"Together with these the tablet was also found on which Pilate had declared in different languages and letters that Christ crucified was King of the Jews." Sozomen says, "And a tablet was found separate on which, in words and letters of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, this was written—'Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews.'"[1] There is, as will at once be noticed, a circumstantial discrepancy between the testimonies of St. Ambrose and St. Chrysostom on one side, and Rufinus, Socrates, and Sozomen on the other. According to the two former the title was attached to the cross at the time of the discovery, and was the key to its identification; according to the others the cross was not identified by the title, for, not being fixed to any of the three, it might have belonged to either. But that makes no matter; for according to them all it was at least lying about in the same place where the crosses were discovered, and was found with them; indeed, the crosses and the title curiously reveal each others identity.

The main fact then seems wholly beyond reasonable doubt, namely, that in the same place where St. Helena found the cross, and, at the same time, a tablet of wood was also found. The writers just cited, and several others who might be cited, unanimously attest it; and if such harmony in the clear evidence of so many witnesses be not enough to establish a plain and simple fact, it is hard to see how any fact of early Christian times, or, indeed, of times less remote, can be established at all. The tablet of wood, however, is one thing; its identity with the title of the True Cross is

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, Lib. 2. (To be found in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 67, page 931 :—"Καὶ χωρὶς ἄλλο ξύλον ἐν τάξει λευκώματος ῥήμασι καὶ γράμμασιν Ἑβραϊκοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς τε καὶ Ῥωμαϊκοῖς, τὰ δηλοῦντα· Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων." Migne says in a note—"Mihi non dubium est quin Sozomenus scripserit τάδε δηλοῦν, supple ξύλον."

Probably the tablet was painted white and the letters painted red, as was the custom with the Romans; hence the term *Album Praetoris*.

another thing. But if we gather around the simple fact that has already been secured, certain considerations and details that should occur to anyone present at the discovery and acquainted with the Roman and Jewish customs concerning capital punishment as well as with the history of the Sacred Passion, suggestive coincidences at once appear which seem to fix its identity with all the certainty that historical evidence can beget.

The Saviour's cross certainly had a title attached to it at the time of the crucifixion. We have, it is true, no positive evidence that the title was buried with it, but neither is there any reason to think that it was not. But, being attached to, and no doubt considered by the officials of the law as part of the cross, one is disposed, in the absence of any evidence, to think that it was buried with the cross. It is the plain and natural thing to suppose.

At any rate, when, 300 years after, St. Helena found the cross she also found a title in the same place where the cross was. That title can be no other than the one on which was inscribed the cause of our Saviour's sentence ; and for these reasons: It answers all the description of a title such as those used in cases of capital punishment. It did not belong to the crosses of the two thieves, both because, as is commonly believed, the thieves' crosses had not titles, and, again because the inscription on it would not answer the cause why they were put to death. Moreover, St. Ambrose and St. Chrysostom say, that it was found not only lying in the same place with the True Cross, but was even attached to it, and that by it the True Cross was distinguished from the other two. If we could be sure of that, the cross and title would identify each other ; but we cannot, since others say it was not so. However, with all before our mind, would not any of us, if present at the discovery, be inclined, even without further reason, to the conviction that the title found by St. Helena was that of the Saviour's cross?

But that is not all. The title that was found determines itself. Sozomen describes it as it was then, and his description of it leaves no doubt about its identity. He says that, inscribed on it in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, were the

words: "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews;"—the very words which, according to St. John, were used for the title of the Saviour's cross, and in the three languages in which the Evangelists say they were written. With those thoughts before us, it is not easy to see how one could honestly refuse to identify the title found with that of the Saviour's cross. If we consider them with the mind of giving them their true meaning, and of realising their full force, they almost constrain us into the conviction.

The whole question, then, turns on whether the authorities quoted be worthy of faith as witnesses of the simple facts they give us. The same witnesses bear testimony to the finding of the cross and of the title, and so both must stand or fall together. And they do not, it is well to recollect, speak of them as the cross and title, but distinctly as the True Cross and the title that belonged to it; and that, not in the manner of controversy or of pleading, as if anyone were likely to dispute it, but in the manner of unconscious certainty and simple narrative as if nobody dreamt of illusion or deceit. Of St. Cyril, who may have been present at the discovery, it must be remembered, that he did not attest it on purpose and for its own sake. Probably to do so in his time would secure the distinction of being thought a mono-maniac, one capable of surprising the public any day by assuring them that the sun was up. He appealed to Golgotha on which he stood, and to the recently discovered cross as evidences that the Saviour suffered and had arisen. If we would doubt it, he says, "why, the wood of the cross would convict us."

The discovery is spoken of by everyone who gives testimony of it, as a thing taken for granted by all, and doubted by nobody. Their credibility has already been discussed at length,[1] and it would be redundant to discuss it again. But it has been suggested to the writer that it would have been better not to have kept exclusively, in the article on the Cross, to the objections there considered, but to have dealt also with objections brought forward in recent years. If it was not done then, it was because it seemed unnecessary

[1] See I. E. Record, vol. ix., p. 961, *et seq.* Nov. 1888.

and it seems so still. The objections given by recent adversaries, when any are given at all (as is not the rule), are but the old ones refurbished, and even sometimes spoilt. However, as this is a convenient occasion, for the sake of any who may be interested in it, three recent writers are selected who deny, and with a vengeance, the authenticity of the Cross and Title. One is the Rev. Frederick William Farrar, the writer of the article on the "Cross" in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*;[1] another is the Rev. Robert Sinker, the writer of the article on the same subject in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*;[2] the third is the Rev. C. Boutell, the writer of the article on the same subject in the new edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, which was completed in last year.[3]

In the *Dictionary of the Bible* the following is written :—

"But even if the story were not so intrinsically *absurd*[4] (for, among other reasons, it was a law among the Jews that the cross was to be burnt—*Othonis Lex. Rab. Ser. supplicia*), it would require far more probable evidence to outweigh the silence of Eusebius. It clearly was to the interest of the Church of Rome to maintain the belief and invent the story of its miraculous multiplication, because the sale of relics was extremely profitable. To this day the supposed Title, or rather fragments of it, are shown to the people once a year in the Church of Sta Croce in Rome. Those sufficiently interested in the annals of ridiculous imposture, may see further accounts in Baronius, Jortin, Schmidt, and in a paper read by Lord Mahon before the Society of Antiquaries, February, 1831."

They must certainly be very strong reasons that could provoke such language as that. It is really hard to please him; I suppose he would want to have the thing proved by mathematics. It is established just as all historical facts are established, and by stronger evidence than can be given for many that are accepted without question. But, for some persons, whilst evidence that is little stronger than conjecture often puts the brand of certainty on things of a profane character, to establish an event bound up in any way with

[1] Vol. i., page 367 (Murray, London, 1863). Article on the "Cross," by Rev. Frederick William Farrar, M.A.; Assistant Master of Harrow School; late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (The present Archdeacon of Westminster Abbey.)

[2] Vol. i., page 504 (Murray, London, 1875). Article on the "Cross," by the Rev. Robert Sinker, M.A., Librarian, Trinity College, Cambridge.

[3] *Encyclopedia Britannica*. 9th Edition; vol. vi., 1877.

[4] The italics are in the article itself.

not only be enough to beget conviction, but must even be so strong as to preclude the possibility of evasion; in other words, no evidence will do.

We have already seen that the silence of Eusebius[1] is not quite so certain that it may be taken for granted; and, moreover, that even though it were certain, his testimony to a simple fact is not so indispensible that his silence would neutralize the distinct evidence of witnesses quite as reliable as he. Neither does the second reason justify a denial of the discovery, much less a contemptuous denial. Indeed, to call a "story intrinsically *absurd*"—and "absurd" with an emphasis—for the reason given, seems to betray one whose prejudice, for the occasion, ran away with his critical faculty. Even though, as asserted, a law existed with the Jews that bade the burning of the cross by which sentence of death was executed, such a law would surely bear an exception. That our Saviour was taken down from the cross on the day of His crucifixion and buried, was by dispensation from the Roman law,[2] according to which crucified criminals should be left hanging on the gibbet until their bodies had corrupted away, or were consumed by birds or beasts. That not a bone of His was broken was an exception to the Jewish law.

And how comes it then that the alleged Jewish law about the burning of the cross is so inviolable that anything involving an exception to it is "intrinsically *absurd?*" The adage of the schools must have its way—"contra factum non valet argumentum;" and the existence of a law, which may admit an exception, is not proof against distinct and positive testimony that there has been such an exception, any more than *a priori* proofs can reason facts out of existence. Let us take it in a more tangible way. By privilege, or somehow, an event takes place to-day against some well-settled law of the constitution. The event is recorded by at least one person who is living at present, by several in the near future, and it lives for centuries without contradiction in the undisturbed belief of the world. What Catholic piety, the evidence which is called for that must

[1] See I. E. RECORD, vol. ix., p. 961, *et seq.*, Nov., 1888.
[2] Leg. *Corpora* f. f. *De Cadaveribus punitor.*

should we think of a person turning up in the far future—in the fortieth century—and calling it a "story intrinsically absurd," because, forsooth, he is able to quote against it an Act of Parliament in force in the reign of Queen Victoria? But it is not even true that such a law existed amongst the Jews. If the Rev. Mr. Farrar had carefully looked into Baronius,[1] whom he invites us to consult, he should find cited there the Talmud *Alphesi*, and two Jewish Rabbins, to show that it was quite otherwise; and on their authority he says:—"Separatim pariter *sepelienda* instrumenta illa quibus mors illata fuisset nempe, *cruces*, clavos, enses, lapides, pro mortis genere quo quis interiisset." Calmet[2] tells us also that the instrument of death was buried, and on the authority of Jewish Rabbins and of the Sanhedrim Halac. But it is well worth while to read his vehement denial in the light of the very sentence preceding it. He says: "Besides Socrates and Theodoret, it is mentioned by Rufinus, Sozomen, Paulinus, Sulpicius, Severus and Chrysostom; so that Tillemont says *that nothing can be more certain.*" All those are, according to himself, witnesses in favour of the authenticity of the relics; and yet, in the face of their evidence, he says that, putting aside the *intrinsic absurdity* of the story, "it would require far more probable evidence to outweigh the silence of Eusebius." "Probable," indeed, and a probability so slight, too, that the mere silence of Eusebius would balance probability far greater! With the above evidence before us—evidence admitted and given by himself—not to speak of more that shall appear presently, nor of the arguments that can be developed from it all, and considering, moreover, all that can be said to show that Eusebius is also a witness, it would seem indeed that even the silence of Eusebius is less probable than is the evidence in favour of the discovery. When a person can wind up with such an unhesitating and cordial denial, even after such proofs as he himself has given, it would be interesting to know what credentials should the witnesses have, or of what nature should their evidence be, in

[1] Annales. An. 34, No. 130.

[2] Dissertatio. De Suppliciis. Commentar. Tom. ii. See also Bartolocci *Bibliotheca Rabbinica.*

order to outweigh the supposed silence of Eusebius, and merit belief. Nor is even this all. He omits, among others, the most important witness of all, namely, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who might have been present at the discovery, and who attested it twenty years after the event. But let us allow the Rev. Mr. Sinker to fill up what the Rev. Mr. Farrar has left out. He says:—

"The earliest mention we have of the finding of the Cross is in the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem; and he also alludes to it in a letter to Constantius. . . . From the beginning of the fifth century onwards, all ecclesiastical writers take the truth of the narrative in its main for granted, though some varieties of detail occur."

He then cites Socrates, Sozomen, Ambrose, Sulpicius Severus, Rufinus, Paulinus and Gregory of Tours. "Cyril of Alexandria," he says, "refers to it as the current history of his day," and "Chrysostom evidently believed in the discovery of the Cross, and speaks of the practice of carrying small portions of it about as amulets." All this the Rev. Mr. Farrar should have known, and should have mentioned. Such admissions, followed by such denial, is not unlike the feats of certain dialectical acrobats one occasionally meets with, who run through the proofs of a proposition, and then, just to show what they can do, offer to take up and stand by the other side. One cannot help asking himself, after all this, whether, if the indispensable Eusebius had *distinctly* attested the discovery, would admission come, even with him, from those who deny it without him? If so many and such witnesses cannot even give a decent probability to a simple fact, and the Rev. Mr. Farrar says they cannot, it would be a curiosity to know how the vast stores of information to be found in the two *Dictionaries* were come by. The reason why the Rev. Mr. Sinker disbelieves in the discovery of the Cross is, "that in the *Itinerarium Burdegalense*,[1] the record of a journey to Jerusalem in A.D. 333, there is no reference to the finding of the Cross." But the reply to the objection brought from the silence of Eusebius supplies the answer to

[1] Anyone who may wish to see this Itinerary, will find it in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. viii., page 791.

that. Moreover, since the Cross was found beside the tomb of our Saviour, if not in it, there was only one place to be mentioned, and it is but natural that the pilgrims would mention it in connection with the Body of our Lord rather than in connection with the Cross. The Rev. C. Boutell says :—

"The well-known legend of the 'Invention of the Cross' . . . rests on the current testimony of four Byzantine ecclesiastical historians—Rufinus, Socrates, Theodoret and Sozomen . . . and whose story was accepted and supported by Cyril of Jerusalem, Ambrose and Chrysostom (see also Tillemont *Mem. Eccles.* and Jortin's remarks) . . . Three crosses were found, and with them the Title placed by Pilate's command on the Cross of Christ, lying apart by itself. A festival to commemorate the discovery of this relic was soon established ; pilgrimages undertaken in order to obtain a sight of it next followed ; then fragments of the sacred wood were sold at high prices to wealthy votaries ; and, after a while, in order to meet the exigencies of the case, the Roman ecclesiastical authorities assured the increasing crowds of anxious purchasers that the wood, if no longer working miracles of healing, exercised a power of miraculous self-multi plication."[1]

If all this be truth, all the world for centuries must have been fools, except the "Roman ecclesiastical authorities," who were knaves. But, if there be one thing more than another that the words just quoted prove, it is that the writer of them, to say the best of him, did not break his heart inquiring into the evidence on which "the well-known legend," rests. It is not true that the discovery of the cross rests on the testimony of the four Byzantine historians just named. It rests on their testimony and on that of many others besides, they, by the way, being not the most important. It is not true that Cyril of Jerusalem, Ambrose, and Chrysostom accepted the story from those four Byzantine historians ; and for a simple reason which the writer of the article ought to have known before he undertook to sit in

[1] See article on the "Cross" in the *Encyclopedia*. Having seen reference made in the *Tablet* to the fact that the article on "Monasticism" was entrusted to Dr. Littledale, I looked over it and others bearing on Catholicism ; and certainly the boast of the impartiality of the *Encyclopedia* is an empty one. A refutation of the errors and mis-statements about Catholic doctrine and practices, which are to be found in the *Encyclopedia*, if bound together, would make a goodly volume, and a useful appendix to it in libraries.

judgment on an ecclesiastical tradition 1500 years old. St. Cyril, St. Ambrose, and St. Chrysostom died before any of the four historians from whom we are told they accepted the story. St. Cyril attests the discovery in one of his *Catechisms* which he gave in A.D. 347: St. Ambrose attests it in his oration on the death of Theodosius the Great in A.D. 395; and yet the readers of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* are informed that these borrowed the legend from Socrates and Sozomen who even bring their histories down to the year A.D. 439, in the reign of Theodosius the Younger, and from Theodoret who lived later still. He might as well have told us that Hume and Lingard plagiarised Lord Macaulay and Green. If Tillemont be responsible for such palpable anachronisms as these, the less notice that is taken of Mr. Boutell's recommendation to consult him the better, but such patent inaccuracies are very unlike Tillemont. It is a fitting finish to all this that he choruses the Rev. Mr. Farrar in making the indispensable charge of imposture, simony, and fraud against the Church. What a curious contrast the critical faculty of these writers presents, when it is a question of bespattering the Church, and when it a question of identifying a relic! For the former any evidence is sufficient, for the latter no evidence is enough. 'Tis a pity they have not placed side by side the evidence in favour of the discovery which they reject, and the evidence for those ecclesiastical impostures which they assert; for we would then have an opportunity of marking the variations of their critical barometer. It is a curious thing that St. Helena's visit to the East is admitted; that she built a basilica on Calvary is admitted; almost every fact connected with her oriental pilgrimage is admitted; and all on the authority of those very historians with whom we have been dealing. It is only when they tell us that she also found the Cross and the Sepulchre that their evidence is discarded; against the discovery of the Sepulchre an *alibi* is proved; the finding of the instruments of the Passion is refuted *a priori!* It is quite clear that the relic is the red rag all through. Looking back over the observations just made I admit they could be done without or cast perhaps in a milder form; but as they are written

there appears no reason for modifying or crossing them out. Indeed they are mildness itself when compared with the unbecoming impertinences with which the two writers last named try to bedaub the Church; and, after all, it cannot be said that the Church is less sacred than the writers of two articles in which inaccuracy and grossness are not the least prominent features.

I cannot do better than give here a few extracts from an essay on this subject by one who has never been in the habit of giving assent without the most searching scrutiny. Writing on the discovery of the instruments of the Sacred Passion before he was yet a Catholic, Cardinal Newman[1] says (page 150) :—

"If the discovery was not really made there was an *imposture* in the proceeding; an imputation upon the Church of Jerusalem, nay in the event on the whole Christian Church, so heavy as to lead us to weigh well which is the more probable hypothesis of the two, so systematic and sustained a fraud, or the discovery of a relic, or in human language an antiquity 300 years old."

At page 152 he says :—

"It seems hardly safe absolutely to deny what is thus affirmed by the whole Church."

At page 155, referring to those who dispute the discovery, he says :—

"The chance is that they have undertaken more than they can accomplish. For it stands to reason, which party *is more likely* to be right in a question of topographical fact, men who lived 300 years after it and on the spot, or those who live 1800 years and at the Antipodes? Granting that the fourth century had very poor means of information, it does not appear why the nineteenth should have more ample."

Let us take it as settled then that the title was found by St. Helena, and let us carry our thoughts from Jerusalem to Rome. In the middle of the arch that spans the front of the apse over the high altar in the basilica of Sta Croce may be observed a white cross of stucco. Before the church was

[1] An Essay on the "Miracles recorded in Ecclesiastical History of the Early Ages." By J. H. Newman, B.D., Fellow of Oriel College. 1843.

repaired by Benedict XIV. who, as Cardinal Lambertini, was its Titular, these words—*Hic fuit Titulus S. Crucis*—written in golden letters on an azure ground were to be seen where the white cross is now. The cross of stucco, and before it the inscription in golden letters, marks the place where the Title of the Cross was rediscovered by Cardinal Mendoza in A.D. 1492. That discovery and identification have been attested with circumstantial particularity by several trustworthy authorities since then. I select four of them whose opportunity of knowing it was such as must leave us to the alternative either of accepting their evidence, or of thinking them the veriest knaves. One is Cardinal Carvajale who succeeded Cardinal Mendoza in 1495 as Titular of the church. He had a passage made from the church down into the chapel of St. Helena, and on the walls of the passage he had a curiously wrought and very long inscription put up which still remains. In that inscription the chapel of St. Helena is recorded; the earth brought from Calvary for the formation of its floor, and the other sacred objects brought from the scene of our Saviour's Passion to adorn and make it in the words of the inscription, a "Second Jerusalem" are also recorded. It tells us that the Title of the Cross was brought to Rome by St. Helena; that, enclosed in a leaden case, it lay hid away from view in a niche over the arch fronting the apse; that in the thin piece of tile-work that closed in the niche were inscribed words telling of the relic that was preserved within, which words had become almost illegible by time; that in the year 1492, during the Pontificate of Innocent VIII., whilst the church was undergoing repairs at the expense of Cardinal Mendoza, the thin piece of work that closed in the niche fell in whilst the workmen were restoring the inscription, and exposed the leaden case to their view. On 29th July, 1496, Pope Alexander VI. published a Bull "Admirabile Sacramentum," granting a plenary indulgence, under the usual conditions, to all who may visit the basilica of Sta Croce on the last Sunday of January each year. The reason for granting the indulgence is given in the Bull itself; it is to promote devotion towards the Title of the True Cross which, as appears from the Bull, was discovered in the year 1492. By

order of Gregory XVI. a feast of greater double rite, in honour of the Title, is celebrated in the church on the last Sunday of January, the anniversary of the discovery; and it has, by a Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites (15th April, 1831), a Proper Mass and prayer, which, through the kindness of the Abbot of the Cistercian Fathers, who are attached to the church, the writer has seen. On 12th March, 1492, a few weeks after the discovery, Pope Innocent VIII. with the college of cardinals, after Pontifical High Mass in the Church of St. Gregory on the Cœlian hill, went in solemn procession to the Church of Sta Croce, to see and venerate the relic recently found. That visit, several particulars about the discovery, and a description of the relic that was found have been left us by Burchardo, the pontifical master of ceremonies on the occasion, in an official diary which he kept. He says that the Pope took the relic into his hands and examined it, as did also the cardinals. Moreover a manuscript has been found in the Vatican library containing, amongst other things, a letter written from Rome by one Leonardo di Sarzana to a friend in Volterra. It bears the date of 4th February, 1492, and is all taken up with the details of the discovery of a few days before. Besides the particulars given in the inscription already noticed, we learn from this letter that on the leaden case which contained the relic was laid a stone, of an oblong shape and of about the same superficial measure as the reliquary. On this stone the words, TITULUS CRUCIS, were cut, as if it were placed there in testimony of the relic over which it was laid; the stone is still to be seen in the chapel of the relics. The letter also gives the length, breadth, and thickness of the relic; it mentions a triple inscription in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, that was carved on it, and even observes that the words of the Greek and Latin inscription were, like the Hebrew, written in retrograde order. It gives also a careful description of the state of preservation in which the words of the three inscriptions were, and the corroding effect that time had upon each. The words of the letter itself bearing on this will be given later on.[1] The writer of the letter adds that he

[1] All the details are given by Burchardo also.

himself read the inscriptions, and copied them in the exact characters in which the letters were formed. That copy, he says towards the end of the letter, he is not sending to him to whom he is writing; but in another letter which he wrote about the same time to the same person, and which may be seen in the same Vatican codex, he says that he sent the copy of the inscriptions he had taken to Lorenzo dei Medici, whom he calls "certum peritorum virorum confugium."

We shall see later on whether, from an examination of the relic itself, we are justified in identifying it with the Title of the True Cross. Meanwhile we may well insist on the belief in its identity acknowledged by those just mentioned, as sufficient to beget conviction in us. Indeed, they should be very strong motives that could fairly turn us off into disagreement from the evidence that has been given; that is, if we consider it with the normal disposition of accepting a fact, which claims nothing of the miraculous, on the strength of such evidence as history usually affords. The identity of the relic discovered with the Title of the Cross was acknowledged, as we have seen, in the most solemn way by Alexander VI. four years after the discovery. It was acknowledged by him who sent the copy of it to Lorenzo dei Medici, and by the pontifical master of ceremonies, both of whom examined and knew all about it; by the Cardinal Titular who had it perpetuated by an inscription; by Innocent VIII., the College of Cardinals, and the Roman people who joined in the solemn procession to visit and venerate it a few weeks after its discovery. It is beyond human credulity to think that such solemnities were gone through at the time and before the world, let us not say to palaver an imposture on the people, but even to continue anything which sufficient reasons did not authenticate and place beyond reasonable doubt. If it be not so, the inscription which is still preserved in the church can be looked upon only as a monument either of unpardonable imposture or of almost unpardonable silliness; so, too, the other solemnities in reference to it that took place at the time or have taken place since; and the same must be said, amongst others, of the Venetian

ambassador who took a fragment of it which he received from Innocent VIII. to Venice as a treasure which has been preserved down to our own days. If proofs of its identity were not in evidence before the authorities of the time, the fairest conclusion we can come to, perhaps, is, that the people of Rome, and indeed of the Christian world, were then made up of two classes—arrant knaves and silly dupes who almost deserved to be imposed upon. And this suggests how well it would have been had the Rev. Mr. Boutell lived then, to stand between the deceivers and the deceived, and let the light of such historical criticism as the following through the silly story. He says :—

"The piece of wood supposed to have been inscribed with the Title placed upon the Cross of Christ, and found with the three crosses by St. Helena, and retaining traces of Hebrew and Roman letters, is said to be still preserved at Rome, whither it was sent by Constantine. After having been lost to sight and apparently forgotten to remembrance, also, this relic—so goes the story—was accidentally discovered in a leaden chest in which it had been deposited by Constantine; and both the fact of the discovery and the genuineness of the relic itself were attested by a Bull of Alexander III."

We have already seen what a fastidious critic the Rev. Mr. Boutell is, and how curiously his fastidiousness in this respect contrasts with his own accuracy. We have another instance here. It is indifferent, of course, how the title came to Rome, or by whom it was deposited in the leaden chest, but I think there is no authority for saying that it was done by Constantine. He says that "having been lost to sight and apparently forgotten to remembrance, also, this relic—so the story goes—was accidentally discovered," &c. But so the "story" does not go. He has no evidence—such evidence as could please so fastidious a critic—to show that it was "lost to sight," unless in the sense in which a man's money is lost to sight after he has locked it up in a safe. The Rev. Mr. Boutell seems to have been imagining it hidden away in a hole, nobody knew when, where, or by whom. Neither does "the story go" that it was forgotten. It is true that very little record has come to us about it from the time of St. Helena to

its re-discovery; but it is quite another thing to say that it was forgotten. We may well suppose, and it is the natural supposition to make, that at least *its presence* in the Church of Sta Croce lived through all the intervening time in the memory of the faithful, especially of those in Rome. It may be that the tradition as to where it precisely was in the church was lost, or became more or less confused in the course of time; but its presence somewhere in the church may have been well remembered nevertheless, and the faithful may have gone there to venerate it just as well as if they knew where precisely it was preserved. When the bodies of the martyrs were brought into the churches of the city to guard against Lombardian desecration, the sites of the different catacombs faded away from the people's memory one by one, and it was not until recent years that some of them were identified; yet it was never forgotten that there were such places outside the city where the martyrs and all the dead were laid in early times. Even their names, and in a general way their locality, were known to those who cared to know; the only thing that had passed entirely into oblivion, and the only thing difficult to restore was their respective positions. All memory of where St. Jerome's grave is in St. Mary Major's is lost, but it is certain that his body was brought from the East and laid there.

And as it was with the Roman cemeteries during the Middle Ages, and as it is with the body of St. Jerome, so it may well have been with the Title of the Cross in Sta Croce, without any difficulty in identifying it now occurring to us thereby. But the "story" does not go that "it was forgotten." According to the letter of Leonardo di Sarzana and the Diary of Burchardo there were three seals on the leaden case that contained it when it was found in 1492; these seals bore the name of *Gerardus Cardinalis S. Crucis*, who was no other than Cardinal Gerardo Caccianemico of Bologna, who was Titular of the church about 350 years before, and afterwards became Pope Lucius II. It is certain, therefore, that the Title was not forgotten then. Nor does it seem to have been forgotten in 1492, before it was found

for the inscription already referred to tells us that Cardinal Mendoza had given orders to the workmen to restore the words on the tile-work that indicated the title within, but which had become almost illegible by time:—"et musivas illas literas fenestrae reparari fecerit." The words referred to here are of themselves a sufficient guarantee that the title was not forgotten; it seems, as if they were put there precisely for the purpose of preserving the memory of the title and of making known where it was kept. If it should occur to anyone that it was a strange place to put a relic, the answer is to be found in a custom of the early Church. We think of relics in churches now with the idea of their being under the altar or upon it; but it was not so in early times. Of course, such a thing as having the bones of a saint in a church was not heard of then; and such relics as were kept in churches were usually placed in the walls, often in the apse.[1]

Rev. Mr. Boutell also says, "that the supposed title retained traces of Hebrew and Roman letters," which is another inaccuracy; there were and are traces of Greek letters also. He is again inaccurate in saying that the "genuineness of the title is attested by a Bull of Alexander III." It was Alexander VI. who attested it; Alexander III. was dead and buried for 300 years at the time. That may easily be put down as a typographical error or an inadvertence; but errors of the real sort have already so far prescribed their claim to a place in his article that it is hard to say which it is.

It is now time to say something about the triple inscription on the title. It appears from the words of Sozomen, already quoted, that all the words, as we know them from the Gospel of St. John, were legible when it was found by St. Helena. The following extract from the letter of Leonardo di Sarzana will show us in what state these were when it was found in

[1] See Paulinus, epist. 32, ad Sulpicium Serverum; Baronius, anno 112, No. 6; and Baronius, anno 330; No. 151. Martene—De Antiquis Ritibus Ecclesiae, Tom. 2, lib. 2, No. 12, page 678. Second edition. Antwerp, 1736. Bosio (*La croce Trionfante*) speaks of relics kept behind a mosaic in the apse of the Church of San. Clemente.

1492. It is better to give the original than a translation of his words:—

"In quo ligno parte patenti superiore hi tituli triplicî ordine, et his characteribus, et triplice lingua, Hebraica. Graeca, et Latina sunt impressi, et ut conjici potest, stylo ferreo signati, ac figurati; et in primo ordine est Hebraicus, in secundo Graecus, tertio Latinus. Hebraicus brevisque. et sic se habet יהשוע נערי מלר ;[1] id est HIESUS NAZARENUS, REX. Graecus sic IC. Ναζαρενός. β; id est HIESUS NAZARENUS, sed dictio Βασιλεὺς id est *rex* non habet nisi primam literam, id est *Beta*. Latinus vero sic, et hucusque IHUS NAZARENUS RE. Rex dictio non est completa, quia X litera deest."

The following is a less detailed description by Burchardo:

"In capsa vero praedicta reposita erat quaedam tabula antiquissima semiconsumpta lignea . . . . in qua tabula scriptae erant retrogrado Judaeorum more literae Hebraicae, Graecae, et Latinae: JS · NAZARENUS · RE · Residuum Tituli, viz. X . JUDAEORUM · deficiebat.

When it was discovered, in 1492, the fourth word had disappeared from each of the three languages: the rest of the Hebrew was at least decipherable. The third word also of the Greek, except its initial letter B, had disappeared; and of the Latin the X of the third word had disappeared. Suarez, Bishop of Coimbra, before returning to his diocese after the Council of Trent, visited Rome, and from what he says about the Title, as he found it, we may conclude that the words *Jesus Nazarenus Rex* could be made out then; but he makes no distinction of languages. From Pagnino (born 1470, died 1541), who was Apostolic Preacher in Rome, we learn that in his time some at least of the Hebrew letters were decipherable; for he observes that the letter *Tsade* and not *Zain* is used in the second word. In 1610, Bosio took a copy of the triple inscription as it then was; and according to that copy the Hebrew words had by that time faded into mere lines, but were more distinct than we see them now; and the word *Jesus* had disappeared from the Greek and

[1] In the Codex the Hebrew characters used are those used by the Spanish and Italian Rabbins.

Latin. I have before me a copy taken by Nicquet, a Jesuit, in 1648, which presents it in a similar state ; and another taken by De Corrieris, a Cistercian Father of Sta Croce, about 1830, which presents the state of the Title as it is at present. Gosselin, a Sulpician Father, had another taken in 1828.

As this paper is already too long, an examination of the words of the inscription, and of some difficulties against the authenticity of the Title that arise therefrom, will be taken up in a future one.

M. O'Riordan.

THE SUPPRESSION OF INTEMPERANCE.—I.

"DELENDA est Carthago," was the decree of ancient Rome regarding her dangerous rival, and she ceased not from this policy of destruction till Carthage was laid waste. Would that Catholic Ireland, "taking unto herself the armour of God," should declare a war of extermination against intemperance, with the watch-word, Death to Drunkenness.

True, thank God, the majority of our people at home drink intoxicating liquors far less frequently and in smaller quantities than the people of many other nations, which, withal, are reputed temperate. Yet, the intemperate minority amongst us is so numerous, that it is largely represented in every grade of society, and to intemperance to a very large extent are to be ascribed the ruin, the sorrows, the sins of our land—country, town and city. Indeed, though otherwise we are a most virtuous people, our popular traditions and customs are perennial sources of this parent-evil. Despite our love of the just glories of our Nation, we must own that hateful intemperance is a national evil, and a national vice.

I shall begin by quoting a passage from the pastoral letter of our prelates issued from the Synod of Maynooth,

in which this painful fact is set forth with touching earnestness:—

"With deepest pain, and after the example of the Apostle, weeping, we say that the abominable vice of intemperance still continues to work dreadful havoc among our people, marring in their souls the work of religion, and in spite of their natural and supernatural virtues, changing many among them into enemies of the Cross of Christ, whose end is destruction; whose God is their belly; and whose glory is their shame. Is it not, dearly beloved, an intolerable scandal, that in the midst of a Catholic nation like ours, there should be found so many slaves of intemperance, who habitually sacrifice to brutal excess in drinking not only their reason, their character, the honour of their children, their substance, their health, their life, their souls, and God himself? To drunkenness we may refer, as to its baneful cause, almost all the crime by which the country is disgraced, and much of the poverty from which it suffers. Drunkenness has wrecked more homes, once happy, than ever fell beneath the crowbar in the worst days of eviction; it has filled more graves and made more widows and orphans than did the famine; it has broken more hearts, blighted more hopes, and rent asunder family ties more ruthlessly than the enforced exile to which their misery has condemned emigrants. Against an evil so widespread and so pernicious, we implore all who have at heart the honour of God and the salvation of souls to be filled with holy zeal."

Since these eloquent words were written, something has been done, here and there, to reform drinking habits; and the success has been commensurate with the efforts made and persevered in. But no very general national reformation has been attempted. Consequently, speaking generally, the old scandalous customs prevail; the habit of excessive drinking still holds sway over a large portion of our manhood, it is, we fear, extending its thraldom over the weaker sex, hitherto above suspicion; and it has come to pass, that heartrending histories of ruin, occasioned entirely by intemperance are related day by day. In town and country you have tales of domestic affliction, distress, disgrace, disease, premature and often sudden death. In towns, and particularly in our large cities, we have the proselytising homes, the brothels, the workhouses and the jails, too well filled, and all through intemperance. Moreover (and who can think of it without deep pain and humiliation) we have the abominable and incredible scenes begotten of drunkenness and

intemperance night after night in the streets of our cities, and day after day in many a fair and market place throughout the land.

I shall confirm these statements by some brief quotations.

The *Freeman's Journal* some time back in a leader on a kindred subject wrote:—

"That intemperance is a growing danger to the whole structure of society no dispassionate observer can deny. That the attempt to check it by wretched peddling laws has failed, and must fail, experience proves. If it is to be coped with at all, the reform must be thorough and based upon some real solid principle."

Dr. Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, Minnesota, writes in a private letter of recent date:—

"Irishmen sober would be the grandest people on earth. Drinking they are failures—they fill jails and poorhouses. Make them sober and all Irish questions will care for themselves."

Father Nugent in evidence before a Committee of the House of Lords, stated:—

"I have been chaplain to Liverpool Borough Jail thirteen years. It is constantly crowded by drunkenness and prostitution—the vices of prosperous labour and a large seaport. During thirteen years over ninety-three thousand prisoners came under my care, and of these over fifty thousand were females—generally young girls between sixteen and eighteen years of age. These latter are confirmed drunkards, leading lives of the most reckless criminal and abandoned infamy. Of those who came under my charge certainly eight out of every ten are either Irish-born or the children of Irish."

I am unwilling to multiply quotations, but some testimony on the actual state of intemperance at home in Ireland may be sought. Well, the late Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin in a letter pastoral, after deprecating presumption or over-weening confidence because of our Faith and purity, writes:—

"Unfortunately, we do not seek long till we find one wicked abomination, which is the source of all our crimes and misfortunes. Thousands of premature graves tell of its ravages. The worse than premature graves—the proselytising schools which infest our city are

fed by the monster. Our workhouses are thronged by its victims. Its baleful tyranny is cramming our jails with criminals. Starvation and nakedness point out its slaves by the hundred in our public streets. The deep wail of woe, the moan of despair, that burst continually from many wretched homes, tell of misery which God alone can measure."

With the foregoing I would connect an extract from a published letter from his Eminence, addressed to the Very Rev. President of the Total Abstinence Society, Halston-street, Dublin :—

"What is it that is filling the jails, the workhouses, the proselytising schools? One item of the police report reveals the horrid secret. There were in Dublin in 1880, and probably are still, nearly two thousand habitual drunkards known to the police courts. In addition to these were, during the same year, seven thousand seven hundred and forty-four charges of drunkenness brought before the police magistrates; more than one-third of the persons so charged being women. It is a humiliating confession to admit the truth of these sad records, but we will not remedy our miseries by concealing them."

But his Eminence did not go through the entire record of the fruits of our intemperance, he did not depict the most deplorable infamy of thousands of the daughters of Catholic Ireland. Of this bitterest ruin and deepest disgrace, in Ireland at least, intemperance is the cause. Priests and religious connected with Magdalen asylums know this but too well. The late Provincial for Ireland of the Nuns of the Good Shepherd stated in a letter to a priest about to conduct a retreat for her penitents :—

"The penitents are tempted very strongly to return to the world. This lasts generally about a year and a half after entrance; and it returns occasionally with great violence. Thirst for drink is at the root of this temptation, as it was in most cases, the cause of all their crimes. And, even when reformed and returned to the world, thirst for drink leads them to fall again."

The provincial towns are mostly as bad as the capital in our present point of view. A. M. Sullivan, writing from Glengariff to the *Freeman's Journal* on the "Great Public

Scandal," in September, 1884, describes his experience of the south as follows:—

"Four nights ago I heard mid-night made hideous, in the square of an Irish town, by a half-drunken 'Catholic,' yelling that he 'wouldn't go home: no, he wouldn't go for J——s C——t; and suddenly the foot-fall of the police patrol being heard, he hushed his oaths, sprang from the ground, and made off, more afraid of the village policeman than of 'J——s C——t,' . . . For the first time in my life I have every day for the past four weeks, read the public reports of two large cities in the South of Ireland. Let us have no 'intemperate language' about it, but let any one paste day by day in a scrap book the reports as they appear, and then say if they are not simply sickening, as a revelation of the barbarism of a population among whom God was preached centuries ago. I have lived eight years in London, and I fearlessly say, when put to it now, that I hang my head for shame on the comparison of the prevalence of ruffianised blasphemy in the drunken scenes of the English and Irish cities."

This was written more than four years ago—shortly before the lamented death of our gifted and noble-hearted countryman; perhaps the present state of intemperance is improved. Yes, a perceptible improvement is shown by the public statistics in the year 1886, which may well be accounted for by the "hard times;" but, unhappily, there has been a woful relapse in 1887, although the "times" were bad enough. In fact we see by Thom's directory, just issued, that the number of drunkards brought before magistrates in 1886 were 68,681; and in 1887 were 79,476.

It may be said that the poorer classes alone are concerned in much of what I have written; what of the farmers, what of respectable business people; members of the learned profession and others?

An intelligent and most trustworty old farmer assured one who asked the information, that, to his knowledge, "eleven of his personal friends, and about one hundred and twenty of his acquaintance, were 'broken' by drink."

From one provincial paper, within the last two or three months, I have taken accounts of three inquests on persons from the country who met with fatal accidents or died from exposure while returning drunk from town.

In this fair and market intemperance women and children

had no part, save that of pitiable victims, till later years. Very many women and girls there are still who, like their virtuous mothers and grandmothers, blush at being asked into a public-house. Some, however, have got rid of this shame-facedness, go to drink alone and in company, and sometimes are found altered in face and manner; sometimes even drunk! Little boys are brought to the counter or tap-room by their fathers; little girls by their mothers!

And the intemperance of country people is not confined to days spent in town. Large supplies of the strongest drinks are invariably brought from town by many. The special messenger to town is often despatched on this business alone. Public-houses are numerous in almost every district. Brewers' vans are moveable bars, tempting even the labourer in the field. Thus, there is an abundant supply and a corresponding consumption at all time even in the country. Moreover, take into consideration the special occasions, wakes and funerals, raffles and parties, "machines," &c., &c.; and let us also remember that the temptation to drunkenness and intemperance pursues our people, *even into their amusements,* laudable and even necessary in themselves. Witness the recent pastoral admonition of the Archbishop of Armagh, in the north; and, a little before, a public manifesto of the Archbishop of Cashel, for the south, both addressed to the members of the Gaelic Athletic Association. Were these prelates listened to? Yes, and most respectfully. Are they obeyed in this particular? Not generally at least.

Enough of rural intemperance. What of the "respectable," of the wealthy, of the professional, and of the higher classes? His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminister answers:—

"Excess in drink is not confined to the criminal class, nor to the working classes. There is not a class that is free from it. It shows up in different forms. Men that have been prosperous in trade have come to wreck and ruin, and nobody has known until it has been discovered that they had the secret habit of indulging in intoxicating drink. It has made them careless, expensive, reckless, self-indulgent, selfish, unpunctual, untrusty, and at last, false. And when a trader reaches that moral degradation, he wrecks and ruins all that he has and all that are about him. Take another example. I am

speaking of what I know—what I have seen. I have known case after case of professional men who might have risen to an honourable state, and might have lifted up all that were about them, who gradually have begun to decline, and nobody knew why. They somehow changed in their character. They lost the confidence of people about them. No one would trust them with the management of their affairs or the care of their health. What was the reason? It was found at last to be the same.

"This sometimes happened in the case of the best educated and most refined women. Nobody could account for the fluctuations of their temper, the child in their manner, and a certain dramatic way of speaking which they adopted. It was supposed to be some nervous irritability. Nobody could tell what it was, and nobody would venture to suspect anything evil—until some day it was given out by the revelations of a servant that had been employed in secret, or by detection and positive proof. That has happened to my knowledge in the case of educated and refined women. Nobody is safe.

"There is one last fact of which I must say a word. If there is anything sacred upon the face of the earth, it is home. The home where the father and the mother and children live together in the authority of parents, with the obedience of love, sanctified by Faith, like the Holy Family of Nazareth. And if there is one thing which pulls down a house, which wrecks it and destroys it, like the leprosy of old that devoured even the walls and timbers of the houses of the people of Israel, it is when intoxicating drink and excessive habits come into a home. It is no longer home. There is neither the love nor the fidelity of husband and wife, nor of father or mother, nor of sons or daughters. It becomes a wilderness, and worse than a wilderness, of people full of all manner of evil tempers, miseries, and mutual afflictions. And this, I must say, not only in the lowly cottage, but in the great and rich home of the wealthy."[1]

"Nomine mutato, fabula de te narratur." All that the great Cardinal testifies of England is verified, perhaps more ruinously, in Ireland. In Ireland, also, prosperous traders and men of business "go down" because of drink; professional men and aristocrats in town and country are not unfrequently spoken of as "victims;" even among our mothers and sisters, wives and daughters, there are some who yield ruinously, though mostly in secret, to intemperance; and besides all this, even our "lux mundi" itself is sometimes dimmed, and our "sal terrae" spoiled in its savour by this baneful vice.

It requires the all-seeing eye of God to measure and

[1] Sermons at Flint, August, 1885.

estimate the woes entailed by drink on "Catholic Ireland;" and there has been no adequate reformation since that wail of woe went forth from her heart in the last plenary synod of her Pastors. Yet, this evil is of native growth. It is a curse of our own making; the cure is in our own hands. Look at other Catholic nations. How free they are from this plague! Remove this evil from Catholic Ireland, and soon her sorrows would be changed into joys, and the rags of her wretchedness into the glorious mantle of a holy, peaceful and prosperous nation.

Death, then, to drunkenness! This should be the resolve, *deep, abiding, and ever pressing*, of the sons and daughters, and friends of Ireland; and most of all, of her bishops, priests, and religious. For such an evil, well may we all "be made sorrowful according to God; and great should be the carefulness it worketh in us: yea defence, yea indignation, yea fear, yea desire, yea zeal, yea revenge," so that we might show ourselves "to be undefiled in the matter."

Of course we are not to rest in resolution alone; success depends on execution; and certain means must be employed for the accomplishment of our desires. These means in our present case cannot find place in the present article, and shall be referred to a future occasion.

Before concluding, it may be useful, if not necessary, to write a few words in justification for having given to intemperance the foremost place among our many grievances. I have done so not in ignorance of the many disadvantages, injustices, and dangers which in this our day challenge the best aid that we can give towards their redress; not through indifference to the actual sufferings and sacrifices of our people, and of their devoted leaders (whom may God guard and guide); not for want of sympathy with those brother-priests who in justice, charity, prudence, and discipline take active measures to save the poor from oppression and destruction, and, undeterred by the armed violence or judicial penalties of unlawful laws, willingly submit to "bonds and prisons," as did the true Christians of every age; of whom the very Prince of the Apostles wrote: "Let none of you suffer as a murderer, or a thief, or a railer,

or a coveter of other men's things; but if as a Christian, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God in this name."

Yet there seems to me at least, to be no choice left to any intelligent and candid observer, as to our greatest national evil. Like our internal disunion, intemperance is radical. Worse than these disastrous divisions it produces miseries and crimes varied and multiplied indefinitely, and affecting us morally and physically, socially and politically; it destroys the Christian happiness and worldly comfort of our families; it demoralizes and degrades us at home and abroad; and it is the one road by which our people are led easily to hell. Besides all these positive evils, intemperance mars the singular blessings bestowed on us by God's bounty, and frustrates the benefits secured by human effort. Further testimony is needless. Here, then, I shall leave off, deferring my suggestions on the means to be employed to a future occasion.

MICHAEL KELLY, M.SS.

"THE CROSS AND THE SHAMROCK" IN THE GOLDEN AGES OF THE IRISH CHURCH.

I.

TO the intelligent student of history the words, "the Cross and the Shamrock," throw open a rich field for profitable study; to the grateful Christian they indicate a fertile source of countless blessings; and to the Catholic Irishman they are words of the deepest meaning, for they comprehend the vast treasures of heaven's choicest blessings to his native land, and the great services of his country in the cause of truth, justice, and religion.

The Cross and the Shamrock combined bring before us the happy alliance and the mutual relationship that have for fourteen hundred years subsisted between Ireland and the Catholic Church. Need it be added that thus united they awaken every remembrance and arouse every emotion

associated with the Faith and Fatherland of the Irish race.

It is hardly necessary to tell the trite little story of the first alliance of the Cross and the Shamrock. When the difficulty of believing in the mystery of the Holy Trinity which St. Patrick was preaching, at the Royal Court of Tara, to the King and his household, presented itself to their minds, the Apostle of Ireland held up the shamrock, showed its triple leaf, and, thus illustrating the mystery, gained an easy conquest over their minds and hearts for the truths of Christianity.

It is not for us to describe the rapid work of conversion that St. Patrick accomplished in the land; suffice it that in the lifetime of that one man the whole country embraced the Catholic faith, and that wherever the shamrock grew, over it was raised the Cross, exercising a most beneficent sway throughout the entire land.

Let those who regard the Catholic Church as the enemy of civilisation and progress, just consider the effects of the Catholic religion on the early Irish, and they will see how religion, true civilisation, and real national progress go hand in hand together.

Previous to the mission of St. Patrick the country was pagan, and (waiving controverted questions) involved in such barbarity as existed amongst the pagans of that day. False gods and idols were worshipped; natural proclivities to vice had not the moral and penal obstacles to their development that Christianity and civilisation introduced; the arts and sciences, if known at all, were known only in a very rudimentary state; the ordinary comforts of modern life were unknown; towns were unbuilt, forests unreclaimed, lands untilled—in a word, the social condition of the ante-Christian Irish may be, perhaps, compared to that of the unreclaimed New Zealander of the present day.

Immediately when St. Patrick appeared everything underwent a change: civilisation appeared; learning began to be taught, the arts and sciences to flourish; paganism and barbarism vanished like the morning fog before the rising sun; civilisation took a deep and extended root in the

soil, and the true form of Christianity was introduced—not that form of Christianity which, while it professes to enlighten, leaves men in the darkness of error and the misery of doubt; not a Christianity choked with worldly maxims and conceited with the extravagances of human stubbornness and pride, but the true form of Christianity, which raises from the slavery of error and doubt to the freedom of the sons of God.

Let us mark the most notable changes brought about in Ireland by the sole and natural action of the Catholic Church.

The Irish embraced the faith with all the fervour of their ardent souls. They would be perfect in virtue: they would part with all their earthly possessions to make sure of their imperishable crown. "If thou wilt be perfect," they were told, "sell what thou hast and give to the poor." Chieftains and kings, Druids and bards, and persons of every age and rank in life, left their abodes to realize fully Christian perfection. They went to distant out-of-the-way places, shunning the eyes of man and seeking in the vast solitude to do penance and to sanctify their souls. In the vast desert, on the barren mountain side, along the lonely river, in the midst of nature's grandest and wildest beauties, holy men sought solitude for divine contemplation. Numbers, following in their footsteps, soon found out their retreats. Identity of purpose and a desire of mutual encouragement blended them in life and in labour. Their system of sanctification combined the active and the contemplative; so that, in reclaiming the barren mountain and in tilling the uncultivated valley, as well as in singing the praises of God and contemplating His divine perfections, they filled up the measure of their lives.

The number who thus embraced the ascetic life is surprising. Skilled in the arts of architecture, they built separate cells in which at first the abbots, clergy and monks, lived apart.[1] Soon they erected the house for the accommodation of strangers in a neighbouring enclosure. But the

[1] Petrie, *Round Towers*, 416.

numbers still increasing to such an extent as "to astonish even St. Patrick himself;"[1] they soon built their monasteries—those grand old ruins so sadly neglected throughout the country to-day—as houses where they all lived the community life. Each monastery had its large chapel—where the divine praises were recited and the sacred mysteries celebrated; each had its large dining hall, its innumerable cells, its Scriptorium where the Sacred Scriptures were transcribed, its halls where science and learning were taught, its workshops where trades were learned, and the arts cultivated, and each monastery became, in fact, a hive of industry, a home of learning, and an abode of sanctity.

These monasteries everywhere studded the land, and the people flocked in crowds after their holy inmates (many of whom had been chieftains or the children of chieftains) attracted by their sanctity and stimulated to rivalry by their example.

The erection of houses around these monasteries became necessary. The number of these houses, as they clustered together, soon grew so great that they formed themselves into villages and towns, the inhabitants of which profited in civilization and virtue by the learning and example of the monks. We are told that in Bangor no less than three-thousand occupied its glorious monastery—the monks supporting themselves by the labour of their own hands. In other parts of Ireland, as in Clonfert and Clonmacnoise, similar institutions abounded in the very era in which Christianity dawned upon the land.

Let those who would accuse Christianity of being a check to national prosperity, just consider what advantages these communities of laborious, learned, and disinterested men, were capable of conferring, and let them investigate what these monastic institutions—the first offspring of the union of the Cross and the Shamrock—actually did for Ireland, and, in fact, for the whole world.

They were "hives of industry;[2] and by the untiring

[1] Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, vol. ii., 395.
[2] Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, Introd. xxvii.

labour of the monks, the barren mountain was converted into a profitable farm, the gloomy forest into a garden, and the lonely island into a paradise." To the monks, adds O'Connor,[1] 'we owe so useful an institution in Ireland as bringing great numbers together in one civil community."

They were homes of learning. Not merely were trades taught but letters were highly cultivated. The Sacred Scriptures,[2] theology, philosophy, classics, and psalmody, were studied and professed with especial care in our Irish monasteries. Of the languages, the Greek and Latin were cultivated and, by many, the Hebrew.[3]

Not merely were the Sacred Scriptures, theology, philosophy, the classics, &c., taught, but the fine arts flourished to a surprising extent. Music was so cultivated that Ireland was called "the land of song," and the harp was regarded as the emblem of her nationality. Poetry abounded; laws of consummate wisdom governed the land; the proficiency of the Irish, as architects and builders, is attested by the crumbling ruins of their grand old churches and monasteries; and their superiority as painters and penmen, is evidenced from the few remnants that we have of the illuminated manuscripts—the work of their hands. Aldhelm of Malmesbury, a Saxon writer, describes[4] Ireland "as rich in the wealth of science, and as thickly set with learned men as the poles are with stars." Even at the time of the Saxon invasion, when England knew not the use of letters, and when learning was being extinguished on the Continent owing to the ravages of the Northern barbarians who finally overturned the Roman Empire, Ireland was the home of learning, and her monasteries the schools from which education was scattered throughout Europe.

The monasteries were also the abodes of sanctity—a necessary constituent of true greatness, let an infidel world laugh as it will. On their introduction, paganism and whatever barbarism co-existed with it vanished from the land. Social life received a new and Christian feature, and virtue

[1] *Dissertations*, 201. [2] Reeves, Adamnan, 354.
[3] St. Columbanus wrote in Hebrew.
[4] *Sylloge Epist. Hib.* xiii., in Diocese of Meath, xxxiii.

flourished to an extraordinary degree throughout the whole country. The stranger met with a hospitable reception in these monasteries, the ignorant were instructed, and the poor were clothed and fed. "Kings and princes, the wealthy and benevolent, seeing what numbers were gratuitously relieved and educated in Ireland, made the monasteries the vehicle of their alms, and thus augmented their usefulness. Many of the wealthy, retiring from the storms and turmoil of life to these abodes of peace and piety, brought with them a portion of their riches, so that in a brief period Ireland was covered with establishments of literature and virtue, hospitality, and charity, where the child of genius unbefriended by the world had a home, where the ascetic had an asylum, and the destitute and afflicted a place of comfort and consolation. Under the shadow of these cloisters saints grew up practised in virtue, inured to labour, skilled in sacred and profane learning; and, when called to a more extensive sphere, they edified the faithful by the holiness of their lives; they confounded the unbeliever by the depth of their learning, and they were pillars of light in the war of religion with the powers of hell."[1]

Their influence was also powerful in the promotion and preservation of internal peace, and in the interests of justice and morality it was always most powerfully exercised. In those ages there was no necessity for National and Board schools. The enlightenment of these ages did not require the knowledge of God and His laws to be hidden from the minds of His creatures. No laws were then in force creating poverty and punishing it as a crime, and no relief-institutions—half prisons and half lunatic asylums—were then in being, providing a relief for the sustenance of human life, so adulterated by the difficulty of obtaining it and by the unkindness of its administrators, as to be more of a terror than a comfort. Fraternal charity springing from Divine love, provided the means whence the poor were fed, clothed and taught. A conscientious feeling that such means were the property of the poor, and an utter disregard for

[1] *Diocese of Meath*, xxvii.

personal interests, prevented extravagant expenditure, so that the largest possible relief reached those for whom it was intended; and reached them accompanied by the charm of Christian sympathy, because administered in the spirit of Him who has said: "I was hungry and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger and you took me in."[1]

II.

Great as were the blessings, spiritual, temporal and intellectual, that the "Cross" brought to the "land of the shamrock," so, likewise, were the services that the sons and daughters of Ireland performed in the cause of the Cross, and in the interests of civilisation for the world at large.

The monasteries of Ireland brought to her a reputation and a fame such as have no parallel in history. Their reputation as the abodes of learning and sanctity attracted strangers in great numbers to her shores. Strangers flocked from every part of Europe to receive an education which Ireland alone could then give. Let us hear the testimonies of foreigners or Protestants on this subject. Their testimony cannot be accused of partiality.

Dr. Wattenback, an eminent German antiquary, tells us[2] that Ireland, in the sixth and seventh centuries, "when the whole western world seemed irrevocably sunk in barbarism, afforded a refuge for the remnants of the old civilisation, and that the Anglo-Saxons crossed over to the Sacred Isle in multitude, in order there to become scholars under these celebrated teachers in the monasteries of the Scots" (*i.e.*, Irish).

The Venerable Bede[3] gives similar testimony, and adds that "all of them were most cheerfully received by the Irish, who supplied them GRATIS with good books and instruction."

Lord Lyttleton,[4] in his *Life of Henry II.*, further informs us that the Saxons brought the use of letters from the schools of Ireland to their ignorant countrymen, and repeats, what we have before learned, that numbers both of the noble

[1] *Matt.* xxv., 35.
[2] See Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, xxxi.
[3] *His. Eccl.* iii., 27.
[4] *Diocese of Meath*, xxix.

and second rank of English left their country and went "to Ireland for the sake of studying theology and leading a stricter life:" and that all these "the Irish most willingly received and maintained at their own charge: supplying them with books, and being their teachers without fee or reward." Sir James Ware[1] tells us that the Gauls, as well as the Saxons, flocked to the schools, or, as he calls them, "the universities" of Ireland. And we learn from the *Litany of St. Aengus*, written at the end of the eighth century, that Romans, Italians, Egyptians, Gauls, Germans, Britons, Saxons, Picts, &c., had similarly flocked to Ireland for the same purposes. Moreri, in his historical directory, informs us that the Saxons received their letters from the Irish, as does also Dr. Johnson in the preface to his dictionary; and Moreri adds, from Sir James Ware's *Treatise on the Irish Writers*,[2] that the arts and sciences that subsequently flourished amongst these people were learned from Ireland, and that Ireland gave "the most distinguished professors to the most famous universities of Europe, such as Claudius Clemens to Paris, Alcuinus to Pavia, in Italy, and Joannes Scotus Erigena to Oxford, in England.

Such, then, were the first results of the introduction of Christianity into Ireland. Industry, learning, and religion were so advanced in the country as to attract thither the natives of almost every country in Europe, and Ireland was called by universal consent "*Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*," THE ISLAND OF SAINTS AND LEARNED MEN.

III.

Greater fame and greater glory were yet to be won by the Land of the Shamrock in the service of that Church whose symbol is the Cross.

It is a remarkable coincidence—no doubt providentially brought about—that when Ireland was thus converted to the Catholic Church and developing its powers of greatness, Europe was being overrun by the Huns, the Vandals, and the Goths, and civilisation was fast ebbing away. These

[1] *Antiquities of Ireland*, 210. [2] Book i., cap. 13.

barbarian hordes were laying waste the fairest plains of Europe, desolating its shrines, desecrating its sanctuaries, prescribing its learning, ransacking its libraries, and paralysing the civilising influences of religion. The Church itself, choked by heresy, which was then, as now, supported by the civil power, was weak to resist the ravages of these enemies of man. The fairest provinces of the Roman Empire were deluged in the blood of their inhabitants; anarchy and disorder everywhere prevailed. Every vestige of learning and civilisation was being swept from the face of Europe, and the lamp of faith itself was being extinguished in the sanctuaries abroad.

It was at this critical juncture of the history of the Church that God raised up Ireland as a great Catholic nation, and commissioned her to relight from the "lamp of Kildare's holy shrine" the extinguished or dimmed lamps of the sanctuaries of the faith in Europe.

Ireland has faithfully fulfilled this commission that heaven gave her, and has deserved well of civilisation and the Church for the services thus rendered to them. Let us see how she executed this commission.

Not merely was Ireland a monastic nation, but she became, almost at the same time, a *missionary* nation, and, as Montalembert tells us, "the missionary nation *par excellence*." We cannot fully dwell upon the religious invasions and conquests of the Irish missionary saints in the "days of her greatness and glory." We can only briefly indicate the testimony of alien or Protestant writers on this subject.

Thierry says,[1] in his *History of the Norman Conquest*, that no country furnished a greater number of Christian missionaries, animated by no other motive than pure zeal and an ardent desire of communicating to foreign nations the opinions and the faith of their country."

The Venerable Bede tells[2] us that "numbers were daily coming into Britain, preaching the Word of God with great devotion."

Eric of Auxerre, a French writer, asks in astonishment,

[1] Book x., 193.
[2] *Eccl. Hist.*, lib. iii., cap. 3.
[3] Letter to Charles the Bold.

"What shall I say of Ireland, which, despising the dangers of the deep, is migrating with her whole train of philosophers to our coasts?"

Dr. Wattenback, a German, tells[1] us that "the Irish went forth themselves into every part of the world. They filled England and the neighbouring islands. Even in Iceland their books and pilgrims' staves were found by the Norwegians of later times. In France they were everywhere to be met with, and they made their way even into the heart of Germany . . . while the people, with the most ardent veneration, flocked in multitudes to hear them."

St. Bernard says[2] that "from Ireland as from an overflowing stream, crowds of holy men descended on foreign nations." Lord Lyttleton adds, that "great praise is due to the piety of those Irish ecclesiastics who (as we know from the clear and unquestionable testimony of many foreign writers) made themselves the apostles of barbarous heathen nations without any apparent inducement to such hazardous undertakings, except the merit of the work."

From Ireland, therefore, hordes of learned and holy men went forth into foreign countries to meet the ravaging invaders, to protect the remnants of civilization that still remained, to accomplish the grand work of the conversion of these barbarians themselves in their new countries, and to rekindle the lamps of learning and religion.

IV.

Not merely did these holy missionaries who thus went forth to plant, or to revive, civilization and religion in Europe, perform their spiritual functions with the most splendid success; but they blessed the lands they visited, by establishing in them innumerable monasteries, to be, as they were in Ireland, centres of civilization, hives of industry, homes of learning, and abodes of sanctity. From the immense number of these pious institutions thus established, we can gather some idea of the blessings that Ireland then conferred on the world.

[1] In *Diocese of Meath*, xxxvii.

[2] *Vita St. Malachi*, c. v.

There were founded by the Irish thirteen monasteries in Scotland, twelve in England, seven in France, twelve in Armonic Gaul, seven in Lotharingia, eleven in Burgundy, nine in Belgium, ten in Alsace, sixteen in Bavaria, six in Italy, fifteen in Rhetia, Helvetia, and Suavia; and many in Thuringia and on the left bank of the Rhine.

What blessings of peace, learning, and religion these homes of the poor and the stranger conferred upon Europe can be readily imagined. One testimony must suffice.

Mezerai, a French historian of the seventeenth century, says[1] of the Irish monks abroad, that "through the labour of their hands frightful and uncultivated deserts became soon converted to most agreeable retreats, and the Almighty seemed particularly to favour ground cultivated by such pure and disinterested hands." He adds "to their care we are indebted for what remains of the history of those days."

When we know that, at present, vestiges of their footsteps are found in every country in Europe; that districts are named after them abroad (as many of the districts of Wales and the Canton of St. Gall in Switzerland) that whole towns[2] are named after them in England, as St. Ives in Cornwall after an humble Irish virgin whose piety sanctified the locality fourteen hundred years ago; that the very vehicles in France are called *fiacres* after St. Fiacre, the concourse to whose tomb a few miles from Paris on account of the miracles wrought at it was so great that the prices of conveyance were considerably raised, and the saint's name given to the conveyances themselves; when we know that, at present, there are forty-four saints whom Ireland sent forth, honoured as patrons in England, forty-five in Gaul, at least thirty in Belgium, thirteen in Italy, eight in Iceland and Norway, and one hundred and fifty in Germany; and when we further remember that these were such men as St. Virgilius of Salzburg, the first who discovered the sphericity of the earth and the existence of the antipodes; John Albinus, the founder of the University of Pavia; St.

[1] *History of France*, i. 118.
[2] See a Brochure by Dr. Moran, *Early Irish Missions*, i. 17.

Cumean, the patron of the Monastery of Bobbio; St. Gall, the Apostle of Switzerland; St. Columkille, the Apostle of the Picts and Scots; St. Colman, the patron of Austria; and St. Aidan, the founder of Lindisfarne and the patron of Northumberland; when we consider this multitude of Irish missionaries and of their monasteries, and the character of the men themselves so eulogised by such monuments of the services they rendered as described, we can form some idea of what Ireland has done for civilization and religion in the days of Europe's greatest troubles, and of the Church's dire afflictions.

Ireland was then truly an island of saints and learned men "the Athenæum of learning," as she is styled in Dr. Lynch's *Cambrensis Eversus*,[1] "and the temple of holiness, supplying the world with *litterati* and heaven with saints. Truly doth she appear the academy of earth and the colony of heaven."

Europe acknowledged her as such, and ranked her in that position, as a nation, to which her intellectual and religious conquests entitled her. We have it on unquestionable authority that she ranked as the *third kingdom of the world*. Even Usher[2] tells us that Europe was divided into four kingdoms; the Romans ranked first, the Constantinapolitan second, the Irish third, and the Spanish fourth. And he tells us that, when, at the Council of Constance, England claimed precedence over France, it was accorded to her as she had become possessed of Ireland, "*on account of the great antiquity and preeminence of that country*." Is this no evidence of the worth and excellence of our country? Is this no testimony to her renown? Is this not a proof of the greatness to which Christianity raised her? Is this not enough to silence the sneers, and to evoke pity for the ignorance, that would hold up Ireland and the Irish to ridicule?

And what were the relative claims of these great nations to their rank as stated above?

Rome is said to have ranked first for her antiquity and the extent of her sway. Constantinople ranked second because

[1] Cap. 25. [2] *Brit. Ec. Ant.*, ca. xi., Wks. v., 38.

the Byzantine kingdom succeeded the Roman Empire, Ireland ranked third,—not on account of conquests in war—not because of extent of territory—"hers was not an empire purchased by the tears and sufferings of other nations," remarks[1] O'Driscoll, "but by benefits conferred upon them." Ireland's rank was due to her intellectual greatness, her civilizing successes, and her religious invasions over the heart of man; and, therefore, although third in order, the character of her merits would place her in a superior rank and, perhaps justify the poetic description given of her, as,

"First flower of the earth, and first gem of the sea."

JOHN CURRY, P.P.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

BUTTER AT THE COLLATION ON FAST DAYS.

"VERY REV. SIR,—There is a conflict of opinion among the priests of this diocese with regard to the use of butter at the collation in Lent and on fast days outside Lent during the year.

"Some hold that the privilege of using butter at the collation on the above occasions was granted to the Irish people directly, and independently of the Irish Bishops. Others say that the lawful use of butter at the collation depends on the special permission of the bishop of the diocese in which the butter is used, whilst others maintain that the words *posse tolerari* were wrongfully understood by some theologians, and that the privilege of using butter at the collation on fast days was never granted by Rome.

Query 1*st*.—"Is butter allowed at the collation in Lent? If so, is it allowed for a like reason on fast days outside Lent?

2*nd*.—"Is the Bishop's permission required that one may lawfully use it? Is it lawful for the people of a particular diocese to use butter at the collation when the bishop of that diocese states expressly that it is not lawful.

"CLERICUS."

It is necessary, before replying to the questions of our correspondent, to describe the history of the Rescript of the

[1] *Views of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 104.

Holy Office, in which the use of butter was alleged to have been given to the faithful in Ireland. I have not been able to procure a copy of the Rescript; but it was substantially to this effect:—Consuetudo sumendi butyrum in collatiuncula diebus jejunii in Hibernia tolerari potest." When this Rescript arrived—I think at the beginning of Lent in 1883—the presence of the words "consuetudo . . . tolerari potest," gave rise at once to considerable uncertainty, and to very conflicting interpretations.

Some of the bishops, and some theologians regarded the phraseology of the Rescript as an indirect way of granting a dispensation. Some were doubtful. And some contended that the Holy Office gave no permission directly or indirectly for the use of butter at the collation on fast days.

This state of uncertainty continued until 1885. In that year some of the bishops were in Rome, and while there introduced the subject of the Rescript at one of their conferences at Propaganda. One of them informs us that the Cardinals declared that, there being no such custom as the Rescript supposed to exist in Ireland, there was no dispensation. They thought that the petition of the Irish bishops might by accident have been incorrectly or obscurely worded; but the petition was found in the archives and proved to have described the circumstances of the case in the most clear and precise terms. Nevertheless Cardinal Simeoni and his colleagues were most distinct and emphatic in their opinion that we have no licence for butter at the collation.

One of the bishops present at the conference then informed the cardinals that the people were all using butter in virtue of the Rescript of 1883, and expressed his opinion that, considering the ambiguity of the Rescript, and the consequent general use of butter by the faithful, it would be eminently desirable that all future doubt and anxiety about the matter should be removed, and that permission should then at least be granted for the use of butter at the collation on fasting days. The cardinals were deeply impressed with this view of the case; and they directed the Archbishop of Tyre, Secretary of Propaganda, to send another petition to the Holy Office on behalf of the Irish bishops. The secretary

promised to do so; but so far as I can learn, nothing has been heard of the subject since.

This is the history of the Rescript "Consuetudo tolerari potest." Let us now examine what change, if any, it has caused or occasioned in our Lenten discipline. It is a delicate subject for treatment in a public periodical. If it is lawful to take butter at the collation on fast days, we must either hold: (1) that the Holy Office in some way sanctioned by its Rescript the use of butter: or (2) that, though the practice of taking butter at the collation was introduced under a misapprehension, we have now the legislator's express or tacit *personal* consent for its continuance; or (3) that we have the legislator's *legal* consent for its continuance.

I.

Did the Holy Office give a dispensation, or sanction in any way the use of butter at the collation on fast days?

1. Considering the declaration of the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, and the general unwillingness of the Church to dispense in the law of *fasting*, we may conclude that the Holy Office did not give a dispensation. We must bear in mind that the law of *fasting* as distinguished from the law of *abstinence*, exercises a control, though perhaps indirectly, over the quality of food which persons who are bound to fast may take at their collation. The law of fasting in its ancient rigour allowed only one meal in the day. The collation was introduced by custom; and at present the law of fasting forbids the use of any food outside the principal meal, which is not sanctioned by custom. It is custom, therefore, which determines the quantity, quality, and time of the collation, and, hence, any dispensation regarding the quality of the food to be taken at the collation would be a dispensation in the law of fasting. I conclude, therefore, that the Holy Office gave no *dispensation* to use butter at the collation.

Did the Holy Office sanction in any way the use of butter at the collation?

We must remember that the Irish bishops had addressed a petition to Rome on behalf of their flocks. This proves

that in the opinion of the Irish Hierarchy the absence of butter at the morning collation was too severe an element in our Lenten fast. The Holy Office had before it an exact and precise description of the reasons for the petition. Why then did they neither grant nor refuse a dispensation? It is easy to understand why they did not grant a dispensation; because the Church never gives a general dispensation in fasting. But why did they not refuse? Refusal to dispense in a law, with which the Church invariably declines to interfere, could not be considered to be harsh treatment to the Irish bishops. Might we not therefore say that the Holy Office—though neither dispensing, nor giving any licence to take butter—having before it an accurate description of our Irish circumstances, and knowing that there was question only of a slight[1] departure from the strict law of Lent, conveyed by its Rescript, that it regarded the Irish case as a case of Epieikeia, that it regarded us as excused from the law of fasting to the extent of taking a little butter[2] at the collation? And may we not, *a fortiori*, infer that in the judgment of the Holy Office a case of Epieikeia had arisen when the petition was sent back from Propaganda, made still more serious by the fact that some bishops had published in their pastorals that butter might be taken at the collation, and that the people had commenced to avail of the welcome privilege thus extended to them?

II.

Assuming that the Holy Office in no way sanctioned the use of butter at the collation, may we plead the express or tacit consent of the legislator for a continuance of the usage existing in some places? We cannot plead the express or tacit consent of the Pope, because probably he has not heard of this difficulty. The Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda is the member of the Sacred College who is charged by the Pope with the ecclesiastical government of Ireland. We may therefore say of him what is usually said of legislators. In 1885 he and his colleagues learned that butter was being used at the collation in Ireland. So deeply were they

[1] Lehmkuhl, p. 1, l. 11, p. 770, n. 1214. [2] *Ibid.*

impressed with the gravity of the situation that had arisen, that they directed their secretary to petition the Holy Office in favour of the Irish bishops. They must, therefore, have known that there was serious reason for allowing butter at the collation in Ireland. They must know that not reply has been given by the Holy Office to the second petition. Nevertheless, Cardinal Simeoni has not insisted on a return to the ancient practice of abstaining from butter at the collation. May we then claim his express or tacit consent for a continuance of our present practice? We cannot claim his express consent; but may we plead his tacit consent? Of course, at the Propaganda conferences there was no reason why he should urge the bishops to preach against the use of butter. He could have satisfied himself that the bishops, without any appeal from him, would insist on the observance of the law as far as prudence would suggest to them. But we must remember that one of the bishops told the cardinals that the Rescript was interpreted, and was being acted on by many, as allowing butter on fast days, and that they might as well grant a certain and unambiguous permission. We must remember that a second petition was sent to the Holy Office, and that nothing has since been heard either from the Holy Office or the Propaganda on the subject. May we not, therefore with reason, assume the tacit connivance of our Superiors with the practice of taking butter at the collation?

III.

Assuming that the Holy Office in no way sanctioned the use of butter at the collation; moreover that we have not the *personal* consent of the legislator for its use: may we plead the *legal* consent of the legislator for its lawful continuance?

I use those terms in the sense in which they are used in the treatise *De Legibus*. A practice has the superior's *legal* consent, when he is unaware of the existence of the practice, but sanctions it in certain enactments of Canon Law.

In order to have the superior's *legal* consent, it must be a reasonable practice, and it must be able to plead legitimate

prescription: in other words the practice must have been legalised by custom. Now manifestly a custom could not have been yet established for taking butter at the collation. But we must distinguish three stages in custom, the beginning, the progress of the custom, and the conclusion. In the beginning of a custom people generally commit sin; unless as with us they may believe they had got a dispensation. In the progress of the custom people do not commit sin; they are *excused* from the observance of the law. At the conclusion the custom has the power of abrogating the law.[1]

Let us therefore suppose that certain bishops and priests announced to their people that it was lawful to take butter at the collation—and the people would not have commenced to take it, unless they had heard from their priests that it might be lawfully taken; the people would have commenced to avail of the privilege *bona fide;* and now they would have arrived at that stage of the custom, when the legislator does not wish to insist on the observance of the law. We must always remember that some of the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries in Ireland believed that the Rescript of the Holy Office conveyed some favour; we must remember that some bishops published this exposition of the Rescript; and butter may have been used in those dioceses ever since. Are we then to suppose that the Holy See requires those bishops to say to their people, that the Holy Office deceived them; that they conveyed erroneous doctrine to the people, and that the people were violating the law of fasting ever since—and this, when there is question of the use of a little butter, (a venial matter) at breakfast? We must rather say that, at least in those places where butter has been used for some time, we have the legal consent of the legislator for its continuance.

To come now to the questions of our correspondent:—

1°. Is butter allowed at the collation in Lent? I believe, without doubt, that butter is allowed in those dioceses where the *major* and *sanior pars populi* have been using butter at the collation for some years; and if it has been used in the great majority of dioceses, I would say that a few exceptional

[1] Salmon: *Curs. Theol. Mor.*, T. 11, c. 6, n. 13.

dioceses may fall in with the general practice. If these conditions are not verified, we should have to fall back on the two first principles: Did the Holy Office in any way sanction the use of butter? Or did the cardinals afterwards personally, though tacitly, consent to a continuance of the practice? I have briefly explained these principles; and personally I believe that—considering the original Rescript and the subsequent petition from Propaganda—we are so far excused from the original Lenten law that we may take a little butter at the collation.

2°. May butter be taken on fast days outside Lent? I have not seen the Rescript; but I think butter may be taken on fast days outside Lent.

3°. The bishop's permission is not required that one may lawfully use butter. What if the bishop expressly states that it is unlawful? I must be pardoned if I decline to enter into this branch of the case. I shall only say that it has been a very anxious subject for the bishops; that a bishop cannot of his own authority dispense in Papal laws; neither when Papal laws have ceased can bishops resuscitate them as Papal laws; nor when they become doubtful can a bishop set them up as *certain* Papal laws. A bishop could in such hypothesis only command by a diocesan law that the old usage should continue.

4°. Another correspondent asks whether a confessor may tell his penitent that it is lawful to use butter at the collation? If our exposition of the case be correct, it would be lawful to tell a penitent that he or she may take butter; and it would seem more in conformity with Roman usage to confine advice to the tribunal of penance, and to particular cases, than to publish that the law does not further require abstinence from butter at the collation.

D. Coghlan.

[Owing to pressure on our space, we are unable to publish in this number correspondence which we have received on the subject of Clandestinity discussed in our last issue.—Ed. I. E. R.]

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

The Ceremonies of some Ecclesiastical Functions.

Part I.—The Ceremonies of Solemn Mass.

Chapter I.—Ceremonies which frequently occur.

Section I.—The Sign of the Cross.

This sacred sign should be always made with the utmost care and reverence. In making the sign of the Cross on oneself, the left hand is placed, palm inwards, a little below the breast. The fingers of the right hand are extended, and close together; the thumb resting against the front of the forefinger, and the palm of the hand turned towards the person. In tracing the lines of the Cross, the tips of the fingers *touch* the forehead, breast, and the *extremities* of the shoulders.

In making the sign of the Cross over an object which he is blessing, the minister is either at the altar or he is not. If at the altar, he places his left hand on the table of the altar; but below his breast, if the blessing does not take place at the altar. The fingers of the right hand are extended as already described; the outer edge of the little finger being next the object. The lines, in this case, are traced by the tip of the little finger, and should be neither too long nor too short, but should bear *some* proportion to the size of the object blessed.

Section II.—The Salutations.

Salutation or Reverence is the generic term including *genuflection* and *inclination*. There are two kinds of genuflection; the *simple*, or genuflection on one knee, and the *double*, or genuflection on both knees. The former is made by bending and lowering the right knee till it touches the ground beside the inner part of the heel of the left foot. This genuflection is unaccompanied by any inclination of the head or shoulders; but unnatural stiffness should also be

avoided. The double genuflection is made by bending first the right knee to the ground, as in the simple genuflection, and, while keeping the right knee resting on the ground, bringing the left knee, bent in the same manner, close beside the right. The genuflection on both knees is always accompanied by a profound inclination of the head,[1] which is made as soon as both knees rest on the ground.

Inclinations are either of the body or of the head. A *profound* inclination of the body requires the body to be so bent that the hands, placed crosswise on each other, will easily reach the knees;[2] while a *moderate* or slight inclination of the body is a less, but still a notable bending of the shoulders.[3] Three kinds of inclinations of the head are very commonly mentioned; the *profound,* which includes a very slight moving forward of the shoulders, the *medium* and the *slight.* Without entering into the details of these distinctions, we may remark that the name of the Most Holy Trinity, or the sacred name of Jesus, naturally calls for a more profound reverence than does the name of the reigning Pope, or of the saint whose feast is celebrating—hence the profound and the slight inclination. The medium inclination is reserved for the name of Mary, who, being less than God, is still immeasurably beyond all other creatures.

Section III.—"Oscula."

He who presents anything to the celebrant kisses first that which he presents, and afterwards the hand of the celebrant; but he who receives anything from the celebrant kisses first the celebrant's hand, and afterwards that which he receives.

When giving or receiving the celebrant's birretta, custom has sanctioned the substitution of *quasi-oscula* for real *oscula;* that is, the birretta need not be actually brought in contact with the lips, but only raised respectfully towards them.

[1] Vavasseur, part ii., sect. iii, ch. ii., n. 166; Bourbon, n. 316, note 3. *contra* Baldeschi.

[2] De Conny L. 1, c. 7; De Herdt. vol i., n. 42, 2; Vavasseur, part iii., sect. i., c. 7, n. 4.

[3] Bourbon n. 344; De Conny *loc. cit.*

Moreover, many Rubricists are of opinion that the kissing of the celebrant's hand may be omitted, both when giving and receiving the birretta; the inclination of the head, made while raising the birretta towards the lips, being, according to them, a sufficient reverence to the celebrant.[1] The *quasi-oscula* suffice, also, when the cruets or finger-towel are presented to the celebrant.[2]

When the Blessed Sacrament is exposed, and at Requiem Masses, all the *oscula* which are introduced merely from respect to the celebrant are omitted. The same is true of the *quasi-oscula.* At the distribution of palms on Palm Sunday, it is the palm that is first kissed, then the hand of the celebrant: women kiss the palm only.[3]

Chapter II.—General Directions to the Choir, the Ministers and the Celebrant.

Section I.—General Directions to the Choir.

At solemn Mass those in the choir sometimes kneel, sometimes sit, and sometimes stand erect. Moreover, while standing, they are sometimes turned towards the altar, and sometimes towards the choir—*in chorum;* that is, those on opposite sides of the choir face one another.

The choir kneels: 1st. From the sacred ministers' arrival at the foot of the altar to begin Mass until they ascend the altar after the *Confiteor.*[4] 2nd. At the singing of the *Incarnatus est*[5] in the Creed. 3rd. From the moment when the celebrant

[1] Bourbon n. 393. [2] *Idem, ibi.*

[3] "Si l'on distribue des cierges ou des rameaux au peuple, les femmes baisent le cierge ou le rameau mais non pas la main du prêtre."—Bourbon, 403.

[4] Prelates and Canons in their own churches stand.—De Conny h. 8, &c.

[5] De Conny, *loc. cit.*, and Falise, *loc. cit.*, No. 5, say that only the clergy, who are standing when the choir comes to the *Incarnatus est,* kneel; those who are seated, meanwhile, merely incline profoundly. Martinucci (l. 1, c. iii., sec. iv., n. 43), on the other hand, says: ". . . . ad *Et Incarnatus est* submittet genua (*scil.* clerus) exceptis praesulibus et Canonicis." The obvious meaning of the rubric of the ceremonies would seem to favour this opinion of Martinucci. "Cum versiculus *Et Incarnatus est,*" says the Ceremonial (l. 2, c. 8, n. 53), "cantatur a choro Canonici sedentes capite

has finished the recitation of the *Sanctus* until after the elevation of the chalice.[1] 4th. At the *Benediction*, before the last Gospel.

The choir sits: 1st. During the singing of the *Kyrie* from the time when the sacred ministers seat themselves, or, if the ministers do not sit, from the time when the celebrant has finished the recitation of the *Kyrie* until the choir has commenced to sing the last *Kyrie*. 2nd. During the singing of the *Gloria*, while the sacred ministers are seated. 3rd. While the sub-deacon sings the Epistle, and afterwards until the choir has finished the Gradual or Tract. 4th. During the singing of the Creed, except at the *Et Incarnatus est*. 5th. During the Offertory and the incensing of the altar. 6th. While the celebrant recites the *Communion*.

The choir stands: 1st. From the time the sacred ministers go up to the altar until the celebrant has said the *Kyrie*, or, if the celebrant goes to the bench, until he and his ministers are seated. 2nd. While the celebrant recites the *Gloria*.

detecto, et Episcopus cum mitra profundo inclinant caput versus altare, *alii genuflectunt*." Wapelhorst (n. 92, 7°) inteprets these words of the Ceremonial as we have done, and says, without qualification or comment; "Chorus genuflectit quando *Et Incarnatus est* in symbolo cantatur." Finally, Vavasseur (part 7, sect. i., chap. i., art. 2, n. 8, note), after comparing the directions of the Ceremonial with certain decrees of the Sacred Congregations, concludes: 1st. That the canons who are seated ought not to kneel at the *Et Incarnatus est*. 2nd. That all the clergy, including the celebrant and ministers, who are standing, ought to kneel. 3rd. That the clergy, not canons, who are seated *ought* to kneel where the custom has been established, and should be recommended to kneel even where such custom has not yet been introduced.

[1] The *Dictionnaire des Rites Sacrés*, in the article already referred to, directs the clergy not to kneel after the *Sanctus* until the choir has sung *Hosanna in excelsis* before *Benedictus*, etc. This is another peculiarly French custom which we find sometimes adopted in our own country. It is, however, directly opposed to the Rubrics both of the Missal and of the Ceremonial, and is of course rejected by every Rubricist of note. "Omnes genuflectunt . . . dicto per celebrantem *Sanctus*." (Rubr. Miss. Tit. xvii. 5.) "Dicto *Sanctus* omnes tam in choro quam extra genuflectunt . . . chorus prosequitur cantum usque ad *Benedictus qui venit* exclusive, quo finito et non prius elevatur Sacramentum." (Caer. l. 2, c. 8, Nos. 68-70.) With reason then does De Conny (*loc. cit.* note) conclude: "On voit qu'on s'agenouille aussitôt après avoir récité les *Sanctus* avec le celebrant et sans attendre que le chœur en ait terminé le chant." See also Favrel, part ii., Tit. 2, chap. i., art. 2, n. 5; Wapelhorst, 92, 5°; Vavasseur, *loc. cit.*, etc., etc.

3rd. While he sings the Collects. 4th. While the deacon sings the Gospel, and afterwards until the celebrant, after saying the Creed, takes his seat. 5th. At the *Dominus vobiscum* and *Oremus*, before the Offertory. 6th. During the incensing of the choir. 7th. From the beginning of the Preface until the celebrant has said the *Sanctus*.[1] 8th. After the elevation of the chalice until the Communion of the celebrant inclusive. 9th. From the reading of the *Communion* until the end of Mass, except at the blessing before the last Gospel.

The choir stands turned towards the altar as a general rule, when there is no singing, when the choir sings responses to the celebrant, and when the deacon sings the Gospel. Hence they are turned towards the altar: 1st. At the singing of the words *Gloria in excelsis* by the celebrant. 2nd. At the *Dominus vobiscum*, and the Collects. 3rd. During the singing of the Gospel, and onwards until the celebrant has intoned the Creed. 4th. At *Dominus vobiscum*, and *Oremus* after the Creed. 5th. During the singing of the Preface and of the versicles and responses preceding it. 6th. From the singing of the *Benedictus*, after the Consecration, until the *Agnus Dei* exclusive. 7th. From the giving of the *Pax* until after the Communion of the celebrant. 8th. At the *Dominus vobiscum*, and Post-communions, and at the last Gospel.

The clergy in choir rise when the master of ceremonies gives the sign to the sacred ministers to rise, and do not wait until the celebrant has stood up. Neither do they take their seats as soon as the celebrant does, but wait until the deacon and sub-deacon are seated.

The choir inclines several times during solemn Mass: 1st. Whenever the Doxology is sung or the Blessed Trinity named.[2] 2nd. At the sacred names of Jesus and Mary; at the name of the saint whose office is celebrated, or who is commemorated in the office of the day, and at the name of the

1 See note on page 267.

2 An fieri debeat inclinatio capitis cum pronuntiatur nomen Sanctissimae Trinitatis sicut fit cum profertur nomen Jesus? Resp. Congruere, ut fert praxis universalis praesertim Urbis. (S.R.C. 7 Sept. 1816. *Tuden.* ad 40.)

reigning Pope. 3rd. At the words in the *Gloria* and *Credo* at which the celebrant is directed to incline. 4th. At the *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro* of the Preface,[1] and at the *Oremus* before the Collects, Post-communions and Offertory.[2]

The Sign of the Cross in choir.—The clergy who are present in choir make, with the celebrant, the Sign of the Cross on themselves in the ordinary way: 1st. When the celebrant begins Mass. 2nd. At *Deus in adjutorium*.[3] 3rd. At *Indulgentiam*.[4] 4th. While the celebrant says the first words of the Introit. 5th. At the last last words of the *Gloria in excelsis*, of the Creed, and at the *Benedictus* after the *Sanctus*.[6] 6th. At *Omni benedictione* of the Canon. 7th. At *da propitius pacem* of *Libera nos*. 8th. When the celebrant pronounces the blessing at the end.[7]

The choir re-salutes the celebrant and his ministers. As a general rule, the clergy in choir are already standing when the celebrant approaches to salute. Should they, however, be seated, they uncover, rise, and return the salute. They do not rise to salute any of the sacred ministers unaccompanied by the celebrant; but, when saluted by either the deacon or sub-deacon, they uncover and incline the head,[8] but

[1] Part ii., Tit. 2, chap. i., art. 2, n. 7.

[2] De Conny *loc. cit.* These inclinations are all of the head only, and are more or less profound according to the directions already given on page 265.

[3] Falise, sect. iii., ch. i.; sect. iii., n. 3, *Dictionnaire des Rites Sacres.*

[4] *Iidem.*

[5] Falise *ibi.*

[6] Vavasseur (part vii., sect. i., chap. i., art. 2, n. 13), and Favrel (part ii., Tit. 2, chap. i., art. 2, n. 9), direct the choir to make the Sign of the Cross while these words are being sung. In support of their opinion they cite a response of the Prefect of S.C.R. of October 3, 1851. Falise, however (*loc. cit.*), says that Vavasseur alone of all the authors whose works he had consulted held this opinion. According to Falise, therefore, the sign of the Cross should be made, not while the words are being sung, but when they are said by the celebrant.

[7] Falise *ibi.*

[8] Bourbon n. 383, who has the following interesting note: "Le maitre de cérémonies chargé par la S.C. d'emettre son avis sur cette question s'exprima ainsi 'Ex laudabili et fere universali consuetudine chorus assurgit solummodo quando a celebrante salutatur vel idem celebrans ante eum transit. . . . Ad transitum autem et ad salutationem ministrorum etiam diaconi et sub-diaconi, chorus caput aperire tenetur.'"

take no notice of a salutation given by any of the inferior ministers.

Section II.—General Directions to the Thurifer.

The thurifer should be in the sacristy some time before the hour at which Mass is to begin, in order to prepare the thurible, light the fire, and put incense into the boat. He may carry the boat to the credence before the beginning of Mass, or he may leave it in the sacristy until he carries the thurible to the altar.[1]

There are two ways of carrying the thurible, according as it contains, or does not contain, incense. When the thurible contains incense, it is said to be carried solemnly, or in *ceremony*, and is always held in the right hand, the thumb passing through the ring fixed in the disc from which the chains hang, and the middle finger passing through the ring at the end of the chain by which the cover of the thurible is raised and lowered.[2] The cover should be raised somewhat, and the thurible gently moved to and fro to prevent the fire's being extinguished.

When incense has not been put into the thurible since the fire was last renewed, it is carried in the left hand,[3] which grasps the chains immediately beneath the disc or cover from which they depend; or, if the thurifer please, he may carry the thurible, in this case also, by passing the thumb and one of the fingers of the left hand through the rings. The hand in which the thurible is carried, is held at the height of the shoulders, or higher, if the length of the chains require it.

When approaching the celebrant to have incense put into the thurible, the thurifer carries the thurible in his left hand, as described in the preceding paragraph, and the incense-boat in his right, which should not rest against his breast. When he arrives in front of the sacred ministers, he

[1] Bourbon n. 465; De Herdt vol. i., n. 304 and n. 306.

[2] Bourbon n. 471; De Conny ch. x. But Martinucci l. 1, c. 1, n. 16, and Falise sect. iii., ch. ii., direct that the the thumb be in the movable ring, the middle or little finger in the other. Either plan may be adopted.

[3] Martinucci *loc. cit.*, n. 18; Bourbon n. 470; Wapelhorst cap. 8, art 5, n. 91, 9°.

hands the boat to the deacon; with his right hand he raises the cover of the thurible by means of the ring; then, grasping with the same hand the chains a little above the cover, he raises the thurible to a convenient height for the celebrant to put incense into it. The incense having been put in, he lowers the cover, fastens it, and presents the thurible to the deacon, if the celebrant is about to incense.

In presenting the thurible to one who, in his turn, is to present it to the minister who incenses, the thurifer should grasp the upper part of the chains with his left hand, and with his right the part immediately over the cover. But in presenting it directly to him who is about to incense, the position of his hands should be reversed. The right should then be towards the top of the chains; the left towards the lower part.[1]

Section III.—General Directions to the Acolytes.

Two acolytes are required at a Solemn Mass. They should be as nearly as possible of equal height. Sometime before the hour for Mass they repair to the sacristy, vest in soutane and surplice, and set about preparing the altar, the credence, etc.

One of them, or both together, light the candles on the altar. If both, they walk side by side from the sacristy to the foot of the altar, each carrying a lighted taper. At the foot of the altar they genuflect *in plano*, ascend the altar, make a profound inclination to the crucifix, and a slight inclination to each other, and then proceed to light the candles. The first acolyte lights the candles on the gospel side, the second, those on the epistle side, and each begins with the candle nearest the centre of the altar. If there are more than one row of candles, those of the highest row are lighted first.

In extinguishing the candles after Mass, they begin with the lowest row when there are more than one row, and in each row they begin with the candle farthest from the centre of the altar.

[1] Bourbon, n. 472; De Conny *loc. cit.*

If the candles are all lighted or extinguished by one acolyte, he lights first those on the gospel side beginning next the centre of the altar; but extinguishes first those on the epistle side, beginning at the corner of the altar.[1]

The acolytes carry their candles so that the one on the right has his left hand under the foot of the candlestick, his right hand round the knob or middle part of the stem; and the one on the left, his right hand under the foot, his left round the knob.

The torch is carried in one hand. When acolytes carrying torches walk in procession, each carries his torch in the hand furthest away from the companion at his side, and holds the other hand against breast.

The acolytes, even while carrying their candles, genuflect and incline along with the other ministers, and whenever their position or movements require it. To this rule, as it regards solemn Mass, there is only one exception.

[1] Many very accurate writers give directions for lighting and extinguishing the candles on the altar, when it is done by one, which are altogether, or, at least in part, opposed to the directions given above. Thus, for instance, Martinucci (l. 1, c. 1, n. 9), Wapelhorst (n. 90-2), and Favrel (part 2, Tit. 2, chap. 4), direct the lighting of the candles to begin at the epistle side, the extinguishing at the gospel side; while De Conny (*loc. cit.*) would have both the lighting and extinguishing to begin at the gospel side.

It is quite certain, however, that the opinion of Martinucci, &c., as far as the lighting of the candles is concerned, is incorrect. For the S. Congregation declared in reply to a question (August 24, 1854). that the lighting should begin at the gospel side. "An acolythus aut alius accendens cereos ante Missam, aut ante aliam sacram functionem incipere debeat a cereis qui sunt a parte epistolae, ut volunt plurimi auctores, vel prout aliis placet, ab iis qui sunt a parte Evangelii. Resp. A cornu Evangelii quippe nobiliore parte (apud De Conny *loc. cit.*)

Now, as to the extinguishing of the candles. It is regarded as a first principle by all the writers whose works we have consulted, with the sole exception of De Conny, that the extinguishing should not begin at the same side as the lighting. From this principle, since it is certain the lighting should begin at the gospel side, it follows that the extinguishing should begin at the epistle side. The same conclusion follows from the reason given in the reply of the S. Congregation quoted above, for beginning to light the candles at the gospel side, namely, that the gospel side is the *pars nobilior*. As such, it requires not only that it be lighted before the other, but also that it remain lighted after the other. "Il semble," writes Bourbon (n. 99), "que lorsqu' un seul éteint les cierges il doit commencer par éteindre ceux du côté de l' epître, et finir par ceux de l'évangile comme étant aux places les plus honorables."

During the singing of the gospel the acolytes, with the sub-deacon, remain immovable; they neither incline nor genuflect along with the others.[1]

The acolytes assist the deacon and sub-deacon to vest; they kiss the cross on the maniples and on the deacon's stole before presenting them. Whenever during the Mass the sacred ministers sit down, the acolytes raise the dalmatic and tunic over the back of the bench to prevent their being crushed.

Section IV.—General Directions to the Master of Ceremonies.

The master of ceremonies should be perfectly conversant with the duties of each of the other ministers, otherwise he will not be able to discharge his own duties. For on the master of ceremonies devolves the duty of regulating and well-ordering the whole function in which he is engaged: on him in a special manner rests the responsibility of securing that uniformity, which tends so much to impart due solemnity and grandeur to the ceremonies of solemn Mass. But if he is not quite familiar with the duties of every one engaged, he will be either a useless incumbrance, or, instead of maintaining order, he will merely cause confusion.

He should see that everything is prepared in due time and arranged in its proper place. He carries to the altar the missal which the celebrant is to use, and places it on the stand, having previously arranged the markers, so that he may be able to find without delay the commemorations, preface, &c., to be said in the Mass. A second missal, properly marked, from which the epistle and gospel are to be sung, he carries to the credence, on which he also places the cruets, the towel, and the chalice prepared in the usual way, and covered with the veil and burse. Over all he extends the humeral veil.

He assists at the vesting of the sacred ministers, and at the proper time he invites them to proceed to the altar.

[1] Il n'y a que pendant le chant de l'évangile que les acolytes ne se mettant pas genoux; dans tout autre temps ils le font, même avec leurs chandeliers à la main. *Cérém Expliqué*, l. 1, ch. xi., n. 8.

When the time arrives for the ministers to sit down, he invites them to the bench; while they are seated he stands, his arms crossed on his breast, at the right of the deacon; when they should uncover he gives them a sign; and intimates to them when they are to rise to proceed again to the altar.

Section V.—General Directions to the Deacon and Sub-Deacon.

In a solemn Mass the deacon and sub-deacon perform many actions in common. Any want of uniformity, then, on their part will be very noticeable, and must mar the solemnity and destroy the decorum of the entire function.

The deacon and sub-deacon take a very important part in the oblation of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. They act as the representatives of the Church; to this office they are duly appointed and ordained. Next to the celebrant they are the most immediate offerers of the Holy Sacrifice, and next to him they come into the closest relationship with the Divine Victim of the Sacrifice. It is fitting, then, that they should come to the discharge of their exalted office with pure hearts, clean consciences, and deep recollection, and that immediately before Mass they should spend some time in fervent prayer for grace to perform their sacred duties in a manner pleasing to Almighty God.

Having finished their prayer they see that the missals are registered, and the chalice prepared and brought to the credence, and having washed their hands they proceed to vest. While vesting they may say the prayers prescribed for priests, with the exception of that to be said while putting on the chasuble. This prayer they may say only when putting on the folded chasubles, which are used at certain times of the year; at other times when putting on the dalmatic and tunic they may say the prayers said by a bishop when putting on these portions of the sacred vestments.[1]

[1] Ad tunicellam sub-diaconus dicere potest; *Tunica jucunditatis et indumento laetitiae induat me Dominus;* et diaconus ad dalmaticam; *Indue me, Domine, indumento salutis et vestimento laetitiae, et dalmatica justitiae circumda me semper,* prout in missali pro Episcopo prescribitur. De Herdt, t. 1, n. 305, *not.* 1.

The deacon and sub-deacon should be vested in amice, alb, and cincture before it is time for the celebrant to begin to vest. Before taking their maniples they assist the celebrant in vesting,[1] and when he is completely vested, and not sooner, they, assisted by the inferior ministers, put on the remainder of their own vestments. The deacon puts on the stole so that the cross at its middle part is on the top of his left shoulder, and its extremities hang down on his right side.

If there is sufficient space in the sanctuary the deacon walks on the right of the celebrant, the sub-deacon on his left; but if the space is narrow, the sub-deacon walks on the left of the deacon, or before him, both being in front of the celebrant.

On arriving at the altar to begin Mass, and immediately after departing from it at the end of Mass, the sacred ministers genuflect *in plano;* at other times on the first step.

When after the consecration it is necessary for the sacred ministers to pass from one side of the celebrant to the other, they genuflect twice—first, before leaving that side on which they are, and secondly, when they arrive at the other side. During the same part of the Mass if they go from beside the celebrant to their places on the steps behind him, or from these places to his side, they genuflect before leaving *only*, and not also after arriving at the place to which they go.[2]

When they change their places before the consecration, as when they go up to recite the *Gloria* and *Credo* with the celebrant, authors are not agreed on the reverence they are

[1] De Herdt (Tom 1, n. 305, *not.* 1) says that the deacon and sub-deacon should not assist the celebrant in vesting. He refers to a decree of the Sacred Congregation as his authority, and quotes De Conny and Cuppinus as agreeing with him. Now, 1st., this decree on which De Herdt relies has been interpreted by the Sacred Congregation in a reply given on the 3rd of October, 1851, to refer only to the case when the deacon and sub-deacon are canons and of equal rank with the celebrant (see Favrel, part ii., Tit. 2, ch. vi., n. i., note 2; Vavasseur, part vii., sect. i., chap. i., art. 3, n. 23, note 2, &c.) 2nd. De Conny so far from agreeing with De Herdt is directly opposed to him. "Quant aux chasubles pliées," he wrote, "S'ils avaient à s'en servir, ils ne s'en revêtiraient *qu' apres avoir aidé le prêtre à s'habiller*" (liv. II., chap. ii., art. 2.) Cuppinus we have not seen, but every writer we have seen, with the sole exception of De Herdt, directs the deacon and sub-deacon to assist the celebrant in vesting.

[2] Bourbon, n. 331. Gavantus, *in mis.*, par. ii, tit. 4, rule 7, lit. m. Bauldry, par. i., c. xi., n. 11.

to make. The Rubrics are silent, and consequently each writer may direct as he thinks best. It seems, however, better that they should make precisely the same reverences before as after the consecration. This secures uniformity, prevents confusion, and has in its favour a preponderating weight of authority.[1] They genuflect, also, whenever the celebrant genuflects. The sub-deacon, however, does not genuflect during the singing of the gospel.

When genuflecting on the predella, as at the incensation of the altar, they do not place their hands on the altar. No one but the celebrant is permitted to do this. When moving from one place to another they should take care first to turn the face towards the point to which they wish to go, and then walk to it in the natural manner. To sidle along, as if one feared to turn round, is awkward and unseemly. They should also take care never to turn their back to the altar or to the celebrant.

Section VI.—General Directions to the Celebrant.

The celebrant should be perfectly familiar with every detail of the ceremonies of solemn Mass. To secure the necessary uniformity the inferior ministers are directed to conform exactly to the celebrant in all actions common to him and them. But if the celebrant makes mistakes, the others being unprepared for deviations from the rules they have learned, will either not try to conform to the celebrant at all, or, if they do try, will only introduce greater confusion, and bring out in bolder relief the mistakes of the celebrant.

The celebrant having complied with the injunctions of the Rubrics regarding the recitation of Matins and Lauds, and the preparatory prayers,[2] washes his hands and vests as for Low Mass.

[1] Bourbon, *loc. cit.* De Conny, *loc. cit.* De Herdt, Tom. 1, n. 118. Vavasseur, &c., &c.

[2] Sacerdos celebraturus missam praevia confessione sacramentali quando opus est et saltem matutino cum gaudibus absoluto. Orationi aliquantulum vacet, et orationes inferius positas pro temporis opportunitate dicat.—(*Rub. Miss.*, Pars. ii., Tit. I.)

No modern Theologian, it is true, maintains the opinion held by some of the earlier Theologians that the obligation imposed by this

The same ceremonies observed in a Low Mass, the celebrant of a High Mass will also observe. The parts that in a Low Mass are read in a loud tone, and in a High Mass are not sung, he reads so as to be heard by those who are immediately about him, but by them only.

Every priest who may from time to time be called upon to celebrate a solemn Mass, should by frequent practice keep himself familiar with the music of the parts sung by the celebrant; otherwise, as sometimes happens, his singing, instead of being an incentive to piety, and an aid to prayer, will but pain the educated ear, and bring upon himself the ridicule of the thoughtless.

Section VII.—Directions for Saluting the Choir.

The celebrant and his ministers salute the choir when proceeding to the altar to begin Mass,[1] and whenever they pass *per longiorem* from the bench to the altar, or from the altar to the bench.[2]

When proceeding to the altar the celebrant and the sacred ministers uncover before saluting; they then resume their birrettas, advance to the foot of the altar, again uncover and salute the altar.[3] If they enter the sanctuary from the epistle side, they salute first that side of the choir; otherwise they always salute the gospel side first.

Should the celebrant and the sacred ministers ever go

Rubric of reciting Matins and Lauds before Mass is a grave obligation. Yet nearly all are agreed that it imposes some obligation, and, consequently that a priest who without reason, neglects to recite Matins and Lauds before Mass cannot be held blameless. "Sine ulla vero causa," writes Lehmkuhl (vol. ii., n. 219, 4) "id facere (*scil.* non recitare Mat. et Laud, ante Missam) communius pro veniati culpa habetur."

From the words of the Rubric it is clear there is no obligation of reciting the Psalms, &c., given in the Missal as preparatory prayers for the priest about to celebrate. But as these prayers are given to us stamped with the approval of the Church, they must be more efficacious than prayers suggested by the priest's own private devotion.

[1] De plus il est essentiel d' ajouter ici qu'en arrivant on salue le chœur. Il n'y aurait d'exception pour le chœur que dans les cas où le Clergé ne serait pas aux stalles. Favrel, part ii., Tit. 2, ch. vii., n. 4, *note.*

[2] Vavasseur, part vii. sect. i., chap. i. art. iii., n. 20. Bourbon, n. 371 De Conny, *loc. cit.* Favrel, *loc. cit.*

[3] Si le Clerge était au chœur il devrait le saluer en y entrant avant de faire l'inclination ou la génuflexion ä l' autel. Favrel, *loc. cit.*, ch. viii. n. 4.

per longiorem to the bench, they salute the altar before turning round to salute the choir; and in saluting the choir they begin with the gospel side. In returning *per longiorem* from the bench to the altar they salute the choir before they salute the altar, and on this occasion, they salute the epistle side first, because they meet it first.[1]

D. O'Loan.

DOCUMENT.

Encyclical Letter of His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., on the occasion of completing the year of his Sacerdotal Jubilee.

Sanctissimi Domini nostri Leonis divina providentia Papae XIII. epistola ad patriarchas, primates, archiepiscopos et episcopos universosque christifideles pacem et communionem cum Apostolica Sede habentes.

Venerabilibus fratribus patriarchis, primatibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis et dilectis filiis christifidelibus universis pacem et communionem cum Apostolica Sede habentibus.

LEO PP. XIII.

Venerabiles fratres, dilecti filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Exeunte jam anno, cum natalem sacerdotii quinquagesimum, singulari munere beneficioque divino, incolumes egimus, sponte respicit mens Nostra spatium praeteritorum mensium, plurimumque totius hujus intervalli recordatione delectatur. Nec sane sine caussa: eventus enim, qui ad Nos privatim attinebat, idemque nec per se magnus, nec novitate mirabilis, studia tamen hominum inusitato modo commovit, tam perspicuis laetitiae signis, tot gratulationibus celebratus, ut nihil optari majus potuisset. Quae res certe pergrata Nobis perque jucunda cecidit: sed quod in ea plurimi aestimamus,

[1] *Iidem ibi.* Baldeschi and Bourbon direct them to move forward a few paces after saluting the epistle side, before they salute the gospel side. But, as Vavasseur (*loc. cit.* note) remarks, there is no reason why they should not salute both sides of the choir without changing their position.

significatio voluntatum est, religionisque liberrime testata constantia. Ille enim Nos undique salutantium concentus id aperte loquebatur, ex omnibus locis mentes atque animos in Jesu Christi Vicarium esse intentos: tot passim prementibus malis in Apostolicam Sedem, velut in salutis perennem incorruptumque fontem, fidenter homines intueri; et quibuscumque in oris catholicum viget nomen, Ecclesiam romanam, omnium Ecclesiarum matrem et magistram, coli observarique, ita ut aequum est, ardenti studio ac summa concordia.

His de caussis per superiores menses non semel in coelum suspeximus, Deo optimo atque immortali gratias acturi, quod et hanc Nobis vivendi usuram, et ea, quae commemorata sunt, curarum solatia benignissime tribuisset: per idemque tempus, cum sese occasio dedit, gratam voluntatem Nostram, in quos oportebat, declaravimus. Nunc vero extrema anni ac celebritatis renovare admonent accepti beneficii memoriam: atque illud peroptato contingit, ut Nobiscum in iterandis Deo gratiis Ecclesia tota consentiat. Simul vero expetit animus per has litteras publice testari, id quod facimus, quemadmodum tot obsequii, humanitatis, et amoris testimonia ad eliniendas curas molestiasque Nostras consolatione non mediocri valuerunt, ita eorum et memoriam in Nobis et gratiam semper esse victuram.

Sed majus ac sanctius restat officium. In hac enim affectione animorum, romanum Pontificem alacritate insueta colere atque honorare gestientium, numen videmur nutumque Ejus agnoscere, qui saepe solet atque unus potest magnorum principia bonorum ex minimis momentis elicere. Nimirum providentissimus Deus voluisse videtur, in tanto opinionum errore, excitare fidem, opportunitatemque praebere studiis vitae potioris in populo christiano revocandis.

Quamobrem hoc est reliqui, dare operam ut, bene positis initiis, bene cetera consequantur: enitendumque, ut et intelligantur consilia divina, et reipsa perficiantur. Tunc denique obsequium in Apostolicam Sedem plene erit cumulateque perfectum, si cum virtutum christianarum laude conjunctum ad salutem conducat animarum: qui fructus est unice expetendus perpetuoque mansurus.

Ex hoc summo apostolici muneris gradu, in quo Nos Dei benignitas locavit patrocinium veritatis saepenumero, ut oportuit, suscepimus, conatique sumus ea potissimum doctrinae capita exponere, quae maxime opportunaque e re publica viderentur esse, ut quisque, veritate perspecta, pestiferos errorum afflatus, vigilando cavendoque, defugeret. Nunc vero uti liberos suos amantissimus parens, sic Nos alloqui christianos universos volumus, familiarique sermone hortari singulos ad vitam sancte instituendam. Nam omnino ad christianum

nomen, praeter fidei professionem, necessariae sunt christianarum artes exercitationesque virtutum; ex quibus non modo pendet sempiterna salus animorum, sed etiam germana prosperitas et firma tranquillitas convictus humani et societatis.

Jamvero si quaeritur qua passim ratione vita degatur, nemo est quin videat, valde ab evangelicis praeceptis publicos mores privatosque discrepare. Nimis apte cadere in hanc aetatem videtur illa Joannis Apostoli sententia : *omne quod in mundo est, concupiscentia carnis est, et concupiscentia oculorum, et superbia vitae*[1]. Videlicet plerique, unde orti, quo vocentur, obliti, curas habent cogitationesque omnes in haec imbecilla et fluxa bona defixas : invita natura perturbatoque ordine, iis rebus sua voluntate serviunt; in quas dominari hominem ratio ipsa clamat oportere. Appetentiae commodorum et deliciarum comitari proclive est cupiditatem rerum ad illa adipiscenda idonearum. Hinc effrenata pecuniae aviditas, quae efficit caecos quos complexa est, et ad explendum quod exoptat inflammata rapitur, nullo saepe aequi et iniqui discrimine, nec raro cum alienae inopiae insolenti fastidio. Ita plurimi, quorum circumfluit vita divitiis fraternitatis nomen cum multitudine usurpant, quam intimis sensibus superbe contemnunt. Similique modo elatus superbia animus non legi subesse ulli, nec ullam vereri potestatem conatur : merum amorem sui libertatem apellat. *Tamquam pullum onagri se liberum natum putat.*[2]

Accedunt vitiorum illecebrae ac perniciosa invitamenta peccandi : ludos scenicos intelligimus impie ac licenter apparatos : volumina atque ephemeridas ludificandae virtuti, honestandae turpidini compositas : artes ipsas ad usum vitae honestamque oblectationem animi inventas, lenocinia cupiditatum ministrare jussas. Nec licet sine metu futura prospicere, quia nova malorum semina continenter velut in sinum congeruntur adolescentis aetatis. Nostis morem scholarum publicarum : nihil in eis relinquitur ecclesiasticae auctoritati loci : et quo tempore maxime oporteret tenerrimos animos ad officia christiana sedulo studioseque fingere, tum religionis praecepta plerumque silent. Grandiores natu periculum adeunt etiam majus, scilicet a vitio doctrinae : quae saepe est ejusmodi, ut non ad imbuendam cognitione veri, sed potius ad infatuandam valeat fallacia sententiarum juventutem. In disciplinis enim tradendis permulti philosophari malunt solo rationis magisterio, omnino fide divina posthabita : quo firmamento maximo uberrimoque lumine remoto in multis labuntur, nec vera cernunt. Eorum illa sunt, omnia quae in hoc mundo sint, esse corporea : hominum et pecudum easdem esse origines similemque naturam : nec desunt qui de ipso summo domi-

[1] I Ep., II., 16. [2] Job, xi., 12.

natore rerum, ac mundi opifice Deo dubitent, sit necne sit, vel in ejus natura errent, ethnicorum more, deterrime.

Hinc demutari necesse est ipsam speciem formamque virtutis, juris, officii. Ita equidem, ut dum rationis principatum gloriose predicant, ingeniique subtilitatem magnificentius efferunt, quam par est, debitas superbiae poenas rerum maximarum ignoratione luant. Corrupto opinionibus animo, simul insidet tamquam in venis medullisque corruptela morum ; eaque sanari in hoc genere hominum sine summa difficultate non potest, propterea quod ex una parte opiniones vitiosae adulterant judicium honestatis, ex altera lumen abest fidei christianae, quae omnis est principium ac fundamentum justitiae.

Ex ejusmodi caussis quantas hominum societas calamitates contraxerit quotidie oculis quodammodo contemplamur. Venena doctrinarum proclivi cursu in rationem vitae resque publicas pervasere : *rationalismus*, *materialismus*, *atheismus* peperere *socialismum*, *communismum*, *nihilismum* : tetras quidem funestasque pestes sed quas ex iis principiis ingenerari non modo consentaneum erat, sed prope necessarium. Sane, si religio catholica impune rejicitur, cujus origo divina tam illustribus est perspicua signis, quidni quaelibet religionis forma rejiciatur, quibus tales assentiendi notas abesse liquet ? Si animus non est a corpore natura distinctus, proptereaque si, intereunte corpore, spes aevi beati aeternique nulla superest, quid erit caussae quamobrem labores molestiaeque in eo suscipiantur, ut appetitus obedientes fiant rationi ? Summum hominis erit positum bonum in fruendis vitae commodis potiendisque voluptatibus.

Cumque nemo unus sit, quin ad beate vivendum ipsius naturae admonitu impulsuque feratur, jure quisque detraxerit quod cuique possit, ut aliorum spoliis facultatem quaerat beate vivendi. Nec potestas ulla frenos est habitura tantos, ut satis cohibere incitatas cupiditates queat : consequens enim est, ut vis frangatur legum et omnis debilitetur auctoritas, si summa atque aeterna ratio jubentis vetantis Dei repudietur. Ita perturbari funditus necesse est civilem hominum societatem, inexplebili cupiditate ad perenne certamen impellente singulos, contendentibus aliis quaesita tueri, aliis concupita adipisci.

Huc ferme nostra inclinat aetas. Est tamen, quo consolari conspectum praesentium malorum, animosque erigere spe meliore possimus. Deus enim *creavit ut essent omnia*, *et sanabiles facit nationes orbis terrarum*.[1] Sed sicut omnis hic mundus non aliter conservari nisi numine providentiaque ejus potest, cujus est nutu conditus, ita pariter sanari homines sola ejus virtute queunt, cujus beneficio sunt ab interitu ad vitam revocati. Nam humanum genus

[1] Sap., i., 14.

semel quidem Jesus Christi profuso sanguine redemit, sed perennis ac perpetua est virtus tanti operis tantique muneris: *et non est in alio aliqua salus.*[1] Quare qui cupiditatum popularium crescentem flammam nituntur oppositu legum extinguere, ii quidem pro justitia contendunt; sed intelligant, nullo se fructu aut certe perexiguo laborem consumpturos, quamdiu obstinaverint animo respuere virtutem Evangelii, Ecclesiaeque nolle advocatam operam. In hoc posita malorum sanatio est, ut, mutatis consiliis, et privatim et publice remigretur ad Jesum Christum, christianamque vivendi vitam.

Jamvero totius vitae christianae summa et caput est, non indulgere corruptis saeculi moribus, sed repugnare ac resistere constanter oportere. Id *auctoris fidei et consummatoris* Jesu omnia dicta et facta, leges et instituta, vita et mors declarant. Igitur quamtumvis pravitate naturae et morum longe trahamur alio *curramus* oportet *ad propositum nobis certamen* armati et parati eodem animo eisdemque armis, quibus Ille, *qui proposito sibi gaudio sustinuit crucem.*[2]

Proptereaque hoc primum videant homines atque intelligant quam sit a professione christiani nominis alienum persequi, uti mos est, cujusquemodo voluptates, horrere comites virtutis labores, nihilque recusare sibi, quod sensibus suaviter delicateque blandiatur. *Qui sunt Christi, carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis,*[3] ita ut consequens sit Christi non esse, in quibus non exercitatio sit consuetudoque patiendi cum aspernatione mollium et delicatarum voluptatum.

Revixit enim homo infinita Dei bonitate in spem bonorum immortalium, unde exciderat, sed ea consequi non potest, nisi ipsis Christi vestigiis ingredi conetur, et cogitatione exemplorum ejus mentem suam moresque conformet. Itaque non consilium, sed officium, neque eorum dumtaxat, qui perfectius vitae optaverint genus, sed plane omnium est, *mortificationem Jesu in corpore* quemque suo *circumferre.*[4]

Ipsa naturae lex, quae jubet hominem cum virtute vivere, qui secus posset salva consistere? Deletur enim sacro baptismate peccatum, quod est nascendo contractum, sed stirpes distortae ac pravae, quas peccatum insevit, nequaquam tolluntur. Pars hominis ea, quae expers rationis est, etsi resistentibus viriliterque per Jesu Christi gratiam repugnantibus nocere non possit, tamen cum ratione de imperio pugnat, omnem animi statum perturbat, voluntatemque tyrannice a virtute detorquet tanta vi, ut nec vitia fugere nec officia servare sine quotidiana dimicatione possimus. *Manere autem in baptizatis concupiscentiam vel fomitem haec sancta synodus fatetur ac sentit, quae cum ad agonem relicta sit, nocere non consentientibus, sed*

[1] Act., iv. [2] Heb., xii., 1, 2. [3] Galat., v., 24. [4] II. Cor., iv., 10.

viriliter per Jesu Christi gratiam repugnantibus non valet; quinimo qui legitime certaverit, coronabitur.[1]

Est in hoc certamine gradus fortitudinis, quo virtus non perveniat nisi excellens eorum videlicet, qui in profligandis motibus a ratione aversis eo usque profecerunt, ut cœlestem in terris vitam agere propemodum videantur. Esto, paucorum sit tanta praestantia: sed, quod ipsa philosophia veterum praecipiebat, domitas habere cupiditates nemo non debet; idque ii majore etiam studio, quibus rerum mortalium quotidianus usus irritamenta majora suppeditat; nisi qui stulte putet, minus esse vigilandum ubi praesentius imminet discrimen, aut, qui gravius aegrotant, eos minus egere medicina. Is vero, qui in ejusmodi conflictu suscipitur, labor magnis compensatur, praeter coelestia atque immortalia, bonis: in primis quod isto modo, sedata perturbatione partium, plurimum restituitur naturae de dignitate pristina. Hac enim lege est atque hoc ordine generatus homo, ut animus imperaret corpori, appetitus mente consilioque regerentur: eoque fit, ut non dedere se pessimis dominis cupiditatibus, praestantissima sit maximeque optanda libertas.

Praeterea in ipsa humani generis societate non apparet quid expectari ab homine sine hac animi affectione possit. Utrumne futurus est ad bene merendum propensus, qui facienda, fugienda, metiri amore sui consueverit? Non magnanimus quisquam esse potest, non beneficus, non misericors, non abstinens, qui non se ipse vincere didicerit, atque humana omnia prae virtute contemnere. Nec silebimus, id omnino videri divino provisum consilio, ut nulla afferri salus hominibus, nisi cum contentione et dolore queat. Revera si Deus liberationem culpae et errati veniam hominum generi dedit, hac lege dedit, ut Unigenitus suus poenas sibi debitas justasque persolveret. Justitiaeque divinae cum Jesus Christus satisfacere alia atque alia ratione potuisset, maluit tamen per summos cruciatus profusa vita satisfacere. Atque ita alumnis ac sectatoribus suis hanc legem imposuit suo cruore sancitam, ut eorum esset vita cum morum ac temporum vitiis perpetua certatio.

Quid Apostolos ad imbuendum veritate mundum fecit invictos, quid martyres innumerabiles in fidei christianae cruento testimonio roboravit, nisi affectio animi illi legi obtemperans sine timore? Nec alia via ire perrexerunt, quotquot curae fuit vivere more christiano, sibique virtute consulere: neque igitur alia nobis eundum, si consultum saluti volumus vel nostrae singulorum, vel communi. Itaque, dominante procacitate libidinum, tueri se quemque viriliter necesse est a blandimentis luxuriae: cumque passim sit in fruendis opibus

[1] Conc. Trid. sess. v., can. 5.

et copiis tam insolens ostentatio, muniendus animus est contra divitiarum sumptuosas illecebras : ne his inhians animus quae appellantur bona, quae nec satiare eum possunt, ac brevi eum dilapsura, thesaurum amittat non deficientem in coelis.

Denique illud etiam dolendum quod opiniones atque exempla perniciosa tanto opere ad molliendos animos valuerunt, ut plurimos jam prope pudeat nominis vitaeque christianae : quod quidem aut perditae nequitiae est, aut segnitiae inertissimae. Utrumque detestabile, utrumque tale, ut nullum homini malum majus. Quaenam enim reliqua salus esset, aut qua spe niterentur homines, si gloriari in nomine Jesu Christi desierint, si vitam ex praeceptis evangelicis constanter aperteque agere recusarint ? Vulgo queruntur viris fortibus sterile saeculum. Revocentur christiani mores : simul erit gravitas et constantia ingeniis restituta.

Sed tantorum magnitudini varietatique officiorum virtus hominum par esse sola non potest. Quo modo corpori, ut alatur, panem quotidianum, sic animae, ut ad virtutem conformetur, nervos atque robur impetrare divinitus necesse est. Quare communis illa conditio lexque vitae, quam in perpetua quadam diximus dimicatione consistere, obsecrandi Deum habet adjunctam necessitatem.

Etenim, quod est vere ab Augustino venusteque dictum, transcendit pia precatio intervalla mundi, divinamque devocat e coelo misericordiam. Contra cupiditatum turpidos motus, contra malorum daemonum insidias, ne circumventi in fraudem inducamur, adjumenta petere atque auxilia coelestia jubemur oraculo divino : *Orate, ut non intretis in tentationem.*[1] Quanto id necessarium magis, si utilem dare operam alienae quoque saluti volumus ? Christus Dominus, unigenitus Filius Dei, fons omnis gratiae et virtutis, quod verbis praecepit, ipse prior demonstravit exemplo ; *erat pernoctans in oratione Dei*[2] sacrificioque proximus *prolixius orabat.*[3]

Profecto longe minus esset naturae extimescenda fragilitas, nec longe mores desidiaque diffluerent, si divinum istud preceptum minus jaceret incuria ac prope fastidio intermissum. Est enim exorabilis Deus, gratificari vult hominibus, aperte pollicitus, sua se munera large copioseque petentibus daturum. Quin etiam invitat ipsemet petere, ac fere lacessit amantissimis verbis : *Ego dico vobis : petite, et dabitur vobis ; quaerite, et invenietis ; pulsate, et aperietur vobis.*[4] Quod ut confidenter ac familiariter facere ne vereamur, majestatem numinis sui similitudine atque imagine temperat parentis suavissimi cui nihil potius, quam caritas liberorum. *Si ergo vos, cum sitis mali, nostis bona data dare filiis vestris, quanto magis Pater vester,*

[1] Matth., xxvi., 41. [2] Luc., vi., 12. [3] Luc., xxii., 43. [4] Luc., xi., 9.

qui in caelis est, dabit bona, petentibus se?[1] Quae qui cogitaverit, non nimium mirabitur si efficientia precum humanarum Joanni quidem Chrysostomo videatur tanta, ut cum ipsa potentia Dei comparari illam putet posse.

Propterea quod sicut Deus universitatem rerum verbo creavit, sic homo impetrat, orando, quae velit. Nihil est rite adhibitis precibus impetrabilius, quia insunt in eis quaedam velut moventia, quibus placari se Deus atque exorari facile patiatur. Nam inter orandum sevocamus ab rebus mortalibus animum, atque unius Dei cogitatione suspensi, conscientia tenemur infirmitatis humanae ; ob eamque rem in bonitate et amplexu parentis nostri acquiescimus, in virtute Conditoris perfugium quaerimus. Adire insistimus auctorem omnium bonorum, tamquam spectari ab eo velimus aegrum animum, imbecillas vires, inopiam nostram plenique spe, tutelam atque opem ejus imploramus, qui aegrotationum medicinam, infirmitatis miseriaeque solatia praebere solus potest. Tali habitu animi modeste de se, ut oportet, submisseque, judicantis, mire flectitur Deus ad clementiam, quia quemadmodum superbis resistit, ita humilibus *dat gratiam*.[2] Sancta igitur sit apud omnes consuetudo precandi : mens, animus, vox precentur ; unaque simul ratio vivendi consentiat, ut, videlicet, per legum divinarum custodiam perennis ad Deum ascensus vita nostra videatur.

Quemadmodum virtutes ceterae, ita haec etiam, de qua loquimur, gignitur et sustentatur fide divina. Deus etiam auctor est, quae sint homini vera atque unice per se expectenda bona : itemque infinitam Dei bonitatem, et Jesu redemptoris merita eodem auctore cognovimus. Sed vicissim pia precandi consuetudine nihil est ad alendam augendamque fidem aptius. Cujus quidem virtutis, in plerisque debilitatae, in multis extinctae, apparet quanta sit hoc tempore necessitas. Illa enim est maxime, unde non modo vitae privatorum petenda correctio est, sed etiam earum rerum judicium expectandum, quarum conflictio quietas et securas esse civitates non sinit. Si aestuat multitudo immodicae libertatis siti, si erumpunt undique proletariorum minaces, fremitus, si inhumana beatiorum cupiditas numquam se satis consecutam putat, et si quae sunt alia generis ejusdem incommoda, his profecto, quod alias uberius exposuimus, nihil subvenire melius aut certius, quam fides christiana, potest.

Locus admonet, ad vos cogitationem orationemque convertere, quotquot Deus ad sua dispensanda mysteria, collata divinitus potestate, adjutores adscivit. Si caussae indagantur privatae publicaeque salute, dubitandum non est vitam moresque clericorum posse plurimum in

[1] Matth., vii., 11. [2] 1. Petr., v., 5.

utramque partem. Meminerint, igitur, se *lucem mundi* a Jesu Christo appellatos, quod *luminis instar universum orbem illustrantis sacerdotis animam splendescere oportet.*[1] Lumen doctrinae, neque illud vulgare, in sacerdote requiritur, quia muneris ejus est implere sapientia ceteros, evellere errores, ducem esse multitudini per itinera vitae ancipitia et lubrica. In primis autem vitae innocentiam comitem doctrina desiderat, praesertim quod in emendatione hominum longe plus exemplo, quam peroratione proficitur.

Luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant opera vestra bona.[2] Cujus divinae sententiae ea profecto vis est, talem esse in sacerdotibus perfectionem oportere absolutionemque virtutis, ut se tamquam speculum praebere intuentibus queant. *Nihil est, quod alios magis ad pietatem et Dei cultum assidue instruat, quam eorum vita et exemplum, qui se divino ministerio dedicarunt: cum enim a rebus saeculi in altiorem sublati locum conspiciantur, in eos tamquam in speculum reliqui oculus conjiciunt ex eisque sumunt, quod imitentur.*[3] Quare si omnes homines caveant vigilanter, oportet ne ad vitiorum scopulos adhaerescant, neu consectentur res caducas appetitione nimia, apparet quanto id efficere sacerdotes religiosius et constantius debeant.

Nisi quod nec satis est non servire cupiditatibus : illud etiam sanctitudo dignitatis postulat ut sibimetipsis acriter imperare assuescant, itemque omnes animi vires, praesertim intelligentiam ac voluntatem, quae summum in homine obtinent locum, in obsequium Christi cogere. *Qui relinquere universa disponis, te quoque inter relinquenda connumerare memento, imo maxime et principaliter abnega temetipsum,*[4] Soluto ac libero ab omni cupidine animo, tum denique alacre et generosum studium concipient salutis alienae, sine quo nec satis consulerent suae. *Unus erit de subditis quaestus, una pompa, unaque voluptas, si quomodo possent parare plebem perfectam. Id omnibus satagent etiam multa contritione cordis et corporis, in labore et aerumna, in fame et siti, in frigore et nuditate.*[5] Cujusmodi virtutem semper experrectam et ad ardua quaelibet, proximorum gratia, impavidam mire fovet et corroborat bonorum coelestium contemplatio frequens. In qua sane quanto plus posuerint operae, tanto liquidius magnitudinem munerum sacerdotalium et excellentiam et sanctitatem intelligent. Judicabunt illud quam sit miserum, tot homines per Jesum Christum redemptos, ruere tamen in interitum sempiternum : divinaeque

[1] S. Joan. Chrysost., de Sac, I. III., c. i.
[2] Matth., v., 16.
[3] Conc. Trid. sess. XXII., c. i. *de Ref.*
[4] S. Bernard. Declam c. i.
[5] Id. Consid., lib. IV., de c. ii.

cogitatione naturae in amorem Dei et intendent sese vehementius et ceteros excitabunt.

Est ejusmodi cursus ad salutem communem certissimus. In quo tamen magnopere cavendum, ne qui magnitudine difficultatum terreatur, aut propter diuturnitatem malorum de sanatione desperet. Dei aequissima immutabilisque justitia et recte factis praemia reservat et supplicia peccatis. Gentes vero et nationes, quoniam ultro mortalis aevi spatium propagari non possunt, debitam factis mercedem ferant in terris necesse est. Utique non est novum, successus prosperos peccanti civitati contingere : idque justo Dei consilio, qui actiones laudabiles, neque enim est ulla gens omni laude vacans, ejusmodi beneficiorum genere interdum remuneratur: quod in populo romano judicat Augustinus contigisse. Rata tamen lex est, ad prosperam fortunam omnino plurimum interesse quemadmodum publice virtus, ac nominatim ea, quae parens est ceterarum, justitia colatur. *Justitia elevat gentem : miseros autem facit populos peccatum.*[1] Nihil attinet considerationem hoc loco intendere in victricia facinora ; nec exquirere, ullane imperia, salvis rebus suis et ad voluntatem fluentibus, gerant tamen velut in imis visceribus inclusum semen miseriarum.

Unam rem intelligi volumus, cujus rei plena est exemplorum historia, injuste facta aliquando esse luenda, eoque gravius, quo fuerint diuturniora delicta. Nos quidem magnopere illa Pauli Apostoli sententia consolatur : *Omnia enim vestra sunt : vos autem Christi, Christus autem Dei.*[2] Videlicet arcano divinae Providentiae nutu sic rerum mortalium regitur gubernaturque cursus, ut, quaecumque hominibus accidunt, omnia Dei ipsius gloriae asserviant, itemque sint eorum saluti, qui Jesum Christum vere et ex animo sequuntur, conducibilia. Horum vero mater et altrix, dux et custos est Ecclesiae : quae idcirco cum Christo ponso suo sicut intimo atque incommutabili caritate copulatur, ita conjungitur societate certaminum et communione victoriae.

Nihil igitur anxii Ecclesiae caussa sumus, nec esse possumus : sed valde pertimescimus de salute plurimorum, qui Ecclesia superbe posthabita, errore vario in interitum aguntur : angimur earum caussa civitatum, quas spectare cogimur aversas a Deo, et summos rerum omnium discrimini stolida securitate indormientes. *Nihil Ecclesiae par est. Quot Ecclesiam oppugnarunt ipsique perierunt? Ecclesia vero coelos transcendit. . . . Talis est Ecclesiae magnitudo ; vincit impugnata, insidiis appetita superat . . . luctatur nec prosternitur, pugilatu certat nec vincitur.*[3] Neque solum non vincitur, sed illam,

[1] Prov., xiv., 34. [2] I. Cor., iii., 22, 23.
[3] S. Joan. Chrys. Or. post Eutrop. captum habita, n. i.

quam perenni haustu a Deo ipso derivat, emendatricem naturae et efficientem salutis virtutem conservat integram, nec ulla temporum permutatione mutabilem. Quae virtus si senescentem vitiis et perditum superstitione mundum divinitus liberavit, quidni devium revocabit? Conticescant aliquando suspiciones ac simultates: amotisque impedimentis, esto jurium suorum ubique compos Ecclesia, cujus est tueri ac propagare parta per Jesum Christum beneficia. Tunc enim vero licebit experiendo cognoscere quo lux Evangelii pertineat, quid virtus Christi redemptoris possit.

Hic annus, qui est in exitu, non pauca, ut initio diximus, reviviscentis fidei indicia praetulit. Utinam istiusmodi velut scintilla crescat in vehementem flammam, quae, absumptis vitiorum radicibus, viam celeriter expediat ad renovendos mores et salutaria capassenda. Nos quidem mystico Ecclesiae navigio tam adversa tempestate praepositi, mentem animumque in divinum gubernatorem defigimus, qui clavum tenens sedet non visus in puppi.

Vides, Domine, ut undique eruperint venti, ut mare inhorrescat, magna vi excitatis fluctibus. Impera, quaesumus, qui solus potes, et ventis et mari. Redde hominum generi pacem veri nominis, quam mundus dare non potest, tranquillitatem ordinis. Scilicet munere impulsuque tuo referant sese homines ad ordinem debitum, restituta, ut oportet, pietate in Deum, justitia et caritate in proximos, temperantia in semetipsos, domitis ratione cupiditatibus. Adveniat regnum tuum, ibique subesse ac servire ii quoque intelligant oportere, qui veritatem et salutem, te procul, vano labore exquirunt. Inest in legibus tuis aequitas ac lenitudo paterna: ad easque servandas ultro nobis ipse suppeditas expeditam virtute tua facultatem. Militia est vita hominis super terram: sed ipse *certamen inspectas, et adjuvas hominem ut vincat, et deficientem sublevas, et vincentem coronas.*[1]

[1]Cf. Aug., in ps. xxxii.

Atque his sensibus erecto in spem laetam firmamque animo, munerum coelestium auspicem et benevolentiae Nostrae testem, vobis venerabiles Frates, et Clero, populoque catholico universo apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, ipso die natali D. Jesus An. MDCCCXXXVIII, Pontificatus Nostri undecimo.

Leo PP. XIII.

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THE EARTH'S EARLY HISTORY.

(VIEWED FROM A PHYSICIST'S STANDPOINT—AN ARGUMENT FOR CREATION.)

IT was shown in a former paper[1] that tidal friction is gradually diminishing the speed of the earth's rotation about its axis; and we know that tidal friction has been in operation for ages. The fossil remains of marine plants and animals found in such profuse abundance in the stratified rocks, which form the greater part of the earth's outer covering, recall a time when those rocks were strewn as soft mud on the bed of the ocean. A glance at the geological map of our own country will show that not far beneath the surface there lies an undulating plane of limestone, some thousands of feet in thickness, extending, with a few slight interruptions, from the coast between Dundalk and Dublin to the Bay of Galway, and from the counties of Cavan and Monaghan in the north, to the confines of Waterford, Cork, and Kerry in the south. Any one who will take the trouble to inspect an ordinary quarry lying within this region cannot fail to find many specimens of marine shells embedded in the rock; and a piece of the latter, when reduced to powder and examined with a fairly good microscope, will reveal the remarkable fact that nearly the entire substance of the limestone is made up of minute fragments of shells, and skeletons of worms and other marine animal forms.

Now, we cannot help believing that these shells and

[1] I. E. RECORD (Third Series), vol. ix., n. 4 (April, 1888), p. 308.

skeletons were placed there by agencies similar to those which we find constantly at work in our own time along our coasts and at the greatest depths of the ocean. In their primitive condition, therefore, those rocks were only the debris of marine animal structures scattered in great profusion on the bottom of the sea, chemical and mechanical forces in the lapse of ages gradually cemented and consolidated them into their present compact form; and the action of subterranean heat or, as many geologists suppose, the subsidence of other parts of the earth's surface, owing to the cooling and consequent contraction of the interior, finally raised them above the level of the waves.

The other sedimentary rocks have a history somewhat similar to that of the limestone; many of them are even much older. The greenish slaty rocks of Bray Head and the Sugar Loaf in Wicklow preceded the age in which the limestone was formed by an interval probably as great as that which separates the limestone age from the present. And during all those long series of years tidal friction was unceasingly at work. The speed of the earth's rotation, therefore, must have been greater in the past than it is now. But it had a limit. At the present rate, a body at the equator loses about the two-hundred and ninetieth part of its weight owing to the centrifugal force arising from its inertia; and it follows from the law of angular motion, that if the rate were increased much beyond seventeen times its present value, all the water on its surface and solid bodies near the equator not firmly held down by adhesion would part company with the earth, and commence a new career as its satellites. There are some who think it was in this way that the moon, from being once part of our terrestrial orb, began its separate existence. And, no doubt, some of the circumstances of its motion would seem to suggest such an origin. But its density, which is less than three-fifths of the mean density of the earth, creates a difficulty. Besides this, the inclination of the moon's orbit to the plane of the earth's equator being much greater than the small angle of about five degrees, which the orbit makes with the ecliptic, would point to a solar rather than a terrestrial parentage.

A mass of fluid matter suspended in space, and left entirely to the gravitating influences of its own particles, would assume a spherical form—as the rain drop does when falling from the roof, or the molten lead which during its descent shapes itself to suit the sportsman. If, however, such a mass were rotated about one of its diameters, it would cease to be a sphere. As the school-boy's hoop becomes an oval when set rapidly spinning round one of its diameters, a spherical mass when rotated becomes flattened towards the extremities of the axis and widens out in a central plane perpendicular to it. Now, this is the shape which the earth is found to have by actual measurement—its equatorial diameter exceeding the polar by nearly twenty-seven miles; and it can hardly be doubted that this peculiar shape is in some way due to the earth's motion of rotation. But the thickness and rigidity of the rocks found beneath its surface are much too great to admit of the earth's present figure being satisfactorily explained by centrifugal force alone.

We are compelled to go back to a time long before the oldest of the sedimentary rocks or the water necessary for their formation made their appearance—a time when the granite of the Mourne and Donegal Highlands, and the basalt of Antrim formed part of one vast sea of viscid lava which everywhere covered the earth's surface. Many vestiges of this former condition of our globe remain to the present day. Hot wells and burning mountains may be counted by the score in both hemispheres; and the catastrophes of Ischia and the Riviera in recent years bear witness that even these safety valves, numerous as they are, sometimes prove inadequate to relieve the enormous pressure arising from the store of energy still accumulated in the earth's interior. Many interesting problems for which science, in its present state, can offer little more than conjectural solutions are presented by the earthquake and the eruption of the volcano; but although unable to diminish their frequency, or mitigate their intensity, the doctrine of energy clearly shows that future generations will be less afflicted than their predecessors with these dreadful calamities. Whether arising from the volatilizing action of red-hot masses on water and other substances

which find their way down through cracks in the upper strata or, as others suppose, from chemical forces always at work at great depths below the surface, each fresh outburst necessarily involves a vast expenditure of energy, and, therefore, implies a diminution of the residual store.

But, apart from these extraordinary phenomena, the thermal condition of the rocks near the earth's surface proves clearly one of two things: either the earth has been immensely hotter in the past than it is now, or the source, whatever it may be, whence its present heat is derived is being rapidly exhausted. It is well known that in sinking shafts for mining purposes and in boring for wells, when a certain depth has been reached, the influence of the sun's heat ceases to be felt. A thermometer placed there will indicate the same temperature throughout the year; whereas, if placed at any lesser depth, the temperature will be found to change with the seasons. Moreover, when the first stratum of constant temperature has been passed, it is invariably found that the greater the depth, the higher the temperature becomes. The rate of increase is not the same everywhere; but, so far as observation has yet gone, one centigrade degree for every hundred feet may be taken as a fair average. It need not be assumed that this rate of increase continues to all depths; and the small distance to which it is practicable to penetrate into the earth's interior obviously would render such an assumption unwarrantable.

But the fact remains that not far beneath the surface there are strata of rock nearly but not quite concentric with it, whose temperature at any given point never changes, and which have hotter strata always below them, and colder strata always above them. A stratum of this kind, therefore, must give by conduction to those above it, each second of time, just as much heat as it receives from the hotter strata below it; and since the temperature of the upper strata is not increased from year to year, this heat is necessarily lost by the earth, and passes by radiation into space. As this process is constantly going on throughout the entire extent of the earth's surface, and has been in operation for immeasurable ages in the past, the amount of heat which the earth has parted with up to the present must be enormously great.

There are two ways conceivable in which this vast expenditure of heat may be accounted for: either by supposing a gradual cooling of the earth's mass, which was once at a very high temperature throughout, or by assuming that there are in its interior and in close proximity substances possessing strong mutual affinities. When water is thrown on quicklime or mixed with oil of vitriol, as is known, heat is developed; and in general, when chemical action takes place between different bodies, a similar result ensues. Nor can it be denied that with a sufficient supply of such substances all the phenomena of Vesuvius and Ætna, of Casamiciola and the Riviera, might be produced. But we must regard it as in the last degree improbable that such substances should be found together at all parts of the earth's surface where observations have been made, and in such abundance, too, as to supply heat for the radiation which has been going on throughout the entire period of the earth's past history. Besides this, the earth's spheroidal form requires some explanation; and this peculiar shape, as before stated, is satisfactorily accounted for only by supposing, as Leibnitz did, that the earth was once in the state of a liquid or viscid fiery mass. Physicists have even gone so far as to estimate roughly the time it has taken to cool down to its present condition.

The problem, although it cannot be called insoluble, is one surrounded with very great difficulties, for some of the important data are as yet but imperfectly known. The melting temperatures and specific heats of the igneous rocks—such as granite and basalt—have only been determined within very wide limits; and in such investigations it is obvious that large experimental errors are almost unavoidable. Taking the most probable values of all the quantities involved, some eminent physicists have calculated the period which has elapsed since consolidation commenced as about ten million years. Many geologists, however, in spite of physical reasons to the contrary, demand a period several hundred times longer to explain the changes which, they say, the strata of the earth's crust and the fossil remains embedded in them disclose. As might be expected, the present condition of

the interior is also a subject of controversy; and while most physicists maintain that at present the earth is nearly solid throughout, geologists commonly regard it as a liquid sphere enclosed within a hollow shell or crust from fifty to a hundred miles in thickness. But in one thing both physicists and geologists are now practically agreed—that the earth at a certain remote epoch in its history was an incandescent liquid mass, or, at least, was covered all over to a very great depth with molten rock, *so that neither animal nor vegetable life could have existed on its surface.*

Such a state of things cannot have lasted long. A red-hot mass of liquid radiating into space would soon have its surface temperature reduced to the point of solidification—the more so if we assume, as the latest experiments seem to warrant, that the igneous rocks expand in solidifying, like water in freezing. The rate of cooling, no doubt, was greatly retarded by the vast amount of clouds and aqueous vapour present in the atmosphere; for the water, which now covers about two-thirds of the earth's surface, existed then only in one or other of these forms. But making due allowance for the law of exchanges, and the high absorptive and radiating powers of vapour of water, it is clear that within a very few years at the farthest there must have formed on the surface a solid crust, which has been increasing in thickness ever since.

Seeing, then, that the earth's liquid state was only one of rapid transition, we are compelled to seek an antecedent condition of things in which it had its origin. Of the many hypotheses hitherto proposed, the one which has met with most general acceptance among men of science is that commonly known as the Nebular Hypothesis of Laplace. In it terrestrial and solar heat are traced to a common source, the condensation of nebulous or highly attenuated gaseous matter which once filled the entire space contained within the limits of the solar system, extending even beyond it, and out of which the different bodies of that system were subsequently formed. The gravitating forces with which the nebulous particles were originally endowed drew them towards a common centre; and the heat produced by their

collisions in falling together raised the temperature of the mass many million degrees. The impacts of the colliding particles gave rise to rotation of the whole about an axis through the centre of gravity; and the revolving mass thus formed was the primitive sun. Radiation into the cold regions of space was accompanied by further condensation which compensated for the loss sustained; and, by a principle known to mathematicians as the 'conservation of areas,' increased angular motion necessarily followed diminished volume. The solar mass owing to centrifugal force widened out more and more in a central plane, and an equatorial ring of matter ultimately became detached from the parent body. Preserving its motion unchanged and widening still further as it separated from the sun, the ring finally broke; but its particles drawn together by their mutual attractions assumed a new spherical form, and became the first of the planets. The rotatory motion derived from the sun increased as the planet cooled; and by a process similar to that in which the planet itself had its origin, there was gradually evolved from its substance the oldest of its satellites. Such in brief outline are the main features of this famous hypothesis. We shall see presently some of the evidence on which it rests.

The appearance which the sun's surface presents to the eye, even when aided by the telescope, naturally suggested the old notion of a white-hot solid or liquid slowly cooling. When careful measurements came to be applied, however, the solar radiation was found to be so enormously great, that in a globe composed of any known terrestrial substance an appreciable diminution of temperature should necessarily be detected even in the course of a few centuries. Combustion which was next thought of had also to be abandoned when experiment had shown that there is no process of combustion known to science at all adequate to explain the source of solar heat. A mass of coal having the dimensions of the sun and radiating with the same intensity would be entirely consumed in less than five thousand years; and a globe of oil of the same size if set on fire would burn out in a tenth of that time. But although it is certain that the sun's store of heat-energy is being gradually exhausted, still the

unchanged condition of plants and animals at any given part of the earth's surface during the period of man's history shows clearly that the diminution which has taken place during that time is inappreciable compared with the total amount. The Nebular hypothesis supplied a cause adequate to account for this immense store, and to preserve the sun's temperature unchanged for ages to come.

It is a well-known experiment that if a tube closed at one end be provided with a piston fitting air-tight, on suddenly driving in the piston enough heat may be developed to ignite tinder or other inflammable substance placed within the tube. The pressure arising from the gravitating forces of the nebulous particles, in the hypothesis we are considering, far exceeded any attainable by human contrivance. It has been computed that if the planet Jupiter were brought to rest and reduced to its original nebulous condition, the pressure on the sun's surface resulting from its fall would generate heat enough to maintain the solar radiation, great as it is, for upwards of thirty thousand years; and a period of twenty million years would not completely exhaust the store of heat which would be accumulated if a globe of nebulous matter, extending to the planet Neptune, were condensed by the gravitation of its particles to the present size of the sun.

The large volumes of apparently nebulous matter, in every variety of shape, scattered through space which the telescope reveals, seem to have suggested to Laplace, and to Kant before him, the rudiments of their theory. But in the last century and the first half of the present, even with the greatly increased space-penetrating powers of the Herschel and Ross telescopes, there was no means available to distinguish with certainty between purely nebulous matter and dense clusters of faintly visible stars. Neither was it possible to apply to the solar and terrestrial masses any test by which the similarity of constituents, which the Nebular Hypothesis supposes, might be established. These links in the chain of argument the Spectroscope has since supplied. The number and position of the bright lines visible in its vapour spectrum furnish in many cases, as is known, a more trustworthy means of detecting the presence of an elementary substance than

the most delicate reagents of the chemist; and when a beam of white light from a very intense source passes through a gas or vapour at a lower temperature, the dark absorption lines which the gas produces also serve to determine its nature. In this way about twenty terrestrial substances have been identified up to the present as glowing gases in the atmosphere of the sun; and of the vast number of meteorites which have fallen to the earth, not even one has been found to contain any other than terrestrial elements. Several of the nebulae also which, thirty years ago, were thought by many to be irresolvable only from want of sufficient telescopic power, are now known by the characteristic spectral lines which they produce to be faintly luminous masses of two well-known gaseous substances. Even the stars whose distance defies the telescope to give them magnitude are proved by the vapours which surround them to have grown from the same primordial matter as the rest.

But the arguments on which Laplace relied were different from these. He felt it could not be the result of chance that all the planets, including the earth, revolve in the same order about the sun, and in planes inclined to each other at very small angles. When viewed from the earth the planets, as their name implies, appear to wander about at random among the stars on the concave surface of the heavens. Moving generally eastward, at times they seem to stop, turn back, and, after another pause, continue their eastward journey as at first. So long as the idea of a stationary earth held possession of men's minds, these complicated motions could only be represented, with any approach to exactness, by means of the epicycloids of Ptolemy, who assumed that each planet moves in the circumference of a circle whose centre describes another circle about the earth. But the celestial machinery was very much simplified when it was found that all the appearances which the planets present to us could easily be accounted for, by supposing that each of them moves in a nearly circular path about a fixed centre in the sun. And were it in our power to view the earth and planets from the sun, in our new position we should see

them moving round us in nearly coincident planes, and in the same invariable order.

Of these remarkable phenomena Laplace's hypothesis afforded an easy explanation. When condensation had once commenced in the original nebulous mass, the rotation due to the impacts of its particles gave rise to a centrifugal force which, in the neighbourhood of the sun's equator where it was greatest, detached in succession, but at very long intervals, the principal members of our planetary system. The mutual attraction of its molecules gave to each as it parted from the sun a new spherical form, and under the combined influence of its own inertia and the pull towards the common centre of gravity it continued to circulate about the latter in the same plane and in the same order as before. In one case, indeed, separation seems to have happened under exceptional conditions. The minor planets with which the astronomers of the last century were wholly unacquainted now number nearly three hundred, and fill up the chasm between Mars and Jupiter, where Bode's law required a planet. While agreeing with the major planets in the order in which they revolve about the sun, the minor planets differ from them in this—that the orbits of some are inclined at considerable angles to the plane of the ecliptic—the inclination of one being nearly thirty-five degrees. This circumstance, combined with their number and the smallness of most of them, has led some astronomers to conjecture that they are only the fragments of a larger body which once revolved about the sun in the space they now occupy. But even without such an assumption, it is clear that an equatorial ring of matter once detached from the solar mass might continue to circulate about it unbroken, as seems to have happened in the case of Saturn's rings; or, having broken in one or more places, might have formed a single or several distinct bodies. Nor is it difficult to conceive that differences of temperature and density may have led to the divergences which exist in the planes of their orbits.

So long ago as the time of Galileo the motion of dark spots in nearly parallel lines across the solar disc had con-

vinced astronomers that the sun turns on an axis, and a hundred years before Laplace's *Système du Monde* appeared, Cassini had shown that the ecliptic does not differ much from the plane of the sun's equator. The earth and planets, too, were known to revolve on axes, and in the same order as the sun—a necessary consequence of their solar origin. Even the satellites of Jupiter and Saturn—the only ones then known to exist, were found to follow laws similar to those of their primaries. But perhaps the most striking agreement between observation and theory is furnished by a comparison of the relative densities of the planets and the rates at which they move in their respective orbits. The hypothesis of Laplace required that the youngest of the planets should also be the densest, and that the oldest should move slowest; for so long as the solar mass continued to cool and diminish in size, it was a dynamical necessity that its speed of rotation should increase.

Newton's theory of gravitation once admitted, and the distances of the planets from the sun accurately known, astronomers were enabled to determine the mean densities in some cases with great exactness. As a result, the densities of Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, and Neptune—the four most distant from the sun are found to be in striking contrast with those of Mercury, Venus, the Earth, and Mars. If a cubic foot were cut out of Jupiter the densest of the first four, it would weigh on the earth only about a third more than a cubic foot of water; whereas a piece of the same size taken from Mercury would be more than six times as heavy. Again, Neptune, the first thrown off by the sun, and the most distant planet known to us, takes nearly one hundred and sixty-five years to perform its revolution; while Mercury, the youngest of the planets and the nearest to the sun, completes its course in less than three months. At present the sun makes a revolution on its axis in a little more than twenty-five days, and a point on its surface at the equator moves over nearly a mile and a quarter each second of time; owing to its enormous mass, however, the intensity of gravitation at the surface is such that this velocity, great as it appears to us, will require to be increased

to more than two hundred times its present value before any further addition can be made to the numerous offspring of the sun.

There has recently been revived, as stated elsewhere,[1] another hypothesis—first proposed forty years ago by Mayer—which differs from Laplace's in regarding the meteoric, and not the nebulous, as the primitive condition of matter. That countless myriads of bodies, much too small to be detected even with the largest telescopes, are flying at enormous speed through space, cannot now be questioned. The "shooting stars," with which every one is familiar from childhood, are visible on any night in the year when the sky is free from clouds; and, should the time chosen for observation be about the second week of August or the middle of November, hundreds of them may be counted in a single night. But it is only on rare occasions that these striking phenomena are seen in their full splendour. The wonderful display of November, 1866, is still remembered by many, when, within a few hours, several thousands were observed tracing their fiery paths, like so many celestial rockets, in the upper regions of the atmosphere. Owing to their rapid motion, when meteors enter the air, the friction raises their temperature to vivid incandescence, many being wholly converted into vapour, which appears as a luminous trail several miles in length; others, which survive, have their rate so diminished by the resistance that, unable to escape from the earth's attraction, they fall to its surface. Until recently, physicists and astronomers were divided as to whether the meteors should be ranked as part of the solar system; but the periodic phenomena of August and November, and the still greater "star showers" which recur at intervals of thirty-three-and-a-quarter years, have placed beyond doubt that many of them at least revolve in closed but very eccentric orbits about the sun. In the heat generated by the incessant fall of meteors into the sun, Mayer found sufficient compensation for the loss sustained by radiation; and to the mutual attractions and collisions of meteoric masses, he traced the origin of the sun and stars, and of the earth and planets.

[1] I. E. Record, vol. x., n. 1 (January, 1889), p. 61.

But, whether we conceive the realms of space as once occupied only by countless swarms of flying meteors, or regard the latter as originating in the interactions of pre-existing nebulous particles, the question arises Have the changes by which the present physical universe has been gradually evolved, been going on throughout an infinite past, or must we admit a starting point, and an agent, other than matter, to give the first impulse? To this question the physicist is bound by the principles of his science to give an unhesitating answer. With him it is an axiom that where work is done there must be an equivalent expenditure of energy. Whether the means employed be heated steam, or falling water, or the muscles of men or animals, the conditions are the same for all. Nature will have no compromise. It is this principle which guides the physicist when he ranks in the same catagory the mediæval alchemist, who spent his life in searching for the philosopher's stone, and the perpetual-motion inventor of a less distant age. He knows that in the universe, as we find it, frictionless motion is impossible. A revolving, rigid and weightless wheel, suspended in vacant space, is, indeed, conceivable; but of such rotation we have no experience; and we can have none. When the resistances of pivots, and of the air, have been successfully removed, the friction of the ether—the vehicle of all the light and heat[1] we enjoy—remains to thwart our efforts. And friction implies the performance of work. The rubbing of the finest spider thread against the fly-wheel of a steam-engine would, of itself, if continued long enough, finally stop the motion; additional fuel, which will restore the lost energy, is needed to keep it constantly going. In the mechanism of the heavens, perpetual motion is no less impossible than in any machine of human construction. All the heavenly bodies known to us move in a resisting medium; for absolutely vacant space in a visible universe, as explained in a former paper,[2] is a contradiction. Even the stars, which we are wont to call *fixed*, are only seemingly so. Already a

[1] The recent experiments of Hertz prove clearly that electromagnetic action is also due to ethereal vibration.

[2] I. E. Record, vol. ix., n. 4 (April, 1888) p. 308.

proper motion has been discovered in many of them; and, were our instruments more perfect, might be detected in all. Our solar system is no exception to the rule; and when its centre of gravity is referred to as a fixed point in the sun, it is only for convenience' sake; for, like the stars, the sun itself, and its attendant retinue of planets, are revolving round the only fixed point in space—the centre of gravity of the universe.

It needs but little reflection to see that motion such as this cannot have been going on for ever in the past, and must eventually come to an end. With the abstract possibility of eternal matter we are not dealing here. That we freely concede; for where the Angelic Doctor[1] could not see a contradiction, we may be pardoned if we fail to find one. But whether existing as attenuated nebulous particles, or swarms of meteors, or as distinct solar and stellar systems, gravitating matter left to itself and moving in a resisting medium necessarily loses by the friction each second of time a part of its energy, and, owing to the resistance it experiences, is gradually drawn nearer and nearer to its centre of attraction. And as the earth and planets will one day end their career in the sun, for a like reason the sun and stars after a long but not indefinite period must come together and form a single mass round their common centre of gravity. The certainty of such a result in the future is evidence that the motion of these bodies had a beginning in the past; for however slowly they are approaching each other and parting with their energy, the process, if continued without limit of time, must have brought them to rest long ages ago. It is true that in falling together the sun and stars, as also the earth and planets, may produce by their collisions an amount of heat and rotation in the resulting mass sufficient to develop new stellar and planetary systems after the manner imagined by Laplace. Nay more, it is not inconsistent with the known properties of gravitating matter that the process may be repeated many million times in succession. Still the end is inevitable; for each time the store of energy is less than it was the preceding one. So long as there exists

[1] *Summa*, p. i., Qu. xlvi., art. 2.

a body moving in space, ethereal friction continues to fritter away its energy of motion in the form of low-temperature heat.

To suppose, as some have done, that the universe is infinite in mass in no way affects the argument. Such a conception, besides its many inherent difficulties, involves the diffusion of matter through unlimited space; and every point in that space would be a centre of gravity. In strictness, therefore, the universe would not have a centre of gravity at all; and each individual finite system of which the infinite whole is composed would be influenced only by the mutual interactions of its own constituent bodies. The earth and planets would revolve about the sun as if the solar system alone existed in space; and whether we conceive the sun as stationary, or as moving in a straight line in obedience to the law of inertia, the resistance of the ethereal medium would long since have exhausted their store of energy. In whatever light, therefore, the question is regarded, it is clear that a time must be admitted when the celestial machinery commenced its motion. From that moment to the present, slowly but incessantly, it has been running down; and it will continue to do so until the universe ends as it began in a state of tranquil repose—a state from which, if it then existed at all, it never could have emerged without some agent, different from matter, to give it the first impulse.

F. Lennon.

THE CELTIC PASCHAL CONTROVERSY.

IT is not easy to estimate the importance which in the middle of the seventh century attached to those questions regarding the celebration of Easter, by which, for a period, the peace of the Church of Great Britain was disturbed. The controversy was felt through many of the districts in which the Faith had but recently found a footing amongst the Saxons. It was also felt in those far earlier and more

flourishing missions in Wales, in Northumbria, and Caledonia, which had grown up under the fostering care of Irish monks; and unfortunately it was made the occasion of intensifying the feelings of hatred with which the subjugated Britons regarded their co-religionists and conquerors the Saxons. Even the apostle of England was powerless to remove those misunderstandings.

It should be remembered also, that as the great Celtic controversy divided the nation, so too it divided the household of the good King Oswy, Sovereign of the Saxon Confederation. Thus "two Easter festivals were celebrated" even in the royal household every year. In the monasteries, too, the question was fast leading up to a similar diversity of disciplinary observance. We find the young and imperious Wilfred scornfully rejecting at Ripon, the Celtic observances to which St. Hilda and her religious rigidly adhered, and which had been hitherto strictly practised at Lindisfarne and the other great northern monasteries.

Under those circumstances the king's anxiety to have the question finally decided, was very natural and intelligible. A conference was accordingly summoned by him, at which the nobility and representative men of the kingdom were required to attend, together with its leading ecclesiastics. It was in truth a national parliament, over which the king presided in person. The monastery of the royal Hilda, which flung its shadows from the frowning cliffs of Whitby, over the heaving bosom of the Northern Ocean, was then one of the most important in the north of England, and was selected as the most suitable place for the holding of this most important convention.

The king naturally looked to Colman, Abbot of Lindisfarne, then the only bishop of Northumbria, as the most suitable advocate of Celtic observances. His holy predecessors whose relics were treasured within the walls of his monastery, as well as the saints of his native land, were zealous supporters of the system he was now called upon to explain and uphold.

Though St. Wilfrid did not then hold so high an official position, he was well and widely known for his learning and

sanctity. His influence with the queen, his friendly intercourse with the young prince, his ardent and untiring efforts to supersede the Celtic customs by the adoption of the reformed Roman method, caused him to be regarded as the most suitable supporter of the opposite side. He was accordingly selected as its advocate by the king.

Broadly speaking, the sole question before the meeting was, whether the old Roman system for fixing the date of Easter, which was introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick, and then followed in certain portions of the Irish Church, was to be retained or superseded by the new and reformed Roman system. It is a matter of interest to know with certainty the views entertained by those representative men, on a question of such widespread and absorbing interest. And our interest will, perhaps, be stimulated, when we find that while both maintained antagonistic views, and with passionate ardour, both were ignorant of the real character of the question which they undertook to discuss. We have fortunately a detailed narrative of their views from the pen of no less an authority than Venerable Bede.[1]

At the invitation of the king, the Bishop of Northumbria spoke in justification of the Celtic usages, and at the very beginning advanced his strongest arguments in favour of them. His method of celebrating Easter was sanctioned by the usages of his saintly predecessors. Was it not the system introduced by the great national apostle of Ireland, who brought it with the Faith from Rome? Was it not practised for the last two centuries by the saints of Ireland, whose names were venerated throughout Europe? Could they have erred? His resolution seemed, indeed, to have been already formed, and to have rested entirely on those grounds, for he adds: "In reverence for our ancestors we dare not and will not change." This argument, if inconclusive, was at least intelligible. But when he urges that his predecessors had but followed the example set them by St. John the Evangelist and St. Polycarp, he betrayed a lamentable ignorance of the origin and character of those usages.

[1] *Eccl. His.*, lib. 3.

Wilfred, in reply, referred to the existing practice in Rome, which was then adopted almost universally, and pointed out with unanswerable cogency, that they were only the Britons and Picts—the occupants of only a portion of "those islands, who foolishly persist in contradicting all the rest of the world."

Not content, however, with this unanswerable argument, he advanced some additional statements which betrayed equal ignorance of the origin and growth of the controversy. He contended that his system of Easter observances had been established by St. Peter, with the approval of our Lord, and the sanction of Sacred Scripture. Not content with this groundless statement, he refers somewhat slightingly, and perhaps offensively, to the Irish saints. He admits, indeed, that they were servants of God, who "no doubt loved him in their rustic simplicity with the most pious intentions," but who might find in their ignorance the best palliation of their errors as regarded the paschal celebration.

There was no question of faith; neither was there any question of apostolic discipline, notwithstanding the statements of the disputants. The result of the decision, which was in favour of Wilfrid, tended, as might have been anticipated, rather to widen than remove differences. And what in effect can be less suggestive of harmony than the graphic picture of the result left us by Montelambert, which I take the liberty of transcribing here?—

"But Colman refused to recognise the decision of the Council. He could not resign himself to see his doctrine despised, and his spiritual ancestors depreciated. He feared also the anger of his countrymen, who would *not have pardoned his defection.* He determined to abandon his diocese accordingly, taking with him all the Lindisfarne monks. He left Northumbria for ever, and went to Iona to consult the Father of the Order or Family of St. Columba. He carried with him the bones of his predecessor, St. Aidan—the first Celtic evangelist of Northumbria—as if the ungrateful land had become unworthy to possess those relics of a betrayed saint, and witness of a despised apostleship."

Erroneous in some respects as were the views advanced both by St. Colman and St. Wilfrid on this question, there can be but little doubt that they represented the views of numbers in the

Saxon and British missions at that time, on the same question. At least there can be no room for doubting that the indignant feelings of the Abbot of Lindisfarne were largely shared by his countrymen in England at the time. He seems to have thought that in Ireland too, the tone of feeling was similar. He was not aware, probably, that the system which he so earnestly advocated at Whitby, was rejected a generation earlier by more than half of Ireland.

But to understand clearly the extent to which certain views advocated at Whitby were erroneous, and unconnected with the true question at issue, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the origin and nature of that question. Such knowledge is also necessary in order that we may grasp the development and character of the controversy in Ireland. A brief outline of this large and complicated question will be quite sufficient for the educated readers of the RECORD.

The earliest authoritative legislation of the Church, on the Easter question, was at Nice, A.D. 325. There were many in the Eastern Church, at that period, who held that Christians were bound by the divine law to celebrate Easter on the same day as that on which the Pasch was celebrated by the Jews. This doctrine was condemned as heretical by the Council and was subsequently known as the quarto-deciman heresy. *As a matter of mere discipline*, it was enacted by the Council that the Easter Festival should be celebrated by the whole Church, on one and the same day; and that the day of its celebration should be the Sunday next after the fourteenth day of the first lunar month. It was also ordered that it should not be celebrated before the vernal equinox, lest the practice of Christians might ever correspond with the Jewish practice, as regarded the paschal celebration.

But against that *uniformity of discipline* of which the Nicene decrees gave such gratifying promise, there remained an unexpected difficulty. How was the first lunar month to be fixed? Was it by retaining the old Jewish cycle of eighty-four years? Or was it by adopting the reformed Alexandrine cycle of nineteen years? The high and well-established reputation of the Church of Alexandria on questions of astronomy, militated strongly in favour of the later

alternative. And, accordingly, to the Alexandrine Church was entrusted the duty of determining the time for the celebration of the Easter festival. It became its duty also, to give annually to the Pope timely intimation of the particular date; so that it might be published through him, in due course, to the universal Church. From causes which do not appear to be clearly stated, Rome, after following the Alexandrine system for a time, returned to the Jewish cycle. Meantime the Eastern, and some portions of the Western Church, such as Milan, retained and followed the Alexandrine computation. The old abuses, therefore, as regarded *uniformity of discipline*, become more marked than ever. In A.D. 387, Easter was celebrated at Rome on the 18th of April, while at Milan and at Alexandria, it was not celebrated till the 25th of the same month. Thirty years afterwards, owing to the same causes (A.D. 417) Easter was celebrated at Rome, nearly an entire month earlier than it was celebrated at Alexandria.

There can be no doubt that the system which prevailed at Rome in A.D. 417, was that which was introduced by St. Patrick into Ireland fifteen years afterwards. It was the system which continued to be observed at Rome until the middle of the sixth century, when the system of Dionysius Exiguus, which might be said to correspond with the Alexandrine, was adopted there.

But the universal adoption of the new Roman system should be of necessity a matter of some time. In France it was not universally adopted until the close of the sixth century. No wonder its adoption in Ireland should have been slower still, considering its relatively remote position from the great centre of Catholic unity.

But as St. Patrick had introduced into Ireland the method of determining the Easter festival which prevailed in Rome in his time, so too had St. Augustine brought with him to England the reformed system, which had been adopted at Rome but a little time previously. Thus the reformed system was established by St. Augustine throughout the Saxon Church in England; while the districts in which Christianity had been established earlier by the Celtic missionaries

retained the methods bequeathed to them by the apostle of Ireland. In England, therefore, from the beginning of the seventh century, the two systems were brought into very close proximity and inconvenient contrast.

We have seen that St. Colman left Northumbria for ever, proudly conscious that he had endeavoured to sustain a cause that was dear to his countrymen. On his return to Ireland, however, he was roused from his cherished illusion to a consciousness of the fact that the question had been long before discussed there, and that the large majority of his countrymen had adopted the new Easter discipline.

It was in the year 630 that a letter was addressed to the Irish Church by Pope Honorius the First, *recommending* the adoption of the new system but recently adopted at Rome. A synod was soon after convened at Old Loughlin, at which the Papal Rescript was considered. As might have been expected, considering the importance of the occasion, the attendance was large. The superiors of the most important religious houses in the southern division of Ireland were represented there. St. Lessarian presided; and the Roman system could have had few more influential advocates at the time than the Venerable Abbot of Old Loughlin.

The provisions of the Rescript, though vigorously opposed by St. Fintan Monu, were almost unanimously adopted. Deputies were immediately despatched to Rome to secure for the deliberations of the synod the sanction of the Holy Father. Such a course was in conformity with the customs of the Irish Church, and with the provisions of its most ancient and important canons. It is thought by some, and with a great show of probability, that Lessarian was one of the deputation. He received Holy Orders at Rome from the hands of Pope Gregory the Great, and was consecrated bishop by the reigning Pontiff, Honorius. It is even stated that he had been sent to Ireland as the Pope's Legate.

Having reached Rome towards Easter, the Irish deputation had ample opportunities of seeing the practices prevailing there, and of noticing the conformity to the Roman custom practised by the representatives of all other countries who happened to be then in Rome. After a considerable stay, they

returned to Ireland to testify to their fellow-countrymen that the decision of the Synod of Old Loughlin was in conformity with the wishes of the Sovereign Pontiff, with the existing practice in Rome, and with the almost universal practice throughout the Church. The new Paschal system was thenceforth followed throughout Ireland, except in the northern province and in some parts of the Province of Connaught.

The north was the stronghold of the Columbian monasteries, and Iona exercised over them the authority and influence of a parent-house. Through veneration for their holy founder those monasteries continued to uphold the discipline which he had taught them. They therefore objected to the reform, and the north continued to be the stronghold of the old Irish Paschal usages. Active influences were brought to bear upon them—not without some success. The Monastery of Durrow, though Columban, was induced by the learned and holy Cummian to accept the new system. This result of his zeal is said to have roused the anger of Segienus, Abbot of Iona, who seems to have considered the question more in the angry and factious spirit with which it was regarded in England than in the calm and pacific spirit in which it was discussed in Ireland. It is certain that he addressed to St. Cummian a letter of very strong remonstrance. It was this letter which drew from Cummian his celebrated Paschal Epistle, which he addressed to *Segienus and others.*

This justly celebrated epistle is one of the most remarkable productions of the age. The erudition displayed by the writer is marvellous in its extent and variety. It forms a complete refutation of his adversary; and it is also regarded as an exhaustive treatise on the various questions of Scripture, astronomical computations, history and patristic teachings, involved in the various phases of the question from its origin. For twelve months continuously he had devoted himself to the study of this great subject. He made himself familiar with the systems which in the past had regulated the celebration of Easter amongst the Jews, the Greeks, the Latins and the Egyptians. He was able to

quote the opinions held on the subject by Origen and Cyprian, Jerome and Augustine, by Cyril of Alexandria and Gregory the Great. And with a humility worthy of his great abilities, he states that he had also consulted the successors of St. Ailbe. After a learned exposition of the growth and development of the controversy, he pointed to the existing practices of the Church of Rome, and in nearly all other countries, to show with unanswerable cogency the unfitness of maintaining in Ireland a practice at variance with the practice of the Universal Church. But the force of his unanswerable arguments was lost on Segienus and his monks of Iona, and, for a time, on a large number of the Columban monasteries.

On the other hand, a considerable number of the prelates and clergy of Ulster were opposed to this obstinate adhesion to an obsolete practice, which was already exposing their country to serious misrepresentation. There can be no doubt that Ireland was injuriously affected, even in Rome, by those misrepresentations.

While this painful diversity of opinion prevailed in the North, it was deemed advisable by Thomian, Archbishop of Armagh, and other distinguished prelates and ecclesiastics of Ulster, to consult the Holy See once more[1] on the subject. From the text of the reply, it seems clear that the primate's letter had the signatures of four of his suffragans, with the signatures of a large number of doctors and abbots. This important letter reached Rome when the death of the reigning Pontiff, Pope Severinus, was imminent. The Pope's death, which occurred soon after, threw the responsibility of a reply, to a certain extent, on the cardinals or clergy of Rome, through whom the official business of the Holy See was transacted, pending the election of a successor to the late Pontiff. Towards the close of the year 640, and prior to the consecration of Pope John IV., the reply from the Roman clergy was forwarded to the primate and the others who had addressed the Holy See.

As found in Bede,[2] it is issued in the name of Hilarius, the Archpriest, "Servans locum Sedis Apostolicae;" of

[1] A.D. 640.

[2] 19 *c.*, lib. II.

John, a Deacon and Pope elect; of John, the Primicerius, "at servans locum Sedis Apostolicae;" of John, a Servant of God and Counsellor of the same Apostolic See. Referring to the death of Pope Severinus as the cause of the delay to the reply to the Irish letter, they at once distinctly charge some persons of the Ulster province, whom they do not name,[1] with an effort to renew the old quarto deciman heresy.

This charge is refuted by Lanigan. It is declared by Montelambert to be "most unjust." "The imputation of complicity," he writes, "in this heresy, made against the Celtic Church by the chiefs of the Roman clergy in a Bull addressed in 640, during the vacancy of the Holy See, to the bishops and abbots of the North of Ireland, was most unjust." The opinion of Cardinal Moran is practically the same. He writes: "The Roman clergy indeed replied; but as their sentence was directed against the Quarto-Decimans, the defenders of the old Irish rite deemed themselves free from all censure." Nor should it be forgotten that the letter is from the Roman clergy—*not from the Pope.* No such imputation was ever cast on Ireland by the Supreme Pontiff. At no stage of the controversy did the Popes deem it necessary to do more than advise their children of the Irish Church on the subject.

But though the diversity of practice continued for some time longer in Ireland, notwithstanding the decrees of the Synod of Old Loughlin, the teaching of Lessarian, the learning of St. Cummian, and the efforts of the "holy" Thomian and his associates to heal such wounds on discipline and charity as the controversy occasioned, it was only in some Columban monasteries. But the question seemed to have been no longer regarded there as a source of danger or of public interest.

As we have seen, it was not so in England. In that country the hostility which had manifested itself between the Celtic and Saxon Churches on the Paschal controversy, in the words of Montelambert "was but the outward aspect of the dissensions" of hostile races; or, as the same eminent writer still more clearly puts it:[2] "It was

[1] "Quosdam Provinciae vestrae." [2] *Monks of the West*, vol. iv.

above all a struggle of race and influence"—a struggle intensified by the passionate ardour of such men as Colman, and the "ambitious fervour" of such men as Wilfrid. The antipathy usual between the conquerors and the subject-race, which manifested itself at Bangor, despite the charitable remonstrances of St. Augustine, were radically identical with the chief causes which caused Cuthbert and his monks to abandon Ripon, and Colman with his companions to leave Lindisfarne for ever.

J. A. FAHEY.

THE RECITATION OF THE DIVINE OFFICE.—II.

OUTSIDE of hypotheses that are purely speculative, there can be no difficulty about the *Intention* that suffices for the discharge of this obligation. As Lehmkuhl puts it, "de hac intentione nemo sanae mentis dubitare potest, si assumit *consueto modo* Breviarium, et recitare incipit, modo *ne expresse ad alium finem* lectionem assumat." A man is therefore bound to conclude that the presence of sufficient intention is involved in the act of his having taken up the Breviary rather than some book of lighter reading, unless he have a positive consciousness that he deliberately selected the Breviary for some specific object to which he had actual advertence then and there, and which of its nature excluded the pursuit of prayer. Lehmkuhl has made judicious choice of *incipit* and *assumit;* for, should a current of foreign thought supervene—such as a critical examination of the latinity, or a curiosity to become familiar with the secular and social life of the saint whose biography he is reading—such adventitious thought does not neutralise the original intention, unless when the object of somehow "orandi Deum" is formally and of deliberate purpose dismissed. Theologians therefore affirm the sufficiency of *virtual* intention—that is, of one that once had actual existence; that has never been wilfully recalled or superseded; and that survives even

"in applicatione potentiarum externarum, uti volunt Scotus, Suarez, Vasquez et multi alii." As to the form of the original intention, "dici potest," says La Croix (n. 1326), "sufficere intentionem implicitam, seu indirectam, uti si intenderem [1] colere Deum, [2] vacare Deo, [3], satisfacere officio, [4] explere obligationem, [5] *legere ne peccem*, etc. . . . . Hinc satisfacit, qui recitat cum confusa apprehensione, et proposito faciendi opus consuetum." Indeed, so self-asserting and self-sufficing is this element of intention that for a man with the Breviary in his hand, and some portion of his obligation not yet discharged, it would be a positive difficulty to vitiate the intention that manifests itself in his act. The impalpability and shadowy dimensions of the intention which abundantly suffices are revealed in the following decision given by La Croix in a somewhat cognate case: "Si quis vespere recitat Matutinum et Laudes diei sequentis, *quamvis tunc de die crastina nihil cogitet*, satisfacit pro ea, quia orat intra tempus quo pro die sequenti orari permittit Ecclesia, quae non requisivit intentionem satisfaciendi, sed tantum ponendi opus debitum [n. 1329].

Far otherwise, however, are theologians accustomed to deal with the question of *Attention*, which, with hardly an exception, they elaborate at great length in illustration of its manifold phases and possible forms. It would be beside the purpose of this paper to follow them through all the distinctions they employ; but the reader will pardon me for recalling a few.

Premising that attention is synonymous with Advertence, it is primarily divided into *internal* and *external*, the former indicating a more or less energetic application of the mind (1) to the words which we recite, or (2) to the sense of those words, or (3) to God or some less exalted sacred object; while external attention consists solely and entirely in the abstaining from every outward occupation that would be incompatible with serious spiritual thoughtfulness. When there is nothing beyond external attention pure and simple, the mind, if occupied at all, is occupied in avoiding such outward pursuits as necessarily fix and absorb one's thoughts. It concerns itself with nothing higher, either as a motive or

as an object of reflection; for, if it did, internal attention to that higher idea would *eo ipso* co-exist with it.

Having expounded the distinguishing features of those two distinct species of attention, theologians inquire whether the articulate recitation of the words of the Divine Office is possible while, all the time, there is an actual quiescence of the mental faculties, or an undivided application of the mind to objects in no way connected with that recitation. Many of them reply that the "vocalis pronunciatio" of necessity involves the action of the intellect and of the will, although we may not be able to perceive the agency of those faculties in "imperating" that particular act. If, they say, the mind be wholly slumbering or wholly absorbed in extraneous concerns, the tongue cannot be faithful in uninterruptedly vocalising all the syllables of a psalm (especially an unfamiliar psalm), as, *ex hypothesi*, it does. Faintly, perhaps, but effectively, intelligence must guide the tongue, or the result should be a confused jumble of sounds instead of a rational ordering of words. There can hardly be a doubt that the mind may devote its attention, in unequal measure, to more than one object at the same time. This truth is manifest to anyone who has seen people attending to and discoursing with others, while quite simultaneously they are pursuing unerringly, through all its mazes, some intricate and elaborate piece of operatic music. The will and intellect direct the tongue in its intelligent utterances, while they lead the fingers with marvellous inerrancy over the piano-board. Hence those writers tell us that it is impossible to dissociate internal attention—although it be so tiny and slender that we cannot grasp it—from an articulate reading of the Office. They, therefore, make no difficulty in inferring that, *posita et non revocata debita intentione*, the pronunciation of the words with mere external attention is a "cultus Dei," and a true prayer.

Whatever may be said of the illustration drawn from the perfomrance of the pianist, the argument does not seem to be conclusive. It may happen, and sometimes does, that a man *while sleeping* will repeat with enviable articulation all the psalms and prayers of an hour; yet any one can see the

inconvenience of recognising in this automatic pronunciation of the words the agency of a responsible will, for by such an admission we should be obliged to invest with direct responsibility the reveries of every symmetrical dream.

Theorising apart, the question may be put in less equivocal form: "An recitans cum distractione voluntaria *satisfaciat praecepto?*" This is by no means another way of enquiring "an et quantum peccet qui sic recitat," for of the truth "quod peccat" there can be no doubt in view of the teaching of St. Thomas (to mention none of many *a priore* arguments), that "a person cannot be excused from sin if he voluntarily allows his mind to wander even during a prayer which is not of obligation." In reply to the question "an satisfaciat praecepto" we have Suarez, Vasquez, "et alii innumeri" (De Lugo) declaring that "peccaret *mortaliter* qui voluntarie internam mentis evagationem et distractionem per partem Officii notabilem haberet." The "fundamentum potissimum" over which Suarez and the "unnumbered" theologians who agree with him construct their doctine, is that "attentio est de substantia orationis": Where, therefore, there is "per notabilem partem Officii" deliberate inattention, there is *eo ipso* a proportionately notable and grave hiatus in the *substantia operis*, or, in other words, such an absence of valid recitation as amounts to a *materia gravis*. This reasoning is unimpeachable if it be true that "attentio interna est de substantia operis," and on this point pivots the whole question in controversy.

For it must be confessed that the opposite opinion—which is satisfied with "attentio externa"—is also supported by many eminent theologians—by so many indeed that, tested by the standard of extrinsic authority, the two theories seem to be invested with an almost equal measure of probability. De Lugo roundly and vigorously protests that the "potissimum fundamentum," on the alleged truth of which Suarez and the "innumeri alii" build up their teaching, "non solum gratis, sed falso assumi;" and in sustainment of his objection he manifests—to say the very least of it—exquisite dialectic skill. He argues (1) that if internal attention were really of the substance of prayer, the Sacra-

ment of Extreme Unction would be invalidly administered "quoties sacerdos ministrans sponte aliquam mentis evagationem admitteret," inasmuch as the form of that Sacrament, being deprecatory, is a prayer, and "*deleta substantia, deletur forma.*" Suarez and his "countless" associates in the opposite view cannot, however, admit this "absque maximo absurdo; esset enim contra doctrinam generalem omnibus Sacramentis, ad quorum valorem solum exigitur prolatio formae supra debitam materiam a ministro habente potestatem cum intentione faciendi quod facit Ecclesia; quae omnia tunc darentur" (*De Euch.*; D. xxii., S. ii., n. 30). He argues (2) "Orare est loqui cum illo quem oramus, representando ei nostra desideria." This, he maintains, is an adequate description of the "substantia orationis," and may be accomplished even in the midst of engrossing voluntary distractions, by reciting from memory or reading from a book or paper those prayers and petitions for the obtaining of which we have resolved to appeal to God. Something of the kind happens when suppliants are admitted to an audience of their king; they read at the foot of the throne the words of their memorial, while, all the time, their thoughts keep wandering among the splendours of the palace, or are perhaps paralysed in the unaccustomed presence of royalty. Lehmkuhl seems to adopt this argument, and endeavours to support it by adding: "quod in Officio Divino eo magis valet, quia Ecclesiae ministri non suo solum nomine, sed maxime nomine Ecclesiae preces ad Deum dirigunt: hinc fit ut irreverentia ministri deputantem non reddat Deo ingratam." (3) De Lugo and the other Externalists also argue that if internal attention were essential to prayer, the man who "recites" with a distraction that is altogether yet faultlessly involuntary, could not be said to discharge his obligation; for such recitation, not possessing the *esse orationis*, namely, internal attention, cannot be truthfully called a prayer. "*Destructa, licet inculpabiliter, rei essentia, res ipsa destructa manet.*" Nor, they say, is there any force in the reply that such a man prays with *virtual* attention; for virtual attention (at least in the case made) is not distinguishable from the initiatory *intention* of praying,

the forming of which is in every instance presupposed, and the continued existence of which is perfectly compatible with a subsequent voluntary concentration of the mind on alien objects.

Whichever doctrine is true—and both opinions are admittedly probable—the following principles are established in the course of the controversy :—

(1.) "Voluntaria distractio est semper peccatum et *intrinsice malum.*"

(2.) According to De Lugo, etc., the voluntary distraction always involves, but cannot exceed, the guilt of venial sin; although, of course, it easily engenders a long and lamentable chain of venial faults.

(3.) Suarez and the other advocates of the more rigid view, detect in voluntary distraction "per notabilem Officii partem" the guilt of mortal sin—worse (as implying positive guiltiness) than the deliberate omission of that *pars notabilis.*

(4.) Most of those writers, however, practically modify their teaching by requiring that the "voluntarie distractus" should not alone advert to the fact that his thoughts are engaged about secular matters, but also, and in addition, that he should advert to the *concrete fact* that this aberration occurs at a time when his attention should be fixed on the discharge of his sacred duty. "Talis distractio, licet sit voluntaria, prout est inhaesio in aliis rebus, tamen prout distractio ab Horis *non est voluntaria, nisi advertat.* se per illas deficere a requisita attentione."

(5.) A further manifest modification is indicated by La Croix in the distinction which he draws between various parts of the Office: "Ubi in Horis continentur historiae, increpationes, adhortationes, bona proposita, etc., sufficit illa dicere tantum materialiter et recitative. E contra, hymni, psalmi, antiphonae et preces recitandae sunt significative, si adsit intentio orandi, gratias agendi, laudandi Deum, et attendatur ad externam prolationem."

(6.) If we inquire which of those largely conflicting doctrines receives in modern times the more general acceptance throughout the Church, we shall have it with sufficient

certainty by ascertaining the teaching propounded in works so universally accepted as those of Gury and of Lehmkuhl. The former, having duly weighed the intrinsic arguments for each opinion, concludes: "Ergo satis est, si habeatur attentio materialis; sufficit enim [ad substantiam praecepti adimplendam] *attentio ad verba* cum intentione generali colendi Deum [vel evitandi peccatum]. Imo neque requiritur attentio ad singula verba, sed sufficit attentio moralis et generalis, qua quis curet omnia dicere cum intentione orandi." Lehmkuhl writes in practically the same strain: "Quare ad substantiam Divini Officii dicamus satis probabiliter sufficere cum intentione orandi observasse attentionem 'externam,' seu sub gravi prohiberi quominus inter Divini Officii recitationem eae actiones fiant quae necessario internam attentionem graviter impediant."

Finally, before concluding this paper, it may be interesting to redeem a promise made in its predecessor with reference to the Office which a *peregrinus* (for example, a priest on vacation) may read. The teaching of the "complures theologi," recommended by La Croix, is sufficiently plain and among the reasons which, they assure us, justify the "mutatio Officii" is "si alibi existas ubi sit Officium diversum a tuo, quamvis non diu, sed peregrinando ibi existas." In strict interpretation the principle involved in this teaching would perhaps justify the "mutatio Officii" even during a day's sojourn in a place where the Calendar is different from our own; and there are theologians who extend the privilege so far. Lehmkuhl gives a Decision of the Sacred Congregation of Rites (12 Nov., 1831), to the following effect:—"Beneficiati tenentur semper ad Officium propriae Ecclesiae; simplices vero sacerdotes"—that is those, even parish priests, who do not enjoy a benefice to which the obligation of reciting and applying the hours is attached—"conformari possunt Officio loci ubi *morantur;* vagis *consultius* est ut dioecesis propriae calendario utantur, quia secus magna confusio oriretur." There seems to be nothing, therefore, to prevent an Irish priest—sojourning at Harrogate—from reading the Office prescribed for the diocese of Leeds. But what if it be *notabiliter brevius?* He may avail

himself of the privilege of reciting the shorter Office, just as he would without scruple enjoy that other privilege of taking a meat dinner permitted in the place of his sojourn, on a day that is observed as one of fasting and abstinence at home.

C. J. M.

THE DIOCESE OF DUBLIN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

V.

The Old Chapels of Dublin.—(Continued).

St. Michael's—Next in importance to the Cathedral is St. Michael's. It began as a domestic chapel in the palace of the bishop. "A primaeva fundatione cappella extitit infra palatium St. Laurentii." Such is the record in *Repertorium Viride* (1532). It was subsequently annexed, as a dependant chapel, to the Cathedral, and finally in the time of Archbishop (Richard) Talbot, A.D. 1417, it was advanced to the dignity of a parochial church, but remained incorporated to the Cathedral, and was administered by a Vicar appointed by the Prior and Convent. The territory assigned to it as a parish in all probability had previously formed part of the Cathedral parish, as the right of sepulture was reserved, in the Charter of Foundation, to the Cathedral as the *Ecclesia Matrix*. In 1541, Henry VIII. by Charter, assigned this church, together with those of St. Michan and St. John, to the three principal Vicars-Choral of Christ Church, and Archbishop Brown constituted them Prebends. John Curragh, a member of the transformed community, was the first Vicar-Choral, (Dean's Vicar), and was inducted into the Rectory of St. Michael as his Prebend. His position in the New Chapter is best ascertained from the words of the Charter. "That John Curragh, Priest, first of the Vicars-Choral, be Sub-Dean and have a place in the Chapter, and a voice in the election of Archbishop and Dean, and

that the Church of St. Michael, Dublin, now erected into a Prebendal Church, with its tithes, be assigned to him, together with £4 from the above sum (Vicars-Choral Fund) for a stipend." John Curragh or Corragh, as we learn from the Obit Book (p. 20), died in 1546, and was succeeded as it would appear by Christopher Moore, who, as Dean's Vicar signed the order promulgated by Archbishop Curwen for regulating the Masses and Divine Office. This order though not dated, must have been subsequent to 1556, when John Moss, the Treasurer, had already died, as his successor E. Kerdiff appears in it. Moore was made Precentor in 1560, a dignity which he appears to have retained but a few months, but with his departure from St. Michael's, Catholic worship in this Parish Church was brought to an end. The parish was small, covering but five acres and two roods.[1] In the Report of 1630 it is stated that "most part of the parishioners are Recusants." In 1766 it numbered 897 Protestants to 1,902 Catholics. In 1798, according to Whitelaw's tables, the total population was 2,599 ; in 1871, the last census taken before the Disestablishment, it counted 1,042 Catholics to 107 of all other denominations, and in 1881, these totals had dwindled to 971 Catholics and 104 of all other creeds. Of the old Church of St. Michael the Report of 1630 says it was in "good repair and furnished with ornaments befitting." Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the church had to be extensively repaired and a new steeple or tower was then built. But towards the end of the last century the Church had again fallen into such a state of disrepair that the marriages, baptisms, and other ceremonies, had to be performed in the Lady Chapel of Christ Church. In 1815 it was rebuilt, but on a different plan, the old seventeenth century tower remaining unaltered; and finally, at the restoration of Christ Church, due to the munificence of Mr. Henry Roe, the building of 1815 was demolished, to make way for the

[1] The western boundary of St. Michael's Parish started from Merchant's-quay through Skipper and Schoolhouse Lanes to High-street. The eastern boundary was Rosemary-lane. On reaching Cook-street it deflected eastwards to Winetavern-street, and by its west side went up also to High-street, of which it included both sides, between those two points.

existing Protestant Synod House, the old tower being incorporated in the new building. Thus the old Church of St. Michael dating from the 11th century no longer exists.

ST. OLAVE'S.—This Parish Church stood at the lower end of Fishamble-street, then known by the name of St. Olave's or, corruptly, St. Tullock's-lane. It was dedicated to St. Olaf, or Olave, (presumably by the Danes of Dublin) King and National Saint of Norway, portion of whose relics were preserved in the Cathedral close by. According to Stanihurst in his *Description of Ireland*, "the paroch (parish) was meared from the Crane castell, to the fish-shambles, called the Cock Hill, with Preston his Innes, and the lane thereto adjoining," With the aid of Mr. Gilbert we can define these points. The "Crane" was at the foot of Winetavern-street, and was used for a considerable period as the Dublin Custom House: the "Cock Hill" ran across the top of Winetavern-street: "Preston his Innes," was over against Isod's Tower [Essex-gate] and extended nearly to the Liffey, the "lane thereto adjoining" being the present Upper Exchange-street. This was the extent of St. Olave's Parish. It belonged to the Monastery of St. Augustin, in Bristol, and anciently paid ten marks proxies, "*sed hodie*," Archbishop Allen adds "*vix valet ad sustentationem unius cappellani.*" In the taxation of 1294 it was returned as not being able to support the charges.

With the suppression of St. Augustin's Monastery in Bristol, the Church or Chapel of St. Olave was also suppressed and sequestrated to the Crown, the parish being united to that of St. John. In 1587 the church was converted to profane uses, and in 1612 granted with "the site and churchyard" to Christopher Bysse, Esq. Mr. Gilbert in his valuable *History of Dublin*, from which I am quoting freely, tells us that the Parish of St. Olave was "frequently referred to in legal documents of the seventeenth century; and so late as 1702 the Churchwardens of St. John's leased to Alice Dermot, at eight pounds per annum, "an ancient house, called the Priest's Chamber of St. Olave's, alias St. Toolog's, situate in Fishamble-street, the lessee undertaking to erect a new house on the site."

ST. JOHN'S.—"Ecclesia St. Joannis de Bowe or Both-street [ancient name for upper part of Fishamble-street] imprimis dicebatur Baptistae, nunc autem Evangelistae, et est haec tertia Ecclesia incorporata Priori S^mae^ Trinitatis a conquestu." (Archbishop Allen's *Repert. Vir.*) From the conquest, therefore, this Church and Parish of St. John belonged to the Prior and Convent of the Cathedral. In the year 1500 the church was re-built from the foundation by Arnald Usher, and in 1541 it was appropriated to one of the Vicars Choral of Christ Church, as in the case of St. Michael's. The first Prebendary under the new arrangement was Christopher Rathe, a member of the ex-religious community. It was decreed "that the Chancellor should have the Vicar-Choral to correct the Latin of the Choir Books; that Christopher Rathe be appointed to such office as Minor Canon, and that the Church of St. John the Evangelist be assigned to him, together with a stipend of 4 marks Irish from the sum aforesaid.." In Curwen's Order, Rathe appears as Precentor (an office which he resigned in 1560), and was succeeded in the Prebend of St. John's by Edward Elles (Ellis) with whom ends the record of Catholicity in St. John's. The parish, very small originally, became somewhat more extensive than that of St. Michael's when St. Olave's Parish was absorbed into it. With Rosemary-lane as its western boundary, the river on the north, and Essex-bridge street as its eastern boundary, it included most of Winetavern-street, all Fishamble-street, Copper-alley, Upper Exchange-street, and met its eastern boundary, Essex-bridge street, at the exit of Lower Exchange-street. In 1294 it is returned as unable to support the charges. "The Church" we are told in 1630, "is in good reparacion and decencie, most of the parishioners are Protestants, and duly frequent their parish Church, yet there are great store of Papists there." In the return of 1766 we have 1965 Protestants given to 2331 Papists, and in 1798 the total population strangely enough remained the same. In 1871, the religious census gives 2278 Catholics to 437 of other creeds, and in 1881, 2139 Catholics to 116 of all other creeds. In 1680 the Church

was "resolved by the parish to be in great decay." It was re-built in 1682, and again falling to decay about the middle of the last century, and the parishioners being unable to defray the expense of re-building it, the Irish Parliament granted a sum of one thousand pounds, and subsequently a second thousand for the edifice that subsisted in Fishamble-street up to a few years ago, when it was finally demolished, after having been closed up as useless for many years previous.

ST. MARY DEL DAM. "A considerable portion of the southern side of the acclivity at present known as 'Cork Hill,' was anciently occupied by a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, the precise date of the erection of which has not been recorded; but it most probably was founded before the twelfth century." Thus writes Mr. Gilbert, in the first chapter of vol. ii. of his *History of Dublin*. In a deed executed by St. Laurence O'Toole in 1179, the name of Godmund, Priest of St. Mary's, is found subscribed as a witness. By the Charter of Archbishop Henri de Loundres, this church, which from the contiguous mill-dam acquired the name of "St. Marie del Dam," (a name fairly well preserved to us in the designation of the street leading from Cork Hill "Dam-street," or "*Dame*-street,") was assigned to Ralph de Bristol, first Treasurer of St. Patrick's Cathedral as portion of the prebend or *corps* of his dignity. This was the smallest parish in the city, comprising only the occupants of the Castle, "*cum paucis aliis*," as the *Repertorium Viride* informs us. In 1294 it was unable to support the charges. It was possessed, however, of one carucate of land called Tackery, not far from Carrickmines, and a house occupied by a goldsmith on the eastern side of the city pillory. Archbishop Brown, in Henry VIII's reign, united the parish to St. Werburgh's, and in 1589 the then Treasurer of St. Patrick's demised to Sir George Carew on lease, the Church and Churchyard of St. Mary's. Shortly after it came into the possession of Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork, who erected upon its site the mansion known as "Cork House," whence the adjacent locality was denominated "Cork Hill." In 1706 a large portion of this house was transformed into the celebrated "Lucas's Coffee House," and in 1768, old Cork House

with the contiguous buildings, which had long obstructed the thoroughfare, were finally demolished under the Act for making wide and convenient passages to the Castle. The sum paid to purchase then existing interests amounted to £8,329 3*s.* 4*d.*, of which £3,251 10*s.* 0*d.* was allocated to the Treasurer of St. Patrick's by reason of his claim to the site of the Church and Churchyard of St. Mary as portion of his prebend. Not too bad a return from such a small prebend. The diadem, used at the coronation of the impostor Lambert Simnel, was taken, we are told, from a statue of Our Lady venerated in this church, and in the following year (1488) Sir Richard Edgecombe, the Commissioner of Henry VII., held a conference in it to receive into grace the Prior of Kilmainham and the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, both of whom had supported Simnel. The city gate immediately adjoining was, from its vicinity to the church, called "Dame's Gate," and up to the time of the Reformation a statue of Our Lady was located in a niche over the gate entrance, the pedestal and steps of which were still visible in the lifetime of Harris, before the removal of the gate at the close of the seventeenth century. Now that "Cork House" is gone, there seems no reason why the name "Cork-hill" should remain; and our City Fathers, whose place of meeting (the City Hall) occupies the very site of St. Mary's Church or Churchyard, might do worse than revive and perpetuate the memory of the devotion of our ancestors to our Blessed Lady by changing the name to "St. Mary's-hill."

St. Werburgh's.—This was a church erected shortly after the Anglo-Norman settlement, and dedicated to St. Werburgh, patroness of Chester, from which town many of the new colonists had come to re-people the city decimated by a plague. Archbishop Allen tells us that it belongs to the Dignity of the Chancellor of St. Patrick's, although he adds, "at its first foundation *this* church is not mentioned, but the Church of *St. Martin* (*de qua infra*) therefore, after the event, it is named and confounded with the previous as if they were one." This leads me to speak of St. Martin's Church. It is a well-known fact in Irish his-

tory that our forefathers cultivated a great devotion to St. Martin of Tours, the uncle of St. Patrick, and in many places are to be found churches to St. Martin and St. Patrick almost side by side. In the north of England, where some of St. Patrick's biographers would fix his birth-place, two contiguous villages preserve this tradition in their names—*Patterdale* and *Matterdale*, corrupted, as many think, from Patrick's dale and Martin's dale. No wonder then, that our Fathers in the Faith, when they raised a church to St. Patrick on the island made by the divergent streams of the Poddle river, also raised one to his uncle, St. Martin, in the immediate vicinity. Archbishop Allen describes the Church of St. Martin, in 1532, as being "*juxta murum et molendinum de Pole in parte australi*"—that is, near the city wall and the Pole Mill on the southern side; in other words, outside the city wall beside the mill at the Pole Gate, or, as it was afterwards called, St. Werburgh's Gate, just where Werburgh-street ends and Bride-street commences. "Hodie," he adds (1532), "hujus Ecclesiae vix remanent vestigia. Sed modo consolidatur cum dicta altera [St. Werburgh's] vicina, tanquam una de quatuor capellis unitis Dignitati Cancellariae S^{ti} Patritii." One of the great miracles proved in the Acts of the canonisation of St. Laurence O'Toole was his raising to life Galluüedius, the priest of St. Martin's Church. In a Christ Church deed of 1272, the *parish* of St. Martin is spoken of and the lane leading to St. Martin's Church. But, as we see, in 1532 scarce a vestige of it remained, and it was only accounted as a chapel of St. Werburgh's. Of this, as above recited, the Chancellor of St. Patrick's was rector. In 1311 St. Werburgh's was accidentally burned down, together with a good portion of the city; and in 1479, as given by Gilbert, we have a grant of a messuage, called Coryngham's Inns, to furnish a priest to chant in the Chapel of St. Martin, in St. Werburgh's Church, for all Christian souls. Previous to the absorption of the Parish of St. Mary del Dam, St. Werburgh's Parish must have been very small—in fact, little more than Werburgh-street, a portion of Skinner's-row, (Christ Church-place), and all Castle-street, with the lanes and alleys intersecting. As a tangible ground for this

conjecture, a valuation made in the thirty-eighth year of Henry VIII. states that the tithes and oblations are of no value beyond the alterages assigned to the curate and repair of the chancel. But united to St. Mary's, which included the Castle, afterwards made the residence of the Viceroy, it became an important parish. In 1630 the church is returned as "in good repair and decency" with but twenty-eight Catholic householders in the parish. In 1766 the return is 2,079 Protestants and 1,619 Catholics. In the beginning of the last century the church was reported "decayed, ruinous, and unsafe," and the parishioners being mostly shopkeepers who paid great and heavy rents, the king, in 1715, granted the plot of ground on which the Council Chamber formerly stood, towards the rebuilding of the church, which was accomplished three years later. But the steeple, 160 feet high, being found in a dangerous condition, was removed in 1810, and the church front left in the truncated condition in which we see it at the present day. In 1798 the total population was 3,629, and in 1871 it was in the proportion of 2,309 Catholics to 592 of all other denominations, including the residents of the Castle; figures which remained nearly unaltered in 1881.

ST. NICHOLAS WITHIN.—The Church of St. Nicholas was one of the oldest in Dublin, being built by Donatus, first Danish Bishop of Dublin in 1038, contemporaneously with Christ Church, though it would appear then to have been only a chapel on the north side of the Cathedral. By the Charter of Archbishop Henry, as we have seen in the preceding paper, it was appropriated to the Economy Fund of St. Patrick's Cathedral. In 1479, by Patent from King Edward IV., a chantry was founded of one or two chaplains in honour of God and the Virgin Mary, in the Church of St. Nicholas, near the High Cross of the City, and was endowed with lands and tenements to the yearly value of £13 6*s.* 8*d.* to celebrate divine service for the benefit of the souls of the founders, and for those of all the faithful departed. The Church of St. Nicholas was rebuilt in 1707, but being neglected, and not wanted, was unroofed in 1835. An unsightly remnant of it is still

permitted to exist on the left side of Nicholas-street. The church gone, the chantry remained, that is to say, the lands and tenements to the value of £13 6*s.* 8*d.*, which in process of time increased in value to £325 at time of disestablishment. The last possessor of this handsome sinecure was the notorious Thresham Gregg. This would appear to have been the only chantry in Ireland that escaped confiscation. An unsuccessful attempt was made in 1840 to recover in law this endowment and have it applied to its original purpose, for, the appointment of the chaplain is elective, and by some oversight in the Statute, the constituency is not exclusively Protestant.[1] In 1532 the revenues of St. Nicholas are described as *satis exiguae et exiles*, and in 1630, "the most of the Parishioners were Papists." In 1766 the religious census makes them nearly equal, 526 Protestants and 527 Catholics, but in 1871 it numbered 1,499 Catholics, whilst the Protestants had diminished to 172. In 1881, this further diminished to 109, whilst the Catholic population fell to 1,458.[2]

What destruction of churches and uprooting of land marks dogged the footsteps of the Reformation in Dublin! Of the seven churches that were raised up by the piety of our ancestors and were in existence and maintained in 1540 within the area of the city we have just travelled over, only *two* remain, Christ Church Cathedral,—thanks to the munificence of Mr. Roe,—and St. Werburgh's. All the rest are gone. Even St. Werburgh's has ceased to be an independent parish and forms a union with St. John's and St. Bride's.

Passing out through Dame's gate, which lay across Dame-street from about Crane-lane to the opposite side, we at once entered the Parish of St. Andrew.

ST. ANDREW'S.—It was a suburban parish, with a few houses close to the city wall and as far as George's-street, but from that along the river side to Ringsend, a void country district reserved for pasturage, save for the

[1] It might be worth while if the legal efforts already made were renewed and seconded, at least until it be clearly proved in law that the Church Representative Body is the only lawful claimant to this annual £325.

[2] See *Irish Builder* for January and February. 1889.

three religious communities within its boundaries of which I shall come to speak presently. The church and churchyard lay on the right side of the road as you quitted the city, about midway between Palace-street and George's-street, where Castle-market formerly stood,—a site now occupied by Messrs. Callaghan's extensive premises. It is supposed to have been founded in the time of the Danes though no mention of it is made in any existing record earlier than the time of John when Lord of Ireland. In the Register of the Priory of All Hallows we find a grant made to this Priory in 1241 described as being "in the Parish of St. Andrew Thingmote."[1] It would appear from the number of churches that sprung up in the eastern suburbs of Dublin that the citizens elected that district as a favourite rural outlet so early as the thirteenth century. Indeed, Richard Stanihurst says: "As an insearcher of antiquities may conjecture, the better part of the suburbs of Dublin should seeme to have stretched that waie."[2] So that at that early period St. Andrew's may have been fairly populated; "but," as Stanihurst continues, "the inhabitants being dailie and hourelie molested and preided by their prolling mounteine neighbours, were forced to suffer their buildings fall in decaie, and embaied themselves within the city walls." The parish church seems to have fared no better than the parishioners, and in the reign of Edward VI., "John Ryan, a Dublin merchant, obtained a lease of the Rectory and Chapel of St. Andrews, the cemetery of said chapel, etc., for the yearly rent of £24 0*s.* 4*d.*" This lease is accounted for when we remember that this rectory belonged first to the Precentor of St. Patrick's, and subsequently to the Precentor's vicar; but the chapter being dissolved in 1547, and its property sequestrated to the Crown, St. Andrew's dilapidated church was, in Edward the Sixth's reign, in the market. The parish was united to that of St. Werburgh. However, in 1631, the then Precentor of St. Patrick's filed a bill in the Exchequer for the restoration of

[1] Thingmote, a Scandinavian term signifying a mound or mount, used by the Danes as a place of judicature.

[2] *Description of Ireland* in Hollinshed, vol. vi., p. 25.

this church, and in the course of the inquiry it transpired that the Parish Church of St. Andrew "is now, and for many years last past hath beene used for a stable for horses for the Lords Deputies and other Cheefe Governors of this kingdom." The Lords Deputies were evicted as a result of this process, and all that belonged to the church restored. In 1665 an Act of Parliament was obtained re-establishing the Parish of St. Andrew, which had been united to St. Werburgh's by Archbishop Browne, and the church was re-edified, not on the old site however, but where the present Protestant Church of St. Andrew stands. It was built in the form of an ellipse, and, needing to be rebuilt late in the last century, the elliptical form was preserved, and might be recognised, in our own days, as the "Round Church" which only gave place to the modern structure a few years ago.

In Charles the Second's reign, the "prowling mountain neighbours" having been finally disposed of, the citizens plucked up courage to venture outside their walls, and so rapidly did streets and houses grow up in this direction that it was found necessary, in 1707, to divide St. Andrew's (Protestant) Parish, and erect the more easterly portion of it into the new Parish of St. Mark. In the Report of 1630 we have no mention of the church or parish of St. Andrew, for the reasons already given. In 1766 the Protestant population largely predominated, numbering in both parishes (St. Andrew and St. Mark) 1,247 Protestant *families* to 936 Catholic families. In 1871 the totals were 20,461 Catholics and 5,247 of all other denominations, and in 1881, 19,294 and 3,913 respectively. The old Parish of St. Andrew contained within it three venerable religious communities, the first place amongst which must be assigned to the Priory of All Hallows, situated on the ground now occupied by Trinity College.

ALL HALLOWS.—This priory was founded by the unfortunate Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster. Possibly it was in penance for some of his many misdeeds. It was a community of Canons Regular, under the same rule of Arroasia as the Canons of the cathedral. It subsequently acquired very large possessions and endowments, in addition to those

bestowed upon it by MacMurrough. For an account of these, as well as for its general history, I must refer my readers to the *Register of the Priory of All Hallows*, edited for the Irish Archæological Society by the Rev. Richard Butler. On the 16th of November, 1538, Walter Hancock, the last prior, together with Robert Dowling, John Grogan, James Blake, and John Barrett, members of the community, signed, in presence of many witnesses, the document of surrender of all their property to the *invictissimo principi et domino nostro Henrico octavo.* This valuable property was given by the king to the City of Dublin as a reward for its loyalty during the rebellion of Silken Thomas, and the city, later on in the century, re-transferred to Queen Elizabeth the site and ambit of the church and priory, whereon she founded the present University of Trinity College. The death of Walter Hancock, the last Prior is recorded in the Obit Book of Christ Church as occurring in 1548.

THE AUGUSTINIANS.—"On that portion of the southern bank of the River Liffey, at present occupied by Cecilia-street and the northern part of Crow-street, a monastery was erected about the year 1259, by one of the family of Talbot, for Friars of the Order of Augustinian Hermits. Of this establishment no records are now known to exist." (See Gilbert, vol. ii. p. 170.)[1] In the thirty-third year of Henry VIII. the site and precinct and all hereditaments of said Monastery were granted to Walter Tyrrell, merchant, for the sum of £114 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1627 they are found in the possession of William Crow, who built a mansion thereon, and gave his name to Crow-street. In process of time part of the mansion became Crow-street Theatre, and later on Crow-street Theatre gave way to the

[1]Some short time ago a paper was read in the Royal Irish Academy on an ancient Seal, which was assumed to have been the Seal of this Community, but on examination it was found to be the Seal of the Provincial, who resided in England, as England and Ireland at the time formed but one Province. The Provincial at the time of the suppression was George Brown, whom Henry made Archbishop of Dublin, and who designedly or otherwise put the Seal in his pocket and brought it away with him to Dublin. As tradition relates that Brown frequently officiated in St. Nicholas' Church, he left the Seal after him, and it continued to be used by the Churchwardens of St. Nicholas' as their Seal of office. It is now in the Royal Irish Academy.

Cecilia-street School of Medicine, which is now the Medical School of the Catholic University of Ireland.

ST. MARY DEL HOGGES.—The third religious community within the bounds of Saint Andrew's Parish was the Nunnery of St. Mary del Hogges, also founded and endowed by Dermot MacMurrough. Mr. Halliday, in his *Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*, so well brought out by Mr. J. P. Prendergast, maintains that the derivation of Hogges is "Hogue," or "Hog," an Icelandic or Norwegian term meaning a hillock or mount. That such a hillock was in the immediate neighbourhood of Suffolk-street, even up to the time of Charles I., he abundantly proves, and this Convent being close to it was quoted as St. Mary del Hogges, and the pasturage in front received the name of Hoggen Green (now College Green). By this means also it was distinguished from St. Mary del Dam, and from St. Mary del Ostmanby (Mary's Abbey). I prefer this derivation to that given by Dr. Lanigan, especially as a manuscript in the British Museum states that it was reserved for "those who desired to live single lives after the death or separation from their husbands," adding as a memorable instance the case of Alice O'Toole, "sister to the Archbishop of Dublin (St. Laurence), who in one night's time left her husband and conveyed all his wealth into this abbey, and it was not known for seven years' time where she went, or how she conveyed away this wealth," till Laurence O'Toole's death, when she appeared at the funeral, and so was discovered. Alice O'Toole was married to the profligate MacMurrough, who abandoned her and married the daughter of O'Carroll. This convent owned a considerable stretch of land from Hoggen Green on to and beyond Merrion-square. It was of course suppressed, and the property sequestrated by Henry VIII. Mary, or Margaret Guidon, was the last Abbess. The roofing and building materials were carried away by the King's Sub-Treasurer, William Brabazon, (ancestor to the Earl of Meath), to be used in repairing the Castle of Dublin, whilst in 1550 a petition was forwarded by Richard Fyant and others, to have the site and precinct conveyed to them, wherein they might establish some useful industry, a petition which was immediately complied with.

St. George's—Somewhere about the middle of South Great George's-street (originally called George's-lane) there stood a parish church dedicated to St. George the Martyr. It was incorporated with the Priory of All Hallows by Henri de Loundres, Archbishop from 1213 to 1238. A guild of the Corporation of Dublin was associated with this chapel, and on the feast day the Mayor and city officials proceeded thither with much solemnity to make their offerings. At the suppression of All Hallows, it too was suppressed, and its rectory granted by Henry VIII. to the City of Dublin. "The chapel," wrote Stanihurst, "hath been of late razed, and the stones thereof, by consent of the assemblie, turned to a common oven; converting the ancient monument of a doutie, adventurous and holie knight, to the colerake sweeping of a pufloafe baker."[1] The Parish of St. George was necessarily small, and about the time of the Restoration, was added to St. Bride's, which by this accession has William-street as its extreme eastern boundary.

St. Stephen's.—The Chapel and Parish of St. Stephen's was contemporaneous with the founding of the Leper Hospital, some time in the thirteenth century. Archbishop Henry obtained a Bull from the Pope authorising the erection of an hospital for lepers on the Steyne;[2] but unless this district can be conceived as having extended to Stephen-street from the river, the hospital on the Steyne seems never to have been erected, and it may be presumed that this of St. Stephen realised the original plan. It possessed a good deal of land in its immediate vicinity (Mercer's Hospital is supposed to cover the site), notably the "*viridum S^ti. Stephani*"—St. Stephen's-green—and in the County of Dublin about 60 acres in the Townland of Ballinlower, which, from its belonging to the Lepers' Hospital, was called Leperstown, now Leopardstown.

This chapel and hospital were administered by a priest who had the title of *Custos*, or Warden of St. Stephen's.

[1] Description of Ireland in Holinshed, vol. vi., p. 27.

[2] The Steyne was the district in front and on the north side of Trinity College to the river.

The patronage of the Wardenship was vested in the Dublin Corporation. In depositions taken on the 3rd of June, 1508, by the Archdeacon of Glendalough, the name of John English, one of the parties to the suit, is given as Canon of St. Patrick's and "Custos of the Lepers of St. Stephen, near Dublin." He was succeeded by John Triguram, Prebendary of Rathmichael, and Triguram by Thomas Talbot in 1538 "Parson of St. Steven's bysides Dublin." The curacy or wardenship of St. Stephen's continued in Protestant hands up to Dr. Nathaniel Foy in 1678, when by Act of Privy Council he got the three parishes of St. Bride, St. Michael le Pole and St. Stephen united, and the two latter churches were ordered to be "for ever hereafter, enclosed up and preserved from all common and profane uses." Much of its property lapsed to the Corporation who in return for certain rights and privileges, endowed with portion of it, the King's or Blue Coat Hospital. But it might be worth while enquiring what has become of the "rights and privileges." They are detailed in Whitelaw's *History of Dublin.* The Parish of St. Stephen extended from Wicklow-street to Cuffe-street north and south, and eastward included St. Stephen's-green and portions beyond it.

St. PETER'S.—What with impropriations and appropriations of churches and tithes to the two Chapters, and to the several religious houses, this was the only parish and church in or around the city, in the immediate gift of the Archbishop. Allen in the *Repertorium Viride*, says of it: "*Ecclesia de St. Petro, Rectoria est collatione Archiepiscopi, licet autem est tenuis, vulgo dicta S^ti. Petri de Hulla, in cujus parochia domus Fratrum Carmelitanorum.*" It must necessarily have been small, crushed in between St. Bride's, St. George's, St. Stephen's and St. Kevin's, having what was afterwards called Aungier-street and Redmond's-hill as its principal thoroughfare. The church, according to Speed's Map, must have stood, as you enter Aungier-street from George's-street, on the right hand or western side, but no trace of it remains. In 1640 a Protestant Rector is found nominated to St. Peter de Monte, but with it he had also St. Bride's, St. Michael's and St. Kevin's. This is the last

mention we find of it. In 1680, by Act of Council, this old Parish of St. Peter, that of St. Stephen and that of St. Kevin, were all united into one (Protestant) parish, under the title of St. Peter, which now has its parish church at the top of Aungier-street, with St. Kevin's, St. Stephen's (Up. Mount-street), Trinity Church, Rathmines, and Sandford Church, as chapels-of-ease. Moreover, in 1707, simultaneously with the erection of St. Mark's, a large portion of this new Parish of St. Peter was detached, and formed into the (Protestant) Parish of St. Anne, with its Parish Church in Dawson-street.

THE CARMELITES.—In the year 1278, according to Archdale, the Carmelite Friars, represented to King Edward the First, that by several grants they had procured a habitation for themselves in Dublin and proposed thereon to erect a Church. The King approved, but the citizens obstinately and successfully opposed the project. The Friars thus foiled, applied with better results to Sir Robert Bagot, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who built a Monastery for them in the parish of St. Peter, on a lot of ground which he purchased from the Abbey of Baltinglass. In 1333, a Parliament was held here, and the son of Nicholas O'Toole was murdered as he was leaving the house. In the thirty-first year of Henry VIII. this Friary was dissolved and surrendered, John Kelly being the last Prior. It was first granted to Nicholas Stanyhurst, but in Elizabeth's time to Francis Aungier, who was created Baron of Longford, and gave his name to Aungier-street and Longford-street. By an almost singular course of events the same community of Carmelite Friars finds itself once again established on its old ground, and the street on which its Church fronts has been known as White-Friars-street from the thirteenth century.

ST. PAUL'S.—There remains but the ruined Church of St. Paul to speak of. It was amongst the early endowments of Christ Church Cathedral, but whether from its exposed position, being at the southern extremity of this suburb or for other reasons it was allowed to fall into ruin. In a Deed of 1275, we have a bequest made to the "Recluse of St. Paul;" in Archbishop Rokeby's enumeration (1504) of the Cathedral property, it gives among others, "the place

where St. Paul's Church was founded," and Allen in 1532, describes it as *vasta*. All traces of it are now of course gone, but all the old documents place it in the immediate vicinity of St. Peter's.

I have now gone through all the denominations of parishes and communities that formerly occupied the ground now covered by the two parishes of SS. Michael and John and St. Andrew. The suburban Churches, as we have seen, all disappeared at the Reformation, and until the re-erection of St. Andrew's in 1660, this whole district, as far as the State Church was concerned, was left practically derelict. It 1615 there were in Dublin nine State-Church Clergy serving fifteen churches including Donnybrook. In that year Thomas Smith, F.T.C.D. was curate of St. Bride's, St. Michael le Pole, St. Stephen's, St. Catherine's, St. James's, St. Kevin's and St. Peter de Monte. In the Royal Visitation he is called a "sufficient man"!!! No doubt this suburb was sparsely inhabited, for when the mountaineers could encamp with safety on Stephen's-green, as they did after the outbreak of 1641, it was not likely to tempt the citizens out from the shelter of their walls. Hence in the re-construction of Catholic parishes under Archbishop Mathews, in 1615, the entire area, from Schoolhouse Lane on the West to Baggotrath on the East, formed but the one Parish of St. Michael or SS. Michael and John.

✠ N. Donnelly.

THE BISHOP OF SALFORD AND CHURCH LIBRARIES.

AS Secretary of the Church Library Association of the Diocese of Salford, and as Inspector of the Branch Libraries attached to the same, I have had opportunities of making myself intimately acquainted with its work and its methods of working. These, in obedience to the wishes of the Bishop of Salford, I now venture to place before your readers.

If any should ask the reason for connecting the name of

the bishop with this article, the answer in brief would be this, that the association is one of his own creation, and the general lines on which it works have been directly suggested by him. Moreover, the very ideas contained in the following paper, the arguments by which the existence of such libraries is justified, are drawn from his written or spoken productions. My task has simply been to cull the fairest blossoms of that richly fruitful mind, and to arrange them for the comfort and edification of others.

The association is in the fifth year of its existence, and is therefore, we may presume, rapidly approaching the years of stability and discretion. During those few years of life, many years have been lived; for the gentle, sweet, although powerful influence of spiritual reading has been brought to bear upon many souls in many parishes of the diocese. The advantages offered by the association were a minimum of expense for a supply of standard works, carefully selected, sufficiently numerous, and thoroughly catalogued; an approved and well-tried system of management, for which all the necessary stationery and apparatus were provided; lastly, a spiritual encouragement in the shape of indulgences granted by the Holy Father, who heartily blessed the undertaking.

These advantages, superadded to an eagerness which was ready to grasp at any proposal that promised to benefit the souls entrusted to them, won the hearty concurrence of all the rectors of missions in Salford, Manchester and Blackburn. They enrolled themselves and their assistants as members of the association, undertaking, at the same time, to establish a branch library in their church. Of the many missions not yet represented, some are gathering together the means wherewith to purchase; others are already well-supplied from other sources; the rest are mainly the smaller missions, where the numbers to be benefited are less numerous, and therefore the expense proportionately beyond their reach.

The association, when first started, proposed to itself merely a diocesan field of labour; but now that the wants of the diocese are for the most part supplied, and the

"machinery"—raised not without much thought, anxiety and labour—is still in working order, the council have determined to widen the field, to cast aside all barriers, and to offer its advantages to the English-speaking world. The RECORD seemed to be the most suitable channel for bringing the association under the notice of the clergy; and therefore I was instructed to petition the Rev. Editor to allow a place in its columns for the following account of—

THE CHURCH LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

The association owes its conception to a full realisation of the truth contained in those words of our Lord: "Man liveth not by bread alone, but by every word of God." If this be so, then must the word of God be brought within the reach of the great masses of our Catholic people, and even to their very homes; so that, whilst sustaining their external life with earthly bread, they may nourish their inner life with the bread of truth eternal. They must have at hand both the bread of the body and the bread of the soul. The Church is indeed concerned that her children should not suffer from bodily starvation; but far more concerned is she that their souls should be, in the words of the Psalmist, "filled with marrow and fatness." This generous nourishment of the word of God would they find in spiritual reading; and, therefore, to bring spiritual books within easy reach of every Catholic, is the great end of the association.

In the commission given to Ezechiel to go forth and preach, the Spirit said to him: "Open thy mouth and eat what I give thee." And the prophet tells us how he "looked, and behold a hand was sent to me wherein was a book rolled up. And I opened my mouth, and He caused me to eat that book. And He said to me: 'Son of man, thy belly shall eat and thy bowels shall be filled with this book which I give thee.'" (*Ezech.* ii. and iii.) Surely the same promise is made in due proportion to all who feed upon the bread of life contained in spiritual books. Nor will the experience be without its delights; with the same prophet will they be able to

cry out: "And I did eat it, and it was as sweet as honey to my mouth."

"To find meat and drink, clothing and the like" (says the bishop in a pastoral letter to his flock), "you are under an imperious necessity for yourselves and for your children. This compels you to enter into active business relations with the world. Suddenly you find yourself in a whirl of activity, a vortex of business. The affairs of the world are telegraphed in upon the soul all day long. Local interests, the prospects of trade, the hopes of a change, the chances of a strike, the tittle-tattle of the day, such a one's biting tongue, such another's power to baulk or injure you, the getting together a little more capital, the taking another house, the making trial of another change, the anxiety arising from the visible approach of loss, perhaps of ruin—all these things seem to overlay the soul, and to blot out all joy in the life of faith. Then new discoveries in trade and science, lectures, articles, paragraphs assailing faith; the dominant irreligious opinion among fellow-workmen—all these things not to speak of domestic and personal cares, are borne in upon the mind, day by day, year by year, as though life were to last for ever—as though there were nought to live for but to hear and to know, to get and to hold, and to become wedded to a world that perisheth.

"Why are so many without the bloom and freshness of health upon their soul? It is because they never read a spiritual book.

"Why are you often sad within yourselves—feeling a void and a craving which nothing satisfies? It is because you have not learnt that your happiness in God is to be found through books.

"Why are you weary of nothing so much as of religion? Because you have never seriously cultivated a taste for the word of God and spiritual reading."

The idea of the association thus conceived, was rapidly developed by many other considerations peculiar to the age in which we live.

"Look" (says the bishop) "at the peculiar dangers of the rising generation. Every child in the land is now sent to school for six or seven years. The law declares that every child shall read; that the first 4,000 available hours of his life shall be occupied in acquiring secular knowledge, and forming secular tastes. Before the State had trenched upon the right of the parent, the child grew up learning to read and cultivating its taste upon works of literature which were full of religious instruction, and instinct with the truths of faith. Now this is forbidden, and religious instruction and spiritual tastes must be acquired by other means and at other times, at the beginning or end of the day, as something apart and extra. . . .

"When the child leaves school, it is to be launched, so far as reading is concerned, upon a sea of secular literature; the Press

pouring out its contents like a flood, and public free libraries are established out of the rates in every great centre. Where are God's honours, God's revealed truths championed? Popular literature discourses of the world—its successes, its works, its hopes, its histories, its heroes, its follies, its passions, its temptations, its seductions: these are its themes. The great God who made us, our Blessed Redeemer, His maxims, His faith, His salvation, and His souls, are deliberately ignored, as out of place, if they are not derided or denied."

How many thousands of Catholics are there in our large parishes who never hear a sermon; by choice or through necessity they frequent the early Masses, which at most will not admit of more than a few minutes of instruction. How many leave the confessional with the best intentions, and the strongest of resolutions for a new life, but quickly fall away, because they have no spiritual book at hand wherewith to feed their souls day by day and strengthen their good resolutions?

By such reflections as these the association already conceived, was now brought to the birth, and in the year 1884 made its first appearance in the shape of a unanimous meeting of the rectors of Manchester and Salford, who threw themselves into a scheme for supplying the Catholic people under their care with religious books. The christening of this new living formation presented no difficulties, and it was duly registered as the "Salford Diocesan Church Library Association."

The usual period of inactive infancy was in this case to be considerably shortened, and life was to be a reality indeed. Its first great work was to be the establishment of Church Libraries in as many parishes as possible in the diocese.

Some may ask what is meant by a Church Library. A Church Library is so called in the first place from the nature of the books admitted; they must be books suitable for reading in church, or treating of such subjects as form fitting themes for a pulpit sermon or instruction. Under this category will of course come not only ascetic works and Hagiography, but also treatises upon Church history and upon the religious controversies of the day. It is called a Church Library in the second place because it is well nigh imperative that it should

be placed inside the church and as near to the door as possible. This point is insisted upon with great emphasis; it is felt to be almost essential for its success that it should be placed in a conspicuous place, within sight and easy reach of the people. Many libraries have been known to fail, because they were not placed on the thoroughfare of the people. Place them in the sacristy, the presbytery, or the school, and as a rule they will be doomed to failure.

"See how it is in trade; it is a well ascertained fact that even a couple of steps into a shop insensibly deter a multitude of purchasers from entering—they pass on. Men of business will give immense sums of money for a site *on* a thoroughfare, and nothing for a site that is but ten yards *off* it, or out of sight. We must count with human nature as it is, and if we wish to create a taste for spiritual reading we must put the books on the way of the people, make it easy to get them, and difficult to avoid a constant invitation to use them. When the Manchester Reference Library was in Campfield, 63,957 books were referred to in the course of the year; the year after its translation to a rather more central site the number rose to 186,448, and last year (1883) it reached 252,648."—(Extract from a Pastoral of the Bishop of Salford.)

The success of a business varies with the nature of the supply and the extent of the demand; while the demand is more extensive according as the supply offers greater advantages of choice or of terms. Keeping these principles well in view, the committee, selected this first year by the bishop himself, to be afterwards elected annually by the members—both clergy and librarians, as well as benefactors—from the rectors, spared no pains to gather together a library of standard religious works at a strictly economical figure.

A small fund would of course be required to float this new enterprise; ready money was to be one of the baits by which it was hoped the publishers would be drawn to reduce to a minimum of profit the price of their publications. The fund was forthcoming; a small sum was raised by subscriptions, to this was added the amount of lenten alms for the year, while a further loan of some £200 brought up the available means of the society to about £450. With this sum in hand the committee hesitated no longer.

The Catholic publishers were at once called upon to forward their catalogues and to quote their terms. The latter being satisfactorily arranged, two members of the committee were asked to make a selection of 250 volumes, while other two consented to draw up rules for regulating the libraries which were to run mainly on the lines followed by the free libraries of Manchester and Salford. When all these points had been maturely considered it was found that the Committee were able to offer a library of 250 volumes, with all the necessary apparatus (without book-case), such as catalogues, printed and blank, a copy of the rules, and of "Instructions for Librarians," cards of membership, labels, prayers, registers, India-rubber stamp, &c., for the sum of £10, thus allowing a discount of more than fifty per cent. upon the retail price.[1]

Any casual visitor to Bishop's House, Salford, privileged to be admitted beyond the entrance hall, would certainly at that time have paused and hesitated, and possibly have meditated a hasty retreat, so strongly did it bear resemblance to the store and show-rooms of a large publishing firm. Had he mistaken the door of a warehouse for the door of the episcopal residence and seminary? The building, it is true, is ecclesiastical, the inmates are in the garb of priests, or at any rate of clerics, but why these unwieldy packages, why these piles of volumes bound and unbound, why this incessant hurry and bustle? The answer to our readers is now well known, but to our casual visitor it was necessary to explain that an enterprise of no mean proportions was being attempted—of supplying the larger missions of the diocese with books for spiritual reading.

[1] This enormous discount was possible owing to the fund previously mentioned. Thirty-nine libraries were purchased and their sale price so fixed as to recover the amount (£200) of the loan only. Of these thirty-nine, six only remain which may be secured upon the terms mentioned above. Such low terms, however, could not be guaranteed after the sale of these has been effected, without the creation of another fund, which in this diocese, now that its own wants are satisfied, can hardly be expected. But in addition to the advantages offered by a library already carefully selected and catalogued, with all the apparatus required for working it, we can promise that the cost of books and stationery complete will not exceed seventy-five per cent. upon the retail price of the 250 books.

On every side were cases—a few still packed, more already unpacked—from the different Catholic publishers Burns and Oates, Gill, Duffy, Richardson, Washbourne, &c., these were the names staring boldly at you from many a label. A little further on and you could hear the hum of many voices; willing hands and intelligent heads are busy sorting the unpacked works. After that they will arrange them according to the catalogue—already drawn up and numbered—into separate libraries of 250 volumes a-piece, ready for conveyance to one or other mission.

In one corner lies a strong box, capable of containing a full library; in this the books are packed and despatched to their various destinations, the box, of course, to be afterwards returned. Along with the books will be sent also two packets of labels; one contains 250 green labels, to be pasted on the corner of each book, giving the name of the special branch library, as also the conditions upon which the books are lent; the other packet contains 250 star labels, to be fastened to the backs, and to bear the number of the books. A borrower's register, to receive the names and addresses of those who have qualified themselves to make use of the library, each borrower requiring a guarantee from the clergy or seatholder, a teacher or an apparitor or collector; a lending register, to record the books actually borrowed, as well as the borrower; a set of 250 cards of membership, to be signed by the guarantor and to bear the name and address of the member thus qualified; a book of "Rules," a book of "Instructions to Librarians," a blank catalogue for any additional works not entered in the printed catalogue, an India-rubber stamp, etc., make up the complement of the library.

The supply was thus secured, but now for the demand. The rectors of the different missions were then invited to adopt the system, and sixteen answered promptly to the call, and purchasing libraries at once opened them for the benefit of their people. This number was raised to twenty-two in the succeeding year (1886), while 1887 added three more to the list. At the end of 1888 the number stood at twenty-eight, not including five which, with the permission of the council, had been sent outside the diocese.

To gauge the benefits accruing to souls from these libraries belongs only to God; man cannot do it. But knowing well that "when we pray we speak to the spouse, and when we read the spouse speaks to us," as St. Jerome says, we may say in general that every book read "worketh unto profit." Hence it is not without interest to learn the number of books borrowed each year, as well as the number of borrowers. They are as follows:—

	1885	1886	1887	1888
No. of new members	1,722	1,604	1,890	2,228
No. of books lent ...	8,592	19,351	19,388	21,215

We are frequently called upon to give a reason for not admitting harmless books of a miscellaneous character upon the shelves of the Church Libraries. That reason is not to be found in any objection we have to such books; on the contrary, we believe them to be not only instructive, but, even from a spiritual point of view, to be at least negatively profitable, seeing that they satisfy without danger a craving which might otherwise seek gratification in idle and dangerous publications. The reason lies in the very end proposed by the association, which is to cultivate a taste for spiritual reading. What a little patronage, save that of the dust, would fall to the share of the religious books if they were found side by side with works of fiction, it is not difficult to conjecture. Even amongst religious publications the tendency in the borrowers is to select those that contain more interesting and exciting narratives.

To sustain the interest of the various branch libraries is, as must be evident to all, the point of paramount importance. It rests mainly with the librarians, aided and encouraged by the clergy of the mission, who by an occasional notice from the pulpit, reminding their flocks of the existence of the library, with a few words from time to time upon the value of spiritual reading, swell considerably the number of applications. In addition to this, the Church Library Inspector visits each library once a year, and reports the results to the bishop. Though this inspection is intended merely to encourage, it acts as a spur to greater efforts, and

the librarians are proud to show the good work done during the previous year.

Each year, moreover, a report is printed and published in the name of the council, and an annual meeting is also held, to which are invited all the clergy of missions to which Church Libraries are attached, as also the librarians. Over this meeting the bishop presides, who, when the business has been transacted, invites and takes part in a free discussion, after which, addressing a few words of thanks, exhortation, and encouragement, he dismisses the members with his blessing.

It was at the last general meeting that the suggestion of extending the work of the association was laid before the members. This is referred to as follows in the following extract from the last report, with which we bring this article to a close :—

"The council entertain the idea of extending the work of the association beyond the limits of the diocese, and even, if found desirable, to all English-speaking countries. Other dioceses and other countries could establish libraries with equal success, though it would demand much time, labour, and thought to select books, to make the terms with the publishers, to systematise the working, &c., but as in this diocese that task, not without considerable difficulty, has been accomplished, others might wish to enjoy the advantages, which, except in a few instances, have been limited to the Salford Missions. This proposal was laid before the members assembled in their general meeting on the 7th of December last, and was received with an unanimous approbation. Applications, therefore, for libraries may be made to the Secretary of the Church Library Association, Bishop's House, Salford."

THOMAS CORBISHLEY.

BUENOS AYRES.

ON account of the late exodus of our people, the first of its kind, and so unexpected in the largeness of its numbers,—on account also of the newness of its direction, and the varying reports regarding the kind of its destination,—some facts and statistics regarding Buenos Ayres, its

extent, climate, inhabitants, and resources, may not be unwelcome to the readers of the RECORD.

The name Buenos Ayres belongs equally to a city and a province; just as Dublin is the name of a city and of a county.

THE CITY.

The city of Buenos Ayres is beautifully situated, so far as the picturesqueness of its position and the facility of approach to it are concerned. It stands on the southern shore of the Rio de la Plata, or river of silver; for such the first explorers (the Spaniards) considered the river to be, as they looked upon it from the broad ocean, lying like a placid belt of silver, glistening in the rich sunlight of this almost tropical region of Southern America. There are one-hundred miles from the city to the mouth of the river, and yet the waters stretch across a space of no less than thirty-six miles wide in front of the flat-roofed colonnaded terraces that form the only back-ground to this spreading sheet of silver. The city bore originally in Spanish the name of *Cuidad de la Santissima Trinidad* (the City of the Holy Trinity), and it was the mariners that gave to the port the title of *Santa Maria de Buenos Ayres*, or St. Mary of the Favouring Gales.

It is situated in somewhat the same latitude south (34° 36′). as Gibraltar is north; but the fact of its being in the southern hemisphere makes the temperature much cooler than that of the same latitude in the north.

It was founded in 1535 by a Spaniard, Don Joze de Mendoza, from whom another city in the republic derives its name. Its history during the two following centuries may be said to be that of one of the distant dependencies of Spain. If any use were at any time made of it, it was (as is the case with colonies generally) to make what money could be made in it, and hasten out of it. In the beginning of the present century however, it obtains a connexion with lands nearer home, and thereby acquires a warmer interest. It was the time of the Peninsular war. Spain was the ally of Napoleon, and English men-of-war were sent out to harass

the Spanish colonies. Admiral Beresford (in 1806) reduced Buenos Ayres, planted the Union Jack on its level strand, and required the good citizens to swear allegiance to King George, which they did with wonderful alacrity. The English commander was highly elated, and sent home despatches of the tenor of his feelings, but before the despatches reached their destination he was sent flying from the place by an uprising of the Creoles and the native races. This was not French Canada of an earlier century; Buenos Ayres was no Grande Prè with its forest primeval, its murmuring pines and its hemlocks; and the inhabitants of the place were in consequence left to take care of themselves.

Having experienced their own power, the native party thus formed felt inclined to dispute all foreign yoke, be it England's or be it Spain's. It now became England's cue to encourage instead of attack, and so we read that on the 9th July, 1816, the United Provinces of the Plata proclaimed their independence, and that Admiral Brown assisted thereat.

Fresh troubles, however, broke out among the provinces themselves, and in 1825 a new republic was organized. All this is the history of Buenos Ayres, just as it is of the provinces; and while it is disturbed and inconstant in the last degree, it must not be forgotten that here at home in staid old Europe even then times were very much troubled and disturbed.

In 1829 appeared General Rosas, a name of terror, even in that land of daring and unscrupulous men. He was at first accorded extraordinary powers by the United Provinces, and exercised them most moderately, even to resigning the presidency and withdrawing into private life; but in 1835, on his second election, he took the title of Dictator, and from that till 1847 reigned, says Mr. Parish, one of the country's historians, "like a madman." On the 3rd February, 1852, by the aid of the Emperor of Brazil, the tyrant was defeated, and fled to England!

Urquiza was then elected president. Buenos Ayres objected to the election; two battles were fought, in which Buenos Ayres was victorious, and in consequence the National Government of the Confederation was transferred

to Buenos Ayres, with General Mitre as president. The Legislature continued to assemble at Buenos Ayres until 1884, when La Plata became the place of meeting, although Buenos Ayres continues the capital.

The following were the succeeding presidents in their order:—Mitre was succeeded by Sarmiento; Sarmiento by Avellaneda, during whose election some violent rioting took place, and in 1880 Roca became president. From that time to the present there has not been any serious disturbance—the raids and incursions of the native Indians being the only approach to an attempt at war.

When we come to consider Buenos Ayres as a province will be the time to speak of the constitution, legislature and internal policy of the republic; now we have to speak of the city, as it presently stands, its buildings, markets, harbours, exports, imports, factories, industries, and people.

The population of the city of Buenos Ayres is equal to that of Dublin and its suburbs; in the area of ground covered by the buildings it is much larger. One very significant fact with regard to the population is that in a dozen years or so it has all but doubled itself.

In 1869 it stood at ...	...	...	177,787
In 1882 it reached close on ...		...	352,000.[1]

And this is the case with several of the Argentine towns. Buenos Ayres is by far the largest city in the republic; indeed, it might be said, to be equal to all the others taken together, in wealth, population, and importance. One of its admirers writes of it: "In the refinement of its society, progressive spirit of the people, and activity of trade and industry it yields to no other city on the continent, and has earned the title of 'the Athens of the South.'"

About a third of the inhabitants are of European descent; and, strange to say, though discovered by the Spaniards, and first colonized by them, the Italians count the highest of all European nationalities, Spaniards next, French then, Germans, Basques, some Irish, English, and a few Scotch. The population of *the province* of Buenos Ayres, as also of the

[1] (Dublin by itself is about 250,000).

whole republic (Buenos Ayres being but one of the provinces of the republic), will, perhaps, come in opportunely here.

In 1869 the province of Buenos Ayres stood at 495,107. From that time it has been receiving an addition annually of from 20,000 to 30,000, and now stands about double of its population in 1869. The province, be it understood, is just twice as large as Ireland—Ireland, in area, being 32,000 square miles; whereas Buenos Ayres is 63,000 square miles.

The population of the whole republic in 1882 arranged according to nationalities stood thus:—

Native-born Argentines	1,907,000
Italians	339,000
Spaniards	161,000
French	153,000
English, Irish, Scotch	51,000
Swiss and Germans	54,000
All other nationalities	165,000
Total	2,830,000

The estimate of 1885 gives the population of the republic at 3,000,000, *i.e.* exclusive of Indians. It is said that, roughly speaking, the yearly immigration into the republic is now not far off 100,000. In the thirteen years between 1872 and 1885 the numbers are most striking; they began at the low figure of 9,153, and in the last year reached the astounding total of 103,189; that is in that small space of time the immigration into the republic multiplied itself eleven-fold.

Mr. Mulhall in his work on *The English in South America*, says that in 1878 there were 30,000 men of British-Empire descent in the province of Buenos Ayres alone. The different nationalities may be said to be scattered through the republic thus:—In all the provinces bordering on the river the inhabitants may be looked upon as of European origin; the first colonists sailed in their ships up the river, and settled down on the banks or in the immediate neighbourhood. In the interior is the old Indian stock, or the mixed descendants of the tribal race and the *conquistadores* or first conquerors. The negroes, imported as slaves,

have given their quota to the population in their own unadulterated colour, or mixed with the more pleasing hue of the white man. The South of Europe has contributed (as we have seen), in a very large proportion, its share of the population. All these races, with the exception of the native Indian, are found represented in the city of Buenos Ayres, and taking into consideration the untaught licence of the African, with the hot passions of the children of the Mediterranean, and the already degraded habits of the refugees that fly to it as a sanctuary of safety, one would be over-sanguine indeed that could augur favourably of the morals of the capital of La Plata.

A story, perhaps somewhat characteristic, like all stories, and perhaps somewhat exaggerated, is told in private circles. A large cattle-breeder came on business to the city. Like all the others staying at the hotel he slept on the flat roof. Asking a friend to call him early, as he wanted to be away to his business, he received the advice to be as nearly the last to rise as he could possibly manage. "For," said his mentor, "there is not one of them there that has not a revolver under his pillow, and if he sees you passing anywhere near his bed, he will think, or pretend to think, that you mean to rob him, and—— !"

It must be remembered also that although at the first glance the increase in the population speaks in favour of the place, yet that very rapid increase (like the sudden and abnormal rising or falling of the pulse or temperature in a sick person) is in itself suspicious; and particularly when that increase is due to the fact that the emigrants who go there have to be helped out or taken out gratis, and are unable of their own resources (as in the case of our poor people) to go elsewhere.

The Buildings.

In the vicinity of Buenos Ayres there was not a stone to raise the walls nor a tree to make the roofs or doors of the houses. Both had to be brought from a long distance—the stones, either as ballast from Europe, or as freight from an island (Martin Garcia) forty miles away, and the trees from

the interior. When we come to speak of the nature of the soil of the province it will be seen why this is so. The city is, however, very handsomely arranged—built in regular blocks of about one hundred and fifty yards square, with open spaces or lawns adorned with water jets and decorated with what shrubs they can induce to grow. Tramways are laid in nearly all the streets, and as the ground was quite level there was little or no expense in laying down the rails, and comparatively little in working them. Of late years the value of property is greatly increased. The principal buildings are the Roman Catholic cathedral and the other Roman Catholic churches through the city, the Protestant and Presbyterian places of worship, a foundling hospital, an orphan asylum, the university, a military college, several public schools, banks, printing establishments, and the Government offices.

The manufactures and industries, as also the exports, of a country must be largely comprised of things indigenous to the soil. Up to this the principal product of the country has been its live stock—its cattle, sheep, and horses; and hence we find its exports consist of hides, beef, wool, skins, tallow, and horsehair—all in an unmanufactured state. To these are to be added precious metals, which come from the interior; and in very recent years refrigerated meats to European countries. Its principal imports are cottons, linens, woollens, jewellery, perfumery, and timber. At times the necessities of a city's population will evoke industries which naturally do not appertain to it; and thus we find among the created manufactures and industries of Buenos Ayres, such wares as cigars, carpets, furniture, boots and shoes. But there is no doubt that tanning leather, and the industries arising from bone-manufacture will greatly increase in the immediate future, where the material for both is so ready and so abundant.

The custom-house duties in 1860 were but £800,000. The custom-house duties in 1870 were £3,500,000.

In 1873 the value of imports were £11,886,861; whereas exports were but £6,886,506.

The harbour of Buenos Ayres is but very indifferent; the

conformation of the land is so very level that the strand runs away out miles and miles to sea; so that vessels have to be unladen by carts going out into the waters, and taking the cargo ashore. It has other disadvantages also; being so very broad and shallow it is very much at the mercy of the winds: if the tide sets in with a strong easterly wind, the estuary overflows its banks, and great damage to property ensues; if westerly winds prevail, and a going tide, it is left, far away as the eye can reach, "a bleak shore alone" indeed.

Its rival (Monte Video), on the opposite side of the river, is much better situated, and is fast coming neck and neck with it in the export trade; but there is (practically) an illimitable extent of country at the back of Buenos Ayres, and all the land commerce of that vast district will have to pass through it, so that it can afford to smile at the pretensions of its neighbour over the way.

Water-supply and sewerage are two very important items in the well-being of a city's population. Up to recent years Buenos Ayres was supplied in a very primitive way: a rude and singular kind of cart brought the water from the river La Plata, and hawked it round the streets; now, however, a very fine system of water-supply is in operation, and so far as such things can be made satisfactory in warm climates, it leaves nothing to be desired. As to its sewerage, from from what has been said regarding the extraordinary local formation of the land, any thoughtful person can draw his own conclusions.

It is unnecessary for the scope of this article to enter on an examination of its monetary system.

Before taking leave of the city of Buenos Ayres, we have to imagine our poor people, after a long and wearisome journey, coming to its threshold, and we have to consider what fate awaits them there. Suppose an emigrant vessel coming to the port of Cork or Dublin from some distant country intending to land its human cargo on the wharf. Perhaps there are men standing idle in the streets, or loitering lazily in the shade of some of those beautiful blocks or squares. It is true, Government is bound to give them work for two years in order to recoup

itself for the expenses of their passage. There is a certain anchorage in that. But what work will it set them to? If slaves were still imported, they might be expected to do all the drudgery, and leave for the noble white man something more exalted. What will our young men be put to? What will our middle-aged and elderly (for they take them out in whole families, the grandfather and the grandchild), what will they do? Into which of these houses—all these houses containing not far off from half a million of people—will our girls be sent? Who will look after them; who will counsel them? If they fall sick, who will nurse them? Is there a single face in all that multitude of human beings that will smile on our people at their landing? Is there a single hand stretched out to welcome them? Is there a single tongue to speak of the old green hills, the chapel, and the hearthstone they have left behind?

But it is idle pursuing reveries like these. Our people will not be left in Buenos Ayres. That were too rich a blessing! The Argentine Government in all likelihood has other ends in view as we shall see later on.

Province of Buenos Ayres.

The Argentine Republic consists of fourteen provinces, the largest and most important of which is Buenos Ayres. To anyone accustomed to our velvet sward and rolling country, the appearance of the landscape of this singular province would seem strange amd extraordinary in the last degree. From one horizon to another it is but one level plain. Sea and sky is all that one sees in the middle of the ocean; land and sky is all that one sees here. These vast plains, analogous to "the prairies" of America, and to "the bush" of Australia, are called Pampas: *terra deserta, et invia, et inaquosa.* "The general appearance of the country," says Mr. Mulhall, "is that of a vast plain covered with grass or 'thistles,' and almost destitute of trees."

In a moment we shall see what *the grass* is like; but we want to know the nature of the soil or plain itself first, before speaking of its covering. It is the opinion of

Darwin[1] that all this land had lain formerly submerged beneath the waters, and that by some effort or upheaval of nature it was raised several hundred feet from its original bed—one hundred feet in the region of Buenos Ayres (he says) and four hundred feet in the direction of Patagonia. It is believed that at one time the Pacific and Atlantic oceans were connected by a strait where now the river Santa Cruz flows.

Mr. Parish, the historian of the Republic writes:—

"These vast plains appear to have been upheaved at least 1,400 feet before the period of the gradual upheaval above mentioned, as indicated by the present gigantic boulders, which have been transferred on icebergs sixty or seventy miles from the parent rock. The enormous layers of gravel and sand on the plains, and even on the hills of Patagonia, give evidence of its having at one time formed the bed of an ocean, which rolled against the Andes or intervening ranges of hills."

And the shifting soil, which is found deposited to the depth of thirty or forty feet on this extent of country, is declared by Mr. Darwin to be the silt of the river La Plata, and that the river from time to time had been shifted from its position by the gradual elevation of the land. It is hardly necessary to speak at further length on the soil; all that is required to be still remarked is, that these vast plains or pampas extend over a region of country four hundred miles broad, by seven hundred miles long, and containing at least 1,500,000 square miles; that is, almost equal to half the area of the continent of Europe.

The next thing to be considered is the herbage or covering of the country; then, its natural produce, as well as its powers of producing; and, after that, the animals that are found there, tame or wild, native or imported, and these will include beasts of prey, as also reptiles; lastly, its inhabitants, temperature, climate, and general adaptability for human habitation.

The word "pampas" is derived from the Quichua language, and signifies a valley or plain. The country districts

[1] It may be remarked that it was here while making a voyage of exploration that Darwin first obtained fame. See his biography, recently published; also, his *Geological Observations in South America.*

are known also by the name of "the camp;" and the word "camp," to our ears, brings up ideas of fortifications, and tents, and soldiers, and accoutrements of war, whereas it is but an abbreviation of the very harmless word "campos," meaning in Spanish a plain.

There are two kinds of pampas—the fertile and the barren; neither of which is capable of bearing trees. We are acquainted in this country with the pampas grass; it is from the pampas it derives its name. This is the only herbage or covering of these vast plains. Professor Lorentz thus describes it in the fertile districts:—

"Coarse and scattered tufts of hard and dry grasses cover the yellow clay like thousands of little islands. At the place where their formation is most pronounced, the earth is cracked between the tufts, and is often washed away by the rains; so that the grasses are left as little eminences, the interstices sometimes being filled up with smaller species."

Winter (or our mid-summer) is the time the greatest rainfall takes place. The grasses are then washed into the earth, and the whole place assumes a dark, sodden look. In spring (that is, our autumn) the grasses shoot out, and seem like the sprouts of young turnips; the whole country then wears a bluish or dark green hue. This is the most enjoyable season of the Buenos Ayres' year. As summer comes on, the heat grows unbearable, and the "turnips" start up into a field of thistles ten or eleven feet high, covered with sharp thorns, and forming such a jungle that man or beast cannot pass through. The colour of the landscape is now dark brown: this is our Christmas. Then the thistles ripen, and, like a nobler order of creatures, wear on their brows crowns of silver. After this they droop and die, and the tropical rains coming on, wash them back again into the earth.

Having seen what the fertile districts are like, it is hardly necessary to describe the barren; for if these things take place in the greenwood, what in the dry? "The sterile pampa has a peculiar kind of vegetation consisting, for the most part, of *hard plants with long thorns.*" (*Countries of the World*, Cassell & Co.)

The next thing to be seen is the supply of water for

cattle as well as for human use. There are places hundreds of miles away from any running water. Small lakes or ponds are to be found here and there; but as these depend on the rain-fall for their supply, they are full after rain, when water is least wanting; and in time of drought, when water is most wanting, they are but dried-up, repulsive-looking eyesores. Taking, for instance, the province of Buenos Ayres, the northern part of it is high, and in a dry year millions of horned cattle will die for want of water; the southern portion, on the other hand, is low and marshy, and in the wet season it is scarcely habitable. So great is the heat, that it cracks up the soil, and the country is, in consequence, unable to bear trees, the want of which in turn makes the whole place more exposed to the heat of the sun.

The soil, furthermore, is so porous and so thirsty, that the rain at once gets to a depth at which it is of no use to grass or vegetation, whose roots do not penetrate so deeply; and what little remains on the surface is exposed to such heat, that it is rapidly evaporated. M. Revy, one of the explorers of this country, mentions a singular fact with regard to this extraordinary evaporation. He says that in the province of Corrientes, although the river Paranna drains a basin of country 500,000 square miles in area, yet it does not increase one pintful in volume, since (to use his own words) "it loses by evaporation as much as it gains by the great tributaries that fall into it."

In some of the interior provinces, such as Entre Rios (*between the rivers*) and Corrientes, the country is more like an European landscape than in Buenos Ayres. There is an alternation of hill and dale. The grass grows rich and soft and green. Trees are found, especially by the waters' edge, in abundance; and the flat, one-storied houses, seen nestling in the luxuriant meadows, with a tropical sun pouring down its effulgence upon them, and the peach-tree, or the fig or the pear, or the beautiful tree of Paradise, or the cool, refreshing ombu with its dark shade, and singular form, thirty feet high, with drooping leaves, seven or eight feet long and four or five inches thick, protecting or adorning the place, form a picture of Arcadian beauty and peace that nowhere else might be seen.

The pampas, however, are capable of rearing stock. In fact, large herds are raised there every year. When the pampas grass is a certain age, they manage to cut and preserve it; and, when constantly grazed on, it loses (it is said) to a great degree its natural wildness, and becomes shorter, more compact, and more nutritious. In parts, also, the country is broken up and tilled. Generally speaking, whatever agriculture there is, is on the east coast: all the interior being used for grazing purposes.

The province of Buenos Ayres alone supports about 45,000,000 sheep; and the quantity of wool is said to be about 160,000,000 lbs. It is easy for any one to find the money value of that; but it must be remembered, in making the computation, that wool in warm regions is not so good as that of a colder climate.

The number of sheep in the whole republic is supposed to be about 75,000,000, and their value about £22,000,000.

By the latest census, the number of goats in the province is said to be about[1] 2,863,227. Goatskins are very much used for saddle covers.

Pigs make only the small total of 257,368. Few need to be told the use of "the pigskin." Horses exist in the greatest abundance—"in enormous quantities," says a native writer. The number of horses in the republic is said to be 5,000,000, and their value is estimated at the extraordinary sum of £4,500,000, or about 15*s.* a horse. The breed, however, has become very much deteriorated. The horse is more generally found in Buenos Ayres.

In the provinces the ass and the mule are also found, and generally used as beasts of burden. The former is said to number 266,927, the latter 132,125.

The horned cattle come next in number to the sheep:—

Cattle in Province of Buenos Ayres ...	6,000,000
,, Republic	18,000,000

Their value can be computed by estimating a cow at

[1] The numbers cannot be given accurately, as they have no such means of obtaining them as we have. Even when making sale of a large herd of cattle, they separate off a number, and give them *al corte*—*i.e.*, be the same more or less; and the buyer takes them *al corte*.

from 16*s.* to 25*s.* a head. The stock on a country farm (or *estancia*) will often be as numerous as 10,000; and these are divided off again into herds of 2,000 or 3,000, each sent off to its separate pasturage. Statistics like these remind one of the days of the old patriarchs—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; "and he was rich in sheep and cattle and horses."

Of the purchase of a farm and its stock in the Province of Buenos Ayres, a computation is given in *The Countries of the World*, the figures being taken from the official *Blue-book* of the Central Argentine Commission at the Philadelphia Exhibition thus:—

"A square league—that is, 6,500 English acres—of pasture land costs, according to its distance from Buenos Ayres, from 20,000 to 50,000 dollars in gold. This sum also includes the necessary buildings, which are usually of a *very primitive description*. Taking the purchase money at 40,000 dollars, and the capital to be devoted to the purchase of stock at 20,000 dollars, the following is the way the money would require to be laid out:—

10,000 sheep (*al corte*—be the same more or less)	12,000 dollars.
1,000 horned cattle	6,000 „
300 mares	1,200 „
50 saddle horses for the use of the establishment	800 „

The first year of the place would produce the following returns, according to the same authority:—

2,500 sheep, sold to the "grease foundries"	5,000 dollars.
1,000 sheep *al corte* to traffickers ...	1,200 „
150 horned cattle for the butcher ...	2,100 „
100 „ *al corte* to traffickers	600 „
25 mares	100 „
	———9,000 dols.
4,000 lbs. of wool	4,800 dollars.
300 „ hair	60 „
	———4,860 dols.
Expenses—A manager	240 dollars.
Two servants	280 „
Six shepherds	1,020 „
Sundry expenses	320 „

The profits at this computation would give from 20 to 25 per cent. on the outlay. It is said that estancias yield an income of even 35 per cent. All the time, however, it must be borne in mind that, while the estimate may be correct, it does not come from an unprejudiced source.

What is done with all these animals? The carcases are comparatively worthless; it is the hides or covering that is of value. Taking the flesh of the animal or the carcase, numbers die of want of water, and the flesh, after an hour or so, is valueless. Some of the flesh is used as food for the owner and the employés; but the greater portion is sold to the grease factories. Here the carcase is boiled down whole—horned cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, and even horses. Mares are never used as beasts of burden or for riding; they merely breed or are sold to the grease factory, where the carcase is boiled down, the hide separated from the hair and preserved, and the hair, teased and prepared, is exported as a commodity of itself, from which we have our curled hair and hair covering.

As a specimen of how scarce fuel is in or about Buenos Ayres, and of what little value they account the flesh of an animal, they will often in the factory take one of the dead carcases and fling it into the lagging furnace to rouse up its latent heat. Coals must be brought from other countries, and wood from the interior. This increases very largely the expenses of fire-work in the factories. In the country places, where there is no timber, the droppings of cattle, baked as they are in the hot sun of that climate, supply the material for cooking. How provident nature is! If this were a cold climate, the scarcity of firewood alone would render it almost uninhabitable.

The native animals which the settler finds of use are the lama, the alpaca, and the vicugna. The alpaca is about the size of our sheep, but has a longer neck and a more graceful head, with large, lustrous eyes. It is of various colours—yellowish brown, sometimes grey, almost white, sometimes black. Its wool is of the most beautiful texture, silken to the touch, and seems to the eye as if intermingled with gold. The wool grows seven or eight inches every year, and if the

animal be left for some time unshorn, it is found twenty or twenty-five inches long, and sometimes even thirty. About 3,000,000 lbs. of alpaca wool is exported annually.

The lama is like the alpaca, and some naturalists consider them of the same species. Unlike the alpaca however, the male lama is used as a beast of burden. It stands about three feet high at the shoulder, and can carry about eight stone weight, at the rate of twelve or fifteen miles a day. It is found to be very useful in the mining districts, and in mountainous regions. Its wool is not so good as that of the alpaca. The vicugna is like the lama and alpaca, but more graceful in appearance than either. Its wool is short, crisp, and very fine. The *estancieros* choose the time of the year when the wool on the animal is most abundant; they then go out in parties and shoot it down. The finest shawls are made of its wool.

This country produces one of the most singular freaks of nature in the detestable little animal designated (and with propriety) the skunk. It is about the size of our cat, of a brownish or dark colour, and covered with a kind of beaver or fur with long hair. The settlers hunt it with dogs for the sake of its skin. It will let the dog approach almost within bound, when it will discharge a fluid of a most offensive smell. The effect of it on the unwary dog is that he ceases from pursuit, and rubs his nose on the ground, until the blood comes from his nostrils. Nothing yet invented or discovered can move the malodorous smell from clothing or furniture.

Of those animals which form the pest of the Argentine Republic, the biscacha is the most general and the least useful. It is the prairie dog of South America. It burrows holes in the ground, and the horseman finds it dangerous and troublesome work to get along through this network of pitfalls. There is also the armadillo, but the inhabitants console themselves for his burrowing propensities by the savoury dish he makes when cooked. The armies of ants that infest the country are a great destruction to every green leaf and tree. There are besides peculiar kinds of ants and mice that swarm around the dwelling-place; away

out in the lonely places and in the darkness are the jaguars and tigar cats; and in the marshy places, river-hogs, pumas, and serpents are to be found in abundance. For a magnificent description of these animals see Baron Humboldt's "*Travels and Researches,*" chap. xvi.

Among the birds and feathered game of the pampas may be mentioned the partridge, duck, and a horned kind of plover called the terostero. The partridge and an ostrich-like bird called the rhea are the two principal birds of game on the pampas. In the interior, near the region of the mountains, the condor is a great pest. It swoops down on the young cattle, drags out their tongue to prevent their cry, and soars away with them to its eyrie on the mountain. On the pampas there are two birds, lesser in size than the condor, but of habits very similar—the pampas hawk, which picks out the eyes of the young lambs, and then carries them away to a place of security; and the carrancho which greedily seizes on every bit of rotten meat or other carrion or stale garbage flung out from the estancia.

But, of all pests, worst and deadliest is the human beast of prey that dwells in the savage wilds and fastnesses of the interior. The Indians are intractable, and there is no peace, no protection, no security from them. "The climate, though on the whole healthy and agreeable, is yet by no means steady or uniform. In general every wind has to a reasonable degree its own weather—sultriness coming from the north, freshness from the south, moisture from the east, and storms from the west." (Chamber's *Encyclopædia.*)

Its magnificent rivers, and its singular Falls at Guayra above Corrientes are among its great natural wonders. At thirty miles away the noise of the Falls is heard like thunder; at three miles off one can hardly be heard speaking. M. Revy says that a million tons of water falls every minute a distance of sixty feet. In approaching the Falls, the river contains more water than all the European rivers collectively, and the current hurries along at the speed of a train going forty miles an hour.

The Argentine Republic consists of fourteen provinces—near to the Atlantic Ocean, and bordering the River La Plata

are the four littoral provinces—Buenos Ayres, Santa Fé, Entre Rios, and Corrientes (of the seven currents). Lying under the Andes are four more—Rioja, Catamarca, San Juan and Mendoza. In the centre are four others—Cordova, San Luis, Santiago del Estero, and Tucuman. The two northern provinces, Salta and Jujuy, complete the number.

The provinces select two hundred and twenty-eight delegates, and these elect the President, who holds office for six years. Congress consists of two chambers—the Senate numbering twenty-eight, and the House of deputies eighty-six. Each member is paid £700 a year. The second second article of the constitution stipulates that "the Federal Government shall maintain the Apostolic Roman Catholic Faith." The Republic has a small standing army, and a navy of about thirty-nine ships of war. Each province has its own internal government as in the United States.

It appears that there is going to be no diminution in the emigration from Ireland towards Buenos Ayres. Every day persons are to be seen at the agency office here in Limerick. I have asked the agent, whether it is the State Legislature of Buenos Ayres or the government of the Argentine Republic that has paid the fare of the emigrants, and he has informed me that it is the Republic. Now this makes matters much more serious, as it means that the poor immigrant who is at the disposal of the government for two years may be sent anywhere over a tract of country from the Atlantic to the Andes, half as large as Europe. I have abstained up to this from giving any opinions; for, it is not opinions but facts that are wanted. This, however, I think, may be hazarded that the government will employ the immigrants on those works which serve to promote the internal interests of the Republic. In our day railways hold the first place in promoting these interests. It used be said of the great Pacific Railway from New York to San Francisco that every yard of it marked an Irishman's grave. God grant the same be not said of the great internal railways of South America.

There are then the great mines—the silver mines, and the salt mines; both of which remain unworked for want of hands. Salt is one of the great necessaries of the country,

yet salt has to be imported in immense quantities from Spain, although their own country could supply all they want, and export a surplus. Their wool is exported, and brought back in the shape of cloth. They have no mills, and the cost of erecting them or working them would be too great—labour being so dear. They have hides and tanning material in abundance and super-abundance, and yet they have to export their hides and import their leather.

No country with a home government at the head of it could allow such a state of things to continue. There is scarcely a doubt, but it is to some of these works our poor people will have to go. If they had capital, education, or trade, they might not be so much pitied; but having very little or none of these, they are tremendously handicapped, and the bulk of them will remain nothing else but hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Under foreign taskmasters, unacquainted with their language or their character, their material condition cannot be but bad; and as a result of their mixing with a society tainted in religion and habits, their moral condition seems much more gravely to be deplored.

R. O'KENNEDY.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

PARTIES ERRONEOUSLY REPUTED TO BE MARRIED.

"Will you kindly solve these difficulties. *Ex Confessione Sac.*—I come to know parties, reputed to be married, but not "de facto." They now have remorse and wish to be married. They never went through any form of marriage. One of them is unable to leave his room. How am I to act, so as to keep the matter private? I presume I must get Dispensation in Banns, and permission to have the ceremony in the room of the Sponsus.

"What about the witnesses—I presume there must be two. How and where is the marriage to be registered?

2nd. Suppose I had this knowledge *extra Confessionem Sac.*, what would be the difference?

3rd. "Is there any case *with us* in which the *Testes* can be dispensed with?"

I.

Independently of the sacramental *sigillum*, natural justice would oblige the confessor to safeguard as far as possible the character of this wretched couple, and to marry them with all possible privacy.

1. The confessor must get permission from his penitents to use his sacramental knowledge for the purposes of the marriage. He must not use this knowledge beyond the limits of his permission.

2. He must get a dispensation in the Banns.

3. Abstracting from diocesan legislation, I think he requires no permission to perform the ceremony in the room of the Sponsus. "*Matrimonium*," writes De Herdt, "juxta rituale, *in ecclesia maxime celebrari decet.* Haec verba *praeceptum* prae se *non* ferunt." Again the *Maynooth Statutes* (n. 109) prescribe, "Matrimonia fidelium, *extra casum necessitatis*, vel gravem aliam causam per Episcopum determinandam fiant semper in ecclesia." The Rubric therefore does not impose a precept; and the Synod does not require the marriage to be celebrated in a Church (1) in a case of necessity; (2) for some grave reason to be determined by the Bishop. The case contemplated is manifestly a case of necessity.

4. It is necessary to have at least two witnesses.

5. We may apply to the celebration and registration of this marriage, what Cardinal Caprara wrote regarding the revalidation of certain invalid marriages, "si nullitas matrimonii occulta sit seu communiter ignoretur, matrimonium coram proprio parocho, adhibitis saltem duobus testibus *confidentibus* . . . . contrahendum est, *adnotata* deinde *revalidatione* in *secretorum matrimoniorum libro*" (apud Carriere, n. 1455, et Gury, 892). The marriage, therefore, should be registered in some private register, to prevent the possibility of future infamia to the contracting parties.

II.

"Suppose I had this knowledge *extra Confessionem?*" The obligation of the *sigillum* would not of course exist, but if their previous sinful state were not publicly known the natural law would oblige the priest to marry the persons with as little injury to their character as possible, and to abstain from revealing their past sinful state even after their marriage. The witnesses too would be bound by this natural obligation, but of course not by the *sigillum.* Otherwise there is no substantial difference between the cases.

III.

"Is there any case *with us,*" &c.?

It is not necessary, I am sure, to note all the cases where the law of clandestinity does not bind. But practically in this country there is no case, in which the witnesses can be dispensed with, when two Catholics are getting married, who have not gone through the form of marriage, even invalidly, before their parish priest or his delegate and two or more witnesses.

II.

OFFERINGS GIVEN ON THE OCCASION OF MARRIAGE.

"Please answer the following in next issue of RECORD:—Does an offering made to the officiating priest on the occasion of marriage or baptism become part of divisible dues? Perhaps one or two cases in point will best illustrate my question. 1st. Parties living in a country district wish to be married in Dublin. The usual marriage fee is arranged and paid before they leave home. Immediately after the ceremony they give to their parish priest, who accompanied them, a sum of money which is considerably more than sufficient to defray the expenses of his journey. Does this sum or any part of it become divisible dues? 2nd. When the bride and bridegroom, after a marriage in their own parish, have left the church and are about to drive away, they offer a money present to the priest who assisted at the ceremony. This is not accepted by him though he knows that it is offered out of personal friendship. He is then asked to take it and distribute it in charity. Would the priest have been justified in accepting this present for himself, or should he, had he

accepted it, make it divisible dues? Was he justified in accepting it as charity? Or was he *bound* to take it when first offered, and share it with his curates?

B. B.

I must confess to be rather imperfectly acquainted with the local laws and customs which regulate the distribution of offerings given on the occasion of administering the sacraments. The offerings, however, given on the occasion of marriage and baptism are generally regarded in this country as divisible dues.

Before replying to the specific questions raised by my correspondent, I purpose to make a few general observations on the subject matter of this query.

It is forbidden under pain of suspension to refuse to administer the sacrament of baptism on the pretext of the insufficiency of the *honorarium.* It is also forbidden on the same penalty to refuse to assist at a marriage, unless on receipt or promise of a certain sum of money or its equivalent. But in those parts of the country, where the offerings given on the occasion of marriage, constitute an important part of the priest's income, it is generally arranged before the ceremony how much the contracting parties are to give the officiating priest.

Complications however sometimes arise. For example, if the arrangements made before marriage, include the application of Mass for the contracting parties, a difficulty will arise about the stipendium of the celebrant. How much, it will be asked, shall the celebrant get from the marriage offering for celebrating Mass for the newly-married couple? Of course the stipendium should be determined by diocesan law or the custom of the diocese about nuptial masses.

Again, practices unworthy of the priesthood are conceivable; the celebrant may suggest a small marriage offering—the divisible offering—on the rather certain expectation of receiving a rich gift for his own private use. In some dioceses the danger of such a practice is obviated by a diocesan law providing that all offerings given on the occasion of marriage are divisible dues. And the words "occasione matrimonii" are very widely interpreted so as to

include all offerings whether given as a matrimonial stipendium, or as a gift to the celebrant at the marriage.

To return to the questions: (*a*) "Parties . . . wish to be married in Dublin. The usual marriage fee is paid before they leave home. Immediately after the ceremony they give to their parish priest a sum of money considerably more than sufficient to defray the expenses of his journey. Does any part of this sum become divisible dues?

1. In the absence of diocesan law no part of this money necessarily becomes divisible dues. The *usual marriage fee* had been paid. Why then should the parish priest be obliged to divide and give to his curates a part of the money he got for travelling to Dublin?

2. Suppose a diocesan law requires all the money given on the occasion of marriage to be divided, would the parish priest be bound to divide this money? I think ordinarily he would not be bound.

In the present case the usual marriage fee had been paid. Had the parties been married at home the curates would not have fared better. Again the law is made to prevent the danger of abuse; but there is very little danger of abuse in connection with those who come to Dublin to be married the cases are rather rare. Lastly and chiefly we are not to consider the expenses of the journey alone. Such a diocesan law would allow a *honorarium* from the marriage offering if the marriage agreement required the celebration of Mass. Similarly it would allow a liberal gratuity for a journey to Dublin. A priest gets half a-crown to say a low Mass, what would he expect to say a High Mass? What would he expect to drive a few miles and say Mass in a private house in the morning? Estimate, therefore, the priest's personal labour in coming to Dublin by the standard of the *labor extrinsecus*, of driving to a private house in the morning, to say Mass, and it will be admitted that generally speaking a parish priest is not bound to divide such an offering with his curates.

If the sum were extraordinary the matter should—in the hypothesis of a diocesan law—be submitted to the bishop.

(*b*) "When the bride and bridegroom after marriage in their own parish, have left the church . . . they offer a money

present to the priest who assisted at the ceremony. This is not accepted though known to be offered out of personal friendship. He is then asked to take it and distribute it in charity. Would he be justified in accepting it for himself, or should he—had he accepted it—make it divisible dues? Was he justified in accepting it as charity? or was he *bound* to take it and share it with his curates ?"

I assume that the usual marriage fee was paid. In the absence of diocesan law the priest could accept the money for himself; or he could accept it as charity and so distribute it; or he could refuse to accept it. The curates had no right to the present that was offered to the parish priest solely on the ground of personal friendship.

Suppose the priests of the diocese were bound to divide all the money received *occasione matrimonii*?

1. If the parish priest accepted the money even as a personal gift he would be bound to regard it as belonging to the divisible dues. 2. He would not be bound to accept it as a personal gift. This diocesan law would not oblige him to receive as divisible money what was offered as a strictly personal gift. 3. He might accept it as charitable money and so distribute it. This law would compel him to divide only the money given for his own or his curate's use on the occasion of marriage.

D. Coghlan.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

The Ceremonies of some Ecclesiastical Functions.

Chapter III.—The Preparation for Mass, and the Procession to the Altar.

Section I.—The Preparation.

On the vestment-bench the deacon's vestments are laid to the right, the sub-deacon's to the left of the celebrant's.

When the celebrant comes to the bench the sacred ministers, already vested in amice, alb, and girdle, salute him,[1] and assist him to vest.[2] The vesting of the celebrant having been completed, he assumes his biretta, and stands with his hands joined in front of his breast, or resting on the bench until the master of ceremonies gives the signal for moving. Meanwhile the deacon and sub-deacon, assisted by the acolytes, array themselves—the former in maniple, stole, and dalmatic, the latter in maniple and tunic. If the celebrant is covered, as it is right he should be, the sacred minister may also cover,[3] unless they are to proceed immediately to the altar.

The acolytes carrying their candles, and the thurifer having his hands joined in front, place themselves either beside the sacred ministers or behind them, according to the circumstances of the sacristy. If they are in a line with the celebrant and sacred ministers, the first acolyte is at the deacon's right, the second at the sub-deacon's left, and the thurifer is beside the acolyte whose place is nearest the door leading to the sanctuary. If they are behind, the first acolyte stands behind the deacon, the second behind the sub-deacon, and the thurifer stands between the two acolytes. The master of ceremonies, whose duty it is to give the signal for proceeding to the altar as soon as the clergy have taken their places in choir, stands where he can most conveniently discharge this duty.

At the signal from the master of ceremonies the celebrant and his ministers uncover, and make, accompanied by the master of ceremonies and the inferior ministers, a profound inclination of the head[4] to the crucifix. The ministers salute

[1] De Conny, Liv. II., ch. ii., art. 2.

[2] See page 275.

[3] De Conny, *loc. cit.*

[4] Falise, Part I., chap. i., sect. ii., n. 6. Quarti, Part II., Tit. ii., n. 1. De Herdt., Tom. i., n. 199. Many authors, however, direct a profound inclination of the body to be made. Such, they say, is the inclination which should always be made to the cross or crucifix. The Rubric (Tit. ii., n. 1) simply says *facta reverentia.* This phrase, as Falise (*loc. cit.*) with great show of reason contends, would seem to imply only an inclination of the head.

the celebrant with a medium inclination of the head, which the celebrant, still uncovered,[1] acknowledges by a slight inclination.

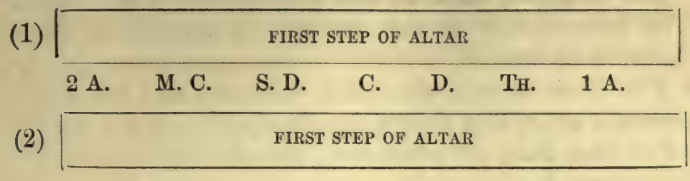
Section II.—The Procession to the Altar.

In going to the altar the thurifer walks first, keeping his hands joined in front. He takes holy water at the door of the sacristy, where a small font is fixed in a convenient place. After him are the two acolytes with their candles. They walk side by side, and do not take holy water. The master of ceremonies follows. At the door of the sacristy he presents holy water to the sub-deacon who comes next him. The sub-deacon does the same to the deacon, and the latter again to the celebrant. All uncover when receiving the holy water.

Having arrived at a convenient place for saluting the choir, the master of ceremonies and the first acolyte step a little to the right, the second acolyte and the thurifer a little to the left, and between them the celebrant, with the deacon on his right and the sub-deacon on his left, takes his place. Standing thus in a straight or slightly curved line the celebrant and sacred ministers uncover, and all together salute both sides of the choir with a moderate inclination of the body,[2] beginning with the side which they approach first in coming from the sacristy. The choir responds by a similar inclination, and the celebrant and his ministers, resuming their former places, go to the foot of the altar. Here they take up the same relative positions which they had when saluting the cross of the sacristy; that is, either all in a line, the celebrant in the centre, on his right the deacon, thurifer, and first acolyte, and on his left the sub-deacon, master of ceremonies, and second acolyte; or, the two acolytes with the thurifer between them behind the sacred ministers, and the master of ceremonies at the left of the sub-deacon, or wherever he finds most convenient. The

[1] De Herdt, Tom. i., n. 306.
[2] Bourbon, n. 344, who adds, "Telle parait être la pratique commune."
[3] Authors generally.

accompanying plan will make these directions more easily understood:—



Having arranged themselves in one of these ways all genuflect, if the Blessed Sacrament is in the tabernacle; if the Blessed Sacrament is not in the tabernacle the celebrant salutes the cross of the altar with a profound inclination of the body; but all the others, including the deacon and sub-deacon, genuflect.

Chapter V.—From the beginning of Mass to the Incensation of the Altar.

The Celebrant having saluted the altar makes the sign of the cross on himself in the usual way while saying the words *In nomine Patris, etc.*, and says alternately with the deacon and sub-deacon the antiphon *Introibo*, and the psalm *Judica*. At the *Gloria Patri* he makes a profound inclination of the head, then repeats the antiphon, makes the sign of the cross at the *Deus in adjutorium*, and inclining profoundly says the *Confiteor*.

The Deacon and Sub-deacon make the sign of the cross along with the celebrant, and repeat the responses in a medium tone of voice. They incline the head profoundly at the *Gloria Patri* and again make the sign of the cross at the *Deus in adjutorium*.

The Master of Ceremonies, having placed the birettas on the bench, kneels *in plano* on the Epistle side, and in a subdued tone says the responses along with the sacred ministers.

The Acolytes, after genuflecting, carry their candles to the credence, place them on the posterior angles, and kneel near the credence with their faces towards the altar, and each

beside his own candle. They make the sign of the cross and join in saying the responses.

The Thurifer, when he has genuflected to the altar, proceeds immediately to the sacristy to get the censer and incense in readiness.

The Choir kneels when the celebrant and his ministers salute the altar. The clergy sign themselves at the beginning and at the *Deus in adjutorium*, but do not incline at the *Gloria Patri*.[1]

The Celebrant remaining profoundly inclined says the *Confiteor*, and at the words *vobis fratres*, *vos fratres*, turns slowly, first towards the deacon, then towards the sub-deacon. When the ministers have finished the *misereatur tui* he stands erect.

The Deacon and Sub-deacon inclining moderately[2] towards the celebrant, who is still profoundly inclined, say the *misereatur tui*, then inclining profoundly towards the altar, they say the *Confiteor*, turning towards the celebrant at the *tibi, pater*, and *te, pater*.

The Master of Ceremonies, and the Acolytes accompany the sacred ministers in words and actions.

The Choir says the *Confiteor* along with the ministers, and though kneeling inclines profoundly.[3]

The Celebrant while saying the *misereatur vestri* turns towards the deacon and sub-deacon as at the *Confiteor*,[4] at the *Indulgentiam* he makes the sign of the cross on himself.

The Deacon and Sub-deacon remain inclined until the celebrant has said the *misereatur vestri*. At the *Indulgentiam* they stand erect and make the sign of the cross.

The other Ministers and the Choir accompany the sacred Ministers throughout.

The Celebrant and all the Ministers make a moderate inclination of the body at the *Deus in adjutorium meum*.

(*To be continued*).

[1] Bourbon, n. 361, *note*. S. C. R. Aug. 12, 1854. *Lucionem* ad 65, *apud* Bourbon. n. 354, *note*.

[2] De Conny, *loc. cit.*

[3] Bourbon, n. 361. Bauldry, Part I., chap. xvii., n. 20.

[4] Falise, Cærem, Epis. De Carpo. Part II., chap. ii., art. 2, n. 134.

An Oratory without a public entrance only a Private Oratory.

Would you kindly offer an answer to the following query?

"Does a public entrance to a Chapel afford any advantages or privileges not possessed by a Chapel or Oratory without such an entrance?" "C."

Any building dedicated to divine worship and having no public entrance is nothing more than a *private* Oratory; having a public entrance such a building would be at least a public Oratory. A public entrance, therefore, confers those privileges which public Oratories enjoy, but of which private Oratories are deprived. To celebrate Mass in a public Oratory the permission of the Bishop of the place is sufficient; while for celebrating in a private Oratory permission must be granted by the Pope himself. In public Oratories legitimately erected Mass may be celebrated on all feasts of the year; in private Oratories, on the other hand, Mass cannot be celebrated, without special licence *ad hoc*, on several of the principal feasts; as Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, &c.

What is meant by a "Private" Mass?

"A constant reader of the Record asks for information as to the exact meaning of the terms used in the Ordo, *in Missa privata*, as he is at times in doubt as to the necessity of saying the prayers ordered to be said only *in Missa privata*, *e.g.*, the commemoration of Saints on the Visitation, July 2nd."

The phrase "Private Mass" has two meanings which must be carefully distinguished. A Mass is private as contra-distinguished either from a public Mass, or from a solemn Mass. A public Mass is that which is celebrated in a Church or public Oratory, and at which the general body of the faithful are invited to attend, while a private Mass is one that is either celebrated in a Private Oratory, or, if celebrated in a public Oratory or Church, is one at which the faithful are neither invited nor expected to assist. "From the beginning of the thirteenth century," writes Le Brun, "and

even from an earlier period, a Mass celebrated in any Church in presence of all the people, both men and women, has been called a public Mass, to distinguish it from Masses sometimes called private, because celebrated either in private chapels, or for deceased persons in presence of their relatives and friends alone, or in Monastic Churches."[1] Public Masses, as Cardinal Bona remarks,[2] are so called not precisely from the place in which they are celebrated, since formerly public Masses were celebrated in the Catacombs and in secret and most remote places, but from the assembly of the people offering the Mass along with the priest.

As distinguished from a solemn Mass a private Mass is usually defined to be that in which the celebrant is not assisted by a deacon or sub-deacon, in which there are no chanters, and only one mass-server.[3] By 'chanters' in this definition, are to be understood chanters singing alternately with the celebrant; for music and singing in which the celebrant takes no part, do not of themselves constitute the solemnity of the Mass. Neither will the presence of more than one acolyte or mass-server suffice to render the Mass solemn. One mass-server is sufficient in a private Mass, and only one is permitted, unless in community or parochial Masses, or at a Bishop's Mass, when there may be two. It is in this latter signification that the phrase *Private Mass* is used in the Directory or *Ordo*. Our esteemed correspondent will, therefore, please understand, that when the *Ordo* directs certain prayers to be said *in Missa privata*, they are to be said in every Mass that is neither a Solemn or High Mass, nor a *Missa cantata*, whether that Mass be said in the priest's private oratory, in a convent chapel, or a parish church; or whether it is said on a week-day with no one present but the mass-server, or on a Sunday in presence of a large congregation.

D. O'Loan.

[1] *Explicatio Missae*, p. 3.

[2] *Rerum Liturgicarum*, *l.* 1, c. 13, 3.

[3] ". . . privatam [missam] vero quae sine diacono et subdiacono, et cantoribus, uno tantum ministrante celebratur, sive aliqui fideles ei intersint, sive nullus adsit, sive solus celebrans communicet, sive sint aliqui communicantes." (Card. Bona, *loc. cit.* 5).

CORRESPONDENCE.

Letter from the Right Rev. Dr. Howley, Pref. Apost. Newfoundland on the Indult of 1862.

[With great pleasure we publish the following interesting letter from the Right Rev. Dr. Howley, Prefect-Apostolic, Newfoundland. Our Right Rev. and esteemed correspondent settles once for all the question raised about the interpretation of the Indult of 1862, and mentions several items of special interest to the priests of Newfoundland.]

"Sandy Point, Bay St. George,
"West Newfoundland, *Feb. 10th*, 1889.

"Rev. Dear Sir,—I take the liberty of addressing you on a subject discussed in the I. E. Record for January, 1889, viz., that of the Indult of 1862, regarding Requiem Mass, *presente cadavere*. I was myself particularly interested in the discussion, as I had just received from Propaganda a corresponding Indult for the priests of this Mission.

"Throughout the whole of Newfoundland the Irish *Ordo* is used, but I was in doubt as to whether we, with the concession of said *Ordo*, received also all the Indults and other favours—Indulgences, &c.—and also whether we were bound by the restrictions, &c., such as fasts; and if not, I asked for the privilege conferred on Ireland in the Indult of 1862.

"I was answered by the S. Congregation of Propaganda, to the first part *negative*, and in reply to the second I received the Indult.

"The question raised by your correspondent was this. As in the petition of the bishops it is asked if in places where on account of the scarcity of priests—*Ob sacerdotum inopiam*—High Mass (*Missa solemnis*) could not be celebrated, Low Masses might be read (*legi possint Missae privatae*). The S. Congregation granted the privilege *juxta preces*. *Ergo*, argues your correspondent, *several* (or at least more than one) Low Masses can be read, as the *preces* are for *Missae*.

"You show that this interpretation is incorrect, and give reasons. Even if the words as quoted in the Directory are correct, the words *Missae privatae* in the plural refer evidently to the words *in iis locis*, viz., Requiem Masses may be read in these places, *i.e.* one in each. The very nature of the request would show it, because the favour is granted only *ob inopiam*

sacerdotum. Hence, if there were *several* priests to say several private Masses, then they would be obliged to sing the solemn Mass, and the favour even of saying *one* private Mass would not be available.

"In the Decree which I have received from Propaganda. The petition or *preces* was formulated, not by me, but by the authorities there, and it runs thus, *legi valeat Missa privata de requiem*, in the singular. But I see Canon Keogh in the *Ordo* for 1889 declares in a note that the Decree is to be understood *de unica Missa privata.* It seems strange that any other idea could have arisen in any one's mind.

"I remain, Very Rev. Dear Sir, in haste,

"Yours sincerely,

"M. F. Howley, D.D., P.A."

Civilization of Pre-Christian Ireland.

"Very Rev. Dear Sir,—As a student of Irish history, I feel bound to utter a word of protest against Father Curry's easy assumption, in his article in the last number of the Record, of the complete barbarism of Anti-Christian Ireland. No one thoroughly conversant with our early history, and surely no one acquainted with our early literature, would dream of comparing the Irishman, say of the first century with 'the unreclaimed New-Zealander.' To pass over other proofs of our early civilization, why the very music and legislation, whose origin the article would date from the coming of Christianity, go to prove that Ireland was far indeed removed from barbarism in Pagan times. Irish music was not the growth of a few years. Long before the Christian Era we know that the Irish *aos ciuil* had the three famous compositions, the *Suantraighe*, the *Gentraighe*, and the *Goltraighe*,—compositions whose various nature and acknowledged power argue a respectable acquaintance with the rules of musical harmony and composition.

"And 'the laws of consummate wisdom,' which were in force in St. Patrick's time were (according to an almost cotemporary tradition) but slightly changed from the Pagan code, to meet the requirements of Christian ethics, and of justice stricter than that taught by Cormac or Ollamh Fodhla.

"It is hard to see the Irishman, even as he was before the light of Christianity reached him, placed in the same category with the savage New-Zealander, whose chief music is the whizz of his boomerang, and whose will is his only law.

"I remain, Very Rev. Sir, yours respectfully,

"G. M. N."

DOCUMENTS.

S. Congregation of Rites.

Summary.

I. Vestments to be worn by a bishop when making the visitation in his cathedral or other notable church.

II. Anniversary Mass for election and consecration of the bishop of the diocese on a *major double* feast, or within a privileged octave.

III. Can Mass *de requiem* be celebrated, *praesente cadavere*, on Feasts of St. Joseph and of St. John Baptist?

IV. Feast of Commemoration of St. Paul in concurrence with the Office of the Most Precious Blood.

V. Patronage of St. Joseph in concurrence with St. George, patron of the province.

URGELLEN.

Hodiernus Magister Caeremoniarum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Urgellensis de mandato sui Rmi. Episcopi insequentia Dubia Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi pro opportuna resolutione humillime subjecit, nimirum:—

Dubium I. An Episcopus in actu Visitationis Cathedralis Ecclesiae vel aliarum Insignium Ecclesiarum suae Dioeceseos, indui possit, ad majorem solemnitatem, amictu, alba, etc., cum pluviali et mitra, ad portam ipsius Ecclesiae, antequam aspersorium accipiat ac thurificetur, prout alicubi factum est?

Dubium II. 1° Utrum recurrente officio duplici majore non de praecepto, cani possit in Cathedrali pro Anniversario electionis et consecrationis Episcopi Dioecesani?

2° Potestne cantari in die infra Octavam privilegiatam, quando praedictum Anniversarium incidit in ipsam?

Dubium III. Quum non idem sentiant Rubricistae circa Missam *de Requie*, corpore praesente, in Festis S. Joseph Patroni Ecclesiae Catholicae et Nativitatis Sancti Joannis Baptistae, ideo ad uniformitatem in praxi stabiliendam quaeritur:

1° Utrum Decreta Sacrae Rituum Congregationis in Veronen. diei 7 Februarii 1874, ad I., nec non In Lucionen. diei 28 Decembris 1884, ad VII., ita absolute intelligenda sint, ut nulla ratione nulloque in casu permittatur solemnis Missa *de Requie*, praesente cadavere, in Festo S. Patriarchae Joseph, necne?

2° Utrum Missa *de Requie* cani possit in Nativitate S. Joannis,

ubi solemnitas hujus Festi translata invenitur ad sequentem Dominicam? Et quatenus negative:

3° An eadem Missa etiam in praefata Dominica censenda sit prohibita? Et quatenus affirmative:

4° An praedicta Missa cani possit die Dominica iis in locis, ubi quamvis generaliter translata sit solemnitas festi Nativitatis S. Joannis ad sequentem Dominicam, prout fit in Hispania ex Decreto S. R.C. diei 2 Maii 1867, tamen populus, nihil curans nec memoriam habens de ea translatione, fere eodem modo ac antea Nativitatem S. Joannis recolit?

Dubium IV. An in Vesperis Commemorationis S. Pauli Ap. in concurrentia cum Officio pretiosissimi Sanguinis D. N. J. C. fieri debeat commemoratio SS. Petri et Pauli per antiphonam communem *Petrus Apostolus*, etc.?

Dubium V. Ubi Patrocinium S. Joseph colitur sub ritu Duplicis I cl., quomodo ordinandae Vesperae in concursu cum Officio S. Georgii Mart., Patroni Principatus Cathalauniae, quod quidem celebratur sub ritu eodem cum octava, absque tamen apparatu et feriatione: num integrae de Patrocinio cum commemoratione S. Georgii? an vero e contra?

Et S. R. C. ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii, exquisitoque voto alterius Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris, omnibus mature perpensis ita propositis Dubiis rescribendum censuit, videlicet:

Ad I. Serventur dispositiones Pontificalis Romani, in Ordine ad visitandas parochias.

Ad II. Affirmative, juxta Decretum in Mechlinien, diei 12 Septembris 1840 quoad primam partem; Negative, et fiat commemoratio sub unica conclusione quoad secundam partem.

Ad III. Affirmative, ad primam quaestionem; Negative ad secundam; Affirmative ad tertiam, juxta Decretum in Namurcen, diei 23 Maii 1835; et Affirmative ad quartam.

Ad IV. Detur Decretum in Meliten. diei 24 Martii 1860.

Ad V. In usu Vesperae celebrentur integrae de S. Georgio, cum commemoratione Patrocinii S. Joseph.

Atque ita rescripsit et servari mandavit, die 20 Aprilis 1888.

A. Card. Bianchi, *S. R. C. Praefectus.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN. By His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. MacEvilly, Archbishop of Tuam. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1889.

HIS GRACE, THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM, enjoys the proud distinction of being the first Catholic who has written a Commentary in the English language on the Gospels and Epistles. With the present volume on St. John, the illustrious author completes the exposition of the Gospels, having in 1862 published a volume on St. Matthew and St. Mark, and three years later a second volume on St. Luke. The exposition of the Epistles, Pauline and Catholic, was published in 1856, in two volumes, while His Grace was President of St. Jarlath's College, and was received with such favour, that in a comparatively short time, it reached a third edition. The rapid sale of his first work both convinced the author of its merits and usefulness, and rendered it almost a sacred duty with him to supply the public want thus manifested with a similar exposition of the remaining books of the New Testament.

This duty His Grace has not shirked. Though burdened with the cares, and occupied with the labours inseparable from his exalted office, he has already succeeded in bringing his truly noble work almost to a close. We say "almost," for we still await the exposition of the Acts of the Apostles, which His Grace has promised to give to the public.

Public opinion, as we have seen, had borne eloquent testimony to the intrinsic merits of His Grace's work on the Epistles long before he proceeded with his labours on the Gospels. The same tribunal has pronounced a similar judgment on these labours. The first edition of the work on St. Matthew and St. Mark was sold within the year after its publication, and the volume on St. Luke has already reached a second edition. We confidently predict a like reception for the present volume.

His Grace's object in writing his commentaries] was "to furnish the intelligent laity and reading portion of the Catholic community with a thoroughly Catholic exposition, in their own language, of one of the most important portions of the SS. Scriptures, and to supply the ecclesiastical student with a compendious treatise from which to draw materials, at a future day, for instructing others."

This two-fold object made it necessary to combine the popular with the scientific method of exposition; to make the exposition readable for persons untrained in accurate criticism, while rendering it at the same time useful to biblical students. The favour with which the commentaries have been received affords the best proof how successfully this object has been attained.

The form of the present work does not differ substantially from that of its predecessors, though in one direction a decided improvement has been introduced. In this, as in the volumes on the Synoptic Gospels, is given an analysis of each chapter at the head of the commentary on that chapter; but whereas, in the earlier volumes only the English version of the Sacred Text is printed; in the present we have, in addition to the English, the text of the Vulgate. Moreover, in the other volumes the text of each chapter was divided into sections, each of which was printed only at the beginning of the exposition of that section; but in the present, the full text of each chapter, first from the Rhemish version, then from the Clementine Vulgate, is printed before the analysis and exposition of the text. Finally,—and this we consider the most useful improvement—along the margin of each page in the present volume are printed—again, both in English and Latin—the portions of the text commented upon in that page. We are firmly convinced that many who read commentaries on the Scriptures fail to grasp the meaning of the Inspired Word, because they fail to study the text itself along with the commentary, and to examine the text minutely by the light which the commentary affords. But when the text, as in this volume, is printed on the margin, and is, therefore, under his very eyes, the reader of the commentary can have no possible excuse for not referring to it, and convincing himself by attentive reflection on it, of the soundness of the commentator's reasoning. To the ecclesiastical student the presence of the Vulgate text is specially useful if not absolutely necessary, both because that is the text which he must explain, and because many obscure and un-idiomatic phrases in the English version are rendered easily intelligible by reference to the Latin.

In style and method the present work resembles those which have already come from the pen of the learned Archbishop. The style is clear, rather than elegant, simple, rather than ornate; and, therefore, calculated rather to convey intelligibly the writer's meaning than to please the fastidious hunter after fine phrases. The method is a skilful combination of the paraphrase with the critical exposition. The following extract, taken at random, is a fair specimen of both the

style and method. On the words of our Lord (xiii., 26), *He it is to whom I shall reach bread dipped,* His Grace writes:—"The prevalent custom in the East was to use the hand as the instrument for conveying food to the mouth. It was also customary to have a dish filled with some *sauce,* into which all were wont, in common, to dip pieces of bread before eating it. Hence, when our Lord says, '*he that dippeth his hand with Me in the dish,*' etc. (Matthew xxvi., 23), he only refers to the traitor in a general way, as forming a part of the company and as one of His intimate friends. Now He gives a secret, special intimation by saying, '*he to whom I shall reach bread dipped,*' and suiting the action to the word, handed it to Judas Iscariot. From this John clearly saw Judas was the person referred to. Very likely, Judas, purse-bearer and almoner to our Lord and to the Apostolic College, occupied a place near our Lord, St. John being on the other side of Him, as it would be difficult to reach a morsel except to one immediately near Him. This distinction, both as to the place he held, and the handing a morsel dipped, which was also regarded as a privilege and mark of special favour, only helped to aggravate the heinous ingratitude of Judas."

We are glad to find that His Grace lends the weight of his authority to that interpretation of chapter vi, 27-47, according to which this portion of the chapter, as well as the concluding verses, is to be understood of the Blessed Eucharist. In this he disagrees, it is true, with writers so renowned for biblical scholarship as Wiseman and Patrizzi, but he has on his side other writers not less renowned, among whom may be mentioned A Lapide, Toletus, Beelen and Corluy. In the opinion of the authors from whom His Grace differs, our Lord does not in the words contained in this part of the Gospel speak of the Blessed Eucharist, but only of faith in Himself. One of the arguments against this interpretation is thus given on the page before us (119).

"From His saying, that faith is the chief work or *means* necessary for securing this food, it would seem to follow that the food itself is not faith, that faith is distinguished from the food as *means* from the *end,* this food being no other than His own adorable body and blood which is given as the reward of faith, and, therefore, distinct from it."

We can merely call attention to the admirable proof of the Real Presence, drawn from the words of the sixth chapter, and printed as a special dissertation at the end of the commentary on that chapter. The proof is illustrated by a telling comparison, and the one objection from the words *spiritus est qui vivificat,* etc., to which Protestants

have so doggedly clung, is simply annihilated by our learned author's close reasoning and copious illustration.

We are sorry we cannot always accept the interpretation His Grace seems to favour. For example, he adopts the interpretation first given by St. Augustine, and followed by Toletus and Patrizzi, of the well-known words *quid mihi et tibi mulier?* This interpretation makes these words mean, "What is there common to you and to Me," that is, in the matter of performing a miracle, which is a work solely of My Divine Nature, and not of My Human Nature, in which alone there is anything common to you and to Me. This interpretation may, and no doubt does, "vindicate our Lord's filial devotion to His Blessed Mother," to use His Grace's words, but we candidly confess that, in our opinion, it does so by giving to our Lord's words a meaning they were never intended to convey. For as Corluy says, "*usus loquendi hunc sensum non omnino admittere videtur.*

There is one omission in this work which we hope to see supplied in the next edition—the omission namely of all or most of the *critical* arguments for the authenticity of those parts of the fourth Gospel which are rejected by some modern pseudo-critics. Regarding the Deutero-canonical verses (vii., 53—viii., 11), the author does little more than remark that "no Catholic can question their authenticity after the solemn declaration of the Council of Trent." This, no doubt, is quite true, though it is little over twenty years since the learned, and thoroughly orthodox Vercellone published a special dissertation to show that the declaration of the Council of Trent did not make it obligatory on Catholics to accept these verses as inspired Scripture. Vercellone's opinion we believe to be false; but that notwithstanding we hold, that in these days of "progress," whether real or supposed, when every belief, however, ancient or sacred it may be, is submitted to the most searching and rigorous examination by bitter but able opponents, it is expedient to place within the reach of our educated Catholics every facility for enabling them "to give a reason for the hope that is in them."

We need not recommend this volume to our readers. The high reputation for biblical criticism, which its illustrious author enjoys, stamps it with a far higher recommendation than any words of ours could convey. May he yet have many years to complete and perfect the great work of his life, which though a labour of love "was no easy task, yea, rather a business full of watching and sweat." (ii. Mach. 2, 27.)

D. O'L.

A Thought from St. Vincent de Paul for each Day of the Year. Translated from the French by Frances M. Kemp. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

The views and sentiments of great men deserve, no doubt, a considerable share of public attention. It is interesting, as well as instructive, to learn what such as these have thought and felt in circumstances differing perhaps but little from our own. If this be true of great men in general, it applies with additional force in the case of the saints. Of all great men, they unquestionably must be considered the greatest.

The little book here noticed cannot, therefore, fail to furnish us with ready and abundant interest. As the title indicates, it contains for each day of the entire year a thought from the great "Apostle of Charity," St. Vincent de Paul. Amid the cares and sorrows of worldly life thoughts like these will help to cheer and encourage us, as well as to remind us of the one sole end of our existence here on earth. The little book will therefore be read with pleasure and profit by all, and we heartily wish it every possible success.

Glittering Stars on Our Lady's Mantle; or, Select Illustrations of Mary's Greatness and Goodness. By Rev. Thaddeus, O.S.F. Mechlin: H Dessain.

This little volume can be read by all with pleasure and profit. It is partly devotional and partly historical, containing as it does a short method of making a Novena in preparation for some of the Principal Feasts of Our Lady, together with a concise account of the origin and progress of some of the devotions and prayers in her honour. The whole work is replete with much useful historical information on the principal Feasts of the Blessed Virgin.

Life of St. Joseph. By Edward Healy Thompson. London: Burns & Oates, Limited.

Some months ago a work appeared which has supplied a want deeply felt in this country by those who love St. Joseph. It is no easy task to write a full narrative of a life which, after that of Mary, was the most closely wedded to the Incarnate Word. Such a life is indeed "hidden with Christ in God." From the scant Gospel reference, the biographer finds little contemporary material to build the entire fabric of a life. But the chief groundwork of a life of St. Joseph is found in the "voluminous theology which saints and doctors have grouped around him."

The book before us may be divided into three parts. The *first* part expounds the singular predestination of St. Joseph. From his close connection with the Word made man, St. Joseph derives his transcendent power and dignity. The *second* part tells the story of the saint's life, as sketched in the writings of doctors, theologians and contemplatives. The *third* part narrates how devotion to St. Joseph was ever a prominent feature of the Church. The star had set, yet an effulgence which was not to grow dim, but brighten after the lapse of ages, rested in its wake. "Patron of the Universal Church" is the title which our own age has conferred on this wonderful saint.

The *Life of St. Joseph* comes to us from the pen of Edward Healy Thompson. The author tells us the sources whence he drew the *proximate* matter of what he modestly calls a composite work. The name of Mr. Thompson is a sufficient guarantee that the materials have been judiciously selected, and the work skilfully performed.

We thank the author for this valuable book which he has presented to English readers, and with him we earnestly pray St. Joseph to bless a work devoted to his honour. Those who love to fully learn the dignity and holiness of the great patriarch will find in this book useful and interesting reading.

HIS VICTORY. By Christian Reid. Notre Dame, Indiana: "Ave Maria" Press.

CHEAP, healthy literature is one of the greatest needs of the present day. This is especially true of the department of fiction, where modern novels exert such pernicious influence. Hence any effort to supply this present want by furnishing cheap and at the same time profitable reading cannot too well deserve our warmest approbation.

Of such a kind is the little book before us. Simple and unpretentious, it proposes to give, under a slight tinge of romance, a brief and faithful record of the struggles of an unbeliever towards the light of faith. All this is, however, told with rare attractiveness and here and there in language full of delightful imagery.

There is just one drawback: the book contains no chapters, but forms one continuous narrative from beginning to end. This fact robs it of a quality so essential to pleasure—that of variety.

THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MAY, 1889.

ST. PATRICK'S NATIVE TOWN AND STREET.

I.

IN the year 1756 a curious print, called the "puzzle," was first given to the world. It was a transcript of an epitaph, and, by the aid of a skilful engraver, was made to wear an archaic appearance. The "puzzle" was addressed to "the penetrating geniuses of Oxford, Cambridge, Eton, and to the learned Society of Antiquaries." It ran thus:—

"Bene
A. T. H. Th. Isst.
onere. Pos. Et
H. Claud. cos Ter. Trip
E. Sellero
F. Imp
In. Gt. onas. Do
Th. Hi.
S. C.
On. Sor
T. J A. N. E."

The "puzzle" was effected by a strange use of capitals and stops, and by the strange division of words; and it remained a riddle till a key was supplied by its witty, mischievous author. He tells us that the simple epitaph, read without regard to the stops, capitals, or division of words, ran as follows:—"Beneath this stone reposeth Claud Coster, tripe-seller of Impington, as doth his consort Jane."

II.

I never call to mind the "puzzle" without thinking, as truth is said to be stranger than fiction, that what design did do for the "puzzle," time, with its changes, may have done for the beginning of St. Patrick's "Confession." This opens with the statement that our saint was the son of Calpurnius, who lived in Bonaventaberniae, and had a farm close by where he himself was made captive. But, as there are some differences in the five extant copies or originals, if such I may call them, of the "Confession," I give the puzzling passage from each, designated by a letter in alphabetical order:— *The Book of Armagh* MS. (A), *The Bodleian* (B), *The Brussels* (C), *The Cottonian* (D), and *The St. Vedast* MS. (E). I shall subsequently quote them by reference to their respective letters:—

Copy A states that the saint's father was from "vico *Bannavem Taberniae* villulam enim prope habuit ubi ego capturam dedi."

Copy B gives "vico *Benaven Taberniae*," etc.

Copy C has "vico *Ban navem thabur indecha*,"[1] etc.

Copy D has "vico *Banavem Taberniae*," etc.

Copy E gives "vico Bonaven Taberniae," etc.

III.

Whoever carefully reads the text of the "Confession" sees that its original copyist was not, in the division of words, guided by any fixed standard. Nor is it unlikely that the saint himself wrote without our usual division of sentences. His ideas and words are saturated with Scripture, which appears to have been an ante-Hieronymian version, or the *Itala*. Now, the most famous copies of this version were the *Vercellian* and *Veronese Codices*, written respectively at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century. These Eusebian recensions were used by St. Hilary of Poitiers and St. Martin of Tours; and these, like the *Book of Armagh*, are in two columns in each page: while giving entire sections with-

[1] "Ut procul," it continues, "a mari nostro quem vicum constanter indubitanter comperimus esse ventre."—*Documenta de S. Pat.*, p. 21, learnedly edited by Rev. E. Hogan, S.J.

out a stop or division, the recensions exhibit the peculiarity that each column, though beginning with the last syllable of a word, gives this syllable with a capital letter. On this principle *ven-ta* would be written *ven-Ta*. But whether or not St. Patrick modelled—and it is very likely he did—his style of writing on these recensions of Scripture, it is certain that the *Book of Armagh* makes a strange use of capital letters, and exhibits a division of words which is at variance with grammatical sense.[1] We find the name of Christ written with a common *c* (fol. 21, *ba*), and an unimportant adjective begun immediately with a capital letter. From all this we may infer that a strange use of stops and capitals, with a strange division of words, has helped to make the beginning of the "Confession" a riddle.

IV.

In addition to the elements of obscurity operating on the "puzzle," we may, in considering the "Confession," include two others—the unnatural multiplication of consonants and the indistinct character of the letters. Firstly, we may observe that mediæval writers doubled the letter *n*, as in the word *Channa* for *Cana;* they needlessly inserted the letter *p* in such words as *columpna* (pillar), *dampno* (loss), and *sompno* (sleep), and they unaccountably duplicated the letters *s* and *t*. Thus we meet with the forms *aeclessia* and *semitta*. The result is that the first *e* in *aeclessia*, constantly in use in the *Book of Armagh*, derivatively short is made long, and the second *e* derivatively long is thus made short.

Secondly, in the *Book of Armagh* attention is frequently directed to the uncertain character of the words. Thus is *Ebmoria* doubtfully given, the place of St. Patrick's consecration. In the proper word *Eburo-briga* the characters *ur* were mistaken for the letter *m*.

A like mistake happened to a learned Oxford professor when editing the *Stowe Missal*. Owing to the effacement of the letters he gave as part of a prayer in the Canon of Mass "*mina* directis;" but a correspondent pointed out to him

[1] Fol. 13*aa* makes "in terram ore campi" read as "in terra more campi;" and fol. 22*aa* gives "cum tot millia hominum."

that the proper reading was *in via*, a usual phrase, which he adopted: the *m* in *mina* was mistaken for *in*, and *ina* for *via*, as *v* and *u*, which is like *n*, had only one and the same form.[1] Let us now apply these observations to the passages on St. Patrick's birthplace, and we shall find the description attributed to the saint in his "Confession" to resolve itself into

"*Bona venta Burrii*, ac,"

and the alleged *nentur* of Fiacc to result in "*Venta.*"

V.

1. By a comparison of copy A with C (see Sec. II.) we can observe there was no fixed standard for the division of words in the "Confession." For while the former gives the saint's birthplace in two, the later gives it in four words. 2. We may observe that copy C uses a common *t* in *thabur*, whereas copy A uses a capital *T* in *Taberniae*. But the Fourth Life (*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 35), uses a common *t*. 3. While copies A, B, D, E, differ from C in the division of words, they differ from each other in the various forms *Bannavem*, *Bonavem*, *Benaven*, and *Bonaven*. We are warranted then, for the causes in operation on the "Confession" in general and on the particular passage under consideration, in giving *Bonaventa* as a part of the phrase.

Before establishing the correct reading of the rest of the passage I may, though it is not necessary for my purpose, account for the variants in *Bonaven*. I have already pointed out (Sec. IV.) the tendency to multiply consonants, which explains the duplication of *n* in *Bonna*. Besides, words in course of time came to be viewed phonetically, that is, as pronounced rather than as originally written, and thus the short sound of *o* in *Bona* would easily lead to the duplication of *n*.

The tendency of *venta* to assume an aspirated termination, as in *ventha*, appears from the form *thabur* (see Sec. II.), and was quite common in the middle ages. Thus in the preface to copy C we find the Irish mentioned in the same page and

[1] *Corpus Missal*, p. 4, edited by F. E. Warren, 1879.

by the same writer as Scotos, Scottos, and Scothos.[4] In like manner the *Book of Armagh* variously gives the name *Mateus*, *Matteus*, and *Matheus*. While then, as instanced in these words and in *semitta*, (see Sec. IV.) a writer may now use two *t*'s or an aspirate in the forms *ventta* or *ventha*, so by and bye he may use only one *t* as in *Bonaventa;* and the other *t* being mistaken for the last stroke in the letter *m* (see Sec. IV.) would give not *Bonaven* but *Bonavem*.

VI.

Having fixed the correct reading of the first part, I take up the last part of the puzzling phrase. The termination *ac* had been mistaken for *ae* in *Taberniae*, and this has been translated by the old and modern biographers as "plain of tents;" but there is no such Latin word, and even though there were such a word the meaning given to it is a vague and useless characteristic of a description in Great Britain.

And if now, for a moment, we turn from the text to the context we are driven to reject *taberniae*: otherwise the next sentence is meaningless. The saint tells us his father was of Bonaventa, and had a farm hard by where himself was made captive. [*fuit . . . , ac villulam enim prope habuit ubi ego capturam dedi*]. The conjunction *ac* couples the verbs *fuit* and *habuit*, and the word *enim*, as in several passages of Scripture familiar to St. Patrick (*John* ix., 30) was used in an affirmative sense. But all who have been blind to *ac* and made *villulam* begin a sentence had either to ignore *enim* or translate it wrongly. Ware suggests *enon*, a name for the farm, instead of *enim*, while Lanigan says it is redundant. All other writers give to *enim* a causative meaning and translate: "*for* he had a farm hard by." This is unnatural, for the having a farm is no reason for being a native of it. The converse would be more natural. The conjunction *ac* was unnaturally attached to the preceding word—*berni*. Of this we have proof in the text and context of copy C (sec. II.). This instead of *Taberniae* gives *thabur indecha*, and states "it was not far from (*ut procul*) our sea." The

[4] *Documenta, &c.*, p. 12.

phrase should be *haut procul;* but the *ha* separated from *ut* was annexed to the preceding word *indec*, and the phrase then became *thabur indec-ha.* Copy C which terminated the phrase originally in *ec* (thabur ind*ec*) gave the *c* correctly but mistook *a* for *e*; whereas the other copies with the termination *ae* (Taberni*ae*) gave the *a* correctly but mistook *c* for *e*. There need not be a shadow of doubt then that *ac* was the original reading. In fact the *Third Life* gives (*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 21) not "Taberni*ae*" but "Tabuerni" = Taburni.

VII.

Now that we have eviscerated *Bona venta . . . , ac* out of Bonaventa berniae the intervening part of the word naturally becomes *Burrii.* Once the copyists fancied the words to mean "tents," it was almost inevitable that they would give *berni* rather than *burni* or *burrii*: yet the force of evidence drove the author of *Third Life* to give to the word a termination—*berni*—at variance with his understanding of it. With all their prejudices in favor of the wrong reading the *Lives*, second, third, fifth, and sixth (*Ibid.*, pp. 13, 21, 51, 65) give *burni.* The letter *n* in the supposed *burni* was mistaken for *r* and *i*, as the whole phrase should be "*Bonaventa Burrii ac,*"

Bonaventa had the same *raison d' être* as Beneventum in Naples, or Benvenuti in Etruria. A colony settling in Usk, some half-dozen miles from Caerleon, may not have inaptly called the new settlement Bonaventa. While three of the five divisions into which Great Britain had been divided were named from the Cæsars or Emperors, two of them were called the Britanniae—Britannia Prima and Britannia Secunda: the latter nearly corresponded with the present Wales, of which Caerleon was the capital. St. Patrick more than once states that he was of the Britaniæ; and the *Book of Armagh*, or, more correctly, *Patrician Documents* (p. 24) state that the saint having left home in Britain for the Apostolic See immediately and "*accordingly* crossed the southern British sea, and proceeded to cross the furthest Alps." This statement could never have been made in reference to North Britain.

VIII.

Nentur, an alleged birth-place of St. Patrick, is only a corruption of *Venta*. The word is variously written Nemthur, Nemthor, Nenthor, Nenthur, Nentur. The *Fifth Life*, by Probus, (*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 51) who substantially gives the *Book of Armagh*, states that St. Patrick's father "was of the street (vicum) Bannave of the Tiburnian region, not far from the western sea, which street (vicum) we have certainly ascertained to be of the Nentrian province."[1] This is only a corrupt transcript of copy C (see sec. II.). For this copy states that Calpurnius was of the street *Ban navem thabur indec*, not far from the Irish sea, and that this street was unquestionably *Ventha*. Now if it were true that *Banna* (*vemtha*) *bur indec* were the street, it was wrong in the next line to state it to be *ventha*. In like manner Probus having stated that Calpurnius was of the street Bannave of the Tiburnian region (*sic*) mentions in the next line that this street was of Nentrian (*sic*) province. Probus mistook ventha for Nentra, The letter *u*, of the same form as *v*, was easily mistaken for *n* (see sec. IV.). Hence the *Four Ancient Books of Wales* which copy the error of the Irish scholiast give *nevtur* for *nentur*: just so was *nentur* mistaken for *ventur*, having previously attached to it a supposed *r* of the next word.

Furthermore, Irish MSS. have given *hurnia* (*D. Review*, April, 1880) as St. Patrick's birth-place. This is additional proof in favour of our division of the sentence. The effaced Irish *b* in *Burrii*, mistaken for *h*, gave *hurni* (a); and when *Burrii* began with a capital letter, the *B* mistaken for *R* and annexed to *venta* or *nenta* gave us *nentur*.

The various forms *Venta*, *Ventha*, *Vemta*, deformed fragments of the varieties of *Bonaven*, appear in *Nenthur*, *Nentur*, and *Nemthur*. The *Nentur* of Fiacc is a reflection of the *Venta* in the "Confession;" and the several changes in one as closely affect the other as the body affects the shadow. Unnatural unions were the fruitful source of confusion. *Bona* was united to a part of *ventha*; a part of this was united to *Burrii*;

[1] "De vico Bannave Tiburniae regionis haud procul a mari occidentali quem vicum indubitanter comperimus esse Nentriæ, &c."

Burrii, or its supposed representative, absorbed the next word *ac*, and, *ac* being mistaken for *ae*, time with its changes completed the bewildering transformation—*Bonaven Taberniae.*

IX.

The old Lives gave wrong readings and perpetuated them by their glosses. They explained *Nempthor* by a "holy tower," and thus sent biographers to Tours in search of "St. Patrick's flowers:" they gave to the word an Irish derivation, though treating it by the insertion of *p* as a Latin word (see sec. IV.) And even if we were to admit their reading *Taberniae* and its explanation by "plain of tents," it could lead only to contradiction. For some of the most eminent of modern historians, followers of the Alclyde theory, place *Taberniae* south, while others of them place it north, of the Clyde; and even some of these place *Taberniae* on the right, while others place it on the left of the river Leven.

X.

Again, the texts or translations given by the old and modern biographers force them into wrong meanings of a plain word; for they at one time explain *vicus* by a "village," and at another time by a "city;" they knew that the saint's father, of senatorial rank, dwelt in an important town, and they felt that a passing reference to a "village" in a vast nation was ill-suited for purposes of identification. But the usual and etymological meaning of *vicus* is a street or range; and this meaning is warranted by Scriptures, which were St. Patrick's classics. Thus Hesebias was lord of half of the street (*vicus*) of Ceila in Jerusalem;[1] and thus did our Divine Lord direct Ananias to meet Saul in the street (*vicus*) called "straight." The translation then of the puzzling passage runs thus: "My father, Calpurnius . . . was (*fuit*) of the range *Bonaventa* of Usk-town, and (*ac*) had indeed a farm hard by where I was made captive."

This plain statement sets to rest the Scottish theory of the ancient Irish scholiast. The worthlessness of his testimony has already been shewn up in the RECORD, (June, 1888), which gave a list of his errors, not yet exhausted. For

[1] II. *Esdras*, iii., 17; *Canticles*, iii., 2; *Acts*, ix., 2 and xii., 10.

without mentioning all his mistakes, the scholiast in his statement that British princes were St. Patrick's captors, and that his father was slain on the occasion of his capture, is contradicted by the *Book of Armagh* and the saint's "Confession." Finally, we have seen by this paper that *Nentur* on which the Alclyde theory was founded, is a corrupt reading.

XI.

Having established from the text and context of the opening of the "Confession" that Usk-town (Burrium) was St. Patrick's birth-place, I need not draw out the historical argument in its favour. I shall not dwell either on the fact that the saint was from a country which had a well-established Church for generations previously, while there is no mention of a single missionary being then in Alclyde; that St. Patrick had to learn the Irish language though it was the same as that spoken along the Clyde; that spiritual labourers had to come from Wales to help St. Patrick in gathering in the rich harvest in Ireland; that, on the death of the saint, the Irish Church looked to Wales as the cradle of its Christianity for supplying the second Order of Irish saints that the saint's father, as of senatorial rank, had to live in or near a municipal town, which Alclyde never was; or, finally, that Coroticus, a Welsh prince, who carried off captive St. Patrick's neophytes, was acknowledged by the saint to have been his fellow-countryman.

XII.

In looking to our saint's description of his birth-place, at once so simple and clear, it is matter for wonder that its meaning could have been missed. It is matter for regret that the old Lives represented *Bonaven* as a name unassociated with any known language—Latin, Irish, or British, and *Taberniae* as a non-descript compound of these languages. A little reflection ought to have convinced them and us that an important town in a Roman colony, whose ordinary language was Latin, had had a classical name, that the saint who wrote his "Confession," as he states, not only for the Irish, but also for his Gaulish brethren and British relatives, had employed Latin as the fittest form for

enshrining its most interesting portion, and that, while the rest of the "Confession" inclusive of the names of places and persons was woven on a uniform Latin pattern, the description of his birth-place was not of a mystic, piebald character. However, let us not be severe towards ourselves. With lights that only deepened the surrounding gloom, it was not easy to scatter the mist of ages. And as we have restored the correct reading and found its meaning, we may console ourselves by the conviction that a chapter of controversy opened a thousand years ago is closed at last and, let us hope, for ever.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

THE TEMPORAL POWER.

EIGHTEEN years have gone by since Victor Emanuel, in defiance of an oft-repeated promise, and of a solemn treaty concluded in 1864 with the Emperor Napoleon, marched against Rome. On the 20th September, 1870, he attacked the city, entered through a breach in the wall near Porta Pia, and made the Papal palace, at the Quirinal, his residence. The Pope, who for over eleven centuries had been king of Rome, was obliged to retire within the Vatican, where he has remained a prisoner ever since.

At first the usurpers showed some outward display of respect for the Supreme Pontiff. They passed laws to protect him, and offered him an annual sum of money to compensate him for the kingdom they had usurped. This, of course, was indignantly rejected. It was well known that 200,000,000 of Catholics, all the world over, had felt keenly the insult offered to their chief. This display of generosity was prompted by selfishness. They knew that many crowned heads, and powerful popular leaders, sympathised deeply with the venerable representative of what Macaulay styles the noblest and most ancient of all dynasties. Very little further provocation would cause the Pope to be reinstated; and then it would be impossible to dislodge him again. Hence that respect shown by men who hated him in their hearts.

But it did not last long. When people began to grow accustomed to the existing state of things, the laws passed to protect him were disregarded and grew into disuse. Every means was used to make his position more difficult. He was insulted in the public papers, and represented as the arch-enemy of his country. False and malignant interpretations were put on his every word and action. No means were taken to prevent dignitaries of the Church from being insulted and calumniated in Rome. New laws were made to persecute the clergy, or anyone daring to defend the right of the Church. This state of things has been going on increasing till at last the Pope himself has declared his position to have become simply intolerable, and seems to think the time at hand when he must quit the Eternal City to reside elsewhere until something is done to improve his position.

Things have taken a serious turn; and when affairs of universal interest take a serious turn, men's curiosity becomes stirred up about them. What will the Pope do? Will he abandon his claim to the temporal power, or could he do so since the latter belongs to the Church? How did the Popes do without the temporal power in the first centuries, and could they not get on as well now? Is the temporal power necessary for the Church, and how is it related to the spiritual? Had the Pope originally a legitimate right to be king? Is there any practical remedy for the present state of things? All these questions crowd into the mind; and, unlike other topics, it is not easy to get satisfactory answers. In trying to give some information on these matters, we shall consider the temporal power from four points of view, which will embrace all the above queries:—

1. Was the Pope's original claim to the temporal power legitimate?

2. Is the temporal power necessary for the Church?

3. Is there any inconsistency in having the temporal and spiritual power centred in one person?

4. What is the present position of the Pope, and what practical remedy can be proposed?

I.

One of the wonderful works of Providence is certainly the origin and growth of the temporal power. It came when needed, and grew with the increasing necessities of the Church. Christ employs twelve ignorant men to teach a difficult and severe doctrine to a voluptuous world. The new doctrine condemns what the Gentiles have been taught to adore. It forbids the customs they have become passionately attached to. It denounces the vices in which they are sunk. All the power of kings and the ingenuity of men is brought to play against this hated creed, but it prevails. Its teachers are tortured and murdered, but it prevails the more. It becomes a crime, punishable by death, to embrace it; but it goes on prevailing amongst those very people who so hate it. It spreads over the earth like the sunshine bursting out from beneath a black cloud, that no obstacle can stop as it runs over the land. The Emperor of Rome holds sway over the whole world, and all his immense power is directed against the new religion. Blood flows in torrents. Soft children, delicate maidens, and decrepit old men, are tortured in the most brutal manner, and put to a lingering death; but they stand intrepid before the fierce executioners. All the efforts of furious autocrats—all the power of man—was impotent to prevent the spread of that doctrine that a higher power was planting. This was the period in which God showed His own power, and the divinity of His religion. It had no human help to promote its propagation. On the contrary, all earthly power combined to attempt its destruction.

Then came the period in which the temporal power began to appear. The blood of the martyrs had taken root, the Church was planted and rapidly increasing, purified by ten of the most inhuman persecutions that disgrace the history of mankind. Rome was the centre of the ancient world, and all peoples converged to that centre. The supreme authority was there. Edicts and orders went forth from it throughout the empire. An unseen hand had led Peter to Rome to collect the infant Church around him within its precints. For a time the Church and State existed within the same city in a con-

dition of bitterest hostility towards one another; the one persecuted in the catacombs; the other lording it over the whole world above ground. But, in the wonderful decrees of Providence, that order was destined to be reversed. Like the Infant Jesus flying into Egypt by night from Herod, so the Church had to hide from the tyrants of the first centuries; but the voice of the angel came telling them to come back, "for they were dead that sought the life of the Child."

The scene changes. The persecuted Church emerges from the catacombs. The emperor is no longer a tyrant and persecutor, but a friend. The magnates of the world no longer vie with each other in insulting the Christians, but in honouring them and enriching their chief. Hundreds of wealthy nobles give all or a great portion of their possessions to the successor of St. Peter. Those possessions increase rapidly, and bring with them great power and influence. This great change came about as quietly as the passage from night to morning, and all through the influence of that same divine religion.

During the first three centuries, while the Church was being planted, temporal power would have been more injurious than beneficial to it. It would have left it open to discussion whether its propagation was due to the influence of that civil power, as is the spread of Mahometanism and Protestantism, or to the Divine aid. During that period, therefore, all human power was turned against it. God had designed to show the divinity of His religion by causing it to propagate without the aid of human authority, and in spite of the greatest obstacles. That was the period during which it was to "sow in tears that it might reap in joy."

But now the Church was spread far and wide. Its miraculous propagation had established its divinity. Heresy and schism were yet unknown; but it was on the eve of serious dissensions. It was time that he, for whom Christ prayed "that his faith fail not," and who was commanded "to confirm his brethren," should be free and have power to act.

Constantine was converted about the year 308. From that period the temporal power of the Popes began to date.

They were not yet kings; but their power increased rapidly till it became all but kingly. Their influence in civil matters became imperceptibly stronger and stronger. Not that they usurped the civil authority. They were too weak to do so, even if they tried. It was the Emperor Constantine who himself placed that power in their hands, and increased it till they became virtually kings. He ordered all churches destroyed during the persecutions to be rebuilt; allowed churches to accept donations and legacies; contributed large sums of money and corn to the clergy and Christians;[1] and exempted the Church from taxes and contributions which were specially burthensome on pagan temples.[2] The Jews were forbidden to exercise violence against the Christians, or to retain them as slaves, or even to offend them indirectly.

The Christians were most generous in contributing to the Church. Many of them gave all they had, and great numbers left large legacies. St. Luke relates in the *Acts* how, even in the Apostles' time, when the Church was still hidden in the catacombs, "as many of the Christians as were owners of lands or houses, sold them, and brought the price of the things they sold, and laid it down before the feet of the Apostles."[3]

The Christians were then few, and were outlaws, and could not legally possess. But now their number was legion, and the laws were reversed. How they made use of their privileges is attested even by the pagan writer Ammianus Marcellinus.[4] Constantine, moreover, ordered that all property, of whatever description it might be, whether houses, fields, gardens, &c., taken from the Christians during the persecutions, should be restored.[5] He presented Pope St. Sylvester with a generous annuity of 500,000 francs, or about £20,000. The Christians were exempted from the discharge of burthensome public offices in the year 313.[6] Three

[1] Euseb. *Vita Const.* M. ii., iv.
[2] Cod. Theod. xi., 1, 1.
[3] *Acts* c. iv., 34.
[4] Lib. xxvii.
[5] Omnia ergo quae ad ecclesias recte visa fuerint pertinere, sive domus, ac possessio sit, sive agri sive horti, seu quaecumque alia nullo jure, quod ad dominium pertinet, imminuto, sed salvis omnibus atque integris manentibus, restitui jubemus.—Euseb. *Vita. Constantini.*
[6] Cod. Theod. Lib. xvi., tit. 2, lex 1, 2; Euseb. H. c. x., 7; Sozom. i., 9.

years later (316), he ordered that the Church might lawfully set slaves at liberty, and he gave the bishops a right of pronouncing a definite sentence when the litigants, dissatisfied with the decision of the secular judges, appealed to them. The civil magistrates, whose sentence had been reversed, were obliged to execute the sentence of the ecclesiastical court.[1] The Donatists were commanded by him to submit to the bishop's tribunal; and when they appealed from it to the emperor, Constantine indignantly reprehended them, saying: "They approached him like pagans to insolently protest, in their blind rage, against the judgment of their bishop, which they, as he, should regard as the decision of Christ Himself."[2]

In a word, the Emperor Constantine increased the riches and civil power of the Church to such a point that, if the Pope was not actually a temporal sovereign, he was all but such. In describing the increasing power and influence of the Church and its causes, we are not blind to the fact that an immense difference exists between temporal power derived from possessions and a subordinated authority, and the kingly office. It has been our intention to describe the gradual stages, perfectly legitimate, by which Divine Providence guided the Vicar of Christ, almost without his knowing it, to the throne.

When Constantine had made the Pope all but king in Rome, the scene again changes. The emperor builds himself a new capital called after himself. He quits Rome, and makes Constantinople the imperial residence. While the Pope was acquiring power he protected and assisted him; now that he was established in power, he left him to exercise it. There is an ancient tradition that Constantine was baptized A.D. 324, and gave Rome to the Pope as the *patrimonium Petri*, before leaving to reside elsewhere. It seems more probable, according to the account of Eusebius, that he was

[1] Episcoporum sententiam ratam esse, et aliorum judicum sententias plus habere auctoritatis, tanquam ab ipso Imperatore prolatam; utque magistratus res judicatas reipsa exequerentur, militesque eorum voluntati inservirent.—Sozom. lib. i., c. 5; *Vide* also Euseb. *Vita Const.* M iv., 27.

[2] *Vide* Tillemont *Hist. of Donat.* T. vi., 4; also acct. of Optatus Melev. and St. August.

baptized on his death-bed in a palace in the suburbs of Nicomedia, though his life otherwise was that of a good Christian. However that may be, it is certain that he left Rome, and it is probable that in doing so he handed the city over to the Pope. The very fact of his abandoning the ancient capital of the empire, is a proof that he gave it to the Pope who, after himself, had the highest authority there. He foresaw, no doubt, as De Maistre remarks in his *Du Pape*, that the same city could no longer be the residence of the emperor and Pontiff. A hidden hand drove him from the Eternal City, to give it to the chief of the Eternal Church. The Popes certainly began to exercise the powers of sovereign from that period, if they did not assume the title. How did they become possessed of that power? It is not usual for men to usurp the supreme authority pacifically, without any opposition. Nobody opposed the Popes; neither the emperor, nor the civil magistrates. It is lawful, therefore, to infer that Constantine himself had determined that the Pope should have regal jurisdiction over Rome. This is all the more probable when we consider the great tendency of that emperor to increase the power of the Popes.

During the three centuries that Italy was overrun by barbarian hordes, Rome alone stood its ground. Odoacre put an end to the western empire in 475. Shortly after he and his Heruli gave place to the Goths, and the Goths to the Lombards, and the latter to King Pepin; but all the time Peter reigned in Rome. No prince could take that city from the Pope; for it was a donation that, through Constantine, had come to him from a power too high to be foiled by men. If the Pope had not received Rome from the emperor, on what pretext did he exercise the supreme authority during all that time without consulting him? Why was no protest made against his usurpation, either at Rome or at Constantinople, unless because everybody knew that he had a legitimate right, founded on the donation of Constantine? If so, as it is lawful to surmise, the temporal power dates from the period when the Church emerged from the catacombs. Nor does it prove anything to the contrary if the Popes still remained, to a certain extent, subject to the emperors; for the frequent

inroads of the savage barbarians made it often necessary for the Popes to seek the imperial protection, even if they were independent.

However this may be, after the emperor's departure from Rome, he left the civil government almost entirely in the hands of the Pope, and as time went on he ceased to take part, active or passive, in the government. Thus the authority of the Pope was gradually on the increase, while that of the emperors decreased. He used to exile, to prohibit heretics to meet in public, to send soldiers against those who tried to molest the Roman province or to invade the city, to fortify cities, to supply public wants, and conduct negociations of peace and war. Innocent I. at the beginning of the fifth century sent a number of heretics into exile. Socrates, who cannot be suspected of partiality for the Papacy, complains of Pope Celestine I., because of the decree by which he caused the Novatians to be deprived of their churches, and prohibited them to hold public meetings. He also asserts that before the reign of that Pontiff (422), the Pope had already become a secular prince.[1] St. Gelasius in 492 sent a number of the Manichæans into exile; and St. Symmachus caused their writings to be burned. St. Gregory the Great was practically king over a great part of Italy. In one of his letters to a commander in the army named Velox, he announces that he has sent him a re-enforcement of soldiers and orders him to march against King Ariulf if he attempts to molest the Roman province or that of Ravenna.[2] In another to Mauritius and Vitalianus he instructs them to pursue the King of the Longobards if he attempted to invade Rome.[3] In a letter to Gennarus, bishop of Cagliari, he gives instructions regarding negociations of peace, and orders him to fortify his city against the assaults of the enemy, if he could not obtain peace on reasonable conditions. Thus the more we study the history of the Popes in the early ages, the more we find them in the undisputed possession of the

[1] Episcopus Romanus non aliter atque Alexandrinus ad saecularem principatum erat jam ante erectus. Socrat. I, 7, 8, 9, 13.

[2] Lib. I., epis. 3, Greg.

[3] Lib. VIII, epis. 84.

highest civil authority. It was not a usurped power, nor an authority assumed by ambitious men. Necessity alone had obliged the Popes to accept and exercise it. The Romans were unprotected. Their ancient rulers had abandoned them to their own resources. Barbarian hordes threatened to destroy them, and they looked for aid and council to the Pope. He was their friend and father, and to him they appealed for protection.

When Atilla the scourge of God and the terror of mankind overran Italy, reducing its beautiful towns to heaps of stones and ashes, and finally marched against Rome, the emperors sent no help to the Romans. The city was unable to resist, and destruction seemed inevitable, when the venerable Pontiff Leo, unguarded and unarmed, left the city and put himself into the power of the savage, to treat with him for his children in Rome. The saint's eloquence prevailed over the ferocious nature of Atilla. He promised peace and retreated. Some years previously Innocent I. had saved the lives and part of the property of the Romans in a similar way, from the Goths under Alaric.

Thus the emperor had forsaken Rome, and abandoned any claim to authority that might have belonged to him. The Romans unprotected on the one side, and threatened by barbarians on the other, had an indisputable right to select a sovereign. That sovereign was the Pope. What law could oppose his becoming actually king, who was already virtually such, and was confirmed by the will of an unprotected people?

Nevertheless we find that the Popes, always reluctant to assume the kingly honours, still refrained from assuming the title of king, and remained faithful in recognising that remnant of imperial authority that the eastern Emperors claimed over Rome. We shall now see how they became absolutely independent.

We have said that Odoacre put an end to the western empire. He invaded Italy with his barbarian horde of Heruli, was elected king, and peaceably acknowledged without any opposition. The imperial ensigns were sent to Constantinople, and willingly received by the Emperor Zeno. Thus the

Gothic kingdom of Italy was formed on the ruins of the empire. The latter had been decreasing rapidly for many reasons from the death of Constantine. There was no law to regulate the succession, and the imprudence of upstart military despots accelerated the downfall of an empire already too extended, and too corrupt to last. The barbarians attacked it on all sides, the Almanni in the south of Germany, the Franchi on the Rhine, the Saxons at the mouth of the Rhine, the Goths and Huns on the Danube, the Visigoths in Spain and the west, and the Persians in the east. Under such circumstances it would have taxed the ablest rulers to keep the empire together. The depraved creatures who held the reigns of government were anything but fitted for the task.

We have seen that the Pope was all but king even during the existence of the western empire. Now that it had fallen, and Italy was in the hands of barbarians, what was to prevent him from exercising independently that sovereign power, that he had possessed at least practically, from the time of Constantine. The people who had always looked up to him as their king and protector chose him. Odoacre who had not a shadow of a legitimate right was acknowledged even by the emperor as king. Had not the Pope a much stronger and more sacred right? The fall of the western empire, therefore, was another important step towards the final independence of the Pope, but it was not the crowning one. The Popes still acknowledged the authority of the eastern emperors.

Odoacre, the first of the Gothic kings resided at Ravenna. He was murdered by the king of the Ostrogoths, Theodoric, who succeeded him. The latter was followed by his grandson Athalaric, and he by Theodalus. During his reign the Emperor Justinian, desirous to regain the authority he had lost in Italy, sent first Belisarius the conqueror of Africa, and then General Narses, to subdue the Goths. Narses defeated and slew Totilla, the last of the Gothic kings, and Italy became subject to the Emperor of Constantinople.

It was governed for fifteen years by an Exarch, or deputy-lieutenant who resided at Ravenna.

In 569, two years after the death of Justinian, Italy was again overrun by a barbarian horde—the Lombards. They became masters of the whole country except the cities of Rome and Ravenna, the former held by the Pope, the latter by the Imperial exarch. Their king, Albion, found a commander (dux) over each city, according to the arrangement of Narses. He deposed all these, and put Lombard commanders in their place. Albion set up his kingdom in the north of Italy, which took the name of Lombardy.

This was another move towards the final destruction of the imperial authority in Italy. The emperor did nothing to defend it from these barbarians. His impotent representative shut himself up in his fortified city at Ravenna, and left the rest of the country to defend itself as best it could. All was taken except what the Pope defended.

Thenceforth three chiefs commanded in Italy. The king of the Lombards in the north, the imperial exarch at Ravenna, and the Pope in Rome. This state of things continued for a century and a half. In the meantime Pope St. Gregory the Great acted as mediator between the king of the Lombards and the exarch of Ravenna, and converted the former to Christianity. This shows that the Pope was then quite independent of the imperial deputy-lieutenant.

About the year 718, the Emperor Leo III. published an order at Constantinople for the destruction of all Christian images. Leo was sprung from a plebian family in Isauria, and had enlisted as a common soldier in the army of Justinian. He had no title to the throne, except whatever his active talents, and military fame gave him. He was proud, illiterate, and ignorant. Nevertheless he thought himself qualified to reform religion. All Christendom was offended at the insult offered their religion by the upstart emperor. St. German, the venerable patriarch of Constantinople, having tried gentle persuasion unsuccessfully, acquainted the Pope of what had occurred. Gregory condemned the action of the emperor and excommunicated him. The latter was obstinate, and with all the fury of a fanatic, began to war against the Church. All the images and pictures of the

churches were burnt in the market place. A crowd of women that tried to impede this sacrilegious act, were massacred by special order of the emperor. The splendid public library of Constantinople, containing over thirty-thousand volumes, was burned, together with the librarians who had refused to join the emperor's party. This was not sufficient. He gave orders to his exarch in Italy to enter Rome, where, as we have seen, his authority was more nominal than real, and to cause all the images and paintings there to be removed from the churches and publicly burned. The Romans resisted. The king of the Lombards defended the Pope against the tyranny of the imperial exarch. This effort in defence of their religion, was the first direct blow that the Romans made at the imperial authority.

Shortly after the duke of Spoleto fled to Rome from Luitprand, the king of the Lombards. The latter demanded that he should be delivered up, and a refusal caused a rupture between the Pope and the Lombards. Luitprand declared war, but repenting of the step he had taken, resigned and retired to a monastery. Astolf, his successor, made the same dispute an excuse for trying to extend his authority over the whole of Italy. He made himself master of Ravenna, and all the territory held by the imperial exarch, and then marched against Rome. The city was not prepared to stand against him. Pope Stephen II. appealed to the Emperor Constantine Copronymus for assistance, and besought him to maintain his authority over the city, but in vain. The city must either submit to be sacked, and perhaps burnt, by the barbarians, or seek help elsewhere.

The Pope in appealing to Constantinople for assistance showed his fidelity to the successor of Constantine the Great, whose authority he still recognized, and in whose name the government of Rome was still carried on. That fidelity was unshaken either by the perfidy of those tyrants, or their persecutions, or the orders given by Leo the Isaurian, to procure the seizure and assassination of the Pope. The emperor in refusing to assist the Romans in their extreme necessity, wished to show his resentment against the Popes for opposing the imperial heresy, and against the Romans

for not submitting to his sacrilegious tyranny. But Providence inverted his design and turned it against himself. The Romans were defenceless, and deserted as they were by the emperor, they were now free to elect a king, and to defend themselves against the barbarian horde that threatened to destroy their city. All looked to the Pope and on him their unanimous choice fell. He was thus elected by them pacifically, spontaneously, and without sedition.

Stephen appealed to Pepin, king of France, for that assistance which the emperor had refused. Pepin tried every pacific means to restore harmony. He sent ambassadors three times, but they were always insolently rejected by the proud barbarian. War was declared, and at last Astolf promised to retreat. The Pope, always adverse to bloodshed, persuaded Pepin to accept the promise and return to France. No sooner had he done so, than Astolf broke his treaty and returned to invade the Papal dominion. Pepin returned and completely conquered him. He then handed over to St. Peter, to the Church, and for them to the Pope, all the territories that had been usurped by the Lombards. Thus the Pope by right of lawful conquest, became confirmed in that sovereignty, which an all-wise Providence had already given him. In fact the "idea of the Pontifical sovereignty," says De Maistre,[1] "anterior to this donation was so universal and so indisputable, that Pepin, before he attacked Astolf, sent him several ambassadors to persuade him to re-establish peace, and to *restore* the possessions of the holy Church of God, and of the Roman republic." The Pope on his side, conjured the Lombard king to *restore* in good-will and without effusion of blood the property of the Church of God, and of the republic of the Romans.[2] Carlo Magno, son and successor of Pepin, defended the Pontifical dominion from the attacks of Disiderius, who succeeded to Astolf, and added to it the Duchy of Spoleto. Later on Lodovico Pio, Lotario, Otto, and the

[1] *Du Pape*, Liv. II., c. vi.

[2] Ut pacifice, sine ulla sanguinis effusione, propria S. Dei Ecclesiae et reipublicae rom. *reddant* jura. *Orsi*, c. vii., p. 94. In another place he has *restituenda jura.*

Countess Matilda, confirmed the Pope in his rightful possession, and added to it by generous donations. Pepin in delivering up the keys of the various cities, and in consigning the document by which he restored them to the Pope, describes his action as a *restitution*, not a donation as it has been improperly called.

Thus was the temporal power of the Popes established, not as is usual with temporal sovereignties in a day, but like all the works of God whether in the order of nature or of grace, quietly and almost imperceptibly—but surely. The very efforts that men made to destroy it, were the means that God used to establish it. Yes, the temporal sovereignty, was given to the Popes, not as kings are usually installed, with the blast of trumpets, and the clash of arms, but gradually, and almost without their knowing it.

It is remarkable, also, how the power held by the Popes has been at all times suited to the exigencies of the Church. First, when it was still very limited and united, its power consisted in large possessions and the great influence that such possessions brought in the Roman empire. As it extended it required more power, and then we find a pagan emperor, who ruled over the whole world, suddenly embrace Christianity and take the infant Church under his protection. It required no temporal sovereignty yet, for there was but one nation in the civilized world—the Roman empire. The laws and law-givers were the same for all. The subjects of the Church were the subjects of the same temporal prince, and the latter was a friend and subject of the Church. All the Church required was full liberty and independence of action, and that the civil power should not interfere with the spiritual. It had all this under Constantine.

But the great Roman empire broke up and gave birth to our modern monarchies. This made it necessary that the Pope should be king. He who had spiritual subjects throughout the whole world in each of those monarchies, could not be subject to the prince who ruled over any one of them. No prince should have power to impede the Vicar of Christ in his duties towards those whom God had committed to his care. In time of war if the Pope were not an

independent sovereign, he could not exercise his sacred ministry towards the enemies of the prince in whose kingdom he lived. Hence it became necessary on the downfall of the Roman empire, that the Pope should be an absolutely independent sovereign. How wonderfully that was brought about we have seen.

A house that is built in a day comes down in a day, but one that is built in a century will hold for ages. So it is with kingdoms, and especially with that kingdom that was made by God. Macaulay compares the Papacy for its durability to the Great Pyramid, which the Arabs believe to have been built by antediluvian kings, and which alone of all the works of men, bore the weight of the flood. "Such as this was the fate of the Papacy. It had been buried under the great inundation [of political revolution and counter revolution]; but its deep foundations had remained unshaken; and when the waters abated, it was found alone amidst the ruins of a world that had passed away."[8] The same great Protestant historian remarks that "the proudest royal houses are but of yesterday when compared to the line of Supreme Pontiffs. That line we trace back in an unbroken series, from the Pope who crowned Napoleon in the nineteenth century to the Pope who crowned Pepin in the eighth, and far beyond the time of Pepin that august dynasty extends . . . The republic of Venice came next in antiquity. But the republic of Venice was modern when compared with the Papacy; and the republic of Venice is gone, and the Papacy remains . . ."

What royal house in the world can claim so legitimate a right to its sovereignty? We have seen that in acquiring the temporal power, the Popes all through played a passive, and I might add, to use the expression of the Abbé Dupanloup "a reluctant part." They alone, in ages when "might was right," never attempted to make themselves kings, though great occasions were not wanting. They remained faithful to the authority of the emperors, even when the latter were trying to destroy religion, and to

[8] Historical Essays. Ranke's *History of the Popes.*

assassinate the Pope. The last emperors of the east did all they could, to make themselves hateful to the Supreme Pontiff and the Roman people. Nevertheless he continued to acknowledge their civil authority, till they abandoned it themselves, and then urged by extreme necessity he appealed for help elsewhere. Nothing could have been easier for the Popes than to have themselves proclaimed king at any time from the departure of Constantine, to the arrival of Pepin. Beloved by the Roman people, they were all powerful in Rome, whereas the emperors were absolutely impotent. Nevertheless, satisfied with that independence which was necessary for them in the exercise of their sacred office, they never attempted to do so. If Constantine Copronymus had not renounced his authority, by refusing to aid the Romans against the barbarians, in all probability the emperors would have continued to exercise a certain authority over Rome for a long period after. There is no trace of ambition in the action of Pope Stephen. Every step he took was urged by the most dire necessity.

As the Popes never took any active step towards assuming the title of king up to the time of Pepin, neither have they tried to extend their dominion during the long ages that have elapsed since then. They have been arbitrators between nations, they have brought tyrants to a knowledge of their duty, they have been feared by the great ones of the earth, and tempting offers have not been wanting; but there is no record that the Pope has ever attempted to extend his dominions. What would have been more in accordance with the history of other nations, than to use their immense power to enlarge their kingdom? What more natural than to retain a portion of the provinces taken from the Saracens, which the Popes disposed of? The Pontiffs, as De Maistre observes, had incontestable rights over the kingdoms of the two Sicilies bordering on the Papal States, but they never attempted to annex them. Pius IX., at the beginning of his reign, was offered the sovereignty of all Italy if he would declare war against Austria; but he nobly refused it as beneath the dignity of his sacred office.[1] During the long ages that the

[1] Margotti, *Vittorie della Chiesa*, Periodo i., c. iv. and v.

Popes have held the temporal power, there is no trace of those intrigues, usurpations or conquests that are characteristic of other powers. No other nation in the world can justify all its possessions as the Pope can his. He alone, of all, can say that what he claims to-day, he held a thousand years ago!

There is no royal house existing on the earth that can trace such a legitimate descent from its first ancestors. In origin the power of kings is generally like the source of the Nile, hidden and uncertain. Few dynasties can boast a more legitimate descent than the English. Still how often the legitimate succession has been interrupted there! William the Conqueror, Henry I., Stephen, John, and Richard III., all reigned in defiance of legitimate right, if that expression has any definite meaning. Henry VIII. obtained an Act of Parliament empowering him to leave the crown by will, to his illegitimate daughter Elizabeth, to the prejudice of the Scottish royal family. William III. had not a shadow of legitimate right to the crown of England.

Nevertheless, none would dream of asserting to-day that Queen Victoria has no legal right to reign. The Papal kingdom alone, of all the kingdoms that exist in the world, can stand investigation without prejudice. The Pope alone, of all the sovereigns, can challenge history and the historian, saying: *Quis ex vobis arguet me de injustitia?* Still, strange inconsistency of poor human reason, there are not wanting to-day, even amongst the subjects of Queen Victoria, those who would deny the Pope's legal right to reign, on the gratuitous assertion that he never had one. We need not allude here to the right they have to reign, who usurped the Pope's kingdom. They have none, except what brute force has given them.

We have seen that in the legitimacy of its origin, formation, and duration, the Papal dominion is distinguished from all other kingdoms. We have seen that the Pope alone cannot be accused of that inextinguishable thirst for territorial acquisition, which has characterised all other sovereigns, and which caused them to have recourse to expedients but too familiar to modern policy.

The term of that long dominion, so justly begun, and so legitimately kept up, has not yet come. The present seizure is but a passing cloud, and none know that better than the usurpers. The Church, since it was formed by the hand of God, and launched into the sea of the world, has, like Peter's barque on the Sea of Galilee, been tossed and buffeted by fierce winds, and angry storms. But the voice of the All-powerful One comes, at the moment when it seems most likely to go in pieces, and then the great calm. Its enemies, ever new in their inventions for attacking it, are endeavouring at present to paralyze its action, by depriving the Supreme Pastor of that independence, which he requires in the exercise of his sacred office. As often in the past, so at present these enemies seem to triumph for a moment; but the time of their humiliation will come, and they shall disappear like smoke before the Spouse of Christ, which is to remain for ever, to repeat with the Psalmist: "I have seen the wicked highly exalted, and lifted up like the cedars of Lebanus. And I passed by, and lo, he was not: and I sought him, and his place was not found."[1]

How many enemies of the Church have come and gone since the beginning; and, after they had vented all their rage against it, to give one more proof of its indestructibility, they have passed away. And the Church? The Church remains, and shall remain to the end of time. Thus shall it be with the enemies of the Pope's civil independence. *Ipsi peribunt, Ecclesia autem permanebit usque in finem saeculorum.*

M. Howlett.

(*To be continued.*)

[1] *Ps.* xxxvi.

DE MONTAULT ON CHURCHES AND CHURCH FURNITURE.—III.

The Tabernacle.

THE tabernacle among other names is called Sacrarium and Ciborium, the altar canopy being the open, and this the closed Ciborium. For practical purposes the first and usual name of *tabernacle* or *tent* is the most important for our consideration, giving as it does an idea of the actual form which the divine dwelling place has had during so many centuries, and also of the shape required by the present regulations of our ritual books. The tabernacle, in fact, and its covering are to be in the form of a small pavilion or tent; even here the words are fulfilled, *ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν*. There are still to be seen[1] in the centre of the baldachins, in Rome and elsewhere, the rings which supported the chains for the suspended tabernacles.

When the tabernacle was in the form of a dove, thus setting forth the appropriation of the sacramental gifts to the Holy Ghost, it must be remembered that the dove was placed inside a *peristerium*, and that this was usually covered with a little tent of rich material; so that the medieval usage which at first sight seems so remote from the modern Roman custom, is in fact almost identical with it.[2] The same continuity of idea and of practice cannot be claimed for the pseudo-medieval constructions so commonly seen in English churches, where the rectangular base contains the Blessed Sacrament, and the upper part forms a fixed niche for a crucifix or for exposition. In these erections, owing to the absence of a tent-formed roof to the Ciborium, the carrying out of the rule which requires a *conopeum* or pavilion,[3] covering the tabernacle on all sides, and indicating the presence of the Blessed Sacrament, is not

[1] Martigny's *Christian Antiquities*, s. v. *Colombe Eucharistique*, Cf. *Martene* De Antiq. Eccl. Rit. Lib. I., cap. v., art. 3.

[2] Cf. Viollet-le-duc, *Dictionary of Furniture*, s. v. *Tabernacle*, and Pugin's *Glossary* under *Dove*.

[3] Conopeo debet obtegi tabernaculum, hoc est velo ad instar tentorii, seu *di padiglione*. Baruffaldi, *Ritual. Rom.*, *Tit.* 23–6.

merely difficult but impossible. The simplest way then of illustrating the type which the tabernacle should reproduce, is to say that it should be a larger form of the veiled pyx (or ciborium) which is reserved inside it for the communion of the faithful.

De Montault points out that, according to the ordinary rule, the tabernacle should be made of wood,[1] as this material is drier and preserves the host better than others. This does not mean that stronger and more precious materials may not be used. If the tabernacle is made of stone or marble, a lining of wood is necessary, to keep out the damp. These materials are used indifferently, as also metal, silver or copper gilt. The respect due to the Blessed Sacrament, requires that the tabernacle should be as rich as possible: that of St. John Lateran sparkles with precious stones, and that at St. Peter's, which is made of gilded bronze, is distinguished by pillars of *lapis-lazuli*. It should be gilt completely outside, in order to make it brilliant. This gilding is prescribed by the decree of 1575, already cited. The Capuchins are allowed to use a tabernacle of simple polished wood, because of their extreme poverty, which precludes all luxury.

It should be decorated with emblems relating to the Eucharist: ears or sheaves of corn, grapes, etc., or with adoring angels. Sometimes also there are pious inscriptions. At S. Croce in Gerusalemme (sixteenth century) and at S. Paul les Vence (Maritime Alps), in 1539:

HIC · DEUM · ADORA

This last named tabernacle adds on the base:

PINGVIS · EST · PANIS · CHRISTI · ET · PREBEBIT · DELICIAS REGIBVS

and on the frieze:

QVI · INDIGNE · MANDVCAT
ET · BIBIT · NON · DIIVDICAT · CORPVS · DOMINI

The marble tabernacle at the Cathedral of Grenoble, came

[1] Tabernaculum regulariter debet esse ligneum, extra deauratum, intus vero aliquo panno serico decenter contectum. (S. Cong. Episc. 26 Oct., 1575.)

originally from the Grande Chartreuse; the Chartreuse of Pavia had offered it, in the seventeenth century, *matri suae*. We read on the frieze this text from St. John:

HIC · EST · PANIS · VIVVS · QVI · DE · CELO · DESCENDIT · SI · QVIS EX · HOC · MANDVCAVERIT · NON · MORIETVR · IN · ETERNVM

At the Church of Artanne, in the Diocese of Angers (seventeenth century):

HIC · CORPVS · CHRISTI

Though the colour of the silk which lines the inside of the tabernacle is not fixed but left to choice by the Sacred Congregation of Bishops, it should be white, as most suitable and as most in accordance with general custom, because it is the liturgical colour of the Blessed Sacrament. The Roman custom also requires that there should be inside the door a curtain of white silk, which slides on rings along a rod, or is fixed and divided in the middle.

Benedict XIII., always precise, even to the slightest details, tells us how the tabernacle should be lined: "The interior, including the floor and the door, should be entirely covered with some rich white stuff; damask is preferable to silk, which tears easily. It should be well stretched, and nailed with gilt-headed nails, under which there should be a silken braid. This damask should not be glued on, because glue often attracts worms."

Inside, a corporal of the size of the tabernacle is laid; on this the pyx for communion rests. The most ordinary form of the tabernacle is a rectangular case, with a cupola at the top. This cupola terminates in a gilt globe and a cross,[1] or, as at St. John Lateran, in a figure of Christ, rising and triumphant. In some places the upper part is moveable, so that the throne for benediction or exposition may be placed there, or even the cross of the altar, as is done in some churches for want of room at the back or in front. St. Charles, however, lays down that the altar crucifix should

[1] Fiat tabernaculum ligneum, honorificum pro ecclesiae facultate et dignitate, ad asservandum venerabile Sacramentum Eucharistiae, cum cruce parva in apice praefixa. *Visit. Apostol. Venet.* Ita in Syn. Laur. Patriarch. Prioli an. 1597. Cf. Bened. XIV. Encycl. Accepimus 16 Jul 1746.

not be placed on the tabernacle except for want of space. It will be seen afterwards that it should be placed in a line with the candlesticks. In Rome the door is always rich both in material and workmanship. It is made of silver, gilt and enamelled (St. Cecilia, in Trastevere, sixteenth century), or of gilded metal; on it is a representation of the Last Supper, the Good Shepherd, or other pious subjects such as a pelican, a cross, a chalice surmounted by a host, etc.

In some places, in order to be able to reach the pyx without the help of a stool, they have a sliding shelf. This system is preferable to the revolving tabernacles of Germany and Belgium. In order to avoid all irreverence and profanation, the tabernacle is kept locked. The key is made of silver or of gilt metal. It ought not to remain in the hands of a lay person, even a sacristan or a religious, but should be taken care of by the rector, or by the priest who has the charge of distributing the Holy Communion. This right belongs to the rector personally, in preference to the sacristan or chaplain. The key may nevertheless be kept in the sacristy, on condition that it is in a cupboard, which is itself kept locked.[1]

[1] The Congregation of Bishops and Regulars addressed the following letter to Bishops. "The impious and sacrilegious robberies of sacred vessels, with or without the consecrated particles, which have taken place, owing in some cases to the negligence of those who ought to watch over the preservation of the Blessed Sacrament and of the sacred vessels, have moved the apostolic zeal of our Holy Father Innocent XIII. His Holiness has ordered the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars to address this circular to Ordinaries, and instructions to the superiors-general of regulars, so that due precautions may be taken to prevent such misfortunes in future.

Hence your Lordship is to publish an edict to be put up in sacristies, ordering, in the strongest terms, parish priests, rectors, sacristans and others whom it may concern, to keep the key of the tabernacle, or to put it in a safe place, under another key. Henceforth if a robbery takes place without forcing the tabernacle, through the want of care of the clergy in charge who may have left the tabernacle open, or with the key in the lock, or in the sacristy, or in any other place where the robbers could take it easily, you will take proceedings against the parish priests or others in charge, even in execution of the decretal *de custodia Eucharistiae*. The contravener shall be condemned without further process to prison and other discretionary penalties, according to the degree and negligence of the fault; he shall be deprived of the office of sacristan in perpetuity; regulars shall further be deprived of the active and passive voice. If anyone is negligent in preserving the Blessed Sacrament, although a robbery

The tabernacle, being appropriated exclusively to the reserved Host, must be empty of all other things: neither the holy oils, nor relics may be kept in it. It is also forbidden to place anything, excepting a crucifix, on the tabernacle; all pictures of saints, statues and even relics, for which the tabernacle would serve as a stand, must, therefore be removed.[1] It is not lawful, notwithstanding the custom to the contrary, which is declared to be an abuse, to place before the tabernacle, so as partly to hide it, a vase of flowers, which would conceal the pious engraving on the door, and distract the faithful, or even a reliquary, so that the worship of the Blessed Sacrament may not suffer by the veneration with which the holy relics are honoured.

The tabernacle should not be too large, otherwise, if the choir is behind, it would prevent the priest at the altar from being seen. The Roman tabernacles are generally rather low, than high, and proportioned to the altar. It would be going to the opposite excess, not to give them suitable dimensions. Their being raised up too high has to be guarded against, as also their protruding on the altar.

As the Blessed Sacrament may be reserved at only one

does not take place, rectors and others who are at fault are to be suspended for three months, as is prescribed in the above chapter *de custodia Eucharistiae*. Further, your Lordship is to set forth in the above edict that the aforesaid penalties will be inflicted on the parish priests, sacristans, and others in charge, even when it is some other priest who leaves the tabernacle open, or the key in the wrong place. This does not exempt the negligent priest from punishment; but the parish priest and others who have care of the tabernacle are responsible. They ought to make certain, after the services are finished, that everything is right. The S. Congregation grants to you by these presents the necessary and useful powers for proceeding to apply the above penalties to regulars, conjointly with their own superiors, to whom the same powers are granted in reference to their own subjects. When you have proceeded against sacristans and others as above, you are to give information of the case to the S. Congregation. Be good enough also to communicate this circular to your suffragans, and to exhort them to carry out the orders of the Holy Father."—Jan. 1724.

[1] An toleranda vel eliminanda sit consuetudo, quae in dies invalescit, superimponendi sanctorum reliquias, pictasque imagines tabernaculo, in quo augustissimum Sacramentum asservatur, ita ut idem tabernaculum pro basi inserviat? Assertam consuetudinem tanquam abusum eliminandum omnino esse. (Sac. Congr. Rit, Decretum generale, 3 April. 1821.

altar,[1] it is useless to have several tabernacles. Pius IX. made this remark to a French artist, who shewed him the plan of a church where each altar had its tabernacle. Nevertheless, a tabernacle is kept in reserve in the sacristy, in case the Blessed Sacrament has to be carried to a different altar from that at which it is ordinarily preserved. This tabernacle will serve for the reservation on Holy Thursday and Good Friday, and on other days when it is obliged to be taken from the church, as for repairs, etc. When the tabernacle is empty, the door is left open and the *conopeum*, or pavilion taken away, in order to give notice to the faithful, that the Blessed Sacrament is elsewhere.

The tabernacle is placed in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in large churches, at the high altar in parish churches.[2] In any case, the Ceremonial requires the removal of the Blessed Sacrament during High Mass and Vespers, even when the celebrant is not the bishop, "Quod si in altari majori, vel alio, in quo celebrandum erit, collocatum reperiatur ab eo altari in aliud omnino transferendum est."

A decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites forbids the tabernacle to be erected away from the altar, in the wall for example, either at one side, or at the extremity of the apse. The Sacred Congregation also authorises the bishop, in the course of his visitation or otherwise, to suppress the hanging tabernacles such as were used in the middle ages.

The ritual prescribes a *conopeum* or pavilion, to cover the tabernacle. The word originally means a mosquito curtain (Hor. *Epod.* 9, 16 and Juv. 6, 80), which necessarily hangs

[1] In uno tantum altari designando ab Episcopo. (S. C. R., 21 Julii, 1696. n. 3392, ad 3.) Ferri nequit consuetudo asservandi SS. in pluribus altaribus, illudque ratione festivitatis transferendi ad aliud altare. (S. R. C., 16 Mart, 1861, n. 5310 ad xiii.) Si SS. Sacramentum in ecclesia cathedrali vel collegiata in altari maiori asservari nequeat, non custodiatur in altari amovibili, sito in medio ecclesiae, sed collocetur in aliquo decenti sacello, quod non sit e conspectu chori, (S. R. C. 14 Jan. 1845 n. 5028) ergo in altari fixo laterali. Schneider's *Manuale Sacerdotum*, edited by F. Lehmkuhl, S.J., p. 295.

[2] Tabernaculum SS. Sacramenti in cathedralibus non debet esse in altari majori, propter functiones pontificales, quae fiunt versis renibus ad altare; in parochialibus et regularibus debet esse regulariter in altari maiori tanquam digniori. (S. C. Episc. 10 Feb. 1579, and 29 Nov. 1594.)

on all sides, and is far removed from the idea of a curtain merely placed before the door.[1] The material for the *conopeum* is not laid down, so that wool, linen, silk, and even cotton may be used. This seems almost too liberal, as it is a question of honouring the Blessed Sacrament. Hence common, cheap stuffs should be avoided, and the pavilion should be made as rich as possible.[2]

The colour may be either white, which is suitable to the Blessed Sacrament, or according to the Roman custom, the colour of the day. Violet is used at funeral services.

The pavilion, in Rome, is ornamented at some distance from the edge, with a galoon of gold or of silk, which follows the vertical and horizontal lines of each curtain; a fringe is added at the sides and at the bottom. If the tabernacle terminates in a dome, the base of the cupola is also adorned with a braid and a fringe. The pavilion divides in two, like a curtain, but that only in front. It should envelop the tabernacle on all sides.

The Bishop, in the course of his pastoral visitation, is

[1] Hoc autem tabernaculum conopeo decenter opertum. (Rit. Rom. de Sacram. Eucharist.) Utrum tabernaculum in quo reconditur Sanctissimum Sacramentum conopeo cooperiri debeat, ut fert Rituale Romanum? Affirmative. (Sac. Cong. Rit. in Briocen, 21 Jul. 1855 ad 13.) Rmus Dominus Raphael Valentinus Valdivieso, archiepiscopus Sancti Jacobi de Chile, exponens in ecclesiis suae archidioeceseos usum ab antiquo vigere non cooperiendi conopeo tabernaculum, in quo asservatur SS. Eucharistiae sacramentum, sed intus tantum velo pulchriori serico, saepe etiam argento aut auro intexto, ornari, a S.R.C. humillime declarari petiit; num talis usus tolerandus sit vel potius exigendum ut conopeum, ultra praedictum velum, vel sine eo, apponatur juxta praescriptum in Rituali Romano? sacra vero eadem Congregatio, in ordinario coetu ad Vaticanum hodierna die coadunata respondendum censuit: Usum veli praedicti tolerari posse sed tabernaculum tegendum est conopeo juxta praescriptum Ritualis Romani. Atque ita respondit et servari mandavit. (die 28 April 1866). Esse debet conopeo decenter opertum, ut rubricae clare praescribunt, ut scl. pulchritudine panni primo statim intuitu dignoscatur, et fidelium attentio ad divinitatis thronum dirigatur. Est autem conopeum velum, quo tabernaculum ad instar tentorii extrinsecus tegitur. M. Hausherr, S.J., *Compendium Caerem.*, p. 90.

[2] Utrum conopeum istud confici possit eo panno, sive gossipio, sive lana, sive cannaba contexto? Affirmative. S. Rit. Cong. in Briocen 21J ul. 1855. E materia nobiliori . . . a summa parte crispatum, in fimbriis non anguste, sed longe latius respondeat, et totum tabernaculum tegat; in extremis oris habeat de more ornatum laciniarum decore contextarum. Bauldry, p. 314.

bound to enquire into the execution of these canonical rules. This is the formula of Gavantus adopted by Monacelli:

"Eucharistia.—An retineatur in tabernaculo affrabre facto, et extra majori ex parte deaurato, et interius undequaque serico panno decentis coloris vestito; in pyxide . . . super corporali mundo.

"An ostiolum tabernaculi sit firmissima sera et clavi argentea aut deaurata clausum, quam parochus apud se diligenti custodia retineat?

"An tabernaculum sit tectum decenti conopeo, et de illis provisum omnium colorum?

"An in tabernaculo praeter pyxidem, aliquid aliud quantumvis sacrum asservetur? Quod si fiat, removeatur."[1]

The casket which is used exclusively for the chapel of repose on Maundy Thursday is different from an ordinary tabernacle, and is called a *capsula*[2] in the Missal. It is rather an urn, standing on four claws, opening either in front or in the upper part, and with a lid which gradually decreases in size towards the top. In Rome it is usually made of carved wood, gilt either entirely or partially. On the front is a representation of a pelican feeding its young, and on the cover the Paschal Lamb lies, or the Cross stands with the instruments of the Passion. Benedict XIII. had one made at Benevento, of silver, with the Last Supper engraved on the front. At the Vatican, the urn is made of silver gilt; it is surmounted by a Lamb lying down, and is overshadowed by a throne of metal, set with crystals, cut facet-wise, which reflect the light of the candles. This urn is not covered with a *conopeum*. The key is kept by the priest who is to celebrate on the next day, be he secular or regular, dignitary or otherwise. It is not to be given to a lay person, however high his rank may be.

The Throne for Benediction.

The modern Gothic rectangular tabernacle, with a

[1] Cap. *Reliqui de Custod. Euchar.*

[2] Capsula ipsa, ut notat Bauldryus Parte 4 sui *Manualis*, debet esse ad modum arcae, vel sepulcri, longitudinis sc. quatuor palmorum, latitudinis et altitudinis proportionatae longitudini, neque fenestellam aut portulam vitream in ejus parte anteriori habens, ut non sine magno abusu alicubi fit, verum egregie debet esse elaborata, et argento vel auro illita, tam intus quam extra ex consuetudine Urbis. Catalani *in Caerem.*

structural Benediction canopy over it, has been seen to fall short of the requirements of a genuine tabernacle with its *conopeum;* we have now to consider that it does not fulfil what rubricans indicate as to a throne for exposing the Blessed Sacrament. Either it ought not to be on the altar at all, or at least it ought to be possible to take it away when it is not wanted.

The Clementine Instruction for the forty hours' exposition prescribes that for this function "there is to be placed above the altar, in an elevated position, a tabernacle or throne with a proportionate baldachin of white colour."[1] That is to say, as Gardellini explains in his commentary, a tabernacle or canopy open on all sides for altars that are placed in the basilican manner, and a throne with a dorsal for altars that are seen only from the side of the people. But, he adds, neither the one nor the other should be placed on altars which already have the prescribed baldachin, either supported on columns or suspended from the roof. Martinucci gives the same rule,[2] and this is also De Montault's teaching, following the usage of the great churches in Rome. He also points out that the Benediction throne, destined as it is for a special devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, is essentially moveable. It should not remain on the altar as a fixture to interfere with other services, with the fitting prominence

[1] Sopra detto altare in sito eminente vi sia un tabernacolo, o trono con baldacchino proporzionato di color bianco, e sopra la base di esso vi sia un corporale per collocarvi l'Ostensorio, o custodia, il di cui giro sarà attorniato di raggi, e non vi sarà davanti alcun ornamento, che impedisca la vista del Ssmo. *Instr. Clem.* sec. 5. Assurgat in eminenti loco ipsius, tabernaculum, seu thronus cum superimposito baldachino, in ejusque basi seu plano sternatur corporale seu palla. Crux ab altari amovetur *Ritus Servandus.* Lond., 1849.

[2] In quibus ecclesiis stabiliter positum in altari baldachinum erit, vel ciborium quatuor columnis sustentum, non est necesse ut apponatur thronus, sed satis erit in medio altari posita basis, in qua collocetur Ostensorium. Martinucci. Lib. ii., p. 278. When Leo XIII. gave Benediction at the *Te Deum* for the close of the jubilee year, the monstrance was exposed, according to the custom in St. Peter's, upon a gilt pedestal, about two feet high, placed on the centre of the altar table. Before the Holy Father actually gave the blessing this pedestal was removed so that he might be seen by the people. Hence some of the papers said that the tabernacle was removed for this purpose. There is no tabernacle in St. Peter's except in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel.

of the large altar crucifix, and with the proper relation of the crucifix and candlesticks. In Rome it is placed on the altar at the requisite time, and removed when this special service comes to an end. Its most natural position is the very spot on the highest gradine,[1] behind the tabernacle, which normally the crucifix would occupy, on the same level and in a line with the candlesticks. In fact it is hardly possible to observe the regulations concerning the crucifix if there is to be a permanent throne for Benediction.

When a throne is required, it is generally, De Montault says, of gilt wood. The Clementine Instruction supposes it to be adorned with drapery of white silk, to form the canopy and the back; these may be ornamented with gold lace and fringe. Red is not a proper colour to put behind the monstrance. Our author does not approve of the French addition of curtains at the sides. There should be two branches for candles attached to each side of the base.[2] This point is sometimes neglected, and hence, although a number of candles may be alight on the altar, the monstrance remains in comparative darkness. Sometimes, he says, the Benediction throne is circular, the cupola being supported by columns, and terminating in a cross; in other cases it is surmounted by an ornament in the shape of a crown.

J. ROUSE.

[1] Quae sint praeparanda. In altari sive supra gradum candelabrorum ne tamen altaris mensam impediat, statuetur thronus . . . erit ex altari elatus aliqua basi seu fulcro altiori: cavebitur autem ut altitudo throni non ea sit, ut super mensam altaris ascendere cogatur Sacerdos qui, Ostensorium in eodem throno collocaturus sit. Martinucci, Lib. II., p. 112.

[2] Ardino sopra l'altare almeno venti lumi . . . quattro dalli lati dell' Ostensorio, nella cui parte opposta non vi si ponga onninamente lume alcuno. *Instr. Clem.*, sec. 6.

THE ORIGIN AND VALUE OF THE DISTINCTION, "PRIMATE OF IRELAND," "PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND."

MANY of us may recall a puzzled feeling experienced in our early years when we saw appearing here and there in publications the titles, "Primate of Ireland," "Primate of all Ireland." Few, perhaps, have followed the long and bitter controversy between Dublin and Armagh on this question of primacy; yet, to trace the origin and weigh the value of these distinctive titles, some historical outline of this controversy will be helpful, if not necessary.

At the Synod of Kells, in 1152, Dublin, hitherto a Danish See, was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of Canterbury, its bishop, Gregory, getting the Pallium. The invasion soon followed; and John Comyn, successor to St. Laurence O'Toole, got from Pope Lucius III. a Bull, dated April 13th, 1182, forbidding any other archbishop to hold conferences or hear ecclesiastical causes while the Archbishop of Dublin was in occupation of his See, without leave of the latter or express authority of the Sovereign Pontiff. Henry de Loundres had this Bull confirmed in 1216 by Innocent III.; and in 1221,[1] he got from Honorius III. a more ample authority, exempting not only the See, but the Province of Dublin, from all intrusion by outside prelates. We have, however, no reliable record of any dispute until Archbishop Luke, who ruled from 1230 to 1255, forbade Archbishop Reiner of Armagh from carrying his cross before him in the capital of the Pale. John Leech fought the question so fiercely with Walter de Jorse,[2] that he allowed a University, founded in Dublin by Clement V., in 1311, to perish of neglect. This De Jorse, or Joyce,[3] landed in Howth in 1313, and set out for Dublin by a roundabout route, having his cross carried before him. The friends of Archbishop Leech,

[1] *Liber Niger*, fol. 123. [2] Ware, fol. 111.

[3] These two Archbishops Joyce were brothers to Thomas Joyce, Cardinal of St. Sabina.

getting wind of this movement, bore down upon the cavalcade somewhere near Grace Dieu Convent, which stood three miles north of Swords, and chased the northern prelate beyond the Boyne.

A parliament was held in Kilkenny at the request of this De Jorse, and again at the request of his brother and successor Roland, for the arrangement of the dispute; but the petitioners themselves withdrew before the case was fully heard. David O'Heraghty came to attend a parliament at Mary's Abbey in 1337.[1] The king (Edward III.) sent letters to Alexander Bicknor, Archbishop of Dublin, and to his Vicar-general, commanding them not to obstruct the progress of the Archbishop of Armagh. They disobeyed. O'Heraghty exhibited, under the great seal, a Bull claimed by Armagh to have been issued by Urban IV., in 1263, commanding all prelates in Ireland to show the utmost respect and obedience to the Primate of Armagh. In 1347,[2] Richard Fitzralph again exhibited the same decree. This archbishop came again, in 1349, relying on the royal invitation, and stayed three days in Dublin, with cross erect, proclaiming his powers. Being opposed, he retired, and from Drogheda issued sentence of excommunication against his opponents. The Prior of Kilmainham, falling ill, sent for absolution: and dying, was left unburied until the censure was cancelled. The king, however, soon verified to Fitzralph the force of the text, "Put not your trust in princes;" for, in 1350, John de St. Paul got from his majesty a decree which forbade the Archbishop of Armagh to raise his cross within the Province of Dublin. This prohibition was renewed in 1352.

Dublin claimed to have had the dispute settled in 1353 by Innocent VI., the titles being defined as they stand to-day. Archbishop Allen testified to having read this decision in the Pope's private library. This settlement seems to have settled nothing. Milo Sweetman of Armagh, finding nothing in the Decree expressly prohibiting him to erect his cross in Dublin, insisted on his right to do

[1] Ware, fol. 112, 113. [2] Camden; Pryn, *Animad.*, p. 271

so when he came to that city in 1365. Thomas Minot of Dublin, was as determined on the other side. Edward III. thickened the complication by gravely, mayhap naively, advising that the two Prelates should range each other's provinces with crosses erect. Milo waxed wroth that not only should his Primatial rights be denied but his own province be invaded. The king called a conference. The Metropolitan of Dublin did not appear, but sent instead an order to his brother of Armagh to obey the king. Lionel, Duke of Clarence, representing his majesty, summoned Minot to come before him at Castledermot to answer for contempt. Strange to say, history is silent about any after consequences.

For more than half a century the strife slumbered.[1] But in the decade following 1429, John Swain of Armagh excused himself several times from attending Parliament on the plea that Richard Talbot of Dublin would obstruct him in erecting his cross. In the next decade John Prene, and after him John Mey, made like plaint and apology. There was a slight brush in 1493 between Octavian de Palatio of Armagh, and John Walton of Dublin; and again in 1533 between George Cromer and John Allen. The heroic struggle of the Irish Church against the creed of greed and sensuality, fittingly introduced with force and fraud by Henry VIII. and his corrupt followers, drove questions of precedence into the background for more than a century. A like reason might well have prevented their revival between the prelates so soon to be martyred, Oliver Plunkett and Peter Talbot. At a meeting of bishops held in Dublin in 1670 to prepare an address to the restored king, Charles II., Dr. Talbot insisted on presiding. Dr. Plunkett was equally resolute on his side. The Archbishop of Armagh wrote a book entitled, "Jus Primatiale Armacanum, or the *Pre-eminency* of the Primacy of Armagh," The Archbishop of Dublin replied with another, "Jus Primatiale Dubliniense," A rejoinder by Dr. Plunkett remained unpublished owing to his martyrdom, and was lost during the Williamite wars.

[1] It is said by Brennan that King Edward commanded a truce.

About the year 1716 a Father Valentine Rivers re-enkindled the flame. He claimed the parishes of St. James and St. Catherine, Dublin, on the ground of having administered them for more than the canonical term, indeed for eight years. The Archbishop insisted that he had duly appointed successively Father Patrick Golding and Dr. Felix Cavenagh as parish priest, leaving Fr. Rivers to take their place temporarily, first while the former was completing his studies in Spain, and then while Fr. Golding's successor was detained in Paris as Prefect of the Irish College. As Vicars-General, Archbishop Byrne contended they had a right by usage to the parish of St. Catherine.

Fr. Rivers appealed to Dr. Hugh MacMahon of Armagh, who summoned both Archbishop and subject before him. Dr. Byrne ignored the citation, and excommunicated the appellant. He also withdrew all curates from Father Rivers. Dr. MacMahon sent in their stead six curates from Armagh. Dr. Byrne had applied to Rome for the sending of a legate. The Propaganda took the whole case into its own hands, ordering that meanwhile things should continue in *statu quo*. The six northern priests, however, being left severely alone, went home.

Dr. MacMahon sent his brother Bernard, Bishop of Clogher, afterwards his successor, to plead his case in Rome. Dr. John Clynch, appointed V.G. and P.P. in succession to Dr. Felix Cavenagh who had died during the strife, went to plead his own and his Archbishop's cause. After waiting eight months in the Holy City for Dr. Bernard MacMahon, who was lying ill at Arles, and in whose absence no decision would be given, Dr. Clynch returned home.

The case between Father Rivers and his Archbishop was settled in 1723. But no decision was given by Rome. Archbishop MacMahon, however published in 1728 a most exhaustive treatise "Jus Primatiale Armacanum," in which he replied to Dr. Talbot at great length. In a supplement he deals severely with an anonymous pamphlet, afterwards found to be the work of a Jesuit, Father John Hennessy of Clonmel. A MS., the sole copy extant of Dr. John Clynch's statement prepared for the

Propaganda in 1720, and now in Trinity College Library, exhausts the literature of the controversy. The case never having been fully heard, the Holy See never since pronounced any judgment.

The contention that this controversy arose from the conferring of the Pallium on the Bishop of Dublin at the Synod of Kells is untenable. No doubt, the more than Primatial, indeed more than Patriarchal, jurisdiction previously exercised by the successor of St. Patrick was brought within bounds. But the contention was necessary to the line of argument pursued by Dr. Talbot. He rested his position on the following assertions of fact and of Canon Law. First, Armagh was never a Primacy. Second, when each of the four Archbishops got the Pallium at the Synod of Kells, the Metropolitan of the Civil Metropolis *ipso facto* became Primate over the others. Third, Dublin was even then the Civil Metropolis; and therefore Gregory, the first Archbishop of Dublin, by getting the Pallium became at once the Primate of Ireland. Fourth, even if the Archbishop of Armagh had been previously Primate, his Primacy was transferred by the granting of the Pallium to the Archbishop of the Civil Metropolis.

It seems to me that in taking this line of argument Dr. Talbot threw himself into the hands of his opponents. Anyone can see even at the present day that facts contradict both the statements and the Canon Law of Archbishop Talbot. Neither Lyons nor Salzburg, nor Gran is the civil capital, and yet their Archbishops are the Primates in the different countries where they are situated. To take a wider range, the Archbishops of Edinburgh, of Westminster (London), of Paris, of Vienna, of Buda-Pesth, get the Pallium. Yet they are not Primates. Neither was Dublin the chief city of Ireland at this time. It was indeed a Danish city, and was no more the metropolis of Ireland than the other Danish cities, Limerick and Waterford, whose bishops had also hitherto paid homage to Canterbury. The truth seems to be that, when the power of the Danes had been crushed, Ireland, being at peace, at once and earnestly set about healing the wounds received by religion during the

incursions of Danish barbarism, and Rome sought to crown that effort by uniting the three Danish cities with the rest of Ireland. To this end Dublin was made a Metropolitan See—as well as Cashel and Tuam,—and was forthwith withdrawn from connexion with England, whose monarch was attacking the independence of the Church even to the extent of murdering the sainted Beckett.

The other assertion of Dr. Talbot is equally untenable, viz., that Armagh was never a Primacy. The claim of Armagh has the highest historical support both before and after the Synod of Kells. St. Fiech, Bishop of Sletty, calls Armagh the "See of the Kingdom." In the sixth century St. Evinus, of New Ross, says that an angel told St. Patrick to make Armagh "Metropolim Hiberniae." (Art. 25, c. 22, *on St. Benignus.*) In 810, Nuad; in 835, Diarmuid; in 1068, Maelissa; in 1106, St. Celsus, Archbishop of Armagh, made visitations of Munster and Connaught. The last named held a Synod at Usney in 1116. An unanswerable proof that Armagh retained its Primacy after the Synod of Kells is found in the fact that Gelasius held a Synod at Clane, in the very province of Dublin, in 1162. Again, in 1255, the jurisdiction of Armagh over Tuam was confirmed by Alexander IV. (See Theiner, p. 68, n. 180). And in various missives from Rome, the Archbishops of Armagh are called Primates (*Vide* Theiner *passim*). The Bull of 1263 is very strong: "Primatiam vero totius Hiberniae quam Predecessores tui usque ad haec tempora noscuntur ad exemplar Celestini Papae Praedecessoris nostri tibi tuisque successoribus confirmamus, statuentes ut Hiberniae Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, et alii Praelati tibi et successoribus tuis tamquam Primati obedientiam et reverentiam omni tempore debeant exhibere." It is not necessary, however, to rely on it. Its authenticity is denied on plausible grounds by Dr. Talbot and others, as it is not found in the *Apostolic Archives*, *Vatican Tabulary*, the *Bullarium Romanum*, or the *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum*. This last omission is the most serious, as Dr. Patrick O'Scanlain, to whom it is said to have been given, was a Dominican. The

absence of a document from the other records would tell against Dr. Talbot himself with respect to the Decrees on which he relied. Thus the record of the Annals of Clunenagh is borne out: "Archiepiscopum Armacanum super alios ut decuit ordinavit." Other authorities proving that Armagh was recognized as a Primacy, are Jocelyn, Girald. Cambr. (p. 150), St. Bernard's *Life of St. Malachy*, Baronius, John Azorius, and David Rothe's *Analecta*. See also Ware.

What then, it may be asked, has Dublin no claim to Primacy? Undoubtedly it has. However unlucky in its advocates its claim remains. Its inherent justice must have been strong when such feeble defence did not secure its rejection. Dr. Talbot in his anxiety to give an Irish origin to his Primacy turned his back upon the sound basis of his case. The re-organization of the Irish Church, uniting the whole island on strict canonical principles under four metropolitans, with the successor of St. Patrick as Primate, was not yet two decades in operation, when the invasion took place. The Norse settlement of Dublin had not yet had time to become welded or fused into the Irish nation, and readily coalesced with their kindred, the incoming Normans.[1] Another dozen years, and the patriot prelate, St. Laurence O'Toole, dies broken-hearted. John Comyn, an Englishman, succeeded him in the See of Dublin.

Immediately the thin end of the wedge was inserted. The following decree was got from Lucius III., dated 1182:— "Sacrorum quoque canonum authoritatem sequentes statuimus ut nullus Archiepiscopus vel Episcopus absque assensu Archiepiscopi Dubliniensis, si in episcopatu fuerit, in dioecesi Dubliniensi conventus celebrare, causas et ecclesiastica negotia ejusdem dioecesis nisi per Romanum Pontificem vel Legatum ejus fuerit eidem injunctum, tractare praesumat." This Bull confirmed by Innocent III. in 1216, was amplified by Honorius III. in 1221, when Henry de Loundres got the following:—Honorius Episcopus, servus servorum

[1] It is an interesting fact that the coast line (and to a great extent) the inland boundary of the Archdiocese of Dublin and the ancient Scandinavian kingdom of Dublin are identical. (See Halliday.)

Dei, venerabili fratri Dubliniensi Archiepiscopo, &c., cum Divina legis praecepto nemo falcem suam in messem debet mittere alienam, &c., nos tuis praecibus inclinati auctoritate praesentium inhibemus, ne cuipiam Archiepiscopo vel alio Praelato Hiberniae (praeter suffraganeos Archiepiscopi Dubliniensis aut Apostolicae Sedis Legatum) sine ipsius Archiepiscopi Dubliniensis et successorum suorum assensu bajulare crucem, celebrare conventus (Religiosis exceptis) vel causas ecclesiasticas (nisi a Sedis Apostolicae delegatis) tractare liceat in Provincia Dubliniensi, &c." Thenceforward Henry de Loundres and his successors styled themselves each "Hiberniae Ecclesiae Primas." By the first of these decrees the Archbishop of Dublin, already freed from the authority of Canterbury, became independent of Armagh. By the second he became actual Primate of the Pale, and from his point of view rightful Primate of Ireland. Let us see the grounds of this claim.

Everyone knows that Primates rank next after Patriarchs and had very similar rights. Everyone may not know the source and history of their origin and the varying scope of their authority. Political geography had its influence on ecclesiastical geography. Dioceses changed their limits with changes of territorial jurisdiction in the civil order. Sometimes districts juridically distinct although all under the one secular government had separate Primates. Whoever studies French Church history will find at one time several primacies; Bourges, first in order of time; Arles, once first in dignity; Sens, Bourdeaux, &c. Lyons grew, and overshadowed, and now has extinguished them all. We find the Archbishop of Paris once resisting the entry of the Primate of Bourges with cross erect into that city as sturdily as the Archbishop of Dublin ever resisted his brother of Armagh. In like manner the Archbishop of York claimed to be Primate of England, because York had been the capital of Northumbria, whereas Canterbury was always comparatively an obscure place in the realm of England. And the settlement of this dispute between York and Canterbury throws much light on our present subject. After sharp contention it was decided that the Archbishop of Cantérbury should be styled

"Primate of all England," and the Archbishop of York should sign himself "Primate of England." This arrangement holds good in the Protestant Church to the present day. This fact goes far to corroborate the alleged settlement of the dispute between Armagh and Dublin on identical lines in 1353, a record of which Archbishop Allen claimed to have seen in the Pope's own library.

This, then, appears to be the key at once to the origin and to the value of this title, "Primate of Ireland." The Pale was politically a distinct country. The Archbishop of Dublin was often actually, and still oftener virtually, viceroy. How could he be subject to a Primate living among a hostile people? It may be objected that this entails the total repudiation of the claims of Armagh, and the setting up of Dublin as sole primacy when the English rule overpassed the Pale and extended to the whole island. But two things intervened to prevent such a result. The Holy See ever considers hard facts. Thus, although Glendalough was incorporated with Dublin in 1224, we find bishops of Glendalough recognised for more than two hundred and fifty years afterwards, in deference to the independence of the Wicklow clans. And so, as the Pale took long to spread, and as besides the Irish people viewed with keenest jealousy any rivalry with the See of St. Patrick, the Court of Rome would in any event have been slow to make any change. Soon the English kings found cause to delay rather than hasten a change. They began to nominate Englishmen or pro-English Irishmen to Armagh as well as to Dublin. Thus they had two centres instead of one for political purposes, and after the religious revolt for proselytising purposes also. They may also have been well pleased to keep up the quarrel between the prelates. A policy of division was always a favourite weapon of English diplomacy. Possibly, too, anything that checked the over-inflation of one-man power in national Churches may not have been unwelcome at Rome.

It may also be objected that there cannot be a primacy unless there are metropolitans under the prelate who claims to be primate. But the title and authority of primates depends altogether on the Sovereign Pontiff, who may limit

or extend their powers by express decree or tacit assent. This objection would apply to Armagh before the Synod of Kells just as much as to the later claims to Dublin.

The consideration of other objections must be omitted here as fulness of treatment must yield to the exigencies of space.

It only remains to essay some definite statementon the value of the distinction. No tract known to the present writer throws the smallest light on this question, or touches the point at all. Father Malone merely says "it is a distinction without a difference." This is hardly accurate. The Archbishop of Armagh at one time exercised primatial rights outside his own province; and when the Archbishop of Tuam, in 1255, resisted such rights, he was compelled by the Holy See to submit.[1] (See Theiner, p. 68, n. 180). No case can be proved where the Archbishop of Dublin exercised primatial rights (*i.e.*, right of hearing appeals, of visitation, of erecting cross, &c.), in any province outside of Leinster. In brief, the radical right of the Primate of the Pale to national jurisdiction was nipped in its growth by the loyalty of Armagh; but the title remained.[2]

The high authority of Renehan's collections insists that Armagh had the right of hearing appeals from Dublin, provided they were heard outside Dublin province, and that Dublin had only exemption from the personal intrusion of the Primate of Armagh acting as such. Many of the cases however, on which he relies, are not conclusive.

The great bone of contention in the past was whether an appeal lay from the Primate of Dublin to the Primate of Armagh. It is certain no such appeal now lies. Indeed the title of Primate is almost everywhere purely honorary. How much the shock of revolutions,—particularly that which

[1] This case tells in favour of Dublin, whose claim would have been condemned too, had it been equally weak.

[2] I have not referred to the conferring of the Primacy of All Ireland on Geo. Browne by Edward VI. It is of no value, being a reward for apostacy. Queen Mary marked the record of his appointment "Vacat." The Protestants themselves did not follow the precedent.

weakened Gallicanism—and the easy access to Rome, have had to do with the change, may easily be conjectured. Appeal from a metropolitan to a primate seems to have almost everywhere fallen into disuse. The Archbishop of Armagh sat among the primates at the Vatican Council. So doubtless should Dr. Cullen had he not been a cardinal. By express (1353) or implied sanction of the Holy See, Armagh takes the title "Primate of All Ireland," and Dublin "Primate of Ireland"; and the court of Rome so addresses the prelates respectively. The "Primate of All Ireland" takes precedence as having the more ancient, and what was in days of jurisdiction the more widely recognised authority. No question of title is now raised on one side or the other Wholesome harmony prevails, and the long and bitter controversy sleeps, let us hope to wake no more.

F. MacEnerney, C.C.

THE HOLY PLACES OF CONNEMARA.—I.

LIKE a fringe of fantastic embroidery set along the coast of Connaught, washed by the Atlantic waves which have hollowed its shores into countless creeks, bays and inlets, traversed by huge ranges of mountain, dotted with sparkling lakes and watered by almost innumerable rivers, is the district, famed in song and story as Connemara. To most people this territory bears the same relation to Ireland as Boeotia did to ancient Greece—a land of barrenness, barbarism and desolation. And yet Connemara is a much maligned country. If here nature has been, in some respects, less prodigal of her gifts than to other parts of Ireland, she has in other ways, more than compensated for her parsimony.

In the boldness and beauty of its natural scenery, in the richness of its botanical and geological treasures, Connemara stands unrivalled. But more than this, it is the very

paradise of the archaeologist. Within a radius of twenty miles of the town of Clifden, the picturesque and interesting capital of Connemara, is to be met with the largest number of Pagan, early Christian, and mediæval monuments, to be found in an equal area in the world.

About five Irish miles from Clifden, on the way to Slyne Head, is the village of Ballyconneely. Not many years ago, this place was one of the great strongholds of proselytism in the west, but the only relics of the vile system which now remain are a few white-washed rookeries occupied by degraded looking creatures, whose scared faces remind one of the inmates of pauper houses.

Beyond a fine view of the Twelve Pins which present the appearance of a huge wall raised by giant hands, here and there gapped by the artillery of invading armies, the hamlet itself is remarkable for nothing except dreariness. Solitude and desolation reign supreme. The querulous shriek of some startled snipe roused from his perch in a swamp, the whistling of the ubiquitous curlew, and the solemn roar of the ocean, never ceasing its plaintive moan, are the only sounds which break the monotony of the scene.

On one day of the year, however—the 13th of November—the place becomes a veritable bee-hive of activity. Crowds of peasantry clad in white flannels, Scotch caps and fantastic shawls, are met trudging along cheerfully in the direction of Slyne Head. They are on their way to a holy well. The morning of the 13th, finds Ballyconneely completely transformed. The streets are covered with tents, booths, and gaily covered *marquees*, well stored with tempting cakes and sweets in abundance for the children; nor are the grown people forgotten; for the long rows of bottles, and casks, piled one over another show that the thoughtful caterer has not forgotten to make provision for their tastes. Men and boys are shouting; half a dozen pipers are filling the air with asthmatic groans, while in the meantime a living tide of human beings is flowing from all directions.

The stranger asks in astonishment what is the cause of all this commotion, and he is told in reply that it is

St. Caillin's day. On making further enquiries he finds that this saint is the patron of the district, that his holy well, much frequented, is a few miles off, and that the church in which he fasted, prayed, and worked miracles, may be seen on a little island, inside the light-house, known in modern times as "Duck Island." You are, moreover, told in confidence, that the "pathern" was originally held near St. Caillin's well, on a sandy beach which looks like a veritable Sahara. When it was resolved to change the place of meeting, as if in disapprobation of such a profanation, a bell on the church of St. Caillin kept ringing the whole night. Finally, you are apprised of a miracle which recently took place at the well of Caillin. A cripple had come there to perform a station. Unable to cross over a wall which obstructed his progress he cried out :—"Súd cugat mé, a Caillin, aird-mic righ Laigin; ta mé mo clairineac agus ni saruigim an cloide:"—which, translated into English, means "behold me, O! Caillin, great son of the King of Leinster! I am a cripple, and cannot climb over the wall." The result of this implicit petition was, we are told, the complete restoration of the cripple, who walked home joyfully without the aid of his crutches.

The tradition prevalent in this district, expressed in the cripple's prayer, viz.: that Caillin was son of the King of Leinster, seems without foundation. He belonged to a Connaught family, in which province he was born probably towards the end of the fifth century. Colgan tells us that he and St. Jarlath of Tuam were disciples of St. Benignus, and under the year 464, the *Annals of the Four Masters* chronicle the burial of Conal Gulban by St. Caillin, in his church of Fenagh.

Like many of the Irish saints of the early ages, Caillin was a scion of one of these great Milesian families which trace their origin back to the very cradle of history. His father, Niata, was descended in a direct line from Rudraige Mor, a great warrior who ruled as Ard Righ of Erin about thirty years before the Christian era. This monarch was grandson of the famous Fergus Mac Roy, who through feelings of hostility to Conor Mac Nessa, King of Ulster,

came to Connaught as a voluntary exile, and having become the husband or paramour of Queen Maedh, the Cleopatra of Ireland, was the progenitor of the great Conmaicne family, from whom St. Caillin was descended.

The ancient authors or compilers of the lives of the Irish saints, in endeavouring to exalt the virtues and merits of their heroes have so mixed facts with fables, that an effort to arrive at the truth is sometimes very difficult if not altogether impossible. This is particularly true of St. Caillin. In the *Book of Fenagh*, said to have been originally compiled by the saint himself, but which bears manifest traces of a more recent origin, he is represented as having arrived at the patriachal age of five-hundred years. The place of his birth is not mentioned, but the annalist takes care to tell us that when the saint had reached the modest age of one-hundred, he was commanded by a certain Fintain to proceed to Rome in order to learn wisdom and knowledge, that he might afterwards be a precious gem, and a key for unlocking ignorance. This Fintain, if we believe the ancient records, must have been a very wonderful personage indeed. Mathusalem falls into the shade in comparison with him. Having originally come to Ireland in the train of the renowned Cesair, said to have been the grand-daughter of Noah, he out-slept the flood, and having witnessed the arrival of Partholan the Greek, of the Nemedians, Fomorians, Firbolgs, Tuatha de Dananns, and Milesians, he turns up hale and hearty to volunteer his valuable services and rich experience as guardian and tutor of St. Caillin.

The latter, we are told, remained two hundred years in Rome, where he was promoted to the various degrees of Holy Orders and was consecrated bishop. Twelve years after the advent of St. Patrick, St. Caillin returned from Rome. On his arrival, St. Patrick appointed him arch-legate of Ireland, which office he continued to discharge for a period of one hundred years. The occasion of St. Caillin's return to his native land was an invitation sent him by his kinsmen the Conmaicne, who occupied the western portion of the province of Connaught. Their lands becoming too

thickly populated, one section of the tribe plotted the destruction of the other, and were about carrying their evil designs into execution until warned by an angel, who advised them to send to Rome for their father Caillin, who would settle the difficulty.

Having arrived in his native land, Caillin went straight to the Conmaicne and said to them:

"That which you purposed is not right. Do what I tell you." "We shall do truly, O arch-legate!" they replied, "whatever in the world thou commandest us."

"My advice to you then, sons of Conmac," said he, "is to remain on the lands on which you at present are. I will go to seek possessions for you."

With this object in view he made a tour of Connaught, visiting among other places Ard-Carva, now Ardcarn, and Cruachanai, now Croghan, both in the county Roscommon, and Dunmore, county Galway. The Cinel-Faghertaigh, a fierce tribe from whom the modern name Faherty is derived, had possession of the latter district. St. Caillin, however, seems to have learned the secret of the Blarney stone, for he not alone prevailed on this clan to comply with his demands, but was also successful in all the places he had visited.

Having succeeded in his purpose, and cursed a few lakes and rivers on the way for not producing fish, he directed his steps towards Magh Rein, now Fenagh, in the county Leitrim. A famous druid named Cathbad, who had lived in the time of Conor MacNessa, had foretold that Caillin would found a church there. When he had arrived at the place he was encountered by Fergna the King, who endeavoured to resist him by violent means. He sent his son Aedh Dubh, at the head of a great host to expel Caillin and his followers from the district. But when the army and its leader saw the heavenly appearance of the monks, and heard their prayers and psalmody, their hearts were touched, they believed in the God of St. Caillin, and received baptism. Fenagh was presented to the saint by the son of Fergna. When the latter heard of the unexpected conversion of his son and whole army, he raged like a wild beast. He sent for

his druids and commanded them forthwith to summon all their supernatural powers for the expulsion of the invaders. The latter commenced to fulminate against the holy men a series of incantations so foul, coarse and indecent, that the indignation of Aedh Dubh was aroused, and he commanded his army to destroy the pagan priests. "No," said Caillin, "we will not employ human power against them, but it is my will, if it be the Will of God, that the druids may be changed into stones."

The words were no sooner spoken than the howling priests were changed into huge boulders, which remain to this day as a testimony of the truth of this narrative.

Fergna instead of being converted by this miracle only grew more obstinate in his infidelity. But his punishment was near at hand. Filled with fury he turned away from the scene of his discomfiture swearing vengeance against Caillin, when lo! a vast chasm opened under his feet and he was swallowed up alive into the earth.

These miracles were followed by another, performed in favour of Aedh Dubh, the friend of our saint. That prince was so-called because his personal appearance was dark and unprepossessing. He besought the saint to transform his visage, and give him the form and appearance of Rioce of Innisbofinde, son of Darerca, sister of St. Patrick, and the handsomest man in Ireland. Caillin and his monks fasted and prayed for the desired change in the appearance of the king. On the following day the transformation had been so complete that there was no distinction between the two, except the tonsure on the head of Rioce who was a monk. From thenceforth Aedh Dubh was known as Aedh Find or the Fair.

In gratitude for this favour the king loaded St. Caillin with gifts, and placed himself, his territory and descendants under perpetual tribute to the church and monastery of Fenagh.

Another wonderful miracle recorded of St. Caillin was the raising of the famous Conal Gulban to life. This prince was killed by a flying spear flung from the hand of one of the Tuatha-Slecht, a tribe inhabiting the district adjoining

Fenagh. Conal was five years and a-half dead when St. Caillin came to his grave. He was sorely grieved when the manner of his death was related to him, and more so when he learned from supernatural sources that the king was suffering torments in the other world. The saints of Ireland were assembled, and they prayed and fasted for the resuscitation of Conal. God heard their petitions, and the king was restored to life, and baptised in the famous bell of Clog-na Righ, which still exists in the church of Foxfield, near Fenagh, county Leitrim.

St. Columcille now appears on the scene. In the life of this saint, written by O'Donnell, we are informed that it was to St. Molaise of Devenish that Columba came for absolution after the Battle of Cul-Dremne. The *Book of Fenagh*, however, states categorically that St. Caillin was the person to whom the Dove of the Cells had recourse in his troubles, and that on this occasion the great penitent made his confessor a present of the *Cether-lebor*, or "Book of the Four Gospels," and the *Cathac*, or "Book of the Psalms," transcribed by St. Columba, and which is said to have been the cause of all his misfortunes.

As the departure of St. Columba for Iona took place about the year 563, St. Caillin, according to this account, lived to a much later date than is generally believed. Adamnan, the biographer of the great Abbot of Iona, is also introduced into this narrative as a contemporary of St. Caillin. The latter had a vision in which he saw Fenagh swarmed with monsters; the wolves of the forest roving through it; the sea inundating it; a bright torch flaming round it; furious lions contending against himself and Fenagh. He fancied himself extinguishing the torch with his breath, fighting the lions, and exhausting the sea.

The interpretation of this dream was given by St. Adamnan, who is represented as having been then at Fenagh. The portion of the manuscript containing it has, however, been lost.

The so-called prophecies of St. Caillin are also found recorded in the *Book of Fenagh*. An angel appears to the saint, and dramatically describes the various colonizations of Erin

from the landing of the great Lady Cesair to the arrival of Heremon and Heber. The line of the Milesian monarchs is given in detail down to the reign of Diarmiad Mac Fergus Cerrbheoil, during whose time Caillin lived. Then follows a catalogue of the kings who were to rule over Erin until the year 1172; Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair occupying the last place. The most remarkable portion of this prophecy is, however, the enumeration of the monarchs—eleven in number—who, from the death of Roderic O'Conor, would rule over Ireland until doom's-day. The names are given, but are merely fanciful descriptions of the supposed qualities of the personages indicated. They are: Derg-donn (brown-red); Aedh of the long hair; Lam-fada (long-hand); Cliab-glas (grey-chest); Crissalach (dirty-girdle); Sraptive; Brown-faced Osgamuin; Osnadach (the sigher); Jartru of Ailech; Foltgarb and Flann Cittiach (the slender), the last Arch-king of Ireland. Next follow the O'Ruaircs, Lords of Breifni, down to the year 1430. The other prophecies contained in this book relate to the family of Conal Gulban, the abbots of Fidnachta, and other matters of minor importance.

Among the disciples of St. Caillin is said to have been St. Manchan of Maethail, or Mohill, Co. Leitrim. To him were confided the custody of the relics which St. Caillin had brought from Rome; and to him also fell the duty of fulfilling his sainted master's last wishes, and of administering to him the last Sacraments of the Church. St. Caillin had directed that his remains should be interred in Relig-Mochoemhog, or the "Cemetery of St. Mochoemhog," now Lemokevoge, Co. Tipperary.

When the time of the holy man's death approached, he came, in company with St. Manchan, to the Church of St. Mochoemhog. Here he made many revelations to his companion, who afterwards anointed him.

"I grieve, O Caillin," said Manchan, "that it is not in thine own Cahir and fair church thy relics and thy resurrection should be—*i.e.*, in Fidnacha of Magh Rein."

"When my bones and relics shall be bare," said Caillin, "do thou thyself come, O Manchan, and my congregation from Fidnacha, and bear my relics to my own church."

"We will come truly," said Manchan, "and the Twelve Apostles of Ireland will come with us, and we will convey thy relics to thy church."

"My blessing on thee, O Manchan," said Caillin, "and whosoever destroys both our churches shall not obtain territory or tribe."

After this St. Caillin went to receive the reward of his labours. His body, as he desired, was laid to rest with great veneration in Relig-Mochoemhog. His relics were afterwards brought to Fenagh, where they were interred with great pomp.

In an eloquent panegyric his biographer speaks of him as a man of truth, with purity of nature, like the patriarchs; a pilgrim, like Abraham; gentle and forgiving, like Moses; a psalmist, like David; a treasury of wisdom, like Solomon; and a vessel of election, like Paul.

Nor should we doubt the truth of this eulogium. Legendary and fanciful as many of the acts recorded of St. Caillin undoubtedly are, it is beyond question that he was one of the galaxy of saints who have made the golden era of the history of our country; that he was endowed with true wisdom, the wisdom of the saints; that he was a vessel of election to our pagan forefathers, who have handed down from son to son the fame of his sanctity. Nearly fifteen centuries of change have taken place since he lived; kings and conquerors are forgotten, or only mentioned with execration, but a memorial of gratitude to St. Caillin still remains—a monument, not, indeed, raised in stone or brass, but inscribed on more enduring tablets—the hearts and minds of a loving posterity.

WILLIAM GANLY, C.C.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

Clandestinity and Domestic Servants Again.

"Very Rev. Sir,—A decision in the January number of the Record caused a good deal of comment, and I ventured to call attention to it in the February number. I did not overstate the case when I said the decision created uneasiness and even alarm. I stated the reasons why I thought the decision could not be upheld; and my desire was to get substantial answers. The decision is amended somewhat now; but I still venture to think that even in its amended form it is not in accordance with what has been considered safe practice, and I am convinced that it is at variance with the recognised principles of both theologians and canonists. This is my apology for troubling you again. I shall endeavour to make good these statements. In doing so I shall adhere to the reasons I have already given—only I shall develop them a little.

"But first I must return thanks for the answers given in the Record of February; and I must express my regret that my letter did not reach you earlier, so that the trouble of a special answer might have been obviated. Then, I make no doubt, the necessity of at least the parallel columns would have been obviated. For the parallel cases which I made were made the basis of the amended answer.

"But let me take up the reasons one by one:—

"I. The Analogy.

"The case which I proposed as analogous is not of course analogous in every respect: it is not analogous as analysed and set forth in the Record, opposite the case of the servant into which new positions and saving clauses have been introduced.[1] But the case as set forth by me is analogous to the case set forth in the Record, from which I quoted,[2] and what is strange, these two are made analogous in the solution of the case proposed by Parish Priest, the enquirer in the last

[1] I. E. Record, Feb. 1889, p. 174, *v.g.* n. 6, "neither a home in the parish, nor the intention of continuing a resident; on the contrary, leaving the parish. . . ."

[2] *Ibid*, p. 172.

number of the RECORD. May I claim the favour of using parallel columns?

"I. THE CASE OF THE SERVANT.	"II. THE ANALOGOUS CASE.
"1. A female servant who has spent four years in her present situation, having arranged to get married in the parish of her service, gives notice to her mistress of her intention to leave.	"1. A *sponsa* sends away all her effects to the residence of the *sponsus*.
"2. On the day appointed, she leaves the residence of her mistress; goes directly to the parish priest; gets married; and leaves the parish.	"2. On the day appointed she leaves her father's house; goes directly to the parish priest; gets married; and leaves the parish.

"Now, these two cases are analogous for the purposes of my argument, as I shall point out lower down. Meanwhile, I wish to direct attention to the fact that, 'in order to prevent further ambiguity, and to guard too against further disturbance and disquietude of conscience,'[2] two cases have been made out of the case of the servant as set down above, one as proposed by M. H., the enquirer in the January number, and two cases have been made out of the analogous case. The two cases are declared parallel each to each, and in this parallelism lies, if I mistake not, the substance of the solution. Here are the cases with the new positions in brackets:—

"I. THE CASE OF THE SERVANT.	"II. THE ANALOGOUS CASE.
"CASE A.[3]	"CASE A.
"1. As above.	"1. As above.
"2. On the day appointed she leaves the residence of her mistress; [but, being on good terms with her mistress she is welcome back for refreshments] thence goes directly to the parish priest; gets married; and leaves the parish.	"2. On the day appointed, she leaves her father's house; [without, however, either formally, or virtually determining not to return] goes directly to the parish priest; gets married; and leaves the parish.

[1] *Idem*, Jan. 1889, p. 80.
[2] I. E. RECORD, Feb. 1889, p. 167.
[3] *Ibid.* "Now, there are two corresponding cases in connection with servants. . . ."

"Case B.	"Case B.
"1. As above.	"1. As above.
"2. On the day appointed she leaves the residence of her mistress; [but being on bad terms with her mistress may not return, and does not intend ever to return to that house] thence goes directly to the parish priest: gets married; and leaves the parish.	"2. On the day appointed she leaves her father's house; [to which she may never again return, and to which she does not intend ever again to return] goes directly to the parish Church; gets married; and leaves the parish.

"In cases A. and A. the marriages are valid. Neither the servant nor the *sponsa* has relinquished her residence in the parish. It was this case of the servant I had in view when I said:—[1] 'The hypothesis I have marked in italics is for me the practical one.' But, although the marriage of the servant in the case is valid, I would not be prepared to say that the same servant may come up to Dublin, and with the permission of the parish priest of her mistress's residence get married validly in Dublin. I think most priests would feel nervous in acting on such a statement if made. It follows immediately from the doctrine of the RECORD; but on that point I prefer to suspend my judgment.

"If the domicile and quasi-domicile have not been relinquished in cases B. and B., it makes very little difference whether the new positions in A. and A. be introduced or not. They are beside the question. Now I venture to assert that in cases B. and B. the domicile and quasi-domicile have not been relinquished. I am compelled to make this point good. I do so by repeating my original argument:—

"The *sponsa*, neither in case A. nor in case B., as above, is a *vaga:* so, neither is the servant in the two corresponding cases a *vaga quoad parochiam servitii*—she has not relinquished her quasi-domicile. It is admitted with regard to cases A. and A. I shall prove the statement in reference to B. and B.

"I find Sanchez, who is a classical author in this matter, maintains that the *sponsa* in case B. as well as in case A. is not a *vaga.* 'Dixi vagum appellari qui nullibi certam sedem et domicilium habet; sed qui relicto priori domicilio *iter agit ad locum*, ubi figere pedem decrevit, dum est in via, caret domicilio . . . vagus dicitur qui pristinum domicilium omnino deserens, amisit, et *iter agit, aut navigat*,

[1] I. E. RECORD, Feb., 1889, p. 172.

animo acquirendi novum."[1] The phrases 'iter agit,' 'aut navigat. 'dum est in via,' are opposed to 'habitatio' of the canonists and theologians, and imply that the person in question has left the parish. But these phrases cannot be applied to the *sponsa* in the case under consideration. Therefore, she is not a *vaga;* so neither is the servant in reference to the parish in which she still lives.

"But, perhaps, the illustrations of Sanchez are opposed to me? No. For he gives three examples in order to apply the principles laid down above, and in each of them he supposes the person has left the parish. 'Hinc infertur, qui *relicta parochia*, nondum statuit ad quam migraturus est." Also: *Advenientes* ad certum oppodum. . ." Again, "Idem dicendum est, *quando relicta priori parochia* ad *aliam* se transferunt, et dum domus illa ad quam se transferunt expeditur habitatore, hospitantur in aliqua domo alterius parochiae; hi vagi sunt."[2]

"And so true is it that one should have finally passed out of the parish in which one had a domicile in order to be considered a *vagus*, Sanchez, and after him Lacroix, make an exception of a person who passes to some place very near, such as to another parish in the same city. "Ille tamen non censetur vagus, qui de una Parochiâ intra unam urbem, v.g. e Parochiâ S. Severini vult ire habitatum ad Parochiam S. Cuniberti, et interea moratur in Parochia S. Martini, cum enim talis notus sit in urbe, debet proclamari et conjungi, vel ubi *diutius habitavit id est, in Parochia S. Severini*, vel ubi inhabitare inceperit cum animo ibi permanendi, saltem per majorem anni partem."[3] How then, I am curious to know, can a person be considered a *vaga* who has not yet passed out of the parish, but who still lives in the parish? "In eo loco habitare quis dicitur, ubi majori anni parte habitat."[4]

"And what is more curious still, all the principal modern authors whom I have consulted quote Sanchez with approval. None of them have found fault with his doctrine, although some of them have obscured it. I do claim unmistakable authority before I depart from the doctrine of Sanchez.

"Bened. XIV., following Sanchez, is even a little more extreme, here is his definition of a *vagus*. "Vagus ille appellandus, qui relicto suo domicilio, sedem in *exteris terris* inquirit ut ex jure depre-

[1] Sanchez, *De Matri.*, *Lib.* iii., D. xxv., n. 3.
[2] *Idem*, n. 4.
[3] Lacroix. *De Matri.*, Lib. vi., pars. iii., 746. Sanchez. *Ibid*, n. 8.
[4] Sanchez. *De Matri.*, Lib. iii., D. xxiii., n. 12.

henditur (L. ejus S. Celsus ff. ad municipalem)."[1] Ballerini finds fault with this definition; but the definition Ballerini gives suits me very well. 'Ut *vagus* quis dicatur relate *ad parochiam* . . . . generatim satis est, quod *priori parochia relicta,* non dum in *alia* sedem defixerit.'[2] And Dr. Murray says to the point: 'Vagus est qui nullibi aut domicilium aut quasi-domicilium habet, a parochia in parochiam commeans.'[3]

"It would be easy to multiply quotations; but I feel that I have established what I set about establishing—viz., the Sponsa in Case B, has not become a *vaga.* So neither has the servant in Case B lost her quasi-domicile.

"II. The Exposition of the Conditions.

"I did not find fault with the following statement:—"A *quasi-domicile* ceases when the conditions necessary for its inception cease." It is a statement in other words applied to an individual case of the well-known *regula juris.* 'Omnis res per quascumque causas nascitur, per easdem dissolvitur.' But I did find fault with the "meaning assigned to the conditions in the solution of the case." I do find the same fault still—viz., the meaning assigned to *factum habitationis* as a condition required for the inception of a quasi-domicile.

"III. The meaning of the *factum habitationis.*

"I considered that in the solution of the case in the January number too much stress had been laid on the necessity of residing always in a fixed residence in order to *continue* a quasi-domicile. It is true a fixed residence is presupposed in order to have it said *in foro externo* that a *quasi-domicile* had begun. For in order to acquire a quasi-domicile two things are required: (1) the intention of remaining in the parish for the greater part of the year; (2) some fact indicative of that intention, and it is in this sense the residency for a month is proof presumptive that the first condition is present, while on the other hand, it is proof presumptive[4] that a person living in a parish "more vagi ac itenerantis" has not had the intention of remaining there for the greater part of the year. But take a person who

[1] *Inst.* 33, *S. Sed jam deveniamus.*

[2] Gury, Ball., vol. ii., n. 848. Note (*b*).

[3] Murray. *De Impedimentis Matrimonii*, cap. xiv., n. 387. I am aware that Dr. Murray modified his views somewhat on this matter; but I prefer his former views.

[4] Dr. Murray. *De Impedimentis Matrimonii*, n. 359, appears to take a different view of this part of the *Instruction* of 1867.

has had a domicile or quasi-domicile, in order to be said to have relinquished either one or the other, he must have revoked his intention of living longer in the parish, and he must give proof of that by some fact indicative of his intention. 'Omnis res, per quascumque causas nascitur, per easdem dissolvitur.' I may here remark that the case which is made in the February number of the RECORD, p. 164 (ii.), is not by any means a clear case of a *vagus*. See the quotations which I have given above from Sanchez, and the case made by Sanchez and Lacroix.

"IV. THE AUTHORITY OF FEIJE.

"I again quote from Feije in exactly the same manner that I quoted from the last number of the RECORD, and I shall set opposite it the translation given in the RECORD of what was supposed to be the important clause :—

"Sedulo curandum est ut parochianus vel parochiana non deserat suum *quasi-domicilium* ante diem celebrationis matrimonii, sed maneat in *parochia* sive in eodem famulatu, sive *in alia domo intra parochiam*, usque ad contractum in ea matrimonium, secus enim quasi-domicilium dispareret."[1]

. . let her remain in the parish, either v.g. in the same employment, or in some other *house* in the parish. . . . .

"I leave it to the readers of the RECORD to judge what is the meaning of the quotation from Feije, and I must say in conclusion that I do not consider it fair to have emphasised the single word house, then to have credited me with it, and to have argued at length in eloquent fashion on that assumption.

"I remain, Very Rev. Sir,

"Yours faithfully,

"C."

Our correspondent commences his present contribution in rather bad humour; he seems to have been absolutely bewildered by the conclusiveness of the parallel columns in the February number of the RECORD; and, while he would fain deplore their introduction, he cannot help according them

[1] Feije. *De Impedimentis et Dispensationibus Matrimonialibus*, ed. tertia, 229, 3°.

the flattering though unwilling homage of a thrice-essayed effort at imitation.

Again, in the February number of the RECORD, in reference to our correspondent's communication, I wrote: "Had this letter reached the Editor a little earlier, the necessity of a special answer might have been obviated. The answer to the preceding question could be easily adapted to both questions." Our correspondent now charges that his letter reached us sufficiently early, and that it was his letter which suggested the division of cases that preceded it in the RECORD. I shall not notice this observation, and perhaps I should allow our correspondent the trifling consolation which he claims; but, nevertheless, the division of cases to which he refers, and to which I shall presently revert, was in the hands of the publishers before our correspondent's manuscript arrived, and, still earlier, it was contained in a private letter to a respected correspondent, whose name and address can be had for the purpose of verification.

I would gladly abstain from reproducing in the present number what was fully treated in past numbers of the RECORD; but the evil genius of misrepresentation, and of rather substantial *suppressio veri*, has so haunted our correspondent during his present effort, that it becomes necessary to recapitulate the substance of my previous papers.

THE RECAPITULATION.

In the January number of the RECORD a correspondent proposed for solution a case which was substantially as follows:—

> "A female servant has spent four or five years in a situation, and, having now arranged to marry a person who belongs to a different parish, she gives notice to her mistress of her intention to leave, and another servant is engaged to take her place at her departure. Although she has a domicile at her mother's house, which is situated in an adjoining parish, her wish is to be married in the parish of her place of service; not before her departure, but immediately after it."

Our correspondent thought himself that, in those circumstances, the parish priest of the place of service could not validly assist at the marriage; and he added the following

hypothetical case: "If this be a correct opinion, it would seem to follow that, though she were to proceed direct, *after having quitted* her service, to the parish priest of her mistress, he could not validly assist at her marriage."

Having explained the theological principles involved in the case, I concluded that the parish priest could not validly assist at the marriage either in the real or hypothetical case, and I wrote: "Now, does this girl retain a *fixed residence* in the parish? Does the *intention* of continuing to *reside* in a *fixed abode*, as people who have a domicile, persevere? Leaving her former mistress, she left the *only residence* she *had*, or *hoped to have*, in the parish; *she has no longer any home in the parish.* She may, during the interval before her marriage, spend a few days successively with her acquaintances in the parish, or she may go to lodge in one particular house, or she may go directly from the house of her mistress to the parish priest, get married, *and leave the parish.* In *all* those cases, when she removed her effects, and *ceased to reside* with her late mistress, she *had no longer a fixed residence* in the parish, nor an *intention* of *residing* in a *fixed abode*, 'quemadmodum ceteri solent qui in eodem loco *verum proprieque dictum domicilium* habent.'"

Any fair-minded critic, who will not confine himself to a superficial examination of the garbled extract, "Or she may go directly from the house of her mistress to the parish priest, get married, and leave the parish," but who will consider the terms of the question and the context of the answer, will recognise in the above-quoted summary all the elements contained in the following analysis, given in the February number of the RECORD (p. 174):—

"1. The girl is supposed to have finally and irrevocably left the home of her late mistress; to have gone to the parish priest '*after having quitted her service;*' after she had '*ceased to reside with her late mistress.*'

"2. The girl excludes her intention of returning: 'Leaving her former mistress, she *left* the only residence she had, or *hoped to have*, in the parish.'

"3. She removes all her effects; this, however is not material to the cessation of quasi-domicile.

"4. She is succeeded by another servant.

"5. If any mishap prevented the marriage, she could not return

to her late residence as to a home. It had ceased to be her residence. She is supposed, in the question, *to have finally quitted this residence before approaching the parish priest.*

"6. Leaving her mistress, she has a positive intention of not continuing a resident—of not procuring for herself another permanent home in the parish. 'Leaving her mistress, she left the only residence she had, *or hoped to* have, in the parish.' 'In *all* those cases . . . . she had no longer a *fixed residence* in the parish, nor an *intention* of residing in a fixed abode in the parish.'

"7. Having therefore left her only residence in the parish, and having revoked her intention of continuing in any fixed abode in the parish, homeless in the parish she presents herself to the parish priest to be married."

Our correspondent speaks of "an amended answer," and of the introduction of new clauses, or new positions into my argument. I would gladly have amended my previous answer if it required amendment. I would gladly too have adopted a new position if it were needed; but neither was required; neither was done; unless indeed the analytical exposition of an answer already sufficiently intelligible, but misconstrued by careless readers, can be called "the introduction of new clauses or new positions." Even our correspondent—prejudiced as he writes—must admit that the original answer contained all the elements of the above quoted analysis; unless, indeed, he contends that a garbled extract should be interpreted independently of the nature of the question, or the context of the answer, as it is interpreted by him in his first attempt at parallel columns.

I had indeed foolishly flattered myself that the most careless reader could not have at any time distorted the meaning of the analysed sentence; and when I learned that it was misconstrued—and our correspondent now repeats the garbled extract in his first effort at parallel columns, notwithstanding that I explained its intended and obvious meaning in the February number of the RECORD—I hastened to remove all possible danger of future misconception. I described, in this connection, two cases of domestic servants about to be married, and I illustrated them by two examples from domiciled persons about to be married. I

called the examples Case A and Case B: it is unfortunately necessary for me to repeat them:—

CASE A.

"Ladies from rural parishes, or from provincial towns, not unfrequently come to Dublin to be married, accompanied by their friends, and by their parish priest or his delegate, who assists at the marriage. These ladies, in the common estimation of men, have not forfeited the rights and privileges of their original domicile. They have still a fixed residence—a home in their native parish; they have not formally or virtually revoked the intention of residing in their native parish; and if anything unforeseen occurred to prevent the marriage, they would doubtlessly return *home* as if their journey had been an ordinary pleasure visit to Dublin."

The corresponding case of servants was thus described:—

"Servants sometimes present themselves for marriage when, in the common estimation of men, they have not yet ceased to belong to their employer's household; when the employer's home is still their home; while they have yet a fixed residence in the parish; and when they have not yet absolutely revoked their intention of continuing residents of the parish," &c.

The validity of the servant's marriage in this case has never been questioned. Our correspondent adds: "I would not be prepared to say that the same servant may come up to Dublin, and, with the permission of the parish priest of her mistress's residence, get married validly in Dublin. . . . It follows immediately from the doctrine of the RECORD." It would be very desirable that our correspondent would quote the passage from which he draws a certain inference. The RECORD said: "Servants sometimes present themselves for marriage when, in the common estimation of men, they have not yet ceased to belong to their employer's household," &c., and then they could be validly married by the parish priest of their mistress. Now, if such a servant left her parish, came to Dublin, and presented herself for marriage, would she, *in the common estimation* of men, still belong to her *employer's household?* I think I had better abstain from noticing our correspondent's interpretations and inferences.

CASE B.

"Again, a young lady may have had a serious misunderstanding with her family. She may know that she will be

ignominiously expelled from her home unless she anticipates by flight any serious action on the part of her family. Married or unmarried she must leave. She then arranges with a young man from a neighbouring parish to get married in Dublin, and she *finally* and *absolutely leaves home, intending never to return* to her parental *parish.* This girl becomes a *vaga* when she leaves home, and, if the *sponsus* withdrew from his engagement, return home would be for her impossible."

The corresponding case of servants was thus described :—

"Again, a servant may have been giving extreme dissatisfaction to her mistress; the *sponsus* and *sponsa* may have been servants in the same family; they may have been guilty of several larcenies; and their doubtful morals may have caused serious annoyance and embarassment to their employers. They are threatened with prosecution for their injustice, and the wrath of the parish priest for their immorality, unless, to save the character of their employer's house, they quit the parish without delay. Finally, they are dismissed. And now they hasten from the parish with all possible speed; and, having heard that the parish priest could give them all the necessary dispensations, they approach him to get married, if possible, before they return to their parental parish. They are anxious to be married; but married or single, they are determined to leave the parish as speedily as possible. These persons would have lost their quasi-domicile."

As our correspondent's present paper is devoted to prove that in *Case B* the quasi-domicile is not lost as long as the servant remains within the confines of the parish, I have reproduced the case at length. Our correspondent again in his third effort at parallel columns emphasises the unimportant elements of this case—he enjoys heartily the idea of a servant being welcome back again, and he is positively fascinated with the idea of the refreshments—but he rather suppresses important elements. Our readers, however, will recognise in *Case B* all the elements of the original offending case proposed by M. H. In *Case B*—1. The servant finally and irrevocably leaves the home of her late mistress. 2. She excludes the intention of returning. 3. She removes all her effects. 4. She may be succeeded by another. 5. If any mishap prevented the marriage, she dare not return to her mistress. 5. *She has neither a home in the parish, nor the intention of continuing for a moment a resident with a fixed abode in the parish* (our correspondent omits this); on the contrary,

leaving the parish, she has a positive intention of not continuing a resident—of not procuring for herself another permanent home in the parish. 7. Thus, homeless in the parish, she presents herself to the parish priest.

In the February number of the RECORD I argued that in *Case B* the quasi-domicile had ceased even before the persons left the parish; because "quibus modis quasi-domicilium contrahitur, iisdem etiam solvitur": and as actually commenced residence in some fixed abode, and the intention of residing in some fixed abode in the parish, for the greater part of a year, are essential for the inception of quasi-domicile; so when the fixed residence is abandoned, and when the intention of continuing in any fixed abode in the place is revoked, the quasi-domicile again ceases.

Our correspondent contends that quasi-domicile continues at least while the persons remain within the confines of the parish; he argues chiefly from authority—from Sanchez, Ballerini, Benedict XIV., Dr. Murray, and Feije, I find it convenient for myself to commence with

I.—DR. MURRAY.

"And Dr. Murray," writes our correspondent, "says to the point: 'Vagus est qui nullibi aut domicilium aut quasi-domicilium habet, a parochia in parochiam commeans.'" The conclusion is that according to Dr. Murray a person cannot be a *vagus*, unless he travels from parish to parish. Ut quid suppressio haec? Why did not our correspondent abstain from quoting Dr. Murray; or refrain from mangling his teaching? What has a theological controversy to gain by substantial *suppressio veri?* Dr. Murray writes "Vagus est qui nullibi aut domicilium, aut quasi-domicilium habet, a parochia in parochiam commeans—*de vagante intra eamdem parochiam*, vid. supra, n. 359." Our correspondent omitted the inconvenient words, though they immediately follow his quotation, and are part of the same sentence. Dr. Murray requires for the inception of quasi-domicile, actual residence in some fixed abode, and the intention of residing in some fixed abode for the greater part of a year. And the quasi-domicile

will cease when the two conditions necessary for its inception will cease, whether the person continues wandering about the parish, or departs for some other parish. In n. 359 Dr. Murray conceives the case of a parish in which there are six villages. An itinerant merchant remains permanently in the parish; he intends to spend two months successively in each of the villages; he intends to confine his perambulations to the parish; and yet though he will not leave the parish, Dr. Murray considers it a *res decisa*, that such a person is a *vagus*. I shall have to revert to this again; but meanwhile Dr. Murray teaches that a person who has no *permanent home*, nor the *intention* of *residing in a fixed abode* in a parish, is a *vagus* therein. The servant in Case B departing from the parish has neither a home in the parish, nor the intention of continuing for a moment in any fixed abode in the parish. She is therefore a *vaga* in the parish; or rather a *peregrina*, as she retains her maternal domicile. Moreover, had she not a domicile in her maternal parish, the servant in *Case B* would sufficiently verify even the garbled extract of our correspondent "a parochia in parochiam commeans:" she had commenced to travel from parish to parish. I now proceed to the objections from

II.—Sanchez.

Sanchez (*a*) tells us how a domicile—and the same is true of quasi-domicile—may be lost; and (*b*) he gives us various definitions of *vagus*. I shall quote the principal definitions.

A.

"Hinc fit sicut domicilium non solum animo, sed *animo et facto constituitur;* ita ut *transferatur* et *deperdatur* opus esse animo et facto, nempe *desertione habitationis* eo domicilio; quare sola mutatione animi perpetuo manendi, dum autem non mutatur prius illud *domicilium habitationis* acquisitum, non deperditur (D. xxiii., n. 2). It is not therefore sufficient to limit, or revoke, the *intention* of perpetual residence in the parish, but the revocation of the intention must be accompanied, by the *desertion* of *one's habitation*, or *home*, in the place of his domicile. Both conditions destroy the quasi-domicile; both conditions were fulfilled in

the case of the servant described in *Case B.* Therefore she had lost her quasi-domicile in the parish. Why did our correspondent omit all reference to this passage?

B.

Sanchez next gives us a general definition of *vagus*; 2° a definition of *vagus* in reference to the parish he is leaving; 3° a definition of *vagus* in reference to the new parish he may have entered; and 4° he explains the Tridentine law, which requires the parish priest to get the permission of his Ordinary before assisting at the marriage of *vagi.* Of course the servant in *Case B* is not a *vaga* but a *peregrina;* she retains her maternal domicile. Nevertheless these definitions will help us to determine when a quasi-domicile is lost in a particular parish.

1° *The general definition:* "Praemittendum est, qui dicantur vagi? Hi enim dicuntur qui nullibi *certam* ac *constantem sedem*, ac *domicilium* habent, sed hinc inde vagantur." (D. xxv., l, iii., n. 1). Conformably to this definition I wrote in the February number of the RECORD:

> "Suppose a servant has given a few years of service in a certain house; her term of service is now expiring; she resolves to discontinue her residence in this house, and she intends moreover not to seek any fixed residence in the parish in future. . . . She then leaves the house of her mistress, and commences to follow the avocation of itinerant merchant or pedlar of no fixed residence. Does she retain her quasi-domicile? If not when did it cease? Was it a month after she had ceased to have a permanent home in the parish? Or a fortnight? Or a week? Even though she confined her perambulations within the boundaries of the parish, we must rather say that she lost her quasi-domicile when she ceased to reside with her mistress, resolving not to seek a fixed abode in the parish in future."

Why does this servant lose her quasi-domicile? Because she is supposed to leave the only fixed residence—"*certa* ac *constans sedes* ac *domicilium*"—she has in the parish, and because she intends not to procure any fixed abode in the parish in future; hence she must wander about. Now the servant in *Case B* has no longer a fixed abode in the parish, nor the intention of continuing in any fixed abode in the parish for a moment longer; hence she would be a *vaga* in the parish had she not still her parental domicile.

2° Sanchez *defines vagus in reference to the parish he is leaving*: "Dicuntur etiam vagi qui pristinum domicilium omnino *deserentes*, navigant vel *iter faciunt*, quaerentes ubi se collocent; hi enim sine domicilio sunt, ob idque vagi dicuntur." (*Ibid.*, *n.* 2). I illustrated this doctrine by the following example in the February number of the RECORD: "A labourer, let us suppose, is removing from the house he has occupied for a few years, to a house in a neighbouring parish; he had been living two miles from the confines of the parish; all his effects have been removed from his late home; he gives up possession of the house, where another labourer immediately succeeds him; and sets out for his new home, &c." This labourer became a *vagus*; he had given up his only fixed residence; he was *deserting* his domicile—he had commenced his journey in quest of a new home; therefore he was a vagus. The girl in *Case B* was also permanently leaving the parish; she therefore too was a *vaga* as far as regarded the parish. Our correspondent's only argument from these extracts is: the phrases "iter agit," "dum est in via" cannot be applied to the *sponsa*, nor to the servant in *Case B!* They have therefore still a *habitatio* in the parish!

In reply to this argument I shall only ask the readers of the RECORD to read *Case B*; and I may ask our correspondent when did the labourer above described, begin to be "pristinum domicilium *deserens*," when did he begin *his journey* to his new home? When did he commence to be "in via"? Had he absolutely left the parish before he could be said to be *deserens* omnino pristinum domicilium? And if he should have *actually deserted* the parish, how could he be described as *deserens?* Had he deserted the parish before he *commenced the journey* to his new home? Had he passed the confines of the parish on his removing journey, before he commenced to be *in via?* The labourer, *sponsa*, and servant in *Case B*, commenced their journey when they "deserted their habitation, or home, in the place of their domicile," resolving to live in the parish no longer. Then also they lost their domicile or quasi-domicile in the parish.

° Sanchez *defines vagus in reference to the new parish*

he may have entered. Our correspondent takes all his illustrations from this heading, and *more suo* he completely misrepresents the teaching of the classic Sanchez. He emphasises the words "*relicta parochia*," "*advenientes ad certum oppidum*" as if Sanchez taught that the former domicile persevered until the person had left the parish. Sanchez, as I have mentioned, in the passages now under discussion, supposes a person to have passed into another parish, and teaches *solely what his condition in this second parish is.* There is no reference to the conditions necessary for the *cessation* of the person's former quasi-domicile. He distinguishes again two cases: (*a*) He considers the case of a man who has left his former domicile; who has not yet selected the place of his future residence; but meanwhile sojourns for a few days in some neighbouring parish; and our author, of course, teaches that this man is a *vagus* in the parish of his sojourn. "Hinc infertur, qui relicta parochia, nondum statuit ad quam migraturus sit, sed quaerens domum, *interim in aliqua parochia hospitatur ad breve tempus, dicit vagum respectu parochiarum illius oppidi.*" (*Ibid.*, *n.* 4.) Why did our correspondent mutilate this passage by quoting merely the words "relicta parochia"?

Again, our author writes in reference to the same subject: "Et ita videtur expresse tenere Ledes . . . ubi ait, de novo advenientes ad certum oppidum, *qui nondum habent domicilium*, nec statuerunt ubi morabuntur, censeri vagos, nec oportere respicere, ubi hospitentur ad breve tempus." How does our correspondent prove from "*advenientes*" (!) that domicile continues until a person has left the parish?

(*b*) Sanchez considers the case of a man who has left his former domicile; who has chosen his future residence, but who temporarily resides in some neighbouring parish until the present occupant of his new home shall have vacated it; and he teaches that the man is a *vagus* in the parish of his sojourn. Again there is no reference to the conditions necessary for the *cessation* of his former domicile. He writes: Idem dicendum est, quando relicta priori parochia, ad aliam se transferunt, et dum domus illa

ad quam se transferunt expeditur habitatore, hospitantur in aliqua domo alterius parochiae ; hi enim vagi sunt similiter" (*Ibid.*). In all those cases therefore Sanchez merely explains the condition of persons in regard to domicile in the new parish in which they are living.

THE LAST AND UNANSWERABLE OBJECTION FROM SANCHEZ.

"And" our correspondent continues, "so true is it, that one should have finally passed out of the parish in which he had a domicile, in order to be considered a *vagus*, that *Sanchez*, and after him Lacroix, make an exception of a person who passes to some place very near—such as to another parish in the same city," &c. "And all the principal modern authors whom I have consulted quote Sanchez with approval."

But, first, the most modern theologian whom I have read most distinctly condemns this doctrine. A correspondent, who signs himself P. C. C., writes in reference to a sentence of mine in the February number of the RECORD, "That *it is* a mistake to assume that a quasi-domicile once established in a parish, continues whilst the resident is within the confines of the parish but it is a *greater mistake* to think that any one assumed it." P. C. C. thinks it *unthinkable* that any one should defend such a monstrous proposition. Our correspondent *C.* argues the truth of the proposition from Sanchez. Well, as three against one is rather an unfair warfare, I would suggest that C. and P. C. C. give me some breathing time, and settle this little matter between them in some future number of the RECORD.

2° Our correspondent quotes in proof of his statement a sentence which he attributes to Sanchez (n. 8), and to Lacroix. But it is manifest that our correspondent has never read Sanchez on this subject. He treats us, no doubt, to a dish of declamation about the merits of Sanchez, "who is a classical author on the subject." "All the principal modern authors whom I have consulted quote Sanchez with approval." "None of them have found fault with his doctrine." "Some of them have obscured him!" But had our correspondent taken the trouble to read Sanchez, even cursorily, he could not possibly have so misrepresented

the teaching of the classical author. In the passage referred to, Sanchez treats solely of the Tridentine law, which commands parish priests to make diligent enquiry, and to obtain the permission of their Ordinary before assisting at the marriage of *vagi*. He distinguishes between *vagi* and *vagantes*. *Vagantes* are those who extend their perambulations over a wide area, and who consequently are very little known to any parish priest. *Vagi* are those who have neither domicile nor quasi-domicile; who are, however, well known in the place; and who are not "*incertas* habentes sedes." In the former case the permission of the ordinary is necessary; in the latter, it is not necessary. Here is the passage *per partes*. It is too long to reproduce in its entirety; but I shall omit nothing important.

(*a*) "His praemissis sit I. conclusio; parochus non potest *vagorum* matrimonio interesse, nisi diligenti inquisitione praemissa, et obtenta ordinarii licentia." (*Ibid*, n. 8.)

(*b*) Intellige tamen non de *quibuscumque vagis:* Tridentinum enim in eo decreto loquitur de iis qui *vagantur*, et *incertas* habent *sedes*; quare licet illi qui de certa parochia, intra idem mutantur oppidum, dicantur *vagi*, dum ad aliam parochiam translati non sunt, sed ad breve tempus alibi hospitantur, ut dixi, n. 4." [He refers us to n. 4 which I have already quoted, in which he had stated that such persons are *vagi* "respectu parochiarum illius *oppidi*."]

(*c*) "Manifestum est de illis non loqui Tridentinum; quia non sunt vere *vagantes* et incertas habentes sedes. Praeterea in illo oppido noti sunt: quare *praemissis denunciationibus* in parochia ubi diutius *habitarunt*, juxta dicta hoc 3 L., disp. 6, n. 6, possunt absque licentia ordinarii a *proprio parocho matrimonio conjungi*."

Sanchez, therefore, teaches (1), that such persons are *vagi* in the town; (2) they are not *vagantes*; (3) *therefore*, it is not necessary to get the bishop's permission to assist at their marriage; there could be no question about the bishop's permission if they had still their former domicile; (4) a distinction is drawn between where the banns are to be published and where the persons are to be married; (5) the banns are to be published where they resided for a considerable time; the existence of impediments would most likely be known there; (6) then they can be married by their *proprius parochus* without the permission of the bishop; "Parochus proprius vagorum est parochus loci in quo actu contrahunt."

That there may be no possible ground for doubting what Sanchez means by *proprius parochus*, I will quote what he writes in n. 13 (*Ibid.*): "Similiter dum non habet parochiam, quia primam deseruit, et quaerit aliam, et ad *breve tempus hospitatur in aliqua*, potest coram *quocumque parocho illus oppidi contrahere;* quia est *vagus respectu parochiarum;* ut dixi n. 4." Again I ask, why did our correspondent so misrepresent and distort the teaching of Sanchez?

This same distinction is made by modern theologians:

"Merito advertunt Sanchez, Pontius Salman graviter peccare parochum qui ejusmodi *vagorum* Matrimonio assisteret sine licentia ordinarii, extra urgentem necessitatem. Observa autem hanc prohibitionem non concernere illos, qui, relicto proprio domicilio, alicubi ad tempus commorantur, dum novum adire queant, *si in eo loco, aut in vicinia bene cogniti sint:* tunc enim *ratio prohibitionis* non subsistit, nec proprie tales dicuntur *vagari* et incertas sedes habere; adeoque praemissis, *ibi* et in loco ultimi domicilii, consuetis proclamationibus, ad Matrimonium admitti possunt." (Mechlin, n. 89, see also St. Liguori, l, vi., t. vi., c. iii., n. 1889, near the end.)

It is manifest that our correspondent has never read Sanchez; but has taken his quotations from some other theologians; otherwise he would not have made so many mistakes about Sanchez.

III.—Lacroix.

What shall we say to the extract from Lacroix? Assuming it to be correctly interpreted by our correspondent we should judge it on its intrinsic and extrinsic merits. The intrinsic reason for the continuance of the domicile is, because the person is known in the city; "cum *enim* talis sit notus in urbe, &c." But how does the fact that the man is known in the city prolong his domicile?

Suppose the man intended never to procure a fixed residence in the town, but to travel from parish to parish there, would he retain until death his former domicile? Yet he would be "notus in urbe." The only extrinsic reason Lacroix gives is a reference to Sanchez; I have quoted the passage from Sanchez, and the reference of the Mechlin theology to it, and it will be seen that the doctrine of Sanchez

differs *toto caelo* from the interpretation of Lacroix given by our correspondent.

Lacroix, however, should be interpreted by Sanchez, whose authority he cites; and his meaning then will be: the person mentioned is not a *vagus* in the sense of being a *vagans;* it is not, therefore, necessary to have the bishop's permission for assisting at the marriage. The person can be validly married in his present parish; but as the banns should be published in his former parish, it is meet that he should be also married there: "*debet* proclamari et conjungi," &c. Of course the marriage would be validly celebrated in his former parish, because the marriage of a *vagus* will be validly celebrated in the presence of the parish priest of the place in which the marriage is contracted. We must remember that Sanchez says of such persons, "dicit *vagum* respectu *parochiarum* illius *oppidi.*" "Potest coram *quocumque parocho illius oppidi contrahert.*"

IV.—Benedict XIV. and Ballerini.

It would unduly prolong this paper to explain the teaching of Benedict XIV. and Ballerini, and to remove the erroneous interpretation of our correspondent. But the teaching of Benedict XIV. and Ballerini is identical with the teaching of Dr. Murray, and Sanchez already explained.

V.—"Factum Habitationis" Cessation of Quasi-domicile.

I do not purpose to follow our correspondent at great length through the remainder of his paper. Our correspondent cannot accurately state when quasi-domicile ceases, while he gives the following conditions for the inception of quasi-domicile: "Two things are required, (1) the intention of *remaining* in the parish for the greater part of the year. (2) *Some fact indicative of that intention!*" Dr. Murray's itinerant merchant is supposed to *remain* in the parish for the greater part of the year; and to leave no doubt about his intention; and yet he is a *vagus.* (Murray, n. 359.)

I quoted in this paper the example of a labourer changing from one parish to another, who was said to be a *vagus.* If

our correspondent had any faith in Lacroix, or any faith in his own view of domicile, he should most unhesitatingly say that the labourer was not a *vagus* until he had left the parish, and gone where he *was not known*; yet under the heading, "The meaning of *factum habitationis*," he says, "the case which is made in the February number of the RECORD, is not by any means a *clear case* of a *vagus*.

VI.—FEIJE.

Our correspondent finally returns to Feije, and considers it unfair that I should have emphasised the single words "in alia domo" in the February number of the RECORD.

Well, it will be remembered that in the February number I gave my interpretation of the whole passage; but I specially singled out for criticism the words "in alia domo," (1) because they were the only words that *could* specially support our correspondent's view; and (2) because—and I regret to have to give such a pointed contradiction—they were the words on which our correspondent *did* most specially rely.

1. They were the only available support for our correspondent. Let us examine the extract *per partes*.

(*a*) "Sedulo curandum est," says Feije, "ut parochianus, vel parochiana non deserat suum *quasi-domicilium*, ante diem celebrationis matrimonii."

How could this sentence, or any word in this sentence, specially avail our correspondent? Did we not both hold that a quasi-domicile should continue up to the time of marriage? And what about our correspondent's contention that a person retains his domicile or quasi-domicile after leaving the parish, provided he may be "notus in urbe."

(*b*) "Sed maneat in parochia." Having taught us that the quasi-domicile should continue up to the time of marriage, Feije tells us how it is to continue. The first condition is "sed maneat in parochia." How do those words avail our correspondent? Do we not both require the person to remain in the parish?

(*c*) "Sive in eodem famulatu." How do those words avail our correspondent? Have I not repeatedly stated that the marriage would be valid if the servant were still a member of her employer's household?

(*d*) "Sive *in alia domo* intra parochiam." The whole controversy then turns on the words "in alia domo." These are the only words which can benefit our correspondent. I gave my version of their meaning in the February number of the RECORD; and it is significant that our correspondent has now no better point to make than to complain of my emphasising those words in the last number of the RECORD, and to disclaim having founded his argument on them.

2. The words "in alia domo" were the words on which our correspondent *did* specially rely in the February number of the RECORD; because, while he underlined the words "quasi-domicilium," "parochia," "intra parochiam," with a single stroke, he *doubly* and *extra heavily* underlined the words "in alia domo" in his manuscript. Why then does he complain of me for having routed him from his "alia domus?"

MS. No. 2.

I have been asked by the Very Rev. Editor of the RECORD—owing to want of space for MSS. No. 2 and No. 3—to give a summary of the communications sent to the RECORD by correspondents signing themselves P. C. C. and W. Q. B. respectively. I will commence with the former.

Our correspondent P. C. C. confines himself "to the case of a servant, who had spent two or three years in a parish, who left her service two or three days before her marriage, intended never to resume it, and merely spends the three days at lodgings in the parish."

He reproduces at great length the RECORD'S exposition of the conditions necessary for the inception, continuation, and termination of quasi-domicile, with which he agrees—I except his mistaken interpretation of the RECORD about the continuation of quasi-domicile. He would admit that, when a girl leaves the only fixed residence she has had, or hopes to have in the parish, and revokes her intention of continuing, even for a moment, *any* fixed residence in the parish, she loses her quasi-domicile.

Nevertheless, he contends that—in the case he makes—

the quasi-domicile perseveres; that actual residence, even for one day in a house, is a fixed residence; and that, therefore, the servant has still a fixed residence, and the intention of continuing in a fixed residence. This is his argument. "What can constitute quasi-domicile can constitute *sedes fixa*. But actual *residence* of one day is enough *residence* to constitute quasi-domicile. Therefore it is enough to constitute a fixed abode."

I might say: *Distinguo minorem*; actual *objective* residence of one day is enough to constitute a quasi-domicile, *nego*. Actual *subjective* residence of one day is enough to constitute a quasi-domicile—*subdist*. Assuming that it is residence in a permanent home—in a permanent objective residence, *concedo*, otherwise, *nego*.

Our correspondent strangely confounds two meanings of the word residence. There is what I may call the *objective* residence—the material structure in which a person dwells; and the *subjective* residence—the act of dwelling in this material structure. Now, it is manifest that a material structure does not become a person's *fixed abode*, if it is hired only for one day. I would direct our correspondent's attention to Dr. Murray's "itinerant dealer" who dwells in one house for *two months* successively in each of the six villages of a parish, and who, nevertheless, has not a *sedes fixa* in the parish. (Murray, n. 359.) How then can the ownership of a room in a lodging house for *one day* make the house one's fixed abode? And, yet, when theologians require for quasi-domicile a *fixed abode*, they always mean a residence *objectively* considered. Then when a person has procured such a residence, and commenced to reside there, intending to remain a resident for the greater part of a year—*immediately* he acquires a quasi-domicile; even a *day's subjective* residence is not required.

All the conclusions of our correspondent are founded on this strange error. He interprets the past papers in the RECORD, too, according to his own standard of what constitutes a fixed place of residence. Need I say then that his exposition is a very inaccurate representation of the RECORD'S teaching on quasi-domicile?

MS. No. 3.

1. W. Q. B. objects to our doctrine regarding the cessation of quasi-domicile; he thinks that a quasi-domicile should cease when *one* of the conditions necessary for its inception ceased. He asks, "when two conditions are *required* to constitute a certain thing, if even one of the conditions be absent, does it not follow you cannot have that of which both conditions are essential elements?"

Ans. Read Dr. Murray's little treatise, nn. 360 and 373; or any approved hand-book of theology.

2. W. Q. B. continues, "when the servant, after leaving her mistress's house, goes into lodgings for some short period, her residence continues up to the time of marriage."

Ans. When a servant leaves the only fixed residence (in the sense explained) she has had in the parish, and formally or virtually revokes the intention of continuing, even for a moment in *any fixed residence* in the parish, she becomes a *vaga*, though she may continue moving about the parish until the end of her life.

D. COGHLAN.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

THE CEREMONIES OF SOME ECCLESIASTICAL FUNCTIONS.

SOLEMN MASS—(*continued*).

The Celebrant goes up to the altar saying the prayer, and keeping his hands joined in front. Arrived at the altar he rests his fingers on the front of the table while saying the prayer *Oramus*; at the words *quorum reliquiae* he kisses the altar, and turns towards the deacon.

The Deacon, raising with his left hand the front of the

celebrant's alb, his right resting against his breast, ascends the altar on the celebrant's right. When the celebrant kisses the altar, the deacon genuflects on the predella,[1] keeping his hands joined and not resting them on the altar. He then retires a little to permit the thurifer and master of ceremonies to approach. From the latter he receives the incense-boat in his right hand, and immediately transfers it to his left. Taking the spoon in his right hand, he inclines slightly to the celebrant, and saying[2] *Benedicite, pater reverende*, he kisses, first the handle of the spoon, and then the right hand of the celebrant.

The Sub-deacon having his left hand resting against his breast, and with his right raising the alb of the celebrant, goes up to the altar on the celebrant's left. On the predella he joins his hands and makes a genuflection with the deacon when the celebrant kisses the altar. During the blessing of the incense he stands turned partly towards the altar near the celebrant's left.

The Master of Ceremonies receives the incense-boat from the thurifer, and when the sacred ministers ascend the altar, he, also, having the thurifer on his right, ascends by the steps on the epistle side, and genuflects[3] on the predella along with the deacon and sub-deacon, to the former of whom he hands the incense-boat.

The Thurifer comes to the altar during the *Confiteor*, carrying the censer in his left hand and the incense-boat in his right. He salutes the choir, genuflects at the centre of the altar, and, going to the epistle corner, kneels on the right of the master of ceremonies, to whom he gives the boat. At the *Oremus* he rises, goes up to the altar on the right of the master of ceremonies, genuflects with him on the predella, and prepares the censer to receive incense from the celebrant.

The Acolytes rise from their knees when the sacred

[1] Vavasseur, part vii., sect. i., chap. i., art. 3, n. 31. De Conny, liv, ii., chap. ii., art. 2.

[2] De Conny, iv. i., chap. x. Vavasseur, part vi., sect. ii., chap. vii., art. 2, n. 20.

[3] Vavasseur, part vii., sect. i., chap. i., art. 3, n. 32. De Conny, *loc. cit.* De Carpo, *loc. cit.* x. 209.

ministers begin to ascend the altar, and remain standing in their places by the credence during the incensation. They incline and genuflect along with the sacred ministers.

The Choir stands up at the same time but without turning towards the altar.

The Celebrant, with the spoon, transfers incense from the boat to the censer three distinct times,[1] keeping his left hand meantime on his breast. The first spoonful he puts into the middle of the censer, the second to his own left, and the third to his own right. At the first he says, *Ab illo benedicaris;* at the second, *in cujus honore;* and at the third, *cremaberis. Amen.*[2] Having returned the spoon to the deacon, he places his left hand on the altar,[3] and makes, with his right, the sign of the cross over the incense in the censer.[4]

[1] The incense must be taken *three times* from the boat. "Accepto cochleari sumit (Celebrans) cum eo *ter*, ex navicula thus, illudque etiam ter in thuribulum mittit." (*Caerem.* l. 1, chap. xxiii., n. 1.)

[2] We give the text of this formula as it is found in the Missal published by Pustet in 1886, and as it is given by nearly all Rubricists. (See Bourbon n. 480, note.) In the Ceremonial of Bishops, however, in every edition we have looked into, the formula runs: "Ab illo benedicaris in cujus *honorem* cremaberis." *Honorem* being in place of *honore*, and *Amen* being omitted.

[3] Wapelhorst, chap. viii., n. 81, 3; Martinucci, l. 1, chap. v., n. 2; Falise, *Tableaux;* De Carpo, *loc. cit.*, n. 135; Baldeschi, Part I., chap. vii., n. 5. Though modern Rubricists seem to be unanimous in directing the celebrant, when blessing the incense at the altar, to place his left hand on the table of the altar, it is with great reluctance we adopt their teaching. True, they appeal, with a certain species of reason, to the Rubrics of the Missal, where this direction is given: "In aliis benedictionibus quum est ad altare, et benedicit oblata vel aliquid aliud ponat sinistram super altare nisi aliter notetur." (Tit. iii., n. 5; see Martinucci, *loc. cit.*) But with Janssens (Tom. ii., Tit. iv., n. 6) we are of opinion that this direction holds only when the thing blessed is *on* the altar; however, the more effectually to secure uniformity, we recommend the direction now given by nearly all writers.

[4] Some of the older writers, as Janssens (*loc. cit.*, n. 13), contended that the words should be said while the celebrant is making the sign of the cross; not while putting the incense into the censer. The special Rubric of the Missal favoured this view: "In Missa Solemni Celebrans benedicit incensum, dicens: *Ab illo bene* ✠ *dicaris in cujus honore cremaberis. Amen.*" Now the general rule is, that when the sign of the cross is to be made in pronouncing a blessing, it is to be made while saying the word in the centre of which the Rubric places the cross. Hence they inferred that the sign of the cross should be made at the word *benedicaris.*

This conclusion, though apparently legitimate, could not be reconciled with the direction given in the general Rubrics of the Missal: "Celebrans ter incensum ponit in thuribulum, dicens interim; *Ab illo benedicaris* et deposito cochleari producens manu dextra signum crucis," etc. (Tit. iv., n. 4.) Here it is expressly stated that the celebrant is to say the words while

He then joins his hands before his breast until the deacon presents the censer.

When the censer is presented to him, the celebrant, with his left hand, grasps the chains near the top, so that the disc to which they are attached rests on the outside of the thumb and index-finger; and with the thumb, index and middle fingers of the right hand, he takes hold of the lower part of the chains as close as possible to the cover of the censer.[1] He then turns by his left to the altar, and, if the Blessed Sacrament is present, placing his left hand on the altar, he genuflects; but if the Blessed Sacrament is not present, he salutes the cross with a profound inclination. Having made the proper reverence, keeping his left hand on his breast, he incenses the cross with three double[2] swings,

putting incense into the censer; and that after he has put in the incense and said the words, he is to make the sign of the cross. The majority of writers were guided by the plain statement of this Rubric rather than by the dubious interpretation of the other.

To set matters at rest the S. Congregation was appealed to. "An in impositione thuris," it was asked, "debeant proferri verba; *ab illo benedicaris* quando imponitur incensum in thuribulo, ut videtur insinuari in Rubrica generali, vel dum efformatur signum crucis ut exequitur in Rubrica particulari in qua crucis effigies invenitur inserta in verbo Bene ✠ dicaris," etc. The reply disposed of the opinion founded on the special Rubric: "Serventur Rubricae generales Missalis." (chap. iv. *de Introitu*, n. 4.)

[1] Dextera vero easdem catenulas, simul junctas, prope thuribulum tenet. . . . . Teneat dexteram, quo fieri potest proximiorem ipsi thuribulo, ita ut parvum catenularum spatium emanent inter ipsius manum dexteram et thuribulum. (*Caer. Epis.* l. 1, chap. xxiii., n. 4.) The chains should be held in the right hand as close to the censer as possible in every incensation, whether of the cross, of the altar, or of the *oblata*. Neither the Ceremonial nor the Rubricists, says Bourbon, recognise any other manner of holding the censer. The reason given by Bauldry (par. ii., c. 9, art. 2, n. 5. *apud* Bourbon) is: "Ut proprio pondere in tota incensatione nullatenus moveatur (thuribulum), ac, praeter motum ab ipso celebrante impressum nullum actum habeat." See Bourbon n. 485 and note; *Cérém. des Évêques, Comm. et Expli. loc. cit.*; Vavasseur, Part ii., sec. ii., chap. ii., n. 3, 5°.

[2] Authors generally. The distinction between *single* and *double* swings was formerly rejected by some writers; but was upheld by the great majority, and was ultimately recognised by the Congregation of Rites. (March 22, 1862, n. 5318, ad 21.) But what is meant by a *double swing*, and how does it differ from *two swings*? To give two swings it is necessary to lower the censer after the first swing, and to raise it again for the second; or, if the object incensed is not elevated, the censer must at least be brought to rest for an appreciable time between the two swings. To give a double swing, however, the censer is raised only once, and when at the proper height it is directed towards the person or thing to be incensed; first, by a slight and gentle motion; and then, with but a momentary delay, by a motion more definite and pronounced.—Bourbon n. 490; Martinucci l. 1, chap. i., n. 20.

all directed towards the same point, and not, as when incensing other objects, one in front, one towards his left, and one towards his right. He next proceeds to incense the altar. The parts of the altar incensed are the back, or lower part of the reredos, the table, the two ends, and the front. These parts are incensed in the following order and manner:—After incensing and saluting the cross, the celebrant moves towards the epistle corner, incensing as he goes the back of the altar on the epistle side. This he does with three *simple* or *single* swings, directed towards the places where the candles stand or should stand.[1] He holds the censer, meanwhile, but a very little raised above the table of the altar, directs each swing at right angles to the plane of the reredos, and at each swing takes a step towards the epistle corner. Arrived there, he incenses, with two swings, the epistle end of the altar, directing the first swing towards the lower, and the second towards the upper part of the end. He now turns towards the gospel side, and, while proceeding to the centre, he incenses, with three swings, the table of the altar on the epistle side. As before, he takes a step forward at each swing; but now the swings are not directed towards the reredos but towards the centre of the altar, and may be either in straight or in curved lines.[2] At the centre of the altar he makes the proper reverence, and while going to the gospel corner he incenses the back of the altar on the gospel side with the same number of swings, and in precisely the same manner as he has already incensed the epistle side. The gospel end is also incensed with two swings, one directed towards the lower, the other towards the upper part. This done, the celebrant, without changing his position, incenses the table of the altar on the gospel side with three swings directed towards the centre of the altar, and describing straight or curved lines, as has been already said of the swings with which the table on the epistle side is incensed. The only part that now remains to be incensed is the front. Having incensed the table of the altar on the

[1] "Ubi sunt aut supponuntur tria candelabra."—Wapelhorst n. 82, 3.

[2] "Non in modum circuli," Wapelhorst, *loc. cit.* 4. "Comme en trois demicercles," Vavasseur, Part V., sect. ii., chap. vii., art. 3, n. 122.

gospel side, the celebrant still standing at the gospel corner, slightly lowers his hand until the censer is nearly on a level with the middle of the front, and, taking three steps towards the centre, he gives at each step a swing of the censer in a line perpendicular to the plane of the altar. He makes the proper reverence at the centre, incenses in like manner, and with an equal number of swings of the censer, the front of the altar on the epistle side, and hands the censer to the deacon, himself meanwhile standing on the predella, at the epistle corner, his left turned towards the altar, until he is incensed by the deacon, to whose saluations he does not respond.[1]

The Deacon, when the incense has been blessed, receives the spoon from the celebrant, kissing first the celebrant's hand and then the spoon. With both hands he takes the censer from the thurifer, catching the chains so that his right hand is towards the top, his left below; and, turning towards the celebrant, he gives, with the usual *oscula*, the top of the chains into his left hand, the lower part into his right. Turning to the altar with the celebrant, and keeping his hands joined, he genuflects whether the Blessed Sacrament is in the tabernacle or not. During the incensation he keeps his right hand on his breast, and with his left raises the back part of the celebrant's chasuble which he catches about the shoulder. He genuflects each time during the incensation that the celebrant either genuflects or inclines to the cross.

The incensation completed, he receives the censer from the celebrant, taking care to kiss the celebrant's hand and the chains; descends immediately *in planum*, and holding the censer as the celebrant is directed to hold it, he incenses the celebrant with three double swings, making a moderate[2] inclination before and after.

The Sub-deacon turns to the altar with the celebrant and deacon, and keeping his hands joined in front of his

[1] Falise, *Tableaux*. Bourbon, n. 381, who says (*ib. note*), that this is the common teaching, and quotes in support of this statement a number of the most eminent liturgical writers, as Gavantus, Bauldry, Vinnitor, De Conny, etc.

[2] By profound or moderate inclination *sine addito* we always mean a profound or moderate inclination of the body.

breast, he genuflects to the Blessed Sacrament, or to the cross, if the Blessed Sacrament is not on the altar. Placing his left hand on his breast, he with his right raises the celebrant's chasuble, and accompanies him during the incensation as the deacon has been directed to do, taking care to keep his movements uniform with those of the celebrant and deacon. When the deacon receives the censer from the celebrant, the sub-deacon accompanies him down the steps of the epistle side, and stands on his left while he incenses the celebrant. He makes with the deacon a moderate inclination to the celebrant before and after the incensation.[1]

The Master of Ceremonies when the incense has been blessed genuflects on the predella, descends the steps on the epistle corner, and stands *in plano* facing the gospel side. He genuflects along with the sacred ministers; when the celebrant has incensed the cross, he mounts the altar, lifts the missal with its stand from the altar, again descends *in planum*, where he stands holding the missal until the epistle corner has been incensed, when he replaces it on the altar. When the deacon comes to incense the celebrant the master of ceremonies stands at his right, but a little in rere, and accompanies him in saluting the celebrant before and after the incensation.

The Thurifer descends the altar along with the master of ceremonies, having first genuflected with him on the predella,[2] and stands *in plano* on his left. He genuflects each time the sacred ministers genuflect, and salutes the celebrant before and after he is incensed by the deacon.

D. O'Loan.

[1] Wapelhorst, n. 185, column *Subdiaconus* 5; Vavasseur, Part vii., sect. i., chap. i., art. 3, n. 34; De Herdt, Tom. i., n. 308; Martinucci, l. 1, chap. xii.; against Falise, *loc. cit.* and others.

[2] Vavasseur, *loc. cit.* n. 33. Wapelhorst, *loc. cit.* column *Caeremoniarius*. Falise, *Tableaux*, against others. See Wapelhorst.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—G M. N. in this month's (April) RECORD, protests against my 'easy assumption,' in the March issue, 'of the complete barbarism of ante-Christian Ireland;' and against my comparing its inhabitants to the unreclaimed New Zealander of the present day.

"Permit me to take the earliest opportunity of stating that nothing was farther from my intention than to make the assumption complained of, and of thus publicly recalling my words, if they bear it out.

"I do not think, however, they can mean, without being strained, what G. M. N. supposes.

"Nowhere do I describe ante-Christian Ireland as being in a state of 'complete barbarism.' On the contrary, I distinctly qualified the objectionable word, and I used it only because I found it applied to the country as it was before St. Patrick's time by innumerable authors, many of whom are of recognized fairness and authority. My words were: 'Previous to the mission of St. Patrick, the country was pagan, and (waiving controverted questions) involved in such barbarity as existed amongst the pagans of that day.' In another passage, I wrote, that, on the introduction of the monasteries (which I had treated as coeval with the introduction of Christianity) 'paganism and *whatever barbarism co-existed with it*, vanished from the land.' There is nothing extreme or special in this application of the word 'barbarism,' but quite the contrary; nor is there anything in these, or in any other portions of the essay objected to, to exclude the co-existence of many admirable traits of character.[1]

"It is true, I omitted to narrate the proofs of pre-Christian civilization; but they did not belong to my subject, which was the *Cross and the Shamrock*, and much controversy exists about them which I declared my desire to waive.

"It is not true that my essay would date the origin of the proofs of pre-Christian civilization which G. M. N. particularizes—viz.,

[1] The Abbé MacGeoghegan (*History of Ireland*, chap. iv.) says that sometimes the most barbarous customs prevailed amongst people, in other respects very polished; and he tells us that, "notwithstanding many advantages, it is natural to think that the Milesians, had been, like other people who were their contemporaries, rude and barbarous in their manners."

music and legislation, 'from the coming of Christianity,' as he asserts. My allusion to the proficiency of the Irish in music in subsequent times, contains nothing of the kind. A statement found in the essay would even prove the contrary, for I spoke of the 'bards' becoming Christians (evidently alluding to St. Patrick's time), and thus I supposed their pre-existence and importance. Nor would my reference to the laws that governed the land in Christian times, date the origin of legislation in Ireland from the coming of Christianity. Nowhere can I find such an assumption, even implied, in my essay; but I find a contrary one in the passage where I wrote of pre-Christian Ireland. 'False gods and idols were worshipped; natural proclivities to vice had not the moral and penal obstacles to their development that Christianity and civilization introduced.'

"As to the comparison—G. M. N. does me an unintentional injustice regarding it. He writes, 'It is hard to see the Irishman, even as he was before the light of Christianity reached him, placed in the same category as the savage New Zealander, whose chief music is the whizz of his boomerang, and whose will is his only law.'

"I don't admit the correctness at all of this description of the unreclaimed New Zealander of the present day. It comes from those who so described him when they wanted to deprive him of his country and to exterminate him; but, waiving this question, I submit my words don't place the pre-Christian Irishman in the same category with him.

"It is a canon of interpretation that comparisons are not to be pushed too far, and never beyond their expressed limits. Now, my words were 'the *social* condition—not the intellectual or moral condition—of the ante-Christian Irish may be, *perhaps* compared,' &c. When I wrote thus, I believed that like other pagan nations the ante-Christian Irish were in a state of barbarity necessarily following from the worship of false gods and idols. I knew that it is strongly contended that human sacrifices were offered in their abominable worship. I knew that slavery existed, that wild beasts abounded, that villages and towns had not come into existence, that the characteristic warlike propensities of our race very much prevailed, that lands were untilled, that forests were extensive, and that marriages[1] and funerals were conducted in a most barbarous fashion.

[1] See Abbé MacGeoghegan's *History of Ireland*, p. 63, and Sir W. Wilde's *Beauties of the Boyne*, p. 151.

I looked around the world for an illustration—not certainly for a reproach—and I suggested a comparison. I made it only problematically. I am sorry for having even suggested it, as it has given offence. I fear I could not find at the present day any pagan people for an illustration without a similar ground of objection.

"My words as a writer are not of sufficient importance to justify a controversy as to their meaning which can now be the only issue between G. M. N. and me. Suffice it for me to say, did they bear the meaning he attributes to them, I would thank him for his protest against them, and be the last to defend them.

"I am, Very Rev. and Dear Sir, respectfully yours,

"JOHN CURRY."

DOCUMENTS.

HOW TO ENROL IN THE CONFRATERNITY OF MOUNT CARMEL.

"I shall be much obliged if you will let me know, in the next number of the I. E. RECORD, how the necessary inscription on the register of the Confraternity of Mount Carmel of the names of the associates is to be done? Can every priest having faculties to receive members into the confraternities keep a list, or is it necessary that the names of members be sent to the Superior of the Carmelites?

Your obedient servant,

"A SUBSCRIBER."

It is necessary to have the names forwarded to a Carmelite convent for the purpose of having them there registered. The fact of a priest being empowered to invest does not thereby entitle him to keep a registry to satisfy the recent decree. Outside of Carmelite convents it is necessary, as set forth in the decree, to have a confraternity established with permission of the General of the Carmelite order.

There is a registry kept at the Carmelite Convent, Aungier-street, Dublin, specially for the purpose. If the priests throughout Ireland forward the names to this

convent, they will be duly registered, or to any of the Carmelite convents in Ireland—Kildare, Moate, Knocktopher, and Kinsale.

We append Decrees relating to this subject, kindly sent to us by the Prior of the Carmelite Convent, Aungier-street, Dublin.

DECREES REFERRING TO THE SCAPULAR OF MOUNT CARMEL.

De inscribendis nominibus eorum qui Sacrum Scapulare B. V. M. de Monte Carmelo recipiunt, et de revocatione Indulti Gregoriani 30 Aprilis, 1838.

Dubium: Utrum Indultum a s. m. Gregorio Papa XVI. concessum die 30 Aprilis, 1838, Confraternitati B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo, quo Sacerdotes debita facultate praediti recipiendi Christifideles in praedictam Confraternitatem eximuntur ab onere inscribendi nomina fidelium in libro Confraternitatis, expediat extendere etiam ad alias Confraternitates, in quibus Christifideles scapularia recipiunt?

E.mi ac R.mi Patres responderunt in Generalibus Comitiis apud Vaticanum habitiis die 26 Martii, 1887, *Negative: imo supplicandum SSmo. pro revocatione Gregoriani Indulti concessi sub die* 30 *Aprilis*, 1838, *et ad mentem.*

Die vero 27 Aprilis, 1887, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. in Audientia habita ab infrascripto Secretario sententiam Patrum Cardinalium ratam habuit, et Gregorianum Indultum revocavit.

An ad validitatem benedictionis (S. Scapularis) sufficiat signum Crucis manu efformatum super scapulare absque ulla verborum pronuntiatione, et aquae benedictae aspersione? Resp. *Negative, sed benedictio danda est juxta formulam praescriptam, ad normam Decreti* 18 *Augusti*, 1868.

Datum Romae ex Secrataria ejusdem S. Congregationis die 27 Aprilis, 1887.

Fr. THOMAS M. Card. ZIGLIARI, *Praefectus.*
✠ ALEXANDER, Episcopus Oensis, *Secretarius.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

HENRY VIII. AND THE ENGLISH MONASTERIES. By Rev. Francis Aidan Gasquet. Second Edition, Vol. I. London. 1888.

HISTORIA ALIQUOT MARTYRUM ANGLORUM CARTHUSIANORUM. A. V. Patre Domno Mauritio Chauncey, Conscripta. Londini. A.D. 1888.

KING EDWARD THE SIXTH, SUPREME HEAD: AN HISTORICAL SKETCH. By Frederick G. Lee, D.D. London: Burns and Oates. 1889.

IN the books named above we have a picture, true to life, of a sadly interesting period of English history. The history hitherto popular of the so-called English Reformation is the work of men "more anxious to maintain a bad cause than to tell the truth." In it we have handed down long-standing, deep-rooted prejudices—a mass of falsehoods again and again repeated, and gaining strength and apparent consistency by the repetition, until the tale became so firmly established that it was almost hopeless to attempt its refutation. Recently, however, a spirit of research is abroad. The "State Papers," domestic and foreign, the Record Office, diocesan and parochial registries, are now bearing such witness to the real character of the first *Anglican Pope*, and of his instruments, that the old story of the "English Reformation" must perforce disappear. We have no hesitation in saying that Father Gasquet's work on Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries is far and away the best that has yet appeared on the subject. It is a work of great labour and research, executed with scrupulous care and in a calm, judicial spirit which every candid reader, whatever be his sentiments, must admire. He does not speculate nor theorise. He has no rhetorical flourishing. In plain, unmistakable language he tells the truth, and nothing but the truth. He allows the tools of Henry VIII. to tell their own story and to speak the sentence of their own condemnation. To Catholic students of the Reformation period, Father Gasquet's book will be a source of genuine relief. The present writer confesses to a feeling of considerable uneasiness on reading in Froude's *Short Essays on Great Subjects* certain charges against the English

monasteries of the Reformation period. Here, in original, apparently trustworthy documents, were grave charges, written by contemporaries, and how were they to be met? Father Gasquet has met them effectually. He has examined and cross-examined the witnesses. He has so pilloried them that, to use Cardinal Manning's words, "on the oaths of such men no just man would take away even the life of a dog." Cromwell, Henry's vicar-general in matters ecclesiastical, Archbishops Rice, Leyton, Leigh, and Loudon, the members of the Monastic Visitation Commission, are so dissected by Father Gasquet that we can see at a glance the repulsive wickedness of their characters and the utter folly of accepting any statement on the authority of such unprincipled wretches. Father Gasquet gives us also some information as to the characters of a precious trio who were the early pillars of Irish Protestantism—Brown and Curwen, of Dublin, and "the foul-mouthed ruffian Bale," of Ossory. To attempt in a short notice anything like an analysis of Father Gasquet's excellent volume would be quite unfair. We merely say to the reader, and we say it confidently, *get the book, and read it again and again.*

The *Historia Aliquot Martyrum* is a beautiful reprint of Father M. Chauncey's account of the martyrdom of his brother religious of the London Charter-house. He has given a graphic and faithful account of their sufferings, and such an insight into their daily life as enables us to understand the heroic constancy which they exhibited when the final struggle came on. The writer himself did not share in the heroic spirit of his brethren. He has given us this history with all the advantages of an eye-witness, and while recording their glorious martyrdom, he makes no secret of his own unworthiness. The subject matter of the book is, of course, long well known. The present edition is beautifully brought out, and is illustrated by some beautiful photographs, taken from ancient paintings and engravings of the martyrs.

Dr. Lee's book is a very valuable addition to our stock of information on the Reformation period. It is not so much a "life" of the "Boy King" as an account of the doings of the unscrupulous men in whose hands Edward was merely a puppet. Few men have done so much as Dr. Lee to expose the real character of the English Reformers. From authentic records, and generally out of their own mouths, he judges them, and in delivering his judgment he does not mince matters in the least. In this way he has done incalculable service to the cause of truth. But, after all, Dr. Lee and his writings

are a strange puzzle. He fancies himself a Catholic, and writes as if he were. But that he should so write, and yet remain a beneficed minister of the Anglican Establishment is one of the strangest religious phenomena of our time. Fancy a Protestant parson writing as follows, referring to the publication of authentic documents of the Reformation period. He says that they will soon convince men still more "that the deplorable overthrow of the old faith in the sixteenth century, at the hands of a minority, was only accomplished by thieving, perjury, persecution, tyranny, and barbaric cruelty and injustice" (*Edward VI.*, Introduction, p. 2). To the Catholic student of Reformation history the book is really valuable, but it is a bitter, cutting satire on the author and on those of his theological school.

J. M.

LIFE OF ST. TERESA OF JESUS, OF THE ORDER OF OUR LADY OF CARMEL. Written by Herself. Translated from the Spanish by David Lewis. Second Edition. London: St. Anselm's Society. 1888.

THIS is a life of a saint by a saint. Written by St. Teresa herself, at the command of her confessor, it set forth with childlike simplicity the workings of God's grace within the soul. The preface, by the translator, gives a brief account of the principal external facts of the saint's history; but the book itself deals with the life of her soul. Here we have visions, revelations, ecstasies, trials, humiliations, sufferings, dissertations on prayer, on humility, on obedience. An account of her private devotions—especially of her extraordinary devotion to St. Joseph—we have in fact as much mystic theology as could be acquired from many years study of Scaramelli. Father Dominic Bañes, of Valladolid, in his "censure" of the book says:—"It contains many visions and revelations, matters always to be afraid of, especially in women, who are very ready to believe of them that they come from God, and to look on them as proofs of sanctity, though sanctity does not lie in them." This passage deserves the notice of a class of writers and speakers who prate about the alleged facility with which Catholic saints are recognised as such, and the readiness of Catholics to accept without question any version that is alleged. This life of St. Teresa, abounding as it is in visions, would be very salutary reading for even persons of this class.

RECORDS OF THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS of 1715. Edited by John Orlebar Payne, M.A. London. 1889.

THE HAYDOCK PAPERS: A GLIMPSE INTO ENGLISH CATHOLIC LIFE UNDER THE SHADE OF PERSECUTION, AND IN THE DAWN OF FREEDOM. By Joseph Gillow. London. 1888.

THE above collections serve to throw a flood of light on the history and condition of English Catholics of a century ago. The storm of persecution which had all but swept away the Catholic Church of England had no doubt abated in its fury, but it could not at any time be said to have altogether ceased. The lives and property of Catholics were almost continually at the mercy of the mob, which any evil designing bigot could, and frequently did, lash into fury. To avoid the consequences of such outbursts of fanaticism, as well as to evade bad laws, badly administered, English Catholics were forced to lead lives of seclusion, such as if active persecution had been the order of the day. Like the sacred fire concealed by the prophet of old, the lamp of faith continued to burn unseen—at least by the many—till the dawning of better times permitted its being trimmed afresh, and held out to light up once again the path of the searcher after truth. In the *Records of the English Catholics of* 1715, we get many an instance of the hardships to which they were subjected, and of the fidelity with which they clung to the faith. Mr. Payne is well known among English Catholics as a careful student, an accurate and conscientious editor, and the *Records* fully bear out his reputation in both respects.

The *Haydock Papers* consist very largely of the history and correspondence of the old Catholic family of that name. But there is a great deal of other interesting and useful matter. They are very properly called *A Glimpse into English Catholic Life under the Shade of Persecution, and in the Dawn of Freedom,* for they enable us to see how it fared with English Catholics at that period, when bigotry was for the first time blushing at its own bad deeds. Besides the papers that bear upon the state of English Catholics at home, we have a most interesting narrative of the fate and fortunes of the professors and students of the English Colleges of Douay, and St. Omer under the French Revolutionary Party. But it cannot be flattering to Englishmen to be reminded that, whereas the French Government in 1815, paid an indemnity for the losses caused by the destruction of the property of the above named colleges, the English Government retained the money because it was "*Catholic property devoted to to superstitious uses,*" and applied it to paying off the debt incurred in building a Pavilion at Brighton, for "the fourth of the fools and

oppressors called George." Mr. Gillow's reputation as a student and editor is fully sustained by this book. Both volumes are in the best style of the eminent Catholic firm of Messrs. Burns & Oates.

J. M.

MISCELLANIES. By Henry Edward, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Vol. III. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.

CHARACTERISTICS. From the Writings of Archbishop Ullathorne, with bibliographical introduction. Arranged by the Rev. Michael F. Glancey, late of St. Mary's, Oscott. London. 1889.

ANYTHING from Cardinal Manning's pen is most deservedly welcome. This third volume of his *Miscellanies* contains a number of essays written for various periodicals between 1879 and the present year. The essays are all on subjects of great interest, written in the cardinal's usual pure, lucid, and pleasing style, and it is well that they should be given to us in a permanent shape, and not left to the risk of oblivion that is incidental to periodical literature. Moreover, some of the essays were written for American reviews, and may, unless reproduced, as they now are, be lost to readers in this country, and it would be a serious loss to lose anything written by Cardinal Manning on a subject of interest to Catholics. It is amazing how his Eminence, amidst all his many pressing duties, can find time to write such essays as those before us. May God give him health and vigour for many a year to come, to be what he has long been, a bulwark to our holy religion, and a champion of every good cause.

The *Characteristics* of Archbishop Ullathorne is a selection very well and systematically made from his various writings. The arrangement is alphabetical as regards the subjects, and the extracts given are in themselves excellent, and show great discrimination on the part of the compiler, Father Glancey. The recent death of the archbishop gives a melancholy interest to the volume. For fifty years he was the champion of Catholic interests in England, and his part in the reconstruction of the Catholic Church in England entitles him for all time to the gratitude of his countrymen and co-religionists. We do not believe in *Characteristics*. We would much prefer to study the works of such a writer as a whole. But we are bound to say that the selection before us is judiciously and creditably made, and that those who believe in such compilations will find in Father Glancey's volume all that they desire.

A Complete Novena in preparation for the Festivals of the Blessed Virgin; together with a Collection of Extracts from the Holy Fathers, suitable for the Month of Mary. By Dom Louis Marie Rouvier. The Little Book of Our Lady. London: Burns & Oates.

The first of these books is a valuable little treatise well calculated to promote devotion to the Blessed Virgin, especially in that now common form of making Novenas in her honour. In it the devout client of Mary will find much assistance in spending a Novena with profit.

There is a suitable meditation and some spiritual readings for each of the nine days. It also contains a number of quotations from the Fathers which show forth in the clearest light the constant tradition of the Church on the dignity, power and sanctity of the Mother of God.

The Little Book of Our Lady contains within the small compass of forty pages a short but interesting sketch of some of the principal devotions in honour of the Queen of Heaven. A careful reading of the little work will repay perusal.

A Short Practical May Devotion. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co.

No better book could be chosen for the May devotions than Fr. Deymann's compilation. The meditations we are told are translated from a "May Devotion" in general use in Germany. They consist of a series of reflections on some of the principal truths of our holy religion and on the virtues so brilliantly practised by the Blessed Virgin. These meditations are short, simple, and eminently practical. We heartily recommend this little book.

M. O'D.

THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JUNE, 1889.

INCONSISTENCY, OR OUR FAITH AND OUR PRACTICE.

"Absque meditationis exercitio, nullus, secluso miraculo Dei speciali, ad rectissimam religionis christianae normam pertingit."—*Gerson.*

WHEN we pass in review the various arguments that exist in proof of the true Church, and consider their number and their force, we are often puzzled to explain how it is, that so many apparently earnest men still continue to resist her claims, and to question her authority.

Yet, however much this thought may exercise our minds there is another of a far more personal, and (for us at least) of a far more practical character, which few of us trouble ourselves about at all; and that is why we who *do believe* so firmly in the stupendous truths of revelation should nevertheless be so very little affected by them.

That a man who has no belief in a future life should centre all his happiness and pleasure upon this, and should try to extract all the enjoyment he can from it, is the most natural thing in the world; that he should be always plotting and scheming to rise in the social scale, to become rich, influential, and of importance; that he should think of such things during the day and dream of them at night is all intelligible enough; but that *we* who profess the Catholic faith, who know that we are pilgrims and sojourners upon earth, who look upon this life as but a short avenue leading up to an endless eternity; that we should take the interest we do in what we know to

be so exceedingly flimsy and fleeting, and should attach so much importance to what we are perfectly well aware is empty, vain, and unsatisfying, *that* I take to be a far more extraordinary and difficult problem.

We profess belief, and we do in reality believe every dogma, and yet we seem to be able to reconcile with such a profession, a line of conduct diametrically opposite. What we openly affirm with our lips we are perpetually denying by our actions; and what we emphatically assert in words to be of the most vital importance, we declare by almost every act of our lives to be of no importance at all. However rational we may be in business, in politics, and in our social relations, we seem to be wholly devoid of reason so soon as we begin to deal with the spiritual and the supernatural. Perhaps some of my readers will begin to object, and will protest that I am exaggerating and overstating the case, and that we are really not so inconsistent after all; so suffer me to illustrate the justice of my contention by one or two examples. We shall best serve our purpose if we examine a few points upon which we are all thoroughly agreed. Let us then pass by all matters of mere opinion, and confine ourselves entirely to matters of certainty—to truths in fact which we are, as Catholics, bound to believe. We shall then see how little correspondence there is between our conduct and our creed. We shall find that instead of corresponding they are grossly at variance. Thus, *e.g.*, we believe (*a*) sin to be the greatest evil in the world; that no other evil can for one moment be put on a level with it; that even the smallest deliberate venial sin is a more real misfortune than any loss of health or fortune however great, that neither in itself nor in its consequences can any merely human calamity for one instant bear any sort of proportion to it. We are certain, with a divine certainty, that for no consideration whatsoever, not even to save our very life, no, nor a hundred thousand lives, would it be right or permissible to commit the least deliberate venial sin, even a passing sin of thought. This is not a pious exaggeration but the literal truth, and a truth which all confess—in fact to ask if we believe this, is to ask if we are Catholics. Of course we do.

But what is our conduct? Is it consistent? Does it in any way harmonise with our creed? Consider our position as regards venial sins, imperfections, small offences, lesser faults. How do we exhibit our horror of them: our sense of their enormity, baseness, and ingratitude? Do we for instance manifest in every day life a decided and unhesitating preference to suffer every species of calamity, distress, pain, even death, rather than to allow our souls to be stained with the guilt of venial sin? Do we so guard ourselves from this pest that years pass away without our having to accuse ourselves of so much as one venial fault? May we not rather ask if a month, or a week, or so much as a single day goes by without our being betrayed into some infringement of the law of God? This is what I mean by an habitual inconsistency. We *believe* sin to be the greatest of evils, we *act* as though it were the least.

Again, to take another instance, we believe (*b*) divine Grace to be so inestimable a treasure, that the gaining of one additional degree of it is not merely more advantageous, but *indefinitely* and *immeasurably* more advantageous, than the doubling of our fortunes, or the multiplying of all our earthly resources a million times over—that to advance one step in virtue is inconceivably more profitable to us, besides being better in itself, and more pleasing to God, than any advance whatsoever in worldly prosperity, social position, and political influence; so that, *e.g.*, we might, if we possessed them, give up the wisdom of a Solomon, the riches of a Crœsus, the beauty of an Absolom, and the dignity and influence of a Cæsar, for the least particle of divine Grace, and would even then give an absurdly inadequate price for it. Do we believe all this in sober truth? Do we acknowledge that Grace is a priceless treasure, without parallel or equal in the whole of creation? Well, I distinguish, with our lips we do, and with our intellects too; but only in theory: in practice we do not. Indeed anyone considering our lives, and studying our aims, aspirations, ambitions, and desires, would regard us as a set of the most inveterate liars that ever lived; and might unhesitatingly describe us, one and all, as miserable impostors and con-

temptible hypocrites, who say one thing, but mean exactly the opposite. For how is it possible (they would argue) that men can honestly believe Grace to be the treasure they say it is, while, at the same time, they make no appreciable effort to retain possession of it, or, if already possessed, to increase it—while, in fact, they are more ready and eager to labour, toil, and suffer for anything whatsoever rather than for it. Indeed, the hope of wealth, or honour, or fame, can stir them up to far greater enthusiasm, and set their hearts in a far greater blaze, than the hope of any increase of this supernatural treasure, of which they are content merely to utter the praises.

Yet somehow or another we contrive *de facto* to reconcile two such opposites. Our Faith is sound: yes; but, oh! how dead, and cold, and wanting in power and influence!

Or, to take yet another instance: We are fully aware that time is short and fleeting; that life is not merely brief, but that it is most uncertain; and, what is yet far more important, we are fully aware that (*c*) on this moment of time—on this vanishing instant, which we call "Life"—the whole weight of eternity is ever balancing. Now, a man's life, even when considered in itself, is but a tiny span; but when compared with eternity, it is simply nothing. Yet upon this brief moment of our earthly existence depends that which no created intellect can measure, and which no human plummet can fathom. On it depends, not merely an eternity of happiness or an eternity of misery, inexpressible and unimagined, but on our use of it depends likewise the *degree* of happiness or misery, as the case may be. Indeed, we may say that God has committed to our hands the forming and fashioning of our future; so that it will be just precisely what we make it, neither better nor worse. So that, even supposing we are fortunate enough to reach the kingdom of God, there is still the further question, what will be our position in that eternal kingdom when we get there? If we take the reward of the least among the blessed for our unit, then, whether our ecstacy of happiness and our delirium of delgiht is to be represented by ten, or one hundred, or one thousand, or ten thousand, depends (within limits) upon ourselves. In other words, we know

that while breath lasts, we may always keep adding and adding to the amount of our acquired grace, and, further, that to every degree of grace there is annexed a corresponding degree of eternal glory, each particle of which outvalues ten thousand worlds, besides being eternal and imperishable; in such wise, that we may say, in sober truth, that it depends upon ourselves whether, throughout untold ages, which our mind grows dizzy in imagining, God is to be better known by us, better loved, and more fully enjoyed. We know all this, as we know that the oak depends upon the acorn; but what is so lamentable is that our knowledge of the one fact seems to influence us about as little as our knowledge of the other.

We are not consistent. We neither think, nor speak, nor act as becomes men who sincerely lay these truths to heart. Who, indeed, watching our lives and following us as we go about our daily avocations, would for one instant dream that we are conscious of the fact—that we are positively *hic et nunc* laying down the foundations and drawing out the plan of an interminable future? Who would imagine—viewing our conduct—that we are conscious that our actions and thoughts are all stamping, with an indelible mark, our life beyond the grave, and helping, in a very real way, to make or to mar a career which is simply endless and without termination. Yet it must be acknowledged that not one of us has any manner of doubt on the subject, when it is fairly put before us.

That the future has its root in the present; that time is the seed of eternity; and that "as a man sows, so he shall reap"—are truths which no Catholic ever dreams of disputing.

In a word, inconsistency marks our lives, is the badge of all our tribe, and extends to almost everything supernatural. I have touched upon three instances, and I might have touched upon three thousand; but let these suffice, for I must hurry on to our next point. Enough, I think, has been said to show that we are inconsistent; the next question that suggests itself is—

II.

Whence comes this extraordinary and deplorable contrast between our belief on the one hand, and our practice on the other? Why is it that we act so unreasonably? How are we to account for it?

It would seem at the first glance that, as a matter of fact, we don't really believe; it seems so impossible that we can inwardly accept the teaching of the Church, and still act so diametrically against it. But yet so it is, for there can be no doubt as to the sincerity and genuine faith of many who sin even grievously. We are all bound either to acknowledge the truths of revelation, or else to cease calling ourselves Catholics. The plain statement of our position is that we do *believe;* but we do *not realize.* This, at once, goes a long way to explain the anomaly; for truths affect us only in so far as they come home to us, and most truths of faith don't come home to us at all. For the most part it is like proposing an abstract truth to the undeveloped mind of a child; or it is as though we should inform a school-boy that the nearest fixed star is more than 19,000,000,000,000 of miles off. He will accept the doctrine readily enough; but his brain can conjure up no adequate image of such a distance. He believes; but he does not really *know* what it is he believes. He may have some idea of nineteen miles; but nineteen millions of million of miles confuses and puzzles him, and produces no definite impression on his brain. Only after a long habit of comparing and contrasting, can he gain some faint idea of such a distance. So is it in the spiritual world; the great truths of Faith affect us so little because so little realized. To believe with a mere implicit adhesion of the mind may be enough for the fulfilment of the precept of divine Faith; but that the various dogmas may influence our life, and spur us on to action, and give force to our will, and firmness to our resolutions, and power in temptation, and courage under trial, besides being believed, they must also be to some extent realized—they must enter into the mind, and shine out with a certain brilliancy and lustre of their own, and shed a light and a warmth in the centre of the heart. Could we only

succeed in mastering the truths of revelation, we would speedily find ourselves supplied with motives abundant and powerful enough to convert even the most indifferent of us into saints and heroes. The motives that exist to induce us to serve God are not merely exceedingly numerous, but they are also of an extraordinary and irresistible power, only they are ordinarily (if I may so express myself) allowed to lie beyond the field of vivid consciousness. If, however, we were to bestir ourselves, and to try to draw them within the inner circle of our mind, they are so excessively cogent and persuasive of their own nature that, without actually forcing the will, we may say they would become, in practice, all but irresistible. We may read this truth in the life of every saint; and there are moments and periods in our lives when we may have perhaps experienced it ourselves.

The more we consider the matter, the more convinced we shall be that it is not by believing anything fresh—not by adding to the articles of our creed, or discovering any new motives—that we shall be moved to change our lives, but that it can only be by the keener realization of the old truths familiar from childhood, and which we have known ever since we first began to know anything.

III.

Let me give an instance of what I mean from the life of the great St. Francis Borgia, once a gallant courtier and man of the world, and afterwards a religious, a priest and a saint Now, his conversion is attributed, not to the discovery of any new truths, but simply and solely to a circumstance which brought vividly before his mind, and strongly illuminated, what were very old truths indeed: it was the sight of the dead body of the renowned Isabella, Empress of Spain.

She died at Toledo, and her remains were conveyed in a leaden coffin to Granada. On their arrival, Francis and the magistrates of the city were convened in order to take an official oath that the remains were really those of the empress. The coffin was accordingly opened, and the body exposed to view; the sight that met his eyes converted

Francis, and transformed him into a saint. Yet observe, he learned nothing really new. He needed no one to tell him that Isabella was mortal; that her glory must perish and her beauty fade. Suppose one had asked him, as he gazed upon his sovereign in the fullness of her health and strength: "Will those eyes that now glisten so brightly one day grow fixed and glassy, and those ruddy lips shrink, stiffen and decay? Will those small white hands, so delicately and wondrously wrought from the clay, ever to clay return?" Had one asked him: "Will that royal heart—that seat of all that is noblest and best—one day stop its beating and grow still for ever?" He would have replied unhesitatingly: "Yes;" undoubtedly, "yes." He believed those truths then as firmly as now, only not so vividly. This superficial knowledge did not act upon his life or spur him on to struggle for sanctity and a greater detachment from the world; but when death at last came, and he actually witnessed the change it brought—when he, with the bright and beauteous form of his queen still haunting his memory like a beautiful dream, lifted the ponderous lid and gazed upon the hideous and distorted corpse, and smelt the sickening exhalations and the fetid odour exuding from every pore, pah! and touched the cold, clammy clay, now fast resolving into its primordial elements—he learned a lesson not easily forgotten.

When he considered that ghastly heap of mouldering flesh, as it was but yesterday, clothed with the royal diadem of state, hung with precious robes, adorned with gold, and jewels of priceless worth, honoured, praised, courted, and cared for, the cynosure of all eyes, the observed of all observers, and then—contrasted it with what it had now become, he not merely knew, believed, and acknowledged, but he realized and was made intimately conscious of the transitory nature of all earthly things, and of the vanity of beauty, rank, power, wealth, and dominion: truths which had so long but skimmed over the surface of his soul, as a mere film, now penetrated into its centre: the lesson sank deep down into his heart. Up to this it had never been properly learnt, now it burnt itself, as it were, into his very being, branding itself on his heart with letters of fire. The

result was he changed his life, and consecrated himself wholly and unreservedly to God. Returning to his chamber he locked himself in, and passed the whole night prostrate in prayer, shedding many torrents of bitter tears. "Ah! fool that I am!" he exclaimed, "What am I struggling for? How much longer shall I waste my time in pursuit of mere shadows and unsubstantial nothings! All is worthless that passes with time: all is vanity and vexation of spirit but the love and service of God." He bid an eternal farewell to the vanities and pleasures of the world: he quitted the court, and entered upon a new course of serving God with the utmost fervour, and bound himself by oath, should he survive his consort, to enter a religious state of life. The impression produced on his mind by what he had seen, continued strong and undiminished, we are assured by his biographer, during the three and thirty years he survived, and exercised its influence to the last.

The special point that I am anxious that my readers should carry away with them and clearly grasp is that St. Francis was not converted by learning anything he did not already know, but merely by vividly realizing a truth which was familiar from his childhood. He was converted by an old truth, but an old truth appealing to him in a new and very striking manner: an old truth illuminated by an unusually strong and lurid light.

What follows. Well this; that, if we are to be converted from a tepid, careless, listless life, we must not merely believe, but our faith must be lively, bright, clear, and penetrating, in a word we must accustom ourselves to think—to ponder over the invisible truths, and to meditate assiduously. The reason why pleasures, honour, amusements, wealth, and other objects by which the world tempt us, have such power over many—not excluding some of us priests—is that they force themselves upon our notice; they are so obtrusive, so self-asserting, so perpetually ringing their changes in our ears; whereas the spiritual motives offered to us by God are quite the reverse: they are invisible, intangible, beyond the reach of sense, and only come to those who seek them. We shall never advance till we acquaint ourselves more thoroughly

with the truths we profess. The fact is, we are all living in a sort of dream. We see, speak, and move among what is unsubstantial, unreal, and shadowy, and the great spiritual world which fades not with time is all about us, and we know it not. Until indeed we consider it worth our while to devote to the contemplation of eternal things, some of those long hours which we lavish so readily and so prodigally upon temporal things we must not, it appears to me, expect to make much progress. The *invisible* can never influence our conduct nor be a motive of action *while it remains invisible.* It must be made visible . . . visible to the eyes of faith by meditation. The analogy between the body and the soul in regard to their respective nourishment is very striking. Food may be in the greatest abundance all around us, but unless it be eaten, digested, and assimilated into the system, it will never strengthen or nourish the body; so is it with the spiritual food of the soul, which is divine truth: till we are prepared to digest it, and meditate upon it, and turn it over in our minds, and familiarize ourselves with it, it will never spur us on to great deeds. "It is only those," as Father Faber so beautifully says, "who are ever conversant with the great things that God has done for them, who will ever be inspired to do great things for the love of Him."

There is evidently but one conclusion to which we can come. We must not merely assent coldly to truths proposed; we must strive to apprehend them and give them an actuality. They must be as real to us as the daylight and the sunshine. We must resolve to direct our thoughts in an especial manner each day, for a certain fixed time, to some one or another of the great truths. It is the surest, the simplest, the most direct means of acquiring sanctity here and eternal glory hereafter. Hence all the saints, without exception, both practised it themselves and exhorted others to do the same. Suarez, one of the greatest theologians, declares it to be morally necessary for all who wish to rise above mere mediocrity. St. Ignatius makes it the basis and foundation of the spiritual life of his order. St. Teresa, that marvellous mistress of the interior life, insists upon it above and before all things. She declares it

to be impossible for anyone to practise meditation and at the same time to continue leading a sinful and tepid life. He must either abandon tepidity or he must abandon meditation. The two cannot go on together. But why speak of the saints? Has not a far higher authority already spoken in the same sense? Has not the Holy Spirit promised immunity from the only evil we need fear if we only reflect upon the great truths? "Think of thy last end, and thou shalt never sin." Nay, more, does He not (speaking by the mouth of His prophet) ascribe the widespread sinfulness and wickedness of the world to an absence of this practice, and to nothing else? "With desolation is the whole world laid desolate, *because* there is no man who considereth in his heart."

Is any further proof needed? If we are sincerely anxious to attain to true sanctity, and to enjoy God for all eternity, we surely cannot neglect so powerful and simple a means. One thing is, at all events, clear, viz., a person who cares little about the means, cares little about the end. It is very easy to delude ourselves in this matter. But it is a mere piece of self-deception to flatter ourselves that we really desire to lead holy and innocent lives if we begrudge even one half hour a day spent in meditation. Let us apply this test, and if we cannot bring ourselves to undertake, even though it may be with some inconvenience, daily meditation, we should, at least, be honest enough to acknowledge that our desire of perfection is very weak, and only extends to the length of doing what will cost us little or nothing.

If the Editor will permit, it is my hope to develop this subject a little more fully in a future paper.

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

ENAGHDUNE, CO. GALWAY.—I.

ABOUT eight miles north of Galway, on the eastern shore of Lough Corrib, lies a group of ecclesiastical ruins that bear silent but eloquent testimony to the by-gone glories of Enaghdune, or, as it is now called, Annadown. Indeed, though the barony of Clare, in which these ruins lie, is thickly strewn with monuments of Ireland's former monastic greatness, and the remains of Cloonfush and Teampail-Jarlath, Kilcooney, Killursa and Killearny recall memories of Jarlath, founder and patron of the diocese of Tuam; of Cuanna, a great abbot, scholar, and patron of learning, and brother of St. Carthage of Lismore; of Fursey, the great missionary to Saxon and Gaul, whose bones were laid to rest in the distant land of his adoption; and of Eany, whom a great authority, Dr. O'Donovan, has identified with the celebrated Enda of Arran: yet well may we say that the mouldering pile of Annadown, with its traditions and memorials of Brendan and Briga, of Cormac and Columbkille, is the most interesting object in the entire locality.

It is not, perhaps, so much that a halo of scholastic and missionary glory hangs over the place, such as causes us to look back with thrilling yet reverent interest upon the great centres of missionary and literary life in the early centuries of Ireland's Christianity, but rather that the story of Annadown is the history, as it were, in miniature, of the Mother Church; the varying fortunes, the lights and shadows of both are practically the same; the early religious fervour; its decadence during the centuries of Danish disturbance; the uprise and diffusion of the mendicant and other orders under Irish and Anglo-Norman patronage; the age of suppression and penal law; and the survival of the faith, vigorous and fruitful as ever: all are here faithfully mirrored forth.

A French poet has given beautiful expression to the effect which ruins such as these are calculated to produce upon a thoughtful visitor as, with reverent steps, he traverses

the cloisters hallowed by the life-long devotions of fervent worshippers:—

"Eh! qui n'a parcouru d'un pas melancolique
Le dôme abandonné, la vieille basilique
Où devant l'Eternel s'inclinaient ses aïeux?
Ces débris eloquents, ce seuil religieux,
Ce seuil où tant de fois, le front dans la poussière,
Gémit le repentir, espera la prière;
Ce long rang de tombeaux, que la mousse a couvert
Ces vases inutilés, et ce comble entr'ouvert,
Du temps et de la mort, tout proclame l'empire:
Frappé de son néant, l'homme observe et soupire,
L'imagination, à ces murs devastés
Rend leur encens, leur culte et leurs solemnités;
A travers tout un siècle écoute le cantiques
Que la religion chantait sous ces portiques."

Yes! imagination bodies forth once more the forms of by-gone generations; the church once more resounds with sweet-toned psalmody; the voice of master is heard in the school; the cloisters are re-peopled with cowled and sandalled figures; the busy fingers of the scribe ply the pen of knowledge; the echoes are awakened by the ringing blows of the cunning artist, who deftly fashions some beautiful device in the yielding limestone:—But, alas! it is all a day-dream—the place is only peopled by the dead—the reality is an unbroken solitude; or if, perchance, any voices do break upon the ear, they accord with the solemn stillness of the place, for they are of those who bewail or pray for the departed faithful!

In connection with the venerable remains of Annadown, the chief figure to whom interest attaches is, of course, the original founder, St. Brendan of Clonfert, or, as he is often called, St. Brendan the *Navigator*. It may be well to note briefly a few salient points of his history. Born, as is generally admitted, in Kerry, probably in the present parish of Annagh, near Tralee, he received his early religious and secular training from St. Erc, Bishop of Slane, and from St. Ita, the Bridget of Munster, as she is sometimes called. By her advice, while yet a youth, he travelled into Connaught and placed himself under the guidance of St. Jarlath, in the

famous Monastery of Cloonfuish. There, St. Finnian, who afterwards became notable as founder of the still more famous monastic school of Clonard, was for a time his fellow-disciple; and in this latter place St. Brendan also spent some time in preparation for his life's work. From Clonard he proceeded, by St. Ita's advice, as a missionary to Brittany; and while there he made his first monastic foundation. While in the West of Ireland, he had often listened with deep attention to traditions of a far-off visionary land, and his heart was fired with zeal to carry to its benighted inhabitants the grand tidings of Christianity. When he was about sixty years of age his purpose took definite form, and in the year 545 he embarked upon his perilous enterprise. We can better imagine than describe the perils he underwent, and the difficulties he had to surmount during the long and weary voyage in a small and frail barque, and over treacherous and unknown seas, until at last, like Æneas of old, having toiled bravely on—

"Per varios casus et tot discrimina rerum,"

he caught sight of the land he sought. At length, "his vessel, impelled by a miraculous current, reached a shore where he and his companions found a charming climate and lovely birds. They walked into the interior for fifteen days; but when about to cross a great river, were warned back by an angel, who said that they had gone far enough, and that it was reserved for other men and other times to Christianize the land." Thus the legends run; which, no doubt, are founded on fact, so far, at least, as the voyage and its objects are concerned. Having returned to Ireland, after an absence of seven years, he settled down to practical work. The first and chief of his foundations was Clonfert, where he resided. For this monastery, and others connected with it, he drew up a "particular rule, which was so highly esteemed as to be observed for many centuries by his successors, and was believed to have been written at the dictation of an angel." We are told that in the monasteries founded by himself he held spiritual sway, as Abbot of Clonfert, over three thousand monks. The monastery founded by him at Annadown was

for women; and over it, as abbess, he placed his own sister, St. Briga. Some authors say that, towards the end of his life, he paid a visit to St. Columba in his Scottish home. He died A.D. 577, in the ninety-third year of his age, at Annadown, and a beautiful tradition tells that St. Columba, standing on the bleak shore of Iona, "suddenly saw the heavens open, and the angelic choirs, whose brilliancy illumined the world in one instant, descend towards earth to meet his soul."

That St. Brendan was highly favoured by heaven and much revered on earth two other remarkable traditions tell. The first is narrated by O'Clery in the *Martyrology of Donegal*—One day, about fourteen years before his death, he was after Mass and sermon, and still upon the altar, when he was visited by St. Michael the Archangel, who remained with him a full day, and charmed the saint by pouring forth a flood of celestial melody. Having been so regaled, St. Brendan could never again bear to listen to, much less could he enjoy, any earthly music. Once only did he relax—upon an Easter day, when he permitted a youthful musician to play for him upon the harp; but the contrast between the strains of earth and those of heaven was so great that the sweet music of the harper only grated upon his ear. He blessed him for his effort and good will; but ever after he was wont to stuff his ears so as to shut out all melody of earth, and would admit only that of heaven.

The second tradition is of earth, and is recorded by Lynch. After death the remains of St. Brendan were translated for interment from Annadown, where he died, to his own monastery of Clonfert—a distance of twenty Irish miles; and the concourse of people who gathered from all sides to do honour to his memory was so great that the head of the funeral *cortége* had reached Clonfert before the rear had left Annadown: "Qui agmen ducebant Clonfertam ante pervenerunt quam illud claudentes Enaghduna pedem extulerint." So did the Irish people reverence the relics of the saints in the early Christian days!

The noble pile of ruins, which, at least indirectly, owes its origin to St. Brendan, lies north of a small creek on the

eastern shore of Lough Corrib, and consists of two separate portions—an abbey for men, which is the most striking object, and, distant from it a few hundred yards to the north-east, the remains of a convent for women. On the south side of the creek are some remains of a somewhat later date, consisting of a well-preserved De Burgo castle and the crumbled walls of the episcopal palace; for the ecclesiastical history of Annadown has a two-fold aspect. With the monastic remains we are mainly concerned just now. Needless to say they are in a wofully dilapidated condition—so much so, indeed, that an antiquarian of such eminence as Sir W. Wilde could with difficulty conjecture the plan of either of the buildings or distinguish the separate parts. A slight improvement, indeed, has taken place since the date of his visit, for the Board of Works has spent some money in clearing away accumulated rubbish, and otherwise in restoring stones and collecting fragments. But the most that can be said regarding these once famous and richly decorated establishments is that they are noble but utterly dismantled and decayed ruins.

From the *Book of Ballymote* we learn that Annadown was conferred on God and St. Brendan by Aodha, son of Eochy III., king of Connaught; and other authorities, such as Ussher and Ware, tells us that St. Brendan founded there a monastery for women, over which he placed his sister, St. Briga. When or by whom St. Briga was trained to monastic life we are not told, and, indeed, what is usually stated regarding her is very much matter of conjecture. Neither have we any certain knowledge regarding *the rule* under which the nuns of Annadown were placed; but it seems probable that St. Brendan, having been in early life on terms of friendship with St. Bridget, would not overlook the rules and constitutions formed or sanctioned by so great a saint, and at the time widespread throughout Ireland. How long St. Briga's convent flourished, or whether in the course of centuries it escaped the attention of the ruthless Danes, is also a matter hidden from our knowledge. We know from the *Annals of the Four Masters* that the Danes of Limerick, in the year 927, "took possession of Lough

Orbsen and pillaged its islands," and it can hardly be doubted that the peaceful retreat of Annadown was invaded in one of their wild incursions, and that the chant of praise gave way to the ribald jests and fierce oaths of those pitiless barbarians, and mayhap to the death shriek of some of its innocent occupants. However this may be, it is matter of certainty that changes of great moment took place in the lapse of centuries. Sir W. Wilde, whose antiquarian skill cannot be questioned, and who carefully examined the existing ruins, assures us that there does not now exist "any remnant of that peculiar masonry that marked the period when St. Brendan died here or when St. Meldan was Abbot or Bishop of Lough Orbsen." He is of opinion that the present conventual remains stand on the site of the original nunnery, and are of a very much later date.

An inquiry of some interest is here suggested. Archdall, under the heading *Enaghdune*, tells us in a rather vague statement that "an abbey was founded here in a remote age, for as early as the seventh century we find that St. Meldan was Abbot or Bishop of Lough Orbsen or Lough Corrib. His feast is observed on the 7th February. This evidently has reference to a monastery for men. Now, Ware tells us that the monastery founded by St. Brendan for his sister was the first building erected at Annadown. The question then arises was there also a monastery for men built here by St. Brendan or anybody else, and presided over by St. Meldan? Except in the above obscure passage in Archdall, I can find no mention of such; and I conceive that he must have been led astray by the following circumstance:—It is certain that St. Brendan founded a monastery for men in the Island of Innisquin, in Lough Corrib, where St. Fursey received his early religious training and St. Brendan himself passed the latter years of his life. Regarding this establishment, Archdall himself has the following definite statement in the *Monasticon*:—"St. Brendan erected an abbey in Inis-mac-hua-Quinn, and made St. Meldan, one of his disciples, abbot. St. Meldan died some time before the year 626 A.D. His festival is held on the 7th *February*." Other authorities, such as O'Flaherty, make similar statements.

The monastery, then, over which St. Meldan ruled, was not at Annadown, but in Innisquin, which is distant about six miles from Annadown. The only monastery at Annadown was St. Briga's. The confusion must have arisen from the spiritual link that bound the two institutions together, and from the fact that the district over which St. Meldan ruled as bishop took its name at one time from Lough Orbsen, and at another time from Annadown, whither the episcopal chair was in course of time removed.

The most definite statement we find connected with this convent is that in the year 1195 Pope Celestine III., by a *Bull* dated February 26th, "did confirm this church, together with the town of Kilgell, to the nuns of the Order of Aroacia." This would seem to convey that these nuns were already in possession. Kilgell, formerly a somewhat important place, is now a small village, distant some six miles from Annadown, having still extant some ecclesiastical remains of ancient date, used as a burial place for children, and which may have been connected with the Aroacian nunnery.

The Order of Aroacia is of French origin, and dates from the end of the twelfth century. Its founder was Gervais, a contemporary of St. Bernard, and the rule they followed was that of St. Augustine. De Burgo, in his *Hibernia Dominicana* says, that there were thirty-six houses in Ireland of canonesses of St. Augustine, of which the Convent of Annadown was probably one. The Order of Aroacia must have spread very rapidly indeed; when we find a convent of that order in a remote part of Ireland within a few years of its foundation. In the thirteenth century this convent must have been in a very flourishing condition, for we are told that in the year 1238, a steeple, which some suppose to have been a round tower, was built in connection with it. There is nothing whatever about the place to indicate the existence at any time of a round tower, so that the steeple or belfry must have taken some other form. For several centuries successive generations of nuns pursued the even tenor of conventual life—multiplying and illuminating books, instructing the ignorant, edifying all by their lives of prayer and self-

restraint, and so making secure their eternal salvation. But at last the sad epoch of plunder and suppression came; the nuns were forced to leave their peaceful home; and the nunnery of Annadown, together with the monasteries of Clonthuskert, Aghrim, St. John Baptist, Tuam, Kilcrevaun, Roserrily, Loughrea, and Kilbought, together with their belongings, were made over to Richard, Earl of Clanricarde, subject to the yearly rent of £68 9*s.* 6*d.* payable, not to the rightful owners, but to the Crown. This was in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Elizabeth, A.D. 1584.

Co-existent with the Aroacian convent, and dating from the early years of the thirteenth century, and probably confiscated by the same order, was the noble abbey dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, under the title of *Sancta Maria de Portu Patrum.* The remains of this building form the most important part of the existing pile. It can hardly be doubted that this was an abbey for Premonstratensian Canons, an order founded in France by St. Norbert, before he became Archbishop of Magdeburg, and solemnly approved by Pope Honorius II., A.D. 1126. This order spread with great rapidity, and had thirty-five houses in the British Isles. Archdall, on the authority of Ware, distinctly states that *Sancta Maria de Portu Patrum* was a house of this order; though M'Geoghegan affirms that it was a house of Augustinian canons, and a branch of the Augustinian Abbey of Tuam. There certainly was an Augustinian monastery at Tuam, known as the Priory of St. John the Baptist; but there was also the Premonstratensian Abbey of the Holy Trinity, founded directly from the mother house at Premonstre. It seems to be certain that the Annadown Abbey was a branch of Abbey Trinity rather than of St. John's Priory. However this may be, the difference between the orders was one more of name than of reality, for they both belonged to the general class of Augustinian canons.

That the tenor of their existence was not always as even, and their thoughts and energies centred as completely in purely ecclesiastical or monastic matters as monks might be supposed to wish, and that while striving after their eternal inheritance they did not overlook material interests, is proved

by a contention that took place between themselves and one of the bishops of Annadown, in the early part of the fourteenth century. The monks by some means had obtained possession of a messuage containing twenty acres of arable land, six of meadow, forty of wood, twenty of moor, and sixty of pasture in the townland of Shankill, which the bishop conceived to pertain of right to the cathedral church. Such a quantity of land was no doubt a matter of great importance to the bishop on the one hand and to the monks on the other, and we need not wonder that the contention regarding the right of ownership was warmly carried on. I find no mention of the tribunal before which the case was tried. If before the ecclesiastical tribunal of the Metropolitan, the decision might be availed of by friend or foe to extol or impeach his impartiality; for while he was unfriendly to the Bishop of Annadown on the one hand, on the other he claimed the bishopric as part of his own diocese, and probably would claim the cathedral belongings too. So that his sense of justice could not well be trusted by either side. The temporalities of the bishopric were at this time in the gift of the *Crown*, and probably the case was decided by a lay tribunal. But the result was favourable to the bishop. In what year and in what circumstances the abbey was suppressed I do not find stated; as I have said above, it probably did not survive the Aroacian Convent.

Besides the institutions already mentioned the chroniclers tell of a Franciscan Monastery which was the head of a custody, and had extensive jurisdiction over the other houses of Connaught and Ulster. Strange to say there is no trace, that I can find, of such an establishment; for there are absolutely no local traditions regarding it. The Franciscan abbeys of Rosserrily, Clare Galway, Galway, and Clare Tuam—each of them distant only a few miles—still exist as majestic ruins, or their sites at least are well known. These monasteries too are frequently mentioned in the ordinary authors—Annadown is not so. It seems strange that Annadown having been a house of superior jurisdiction, should receive such scanty notice. But except in Archdall, and what evidently is copied from him, I can find nothing definite. He indeed

does state that at a place called *Killian Bonaina* in Galway, there was a notable house of the Third Order of Franciscans. There is a burial place for infants within the precincts of the present parish, and only a couple of miles from Annadown, called Killian, and which from its situation the epithet *Bonaina* would precisely suit. This may have been the site of the Franciscan Monastery, though now there are few, if any, traces of the building. The difficulty of name would be very slight; for everyone can understand how the name of a place of note, such as Annadown, would be substituted for that of one less well known in its vicinity.

The latest religious establishment was the College of St. Brendan, which provided maintenance for four priests or vicars when it was in its hey-day. Presumably these gentlemen had charge of the spiritual interests of the place and were the successors of those who in the episcopal times formed the Cathedral Chapter. It is a strange fact that this institution was overlooked by Queen Elizabeth and her minions when dealing out their decrees of suppression and confiscation against the other religious houses of Annadown; for otherwise, poor as it undoubtedly was, it would not have been exempted from the common lot. But its day of grace was prolonged only for a little and the end approached slowly but surely. Meanwhile its staff of vicars had, for one cause or another, fallen off, and when last we hear of it in the evil days of Elizabeth, Clement Skerrett and Thady M'Ingllis were its sole clerical occupants. The possessions of the college were at one time considerable for the time and place. But in the days of the above-mentioned priests the surroundings were not imposing. We are informed that then the possessions of the college were a church in ruins, a small cemetery, a garden and half an acre of land on which a few labourers' cottages had been erected but which at this time were untenanted and consequently without value. There was also immediately attached to the college about twenty acres of wet pasture land. The college, then, or at some previous period, had a number of tenants who grazed their cattle on pastures common to themselves and to the townsmen—and the scope must have been considerable;

for we learn that twenty-three *quarters* of tithes belonged to the college—each quarter being of the value of £3 6*s.* 0*d.*, Irish currency of that period, and distributed as follows over even wide-spreading townlands:—

Town and Chapel of Annagh ...	2	quarters.
Cahirmorris	4	,,
Balrobuck	4	,,
Kylgyle (Kilgill)	4	,,
Ballynacowley (Wood village) ...	1	,,
Drumgriffin	4	,,
Clonboo	4	,,

When this college was established, or by whom, I do not find distinctly recorded. It seems probable, however, that on the definitive union of the See of Annadown with that of Tuam the cathedral church of the former was established as a collegiate church, with its chapter and other belongings, and so that a faint resemblance of the glory that had passed away still clung to it. This conjecture is to some extent borne out by an official report presumably of the then archbishop, forwarded to Rome in 1555, before the storm of persecution had developed the fulness of its fury. This report describes Annadown as "a small unfortified town distant four or five miles from Tuam. It has a small cathedral under the invocation of St. Brendan, with its dean, archdeacon, and some canons attached, who, however, do not reside there. The cathedral is quite abandoned and only one mass is offered up there on festival days; there is also a tower with a cemetery; and one chalice and one vestment; the diocese is very small and is situated among wild and evil men." At this period the See of Annadown was permanently annexed to Tuam. Soon the final crash came, the light of the sanctuary was extinguished for ever, and with it the flickering flame which betokened but feebly the steady and brilliant light of former days.

And now standing unroofed and abandoned in the little cemetery like the spirit of evil in the holy place,—a contrast to all its surroundings and a monument of oppression and yet of failure—is a not unpretentious Protestant church built on the probable site of the old cathedral and of the

materials of the more ancient edifices. It testifies unmistakably to the barbarous spirit in which the work of confiscation and destruction was effected—for it has for its oriel window a magnificently designed and wrought setting, taken stone by stone from the adjoining abbey. But as if ominous of the impropriety of the transfer and of the ruin that was sure to follow, one of its sculptured stones was falsely set. The hopes of those who raised this building, if fixed upon a spiritual harvest, were, like those of others elsewhere, doomed to be quickly blighted. And we may hope that even still the guardian spirits of Brendan and Briga, and of the countless hidden saints of Annadown hover round the place and keep faithful guard over their once fair possessions. For at this day there is not, nor has there been for years, a Protestant in the parish, save the parson and his immediate family. Let us hope that, if the institutions of Annadown are altogether of the past, their spirit may survive for ever.

This much have I gleaned with difficulty and set down crudely regarding those interesting ruins. The crumbling walls of the bishop's palace remind us of another phase of Annadown's history which must be kept for another paper.

JOHN MACHALE, C.C.

THE TEMPORAL POWER.—II.

IS IT NECESSARY?

THE answer to this question is contained in the following words of Pius IX.: "the temporal dominion of the Popes is of such a nature as in the present order of Providence, is believed to be necessary and indispensable for the free exercise of the Catholic Apostolate."[1]

Before we begin to prove this statement it will be well to explain our terms. A thing may be necessary in two senses, either *absolutely* or *relatively*. Whatever is absolutely necessary

[1] Pius IX. protest, 14 Feb. 1849.

for the Church is essential to it, so that it cannot exist without it. It is absolutely necessary, for instance, according to the divine institution that it be guided by an infallible or unerring head. If the temporal power were absolutely necessary the Church should cease to exist with it. This would be both religiously and historically false; religiously, for when Christ instituted his Church he only committed the supreme spiritual power to Peter; historically, in as much as the Church during the first three centuries, and the last eighteen years has actually existed without it, which would be impossible if the temporal dominion were absolutely necessary. When we say therefore that it is necessary, it must be understood relatively, namely, that under the existing circumstances of human society, it is necessary for the free exercise of the apostolic ministry, and for the conservation and propagation of the Catholic doctrine. In a word, the spiritual power of the Pope suffers serious detriment by his being deprived of the temporal sovereignty. As the spirit of a man cannot be subdued or broken in by binding him in chains, though he suffer serious detriment therefrom, so the spiritual power of the Vicar of Christ remains essentially intact, even when separated from that temporal sovereignty which is necessary for its free exercise. But he who represents the greatest moral power on earth, on whose subjects the sun never sets, and whose ministry is absolutely necessary for the salvation of men, cannot without serious injury to the spiritual interests of those whom he governs, be subject to any human authority. He who was commanded by Christ to confirm his brethren in faith, cannot exist in a state of subjection to men, who are too often swayed by passion, self interest, and false policy, to war against justice and religion.

Perhaps one of the most cogent arguments to prove this can be deduced from the very nature of human societies. Every society has a special end in view, which in general terms, is some common good to be obtained for the individuals who compose it. Since the nature of the society depends on that end, it follows that the superiority of one society over another depends on the superiority of its end.

The end of one society may be superior to that of another in two ways. Intrinsically, in itself, when it is more excellent and necessary, or extrinsically in its operation, when it extends to a greater number of individuals who are enabled to participate in it. Thus, for instance, a State is intrinsically superior to a commercial society, because the former aims at procuring *all* that conduces to the temporal happiness of a people, whilst the latter has for its scope the good *only* that proceeds from an increase of opulence. The State is also extrinsically superior, because it has for its end the good of all the individuals in it, whilst the commercial society is limited to some. Since, therefore, the State is superior, and the commercial society inferior, it follows, that if they exist together, or if the same individuals are subjects of both societies, the inferior must be subordinated to the superior society, in all that is necessary for the carrying out of its end.

Now let us apply this principle to the Church in its relation to the civil power. Of all the societies that exist, or have ever existed amongst men, there is none whose end is so excellent and necessary, or whose operation extends to so many individuals, as that of the Roman Catholic Church. The end for which Jesus Christ instituted it—the glory of God in the salvation of men—is supreme, supernatural, and absolutely necessary. It is superior to the ends of all other societies, as the spiritual is superior to the material, as the infinite surpasses the finite, as eternal is superior to temporal happiness. Hence as the various ends to which a man tends must be subordinated according to this relative necessity, so the various societies to which he may belong must, as we have seen, be likewise subordinated, so that the first and most independent, because the most necessary, must be that which tends to the eternal welfare of man. Therefore because of the intrinsic superiority of its end, the Church should be independent of all other societies, and the latter should be subordinated to it in everything that affects the accomplishment of the end for which it was instituted. Its operation also extends to a greater number of individuals, for it was instituted for the benefit of the whole human race. Hence the Roman Catholic Church, as a society, is in every sense superior

to all other societies existing in the world, and must therefore be independent of them, otherwise we should have the strange incongruity of a superior society existing in a state of subjection to an inferior. That independence of the Church must be real, not apparent, which implies that it must be possessed of a temporal sovereignty.

The force of this argument will appear still clearer, if we consider that the Pope must be either an independent king, or an Italian, a Frenchman, an Austrian, etc. That very title of nationality takes from him his character of universal Pontiff. His position as common father of all the Catholics throughout the world, claims for him that he should be free from all restraint, and independent of all local influences. A Pope subject to Napoleon, would not have been respected by any of the powers that opposed him, nor would a pontiff subject to the house of Austria be obeyed either on the banks of the Vistula or of the Seine.

Suppose for a moment the Pope were a Frenchman, and subject to that government, his decrees or commands would no longer have the same force. In other nations, especially if not acceptable, they would be interpreted as the result of French diplomacy, exercised with a view to giving offence. The Pope would be represented as the instrument of the French government, and his instructions would be received with diffidence, especially by the enemies of the king, who claimed the Pope for his subject. Malignant persons would find injurious interpretations for every act of the Supreme Pontiff, to represent him as the dupe of the civil power; and all this would tend to lessen his authority, to open the field for rebellion amongst his subjects, and to foment discord between nation and nation. There is no prejudice so strong as that which springs from nationality, and in our hypothesis the strongest national prejudices would be brought to play against every Papal act.

In case of war, if the French government saw, as no doubt it would, that the immense moral influence of the Pope could be politically useful to them, they would leave no stone unturned to obtain it, or at least to prevent any other power profiting by it. The Pope would be completely at

their mercy, and they would not fail to make him feel it. Is it not, therefore, in the interests of every Christian nation to place him in a position of independence? Is not such a position necessary for him for the full and free exercise of that mission that he has received from God?

The temporal dominion is also necessary from a political point of view. One of the most appropriate and important duties that have, from time to time, devolved on the Supreme Pontiff is that of acting as arbitrator between hostile nations. If he were in a state of subjection to any of the powers that would be impossible. A pope subject to Charles V. would not have been accepted as arbitrator by Francis I., nor would a Spanish subject have been selected by Bismarck to arbitrate in the question of the Caroline Islands. To treat such questions it is necessary that the various governments be represented diplomatically at the Vatican. How could this be possible if the Pope had no power to protect the ambassadors to the Holy See? If the nation were at war, the ambassadors should retire, and that is the time, of all others, when they are most needed.

What is more necessary in Europe at present than some sovereign power to arbitrate, when necessary, between hostile nations? Never were such vast preparations and armaments made by all the nations of Europe. Never were governments watching each others' movements with such jealous anxiety as at present. A breach between two nations would cause a terrible European war, and a trifle might cause that. This state of things is increased by the fact that there is no power to appeal to for arbitration, as all the civil powers are compromised on one side or the other. Oftentimes a trifling interference can establish peace in a manner satisfactory for all parties, when war would otherwise have unquestionably resulted. Is it not in the interest of all Christian princes to have some security against being dragged into a fearful and unnecessary war? If so, what greater security could they have than an independent Pope, in unrestrained possession of that legitimate throne which Providence has given him, and of which he held undisputed possession for over a thousand years? His religious and sacred

character, his immense moral power, and the age and noble qualities required to befit him for the Pontificate, are sufficient guarantees of justice and equity. An independent Pontiff alone could afford such security to society. His decision could and should be accepted by all, because uninterested except in the cause of justice. The fact that he has children in all the nations of the world, ensures impartiality and paternal solicitude for all. The dignity of his sacred character, and the high interests of the Church of which he is head, makes it an imperative necessity on him that his decision should not be other than what the whole world could declare most just. On the other hand, the decision of self-interested secular politicians, might well be feared.

I have no doubt people are not wanting who would say, "this is only a Papist's version." No assertion could be further from the truth. Amongst the many who cannot be suspected of partiality for Papists or the Papacy, perhaps one of the most remarkable who has spoken in favour of this idea is Voltaire. In his *Essay on General History*, chapter lx., he says: "The interests of the human race require a check to restrain sovereigns, which would protect the lives of the people; this check, by a universal convention, might be in the hands of the Popes. The Pontiffs, not interfering in temporal questions except as peace-makers, to teach kings and peoples their duties, would be considered as the images of God on earth." We have seen that even from a political point of view the temporal power is necessary for the Pope to fit him for those high duties that society requires of him. This alone would procure for all human societies that order and unity which is the principal source of perfection. As in every perfect piece of machinery there are many component parts that are united with, and depend on, some first moving principle, like the main-spring in a watch, so it should be with the various societies that form the component parts of the great moral machinery of mankind. They should be united in some one authority, from which they all derive their unity and order. That one authority cannot be centred in a person whose jurisdiction is limited by place.

It must be one who has interests to defend, and whose authority is acknowledged, in every country of the world. The Pope alone has such a universal jurisdiction. Hence the only true remedy against tyranny, and all other social disorders, is to be found in placing the Supreme Pontiff in that position which his office naturally claims. This alone can give human society that high perfection of unity that will make it to resemble the Divinity itself, in which, because of its infinite perfection, there must be absolute unity both of substance and attributes.

Another proof of the necessity of the temporal dominion may be found in a comparison between the Roman Catholic and schismatical churches. In fact, while the former has always existed full of youthful vigour, and faithful to the orthodox usages of the earliest times, schismatical denominations have invariably been reduced to a state of utter servility the moment they separated from the one true Church. The cause of the former may be traced to the civil independence of the Popes; and of the latter, to subjection to the State. The Patriarchs of Constantinople were all but independent of the civil power of the emperors as long as they were in union with the Church, and they were respected there as the Popes were respected in Rome. Their influence and power rose to such pre-eminence, that they became for the East what the Popes were for the West. But when they allowed their pride to get the upper hand, broke off their allegiance to the Holy See, and used the power of the emperors to establish their would-be independence, they became at once degraded court creatures, wholly dependant on the civil power, and lost all the glory and prestige they had acquired. What was it that reduced them to be mere instruments of the imperial power the moment they separated from Rome? It was because their civil independence had come from the Pope, in whose power they participated indirectly; and, when they separated from him, they remained completely in the hands of the emperors. The same has been the fate of the Russian schismatical church, and of the German Protestants. Perhaps a more striking example is to be found nearer home in the English church,

which, in spite of all that has been done by a people, who retain more religious principles than any of their schismatical *confréres* to maintain for it a certain independence, has been gradually sinking to the level of a mere national formality, maintained by the government.

If the Catholic Church were thus subjected to the State, it would suffer serious detriment, not indeed in its essence, which is unchangeable, nor in its existence, for it must last to the end of time; but, as a human society, it can be persecuted, buffeted and restricted in many ways, that would impede its necessary apostolate, and limit the spiritual power of its Supreme Head.

Even when the Roman Pontiffs were temporal kings, they met with very great opposition, on the part of sovereigns, in the exercise of their spiritual power. What would it be if the Pope were subject to one of those hostile temporal kings? How often they have opposed the convocation of General Councils, and tried to tamper with their acts when assembled, even when the Popes were independent? If they were dependant, the obstacles and opposition they could oppose would be multiplied, and they could seriously impede the execution of decrees that might be adverse to their passions or private interests. When Pius IX. defined the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, though it was received with joy and exultation throughout the whole Catholic world, Spain, a nation eminently Catholic, and ruled by a Catholic sovereign, opposed and deferred the promulgation of the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus*. This occurred although the Spanish law prescribes the free promulgation of all dogmatic Bulls throughout the kingdom. It is true that neither the queen nor the Catholic people were responsible for that act. It was to be attributed only to the political faction that held the reins of government. Nevertheless, when such opposition is possible, even in an eminently Catholic country, we can easily understand how possible it would be to see the Pope himself impeded, in this primary of all his sacred duties, if he were obliged to live subject to a temporal prince. If the latter were hostile to the definition of some dogma which the Pope considered it necessary in

the interests of religion to define, it is not likely he would be allowed to do so without molestation. Is it not contrary to reason that the chief of the Christian religion should be left at the mercy of men, to interfere and impede him, as their passions or self-interest dictate, in the exercise of his spiritual ministry?

Again, the management of the whole Catholic hierarchy is in the hands of the Pope. He has to appoint bishops all over the world, to communicate with them, and since the religious administration often affects civil matters very materially, he must keep up relations with Governments to treat about whatever concerns the interests of religion. If he were subject to some king, his action in this respect could be very seriously if not altogether impeded. He could only treat with the friends of the sovereign under whose protection he lived. In time of war all communication with the enemies of that prince would be impossible, and any attempted communication would be tampered with. Even in time of peace, what would prevent the civil authorities from finding some pretext to seize on documents, or persons either, to vex the Supreme Pontiff or those with whom he communicated? Past experience shows that such things were possible when the popes were independent.

Moreover, the Supreme Pontiff has to guard the doctrines of the Church against error and ceremonies against innovations. Consequently he has to condemn doctrines contrary to religion or morality, to decide theological questions, to approve and watch over religious communities, and to regulate their relations with the secular clergy, to approve public prayers and devotions, receive appeals and complaints, and to send missionaries to teach and baptise all nations.

Since all these duties are not confined to any one country, but extend over the whole world, it is clear the amount of work entailed is immense. This gives rise to the necessity of having under the immediate control of the Pope several Congregations of very learned and prudent ecclesiastics, whose business it is to investigate the various

questions, and refer the result of their investigation to the Pope. Hence, under the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office, presided over by the Pope himself, there are several others, such as that of the Council for the interpretation of the Decrees of the Council of Trent, of the Bishops and Regulars, the Propaganda Fide, the Index, Rites, Ceremonies, Indulgences, and Holy Relics, etc., each having a special class of subjects to deal with. All these have to be maintained and directed by the Pope, who nominates the cardinal-prefects and the various officials, and appoints a council of cardinals for each. If he were not an independent king, how could the work of all these congregations be carried on without danger, and even certainty of their being often harassed and molested by the Government. Past experience gives us no reason to hope for anything else. It is but a few years since the Italian Government, in defiance of the existing law and without a shadow of legal right, seized on the property of the Propaganda that had been contributed by the generosity of the faithful throughout the world for the propagation of the faith; and this is but one of the many sacrilegious acts, by which they have tried to improve their bankrupt finances. Was not that an injury to Christianity and an insult to those millions of men who acknowledge the Pope for their spiritual head? Nevertheless it was done by the representatives of a nation which has for the first article of its statute "that the Catholic religion be the religion of the State." What they did yesterday they could continue to-day with all the Congregations in Rome. There is no power to prevent them If they do not so, it is not through any particular love for religion, the Pope, or the Congregations. We have said sufficient on this point to show clearly that if the Pope is to exercise his spiritual authority without restriction or hindrance, he must necessarily be an independent king.

During the various ages the Church has existed she has been continually struggling to resist the interference of secular princes in ecclesiastical matters. They have tried to obtain the power to nominate bishops and other dignitaries, and, not succeeding in that, they have endeavoured to

obtain as much influence as possible in regulating such nominations. They have endeavoured to make the bishops more subject to the State than to the Pope; they have laboured to influence the nomination of cardinals, with a view to secure the election of future popes; they have seized the goods of the Church, sold benefices, and in numberless other ways have endeavoured to make the Church subject to their authority. If the Pope, instead of being in a position to resist them as he was then, were obliged to live in a state of subjection to one of those temporal princes, what could he expect? Certainly nothing better than what has been the fate of those schismatical churches that have become totally dependent on the State.

When a Pope dies the College of Cardinals assemble to elect his successor. This election would be of the greatest importance for the rulers of the nation, in which the Pope resided. They would naturally be most anxious to have a weak, submissive prelate elected, from whom they could fear no opposition. Is it possible they would not make use of every stratagem to obtain this? They would have the cardinals completely at their mercy, and undoubtedly would leave no stone unturned to obtain the election of a State favourite. This would give rise to doubts in the Church whether or not the Pope had been canonically elected. Consequently it would open the way for schism and rebellion against his authority. The effect, therefore, of destroying the Pope's temporal power would be to paralyse his spiritual authority. In fact, that is the principal object the Freemasons, whose evil influences permeate almost every class of society in Italy, have in view in depriving the Supreme Pastor of his temporal power. "Let us bind him hand and foot, and then let him do what he can." That is their principle, for they know well that when deprived of his temporal independence, he is a less formidable opponent. The Church has a double power over its subjects, external and internal. For the exercise of the former external independence is necessary. That civil independence is precisely what the Freemasons are sworn to destroy, for they well know that it is the great bulwark of morality, and that if they demolish

it, they have fettered the most determined enemy of their illegal action. That illegal action is directed against all kingly power and social order, and hence those who profess to be supporters of one or other of these should be first the supporters of the Pope's temporal power.

It would be a tedious labour to read through the volumes of solemn protests that have been made by the bishops all over the world against the occupation of Rome. Those bishops represent the Catholics in their various dioceses, and their unanimous protest shows that the Church, all over the world, has felt severely the injury done to its venerable chief, and that the universal persuasion is that the temporal power is necessary for the Pope. What better proof can there be of its actual necessity? The opinion of one or two prudent persons is valuable. What must we think of the unanimous opinion of those men who for their sanctity, learning, and prudence have been selected to rule over the various dioceses throughout the world? Their united voice represents the voice of the Church, and when united with the Supreme Pastor, their voice is infallible in moral questions. The present question is one that, though not included, borders on the domain of morality. At all events, it is a question of vital interest to the Church, and no good Catholic will believe that the whole Church, united with the Vicar of Christ, can have a mistaken persuasion regarding the necessity of the temporal power.

This is not all. One hundred and sixty-seven Pontiffs, from Leo III. to Leo XIII., have always laboured to preserve intact that dominion that Providence had given them, and to hand it down to their successors as a necessary patrimony for the Church. Whenever, during that long term, incursions were made on the Papal States, a universal protest showed that the Catholic world regarded the temporal power as necessary.

This fact alone that the whole Catholic world is, and always has been persuaded that the temporal power is relatively necessary for the Church, is in itself sufficient to satisfy an impartial mind. What persons are more fitted to

know that which is necessary for a society, than the rulers and members of that same society? The voice of the Catholic world has ever been unanimous in declaring that the Pope must be a sovereign; that he whose dignity is generically superior to the dignity of any secular prince, cannot in any way be subject to other men. The riches of all the banks in England would not compensate a king for his crown, which represents the highest dignity, the greatest honour and independence, that a man can have. Neither would they compensate the Pope for the loss of his temporal dominion, nor could he accept such a compensation. He is superior in dignity to all secular princes and hence cannot be subject to any of them. If such were the case he would be the subject of his inferior. Let us suppose for a moment that it were so. The prince to whose authority the Pope would be subject would be either a Catholic or not. In the latter case the impropriety is evident. Suppose he were a Catholic: then he would be subject to the spiritual authority of the Pope which oftentimes affects indirectly temporal matters, and bound to obey him. On the other hand as temporal king he would be superior to the Pope and could not be subject to him. Thus both the Pope and king would be at the same time subject and superior of the same person which is clearly absurd and would lead to continual discord.

Nor can it be said, that if the Church existed eight centuries without the temporal power, there was no reason why it should begin after such a long period to hold the civil government. It does not follow that because the Church did not actually possess a kingdom in the first centuries, that such was not necessary for it. That would be true if we were speaking of absolute but not of relative necessity. History represents things as they were, not as they could or should have been. The Church was not instituted by Christ to be persecuted. Nevertheless the three first centuries of its existence was a long period of inhuman persecution. Those persecutions though turned to its advantage by an all-wise Providence, were essentially evil, and materially noxious to the Church, and hence while they lasted, she existed in an abnormal state. It cannot be

inferred, that because God allowed that to go on for three centuries, it must therefore continue to the end of time. Neither can it be inferred that because she continued eight centuries without a temporal sovereignty, that should go on for ever. Besides as we have already shown the temporal sovereignty began, at least essentially from the cessation of persecution, and went on steadily though almost imperceptibly increasing with the consent both of princes and people till it became perfect in the eighth century. The Church from the beginning has held either the palm or the sceptre. The palm when in an abnormal state, fighting against injustice. The sceptre when in peaceful possession of her own, performing the work that was appointed for her. Not only does the one show nothing that excludes the necessity of the other, but the former proves that when the Church does not hold the sceptre she must exist in a state that is unnatural for her, a state of persecution.

It is clear from what we have said that the Pope could not cede his right to the temporal dominion. The latter belongs not to him, but to Christ and the Church. The Pope is but the administrator *pro tempore*. That kingdom therefore has a sacred character, for it belongs to One from whom no human power can take it. In this the dominion of the Pope differs from that of every other sovereign. The latter hold their kingdoms in their own name or that of inferiors, and for the good only of those who are under their dominion. The Pope holds it for Christ, his superior, and for the necessary independence of the whole Church. Hence, though the condition of the society or state over which he rules may, in peculiar circumstances, make it imperative on another king to renounce his right to the crown, for the good of society, this can never happen to the Pope, for he has not power to cede what he holds not for himself, nor for an inferior, but for Christ, and not for the good only of the individuals in his temporal state, but for the necessary independence of the whole Church. He cannot cede anything that is necessary for the exercise of his spiritual power, and we have seen that the temporal dominion is necessary for that.

The Church has defended her rights in this respect in the

past, against terrible opposition, and came out victorious. There is no reason to believe that in her present conflict with injustice she shall not be equally so. She may be bound down and restricted for a time, but only to show some day than an unseen hand protects her, and that the dark clouds of conflict are ever destined to give place to a bright and glorious sunshine.

M. HOWLETT.

DIOCESE OF DUBLIN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

VI.

THE OLD CHAPELS OF DUBLIN.—(CONTINUED).

SS. MICHAEL AND JOHN—A local writer in 1623, tells us, "that the Council of Ireland, having intelligence how many Jesuits, fryers and Popish priests had come from beyond the seas and from England into this kingdom, private search was made, and a schedule came into the Council of these whose names ensue, who were then succoured in Dublin:—William Malone, a Jesuit; James Comfore, a fryer; Bartholomew Hamlin, a priest; James Hamilton, a Scotch fryer; one (Luke) Rochford, a priest; Thomas Coyle, *alias* Cooley, a priest; one Hamlin, brother to the aforesaid Hamlin, a fryer; Patrick Brangan, a priest; one O'Donogh, a priest; Laurence Cheevers, fryer; John Netterville, a Jesuit; Francis Fade, a Jesuit; one James Talbot, then vicar-general. At this time the rumour was how these and others met in great numbers at Alderman Fyan's house and at Sir James Carroll's, Alderman [in Cook-street], and at Alexander Ussher's, where they were quarrelling several times about the disposing of titular bishoprics and other benefices; upon this discovery, proclamation, upon Saturday, being the 24th of January, 1623, issued out, and was proclaimed at Dublin, for the banishing of Jesuits, fryers and Popish priests out of Ireland within forty days after the date thereof."[1]

[1] See Gilbert's *City of Dublin*, vol. i., p. 298. For the Proclamation, consult *Carew Papers*, 1603-1624, p. 432, where it bears the date of January 21st, 1623.

This was at least the third edict of the kind issued since James I. came to the throne, and proved no more successful than any of its predecessors in ridding the country of the obnoxious Popish priest. This extract, however, is otherwise valuable, furnishing as it does, the best available and most complete list of the clergy of the period, many of whom we can fortunately locate. Thomas Coyle here mentioned, can be no other than the Thomas Coyle referred to in the letter of Father Browne, Parish Priest of St. Michan's in 1631, as "formerly Rector of St. Michael's."[1]

It will be remembered from the last paper that with Christopher Moore and Edward Ellis, Rectors of St. Michael's and St. John's respectively, in 1560, the record of Catholic worship in these two parochial churches was brought to a close; but we are not to infer that all care of Catholic souls in these and the adjacent parishes terminated as well. On the contrary, Adam Loftus, Queen Elizabeth's primate, bitterly complains in 1565, just five years after the passing of the Act of Uniformity, that the chief gentlemen and nobility had admitted on oath that "the most part of them had continually, since the last parliament, frequented Mass and other service and ceremonies inhibited by your majesty's laws and injunctions, and that very few of them ever received Holy Communion, or used such kind of public prayer and service as is presently established by law." If this could be said of the nobility and gentry, we need have no difficulty in answering for the multitude. The year previous, the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, Sir James Worth and Sir Nicholas Arnold, stated that they "were devising how the prebenders [canons of St. Patrick's and Christ Church] *that will not be conformable, may be by law compelled.*"[2] So that up to this date, at all events, 1564, few even of the well-beneficed prebendaries had conformed. The commissioners were not slow to "devise" some strong coercive measure that might be counted on to procure the much-desired conformity more speedily; and thenceforward the faithful clergy of Dublin,

[1] See Appendix Y, to, *Irish Franciscan Monasteries*, by Rev. C. P. Meehan.

[2] See Shirley's *Original Letters*.

driven from their prebends and benefices, and acting under the directions of David Wolfe, S.J., Commissary Apostolic, or his deputy, Father Thaddaeus Newman, had to seek in secluded lanes and alleys, in back-rooms and stables, the necessary shelter and accommodation for their religious exercises, and there imbibe that practical zeal and spirit of self-denial which was the backbone of the stubborn and successful resistance which they and their flocks were enabled to offer to their persecutors. It is on record, and the quotations I have just made still further attest it, that the immense majority of the Dublin clergy remained faithful to their charge, and that according as death, or exile, or imprisonment thinned their ranks, volunteers were found ready to come forward, and at great risk and great expense, to betake themselves to the seminaries on the Continent, and thence, after the necessary preparatory studies and reception of Holy Orders, come back to do battle with the foes of the national faith.[3]

[3] It may be interesting to give the following document, copied from the original in the Vatican archives, as a specimen of the exceptional privileges which it was found necessary to give to Irish ecclesiastics at this period. It also furnishes additional testimony that at this date, 1577, there was no Catholic bishop in Dublin :—

"Dilecto filio Leonardo Fitzimons clerico Dublinensi Bacchalaureo in Theologia.

"GREGORIUS, PAPA XIII.

"Dilecte fili salutem, etc. Nobilitas generis, litterarum scientia, vitae ac morum honestas aliaque laudabilia probitatis et virtutum merita super quibus apud nos fide digno commendaris testimonio, nos inducunt ut te specialibus favoribus et gratiis prosequamur. Hinc est quod nos, te qui Magister in artibus, et ut asseris, ex nobilibus atque honestissimis utpote equestri ordine illustribus parentibus natus existis et devotionis fervore accensus ad omnes minores etiam sacros et presbyteratus ordines promoveri absque dimissorialibus litteris tui Episcopi, qui Catholicus non existit, et sine titulo beneficii aut patrimonii desideras premissorum meritorum tuorum intuitu speciali favore prosequi volentes et a quibusvis excommunicationis, etc., censentes tuis hac in parte supplicationibus inclinati tibi ut absque litteris dimissorialibus et titulo beneficii seu patrimonii hujusmodi, attentis premissis a Venerabili fratre Archiepiscopo Cameracensi extra Romanam Curiam, te ad omnes minores necnon sacros etiam presbyteratus ordines temporibus a jure statutis promoveri facere et promotus in illis, etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare, libere et licite valeas licentiam et facultatem apostolica auctoritate tenore presentium concedimus. Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die 23 Junii, 1577. anno, 6. "C. GLORIERUS.

"Ut Signatura registrata

"Lib. 2, secretorum, fol. 131."

But, as already stated, it does not appear that any regular parochial organisation could be attempted before the advent of Archbishop Matthews, and subsequent to the Synod of Kilkenny, presided over by him in 1614, where laws were framed for the re-erection and delimitation of parishes.[1] Utilising, therefore, the Council list of 1623, we can safely register, as first parish priest of the newly-defined Parish of St. Michael, comprising the several adjacent parishes enumerated in the last paper, Father Thomas Coyle.

All that has been transmitted to us concerning him is the mention of his name in the two documents already quoted of 1623 and of 1631. Of the exact locality of his parish chapel we know even less. When proclamations of banishment could be issued out so plentifully and enforced so rigidly, as we know to have been the case at this period, the Catholic chapel must have been of a rather nomadic character, wandering from back room to back room, according as a sense of security or the reverse dictated. Of the others mentioned in the Council list, Bartholomew Hamlin might have been one of his curates, as his name appears in the Book of Claims (1700) as witness to a will bequeathing three houses in Cook-street and St. Michael's-lane, and bearing date the 24th of July, 1626. Cormac Higgins, not given in this list, was another curate and professor in "Collegio St. Audoeni." Patrick Brangan we meet later on. Luke Rochford was Parish Priest of St. Audeon's and Archdeacon of Dublin; while O'Donogh was Parish Priest of St. Catherine's and St. James's. The Vicar-General, James Talbot, is mentioned so far back as 1616, as proceeding to Rome to solicit certain privileges for the new college founded for Irish ecclesiastics at Seville. But I am unable to allocate him as pastor to any of the city parishes. Possibly he was not encumbered with any parochial benefice, to be all the freer to attend to the important office of Vicar-General, which he discharged not only for Dublin but for Kildare also. It was a sufficiently onerous position, especially

[1] Father Cogan, in his *Diocese of Meath*, mentions indeed the accidental discovery of the grave of Rev. Robert Forde, who died in 1609, and who is described on the gravestone as "parish priest."

at this time when the archbishop was absent in Rome, and not unattended with danger as the martyrdom of his three immediate predecessors amply testify.[1]

About the year 1615, the Franciscans stole back to Dublin, and established themselves in a house situated in that small portion of Cook-street which was included in St. Michael's Parish; where after sundry vicissitudes, lasting now through nigh three centuries, they are still to be found, helping in the great work of the salvation of souls. Here the great Father Mooney planted them amidst a deluge of persecution. Here in those dark days Fathers Flan Gray and Thomas Strong lectured in Philosophy and Theology. Here Michael Clery, the chief of the Four Masters passed some time in transcribing "every old material which he found concerning the Saints of Erin, observing obedience to each Provincial that was in Erin successively." Here too, during his long Episcopate of over thirty years, (except the six or seven closing years) lived as an humble Franciscan, Dr. Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin, and brother of the Baron of Slane.

Dr. Fleming arrived, as Archbishop, in Dublin, about the spring of 1625, succeeding Dr. Matthews, who had died in Rome on September 1st, 1623, and who was buried in San Pietro in Montorio, alongside his kinsman the great Earl of Tyrone. Father Coyle must have died before Dr. Fleming's arrival, for, in a letter written to Luke Wadding in 1629, and referring to Coyle's successor, the Archbishop seemingly complains of his having been "placed *by my Vicar-General* in the best parish of Dublin called St. Michael's."

[1] After Thaddaeus Newman, appointed Vicar-General by the Commissary Apostolic, David Wolfe, S.J., in 1563, we meet with a collation of similar faculties from Rome to Dr. Edmund Tanner, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, for the diocese of Dublin, in 1575. Just thirteen years later Cardinal Moran fixes the appointment of Donald M'Conghaill as Archbishop, an appointment, however, which had no practical result, as he died in 1589, before he could take possession. Towards the end of the century John Walsh is mentioned as Vicar-General. "*Joannes Valesius Presbyter et Vicarius-Generalis in diocesi Dublinensi in Angliam casu appulsus, examinatus in fide et ob constantiam conjectus in carcerem in urbe Cestriensi, orthodoxae confessionis agonem in vinculis adimplevit, anno circiter* 1600." (Roth's *Analecta*, p. 388.)

Apropos of this Dr. Walsh we have another interesting document

This successor was the Rev. Patrick Cahill, a native of the diocese of Meath, and destined to be a thorn in the side of Archbishop Fleming. He was inducted into the parish by Father Rochford, Parish Priest, St. Audeon's, who pronounced a discourse on the occasion. In the beginning the appointment gave every satisfaction. He was a man of

also from the Vatican Archives, and for a copy of which I am indebted to the kindness of Father Costello, O.P., St. Clement's, Rome. It goes to prove the unbroken succession of the Catholic Deans in St. Patrick's Chapter. Dr. Leverous, as we know, was deprived of the deanery by Elizabeth for non-conformity, but he could not be deprived in this summary fashion of his right and title to it, which he held from ecclesiastical authority and retained till his death in 1577. The Vatican document that I now give is a surrender into the Pope's hands of the Deanery of St. Patrick's, made in 1598, by Dr. Nicholas Fagan, the then Dean, and in favour of our Vicar-General, Dr. John Walsh. Dr. Fagan was a native of Dublin diocese, but spent most of his time in Spain, in connection with some of the various Irish colleges established in these countries. We may assume that he was dean next in succession to Leverous, as the date of his resignation is but little more than twenty years after the death of Dr. Leverous. At the time of his resignation he was in Rome, where he had just been appointed Bishop of Waterford, a see, however, of which he does not appear to have taken possession. In this curious document he proceeds as if he had been in undisturbed possession of the temporalities of the Deanery, and stipulating for a pension, carefully exhausts all the forms of the *Curia* to protect and safeguard his rights.

"*E libro Consensuum*, A.D. 1598, f. 273. *Die secunda mensis Aprilis* MDLXXXXVIII. *R. D. Nicolaus Faganus, in Sacra Theologia Magister, praesens, sponte omnibus, etc., resignationi decanatus Ecc. Dubliniensis. qui inibi dignitas post Pontificalem major existit, cuique cura imminet animarum, quem obtinet, in SSmi D. N. Papae (manibus) et favorem Dni Joannis Walshe, Presbyter, Dubl. dioc. cui de illo provideri conceditur, qui D. Joannes reservationi, etc., pensionis annuae ab omni decima, quarta, media, et quavis alia fructuum parte, necnon subsidio etiam charitativo, etc., etc., liberae immunis et exemptae, ducentarum marcharum sterlingarum argenti,* [about £133] *super dicti Decanatus fructibus, juribus, etc., universis, quorum tertiam partem pensio ipsa non excedit eodem D. Nicolao quoad vixerit, vel procuratori suo legitimo, per dictum D. Joannem et successores suos dictum decanatum pro tempore quomodolibet obtinentes annis singulis in loco ubi dictum D. Nicolaum pro tempore morari contigerit, pro una, in B. J. Bap. et altera medietatibus pensionis annuae hujusmodi in D. N. J. C. nativ. festivitatibus sub sententiis, censuris, et poenis in similibus apponi solitis et consuetis, integre persolvendae, necnon concessione et indulto quod dicto D. Joanne seu aliquo ex successoribus praedictis in solutione dictae pensionis annuae modo et forma praemissis facienda in toto vel parte cessante vel deficiente, aut illam ad minorem summam reducere annullari vel invalidari petente vel procurante, aut pensionem ipsam ex quavis causa nullam et invalidam seu male aut nulliter assignatam esse dicente, vel alligante, liceat eidem D. Nicolao ad dictum Decanatum liberos habere regressum, accessum, et ingressum, illiusque corporalem possessionem per se vel alium, seu alios ejus nomine, propria auctoritate libere apprehendere et quoad vixerit tam sui prioris tituli quam litterarum sub praesentibus conficiendarum vigore absque alia desuper*

no ordinary intelligence, and had much zeal. The accession of Charles the First almost synchronized with his appointment, and at the same time raised the hopes of the despairing and persecuted Catholics of Dublin. They plucked up courage to emerge gradually from their back rooms and hiding places, and to erect public chapels, in back lanes no doubt, but still

de novo facienda provisione et per omnia perinde ac si resignationem hujusmodi non fecisset, et alias juxta formam supplicationis desuper signati, sub datum Romae apud S. Petrum, 7 Kal. Apr. an. 7° Registrata lib. 2do. f. 215, *litterarum expeditioni consenserunt, jurarunt super quibus etc. . . . Actum Romae in officio meo et praesentibus, etc., etc., testibus. Missae* 28 *Martii B. pro-Dat.*"

Except for the purpose of preserving undoubted rights if they ever should revive, this ultra-legal document sounds like so much stage thunder. At all events neither party lived long to derive any benefit from it. Dr. Fagan seems to have died almost immediately, probably in Rome: and Dean Walsh as we have seen ended his life in Chester gaol about 1600.

The list of Deans of St. Patrick's from the establishment of the deanery in 1219 down to Queen Mary, may be found in Mason's *History of the Cathedral*, or in Cotton's *Fasti*, though in both lists there are some omissions; but it may be interesting here to give the Catholic succession from Mary's time down to our own day.

Catholic Deans of St. Patrick's since Queen Mary :—

1555—Dr. Leverous, Bishop of Kildare, died 1577.
1577–1598—Dr. Nicholas Fagan, resigned 1598.
1598—Dr. John Walsh, died 1600.
1600—1601—Dr. Bernard Moriarty (See Brady's *Episc. Succession*, vol. iii.)
1601–162—Dr. William Barry (See Dr. Moran's *Archbishops*, p. 287).
163—Dr. Edward Tyrrell, died 1668.
1668—The name of John Spensfeld occurs in a Propaganda Document as Dean of Dublin early in 1669, but as he was an agent of Taaffe, and probably named Dean by him, he cannot be included in the list. Who was the immediate successor of Tyrrell I have not yet been able to ascertain. In all probability it was Dr. Patrick Russell, subsequently Archbishop.
1687—Rev. James Russell, P.P., St. Michael's, died 1727.
1727—Rev. Denis Byrne, C.C., St. Michan's.
1745—Rev. Dr. P. Fitzsimons (Archbishop 1763).
1763—Rev. James Dowdall, P.P., St. Michan's.
1774—Rev. Dr. Sherlock, P.P., St. Catherine's.
1807—Rev. Dr. Hugh Hamill, P.P., St. Nicholas.
1823—Rev. Dr. A. Lube, P.P., St. James'.
1832—Rev. Dr. M. Blake, P.P., St. Andrew's.
1833—Rev. Dr. Coleman, P.P., St. Michan's.
1838—Rev. Dr. Meyler, P.P., St. Andrew's.
1864—Rev. Dr. O'Connell, P.P., Irishtown.
1878—Rev. Dr. Meagher, P.P., Rathmines.
1882—Right Rev. Monsignor W. Lee, P.P., Bray, *Quem Deus diu incolumem servet.*

To Dr. Walsh succeeded as Vicar-General, Dr. Bernard Moriarty,

open to the roadway, and without any elaborate attempt at concealment. We may assume, therefore, that during the early years of Father Cahill's administration was opened the first public chapel of St. Michael, described in Bulkeley's report of 1530, as situated "in the back of Mr. George Taylor's house; it is partly in St. Michael's parish and partly in St. Nicholas

appointed in 1600. He was at the Franciscan Convent in Multifarnham when it was attacked by the soldiery, and being wounded was brought prisoner to Dublin, where he died of his wound. Then came Richard Lalor, who in 1606 added another name to the Martyrology of Dublin. James Talbot we presume came next in succession. He sat in the Synod of Kilkenny in 1614, as Vicar-General of Kildare, and in 1629 he helped to endow the Irish College in Antwerp. The next Vicar-General we meet is Dr. Edmund O'Reilly, appointed in 1641, who had such a troubled career both as Vicar-General and, from 1654, as Primate of Armagh. On the strength of a forged letter provided by the too notorious friar, Peter Walsh, he was relieved of the Vicar-Generalship in 1647, and Laurence Archbold, P.P., Maynooth, a follower of Walsh, appointed in his stead. But Dr. Fleming having discovered the imposture in 1650, deposed Archbold and reinstated O'Reilly. Dr. Dempsey was Vicar-Apostolic from 1657 to 1667. Then ensued a period of confusion which lasted until Peter Talbot's appointment as Archbishop in 1669. In Propaganda papers we meet the names of Nicholas Eustace, as Vicar-Apostolic, and Richard Butler and Richard Quin as Vicars-General during his period. John Murphy was V.G. in 1668. Also we find a "*brevis relatio*," concerning Dublin, which, though not dated, must refer to 1667 or 1668. It runs thus:— "*In Metropolitana Dubl. def. ab altero circiter anno D. Jacobo Dempsey, qui ibidem erat Vic. Apost. potior ac senior (ut videtur) Capituli et Cleri pars decreverunt in Vicarium nominare D. Joan. Murphy, quem ad hoc munus maxime idoneum judicarunt; verum alii adhaerentes fratri Petro Valesio (de quo supra) gubernii favore freti*, hoc rejecto, *substituunt D. Laur. Archbold, quo schismate grave scandalum passa est Ecclesia, cui omnine occurrere expedit.*" (Irlanda. vol. i., p. 405). This John Murphy is also recommended by the Internunzio at Brussels, and described as "*Decano Rurale*;" whilst in an inventory of Swords Chapel taken in 1766, when Richard Talbot commenced pastor there, I found a silver chalice listed with an inscription stating that it was presented by Rev. John Murphy in 1665. From all this I infer that he was Parish Priest of Swords and Vic. For. for the Deanery. The Internunzio urged the appointment of an archbishop, and suggested as suitable John Murphy, Richard Butler (a relative of Ormond), Nicholas Eustace, Rector of Irish College, Antwerp, or James Cusack, of Irish College, Rome. Dr. N. French, the exiled Bishop of Ferns, recommended Peter Talbot (forty-seven years); or Nugent, Rector, Irish College, Madrid (fifty-two years); or Edward Tyrrell (seventy years), Dean of Dublin, Rector of Irish College, Paris, and Canon of St. Quentin; or Dr. Richard Fottrell, Chancellor of Dublin (seventy-four years), *ambo excusandi provecti aetate*; or Nicholas Eustace, of Antwerp; or James Phelan, aged forty-nine, and afterwards appointed to Ossory. Before anything could be done however, James Taaffe, another unworthy Franciscan friar and dupe of Walsh, for the purpose of sustaining the latter's "Loyal Remonstrance," actually forged a Papal Bull appointing himself Vicar Apostolic

Within the Walls; the recusants of that parish and of the parishes adjoining, resort thither commonly." The boundary line between the parishes of St. Michael's and St. Nicholas crosses Angel-court and M'Cullagh's-lane (now closed) about midway. These narrow passages led from High-street to Back-lane, and the chapel was between them. In all probability it was nothing more than a large store or roomy stable belonging to the said George Taylor, and adapted, as far as feasible, to its new and sacred purpose. A friendly turn done to the Bishop of Kilmore[1]—Hugh O'Reilly—got Father Cahill a term of imprisonment, and it was whilst undergoing this penalty (1628) that the storm burst which was to cost him his parish, and cause no little scandal to both clergy and laity in Dublin. For a full account of this untoward event see Dr. Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, Dr. Renehan's *Collections*, Gilbert's *City of Dublin*, and Appendix *Y* to *Irish*

of all Ireland, with power to exact tribute from, and depose bishops, vicars, and parish priests, as he thought proper. So clever was the forgery that amongst others he imposed upon were the Bishop of Dromore and Dr. Plunkett, Bishop of Meath. He was finally detected and unmasked by Primate O'Reilly, and forced to fly the kingdom. During his usurpation he made John Spensfield his agent or vicar-general for Dublin, who early in 1669 signs himself Dean of Dublin. This worthy vicar and dean whilst in power excommunicated Angel Goulding, Parish Priest of St. Audeon's, George Plunkett, Luke Eustace, and Pat Begley, priests, by a decree of June 20th, 1668; but the value of this act is best estimated by the fact that Archbishop Talbot nominated Goulding his vicar-general as appears in the preface to his refutation of the *Blakloanae Haeresis* (published in the year 1775, p. 19). Goulding appears to have died in 1676 or 1677, as in the later year, we find Patrick Everard signing decrees as Vicar-General (See *Constitutiones Provinciales*, 1770).

On the death of Dr. Talbot, Dr. P. Russell was elected Vicar-Capitular. During his tenure of this office a Rev. Gerard Teeling, a young man, was tentatively appointed by Rome as Vicar Apostolic, but not being well received by the clergy on account of his youth and inexperience, he prudently resigned the office, and his resignation was accepted. In 1683 Dr. Russell was consecrated archbishop. He had for vicar-general the celebrated Dr. Michael Moor, Parish Priest of St. Catherine's (and not of St. Nicholas, as I had previously conjectured), Provost of Trinity College under James II., and subsequently Rector of the University of Paris. The vicar-general under Dr. Creagh was either Dr. Dempsey or Dr. Murphy, Parish Priest of St. Audeon's. This closes the succession for the seventeenth century.

[1] He had seals made for the Bishop of Kilmore, one of which is now in the Royal Irish Academy.

Franciscan Monasteries, by Rev. C. P. Meehan. Here we must be content with a passing reference. An English priest, by name Paul Harris, was the prime mover of the disturbance. He denounced the friars, and by implication the archbishop himself, assumed to be too partial to his own religious brethren, and unfortunately he found a too willing and too active ally in the pastor of St. Michael's. It went so far that Dr. Fleming was compelled to suspend both Harris and Cahill, and to command the latter to quit Dublin within fifteen days. Cahill appealed and went to Rome, and the authorities there appointed a commission of four bishops to investigate the case. The Episcopal Commission condemned the pamphlet in which he embodied his charges against the Franciscans, but what immediate result this condemnation had on Father Cahill's pastoral position is not very clear. Even though after a few years, peace was restored, Cardinal Moran is of opinion that Father Cahill was not reinstated. Documents of a later date represent him as claiming the title of pastor, but they do not establish his right thereto, no more than the supposed Bull of Innocent X., found amongst the archives of Christ Church, prove him to have been dean of that cathedral. On Father Cahill's removal the parish was given to Patrick Brangan. He was a native of the diocese, and is mentioned in the list of 1623. In Bulkeley's report of 1630 he is also recorded as pastor. But, very shortly after, by order of the Viceroy, he was arrested and detained several months in prison. This fact would render very probable the surmise that the chapel "belonging to secular priests" seized upon at the same time with the religious houses confiscated after Bulkley's campaign in Cook-street, was none other than St. Michael's. It was in dangerous proximity to the handsome chapel opened by the Jesuits in Back-lane, which formed such a tempting plum to Bulkeley, and the author of the *Plot and Progress of the Irish Rebellion*, tells us that "Sir George Radcliffe stormed very much against the churchwarden of St. Warbre's Church in Dublin for presenting a Mass-house that was newly erected (1638) within four or five houses of the Castle gate, in which Masse was frequently said." From this we may infer that the old chapel at the

back of High-street had been either closed up or seized upon by the Government, and a new one erected some years later in a more central position.

✠ N. DONNELLY.

(To be continued.)

SHRINES OF OUR LADY IN BELGIUM.

II.—OUR LADY OF HAL.

ABOUT ten miles to the south of Brussels is the little town of Hal, *Hallæ Deiparæ*; of which the chief ornament is the magnificent church dedicated to Our Lady, St. Martin, St. Catherine the Martyr, and St. Gertrude, the Canoness Regular. This church, which stands on the site of an older one, was commenced in 1341 and consecrated in 1409. It is now undergoing the process of restoration, the present dean being anxious to undo the work of the *sans-culottes* and of others who, from more pious motives, have helped to destroy its beauty. It was never a collegiate church,[1] but was served by twelve provosts, living under a rule, who daily sang the Divine Office and the Mass of Our Lady. Among the provosts was the parish priest, and another called the *parson:* the latter sat in the first place in choir, and shared the right of collation to vacant prebends, including that to which the care of souls was attached. From 1621 till the French Revolution the church was served by Jesuits, who did much to advance the spiritual welfare of Hal. One of them Father Claud Maillard, wrote a history of the ancient statue of Our Blessed Lady to which the church and the town itself, owes its fame.[2]

[1] The parish priest of Hal, as of many other places in Belgium, bears the title of *Dean;* only, however, because he is rural dean and president of the conference.

[2] To the edition of the work published in 1866 the present writer must express his indebtedness; as well as to kindness of the Dean, the Rev. J. B. Karselaers, who most courteously gave him valuable information both by letter and by word of mouth.

The name of St. Elizabeth of Hungary will ever be connected, in the minds of the Catholic inhabitants of Brabant, with the town of Hal, and the neighbouring village of Alsemberg. Our concern is not now with the miraculous events connected with the foundation of the church in the latter place, nor with the history of the miraculous image it contains; so we will proceed to show the connection between the town of Hal and St. Elizabeth. When the holy Duchess of Thuringia died in 1231 she left a son and three daughters who, but four short years later, were to be rejoiced by the raising of their mother to the altar. The eldest daughter, Sophia, afterwards wife of Henry II., Duke of Brabant, received from her mother four statues of Our Lady, the origin of which is unknown. Some are of opinion that they were brought from the Holy Land; some that they were given to St. Elizabeth by her aunt, St. Hedwige,[1] whose devotion to statues and holy relics is too well known to need more than a passing allusion.

Be the origin what it may they were held in great veneration by the Duchess Sophia, who gave one of them to a Beguinage[2] she founded near Vilvorde. and the other three to her sister-in-law, Matilda, Countess of Holland, who retained them till her death; after which, in accordance with her will, one was given to the Church of Haarlem; one to Gravesande, where it is still

[1] St. Hedwige was daughter of the Duke of Meran, and wife of Henry of Poland. Her sister, Gertrude, married Andrew II., King of Hungary (ob. 1233), by whom she had four children. The eldest, Bela, succeeded his father as king, and by Mary of Constantinople he had issue Blessed Margaret, a Dominican nun; Coloman the second became king of Galicia, and married Blessed Solomé of Poland; the third, Andrew, died without issue; the fourth was St. Elizabeth, who married Louis, Landgrave of Thuringia. St. Elizabeth had four children, Herman, who succeeded his father, but died without issue; two daughters, each named Sophia, and a third daughter named Gertrude, who entered religion. The elder, Sophia, married Henry of Brabant by whom she is the ancestress of the Hesse family.

[2] The Beguines moved into the town at a later date, and eventually transferred their buildings, and with them the image, to a community of Carmelite nuns. The miraculous statue of Our Lady of Consolation, now famous throughout Belgium, is still in the Church of the Carmelites of Vilvorde. In this little town, which lies about half way between Brussels and Mechlin, there are two other miraculous statues, one of Our Lady of Good Hope, the other of Our Lady of Sorrows.

venerated; and the third to Hal, the capital of the County of Hainault, whose sovereign had married her daughter Alix. The statue, which was placed in the Church of Hal in 1267, is still in a perfect state of preservation, and is considered to be very beautiful. Our Lady is represented sitting, and feeding her Divine Son at her breast; though the embroidered robe, the work of the twelfth or thirteenth century, prevents this from being remarked.

The capital of Hainault soon became the scene of wondrous miracles, and a devotion to our Lady of Hal spread throughout Belgium. Many towns were consecrated to the Mother of God under this invocation, and among them some of the chief places of Belgium: as, for example, Brussels, Ghent, Tournay, Namur, Mons and Courtrai; and some others now in France, as Lille and Valenciennes. For a long period, it was the custom for the confraternities of our Lady of Hal, established in twelve towns or villages,[1] to send deputations to the Shrine annually, on the first Sunday in September, the feast of the dedication. These deputations were met by the clergy and magistrates of Hal, and conducted to the church, where, on the part of each confraternity a robe was offered to our Lady. The concourse of the faithful was very great on this day; on one occasion, in 1651, Father Maillard tells us there were about forty thousand pilgrims, of whom ten thousand received Holy Communion at the Shrine.

The pilgrims were not, however, drawn from Belgium alone; they came from far and wide, and included some of the great ones of the earth. Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, Louis XI. of France, Henry VIII. of England, Charles V. of Germany, Philip II. of Spain, and John Casimir of Poland, all visited the Shrine of Hal; as did the Cardinal Archduke Albert, before laying aside the Roman purple to marry Isabel, daughter of Philip II. of Spain, and assume the rule of the Netherlands. Nor must the names of St. John Berchmans, and of Juste Lipse, the celebrated humanist and

[1] The towns were Ath, Tournay, Brussels, Valenciennes, Condé, and Namur; the villages Lembeck, Quiévrain, Crespin, Braine-le-Château, Ghyssignies, and Saintes.

historian of the Shrine, be omitted from the list of illustrious persons devoted to our Lady of Hal.

Like the three kings from the East, the royal visitors to Hal brought gifts in their hands. The Treasury was enriched by precious offerings from Margaret of Constantinople, Countess of Hainault and Flanders; from the Emperors Maximilian and Charles V.; from Philip II.; from Albert and Isabel; from Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, who always visited the Shrine before commencing any warlike expedition; and from Henry VIII. of England, to mention but a few names out of many. The wretched king of England, who had been taught to love our Lady of Hal by the Emperor Charles V. was with his queen, Catherine of of Aragon, enrolled in the confraternity, and gave a silver monstrance in the form of a Gothic tower which was formerly carried by two priests, in dalmatics, during the procession on the feasts of Corpus Domini and its octave day, the Dedication of the Church and its Octave, and the Nativity of our Lady. This monstrance is still preserved in the treasury.[1] Those of lower degree have not been behindhand in making offerings. Juste Lipse, in gratitude for a cure, presented his silver pen with a dedicatory poem; and, as specimens of other gifts may be mentioned the silver image of our Lady from a member of the Montmorency family, and a pair of silver vases presented in 1647 by a Lady Morgan.

The Vicars of Christ have not failed to heap favours on the Sanctuary of Hal. Eugenius IV. approved the confraternity erected there, and enriched it with indulgences: Nicholas V., Clement VIII., Urban VIII., Innocent X., and Pius VI. granted indulgences to all who should visit the church on certain occasions; S. Pius V. granted an indulgence to all who should wear the medals of our Lady of Hal which he had blessed at the request of Margaret of Parma. Julius II. presented a silver lamp; and Pius IX. of

[1] When the writer visited Hal in November last he was unable to see this, as it had been lent to the Exhibition of Brussels. In doing so the worthy dean showed more confidence in the officials than did the Augustinian nuns of the old hospital of Damme, who would not lend their antique processional cross!

blessed memory, a chalice which he had himself consecrated. The last-named Pontiff showed his regard for our Lady of Hal when he authorised the solemn coronation of the statue; this took place in 1874, Cardinal Deschamps, the late Archbishop of Mechlin, crowning the statue as on a previous occasion he had crowned the statue of our Lady of Montaigu, and a few years later was to crown that of our Lady of Hanswyck.

It is time to relate some of the prodigies wrought through the intercession of our Lady of Hal. First and foremost among the favours of Mary, the pious inhabitants place the constant preservation of their town from successful assault. The first instance shall be one in which English soldiers were the besiegers. Jacqueline of Bavaria, daughter and heiress of William, Count of Hainault, and widow of the Dauphin of France, married John, Duke of Brabant. She took an aversion to her husband, and fled to England, where, in 1422, she entered into an illicit connection with Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, brother to Henry V. Jacqueline asked Pope Martin V. to declare her marriage with the Duke of Brabant null and void. The Pope being unable to do this, she made a similar application to the anti-pope Benedict, who did as she wished; after which, Jacqueline and the Duke of Gloucester left England for Hainault, from which they unsuccessfully tried to oust the Duke of Brabant. Amongst other failures was, as has been intimated, a siege of Hal.

During the reign of the Emperor Maximilian, Belgium was devastated by civil war: on the one side were the Flemings and the Brabançons, under Philip, Duke of Cleves; on the other, the inhabitants of Hainault and the other provinces. In the year 1491, Philip made two attempts to take the Town of Hal, which was not a fortress, and could hardly be said to be fortified. Both attempts proved signal failures; but the second repulse was the more remarkable. The Duke of Cleves advanced at the head of 6,000 men writes Fr. Maillard; he conducted his operations with so much secrecy, that one day he was able to capture 120 men of the garrison who were foraging, and so to reduce the defenders of Hal to 250 men. The town was then bom-

barded, and a large breach was made in the walls, through which the enemy were preparing to enter when the inhabitants went to the church to invoke the aid of their Protectress. This done, confident of success, the women set themselves to extinguish the fire caused by the grenades; whilst the handful of men hurled themselves against the troops of the Duke, who was compelled to retire.

He determined to renew the assault the next day; but, in the meantime, news was received by the besieged that in three days' time Charles de Croy, Prince of Chimay, would arrive with reinforcements. So delighted were they that all the bells were set ringing, which made the Duke of Cleves think that large reinforcements had already arrived. Fearing another onslaught he gave the order for retreat; and so precipitous was his flight, that he left behind him not only his wounded, but his guns. To this day some of the stone bullets used by the besiegers on this occasion are kept in the Church of Hal.[1]

Another signal escape was from the Orange faction at the end of the sixteenth century. There is no space to give details of it, but one circumstance is too striking to be passed over in silence. An impious soldier in the army of the Prince of Orange, said he would cut off the nose of the *femmelette* of Hal—his own was carried away by a musket ball. In thanksgiving for, and in commemoration of, the escape of Hal from the Prince of Orange, an annual festival was instituted, on which High Mass was sung and the Blessed Sacrament was carried in procession round the walls of the town. So many were the escapes of the Town of Hal, that

[1] It is much to be deplored that English-speaking Catholics, travelling abroad, should be so dependent on Baedeker and Murray. The former, in his *Guide to Belgium*, writes thus: "Hal . . . is celebrated as a resort of pilgrims on account of the miracle-working image of the Virgin in the church . . . [a] chapel contains thirty-three cannon balls caught and rendered harmless by the robes of the wonder-working image during a siege of the town;" which is not only offensive in tone, but incorrect as to facts. The cannon balls are not in a chapel, but behind some bars in an opening in the wall near the west door. The writers of the majority of English guide books would seem to be ignorant of the existence of English-speaking Catholics—would that the latter could be ignorant of the guides!

the words *usque Hallas* passed into a proverb; but we must pass on to events affecting individuals only.

To begin with the most remarkable we will give some instances of the dead being restored to life: the first three cases being authenticated by Mgr. William de Bergher, Archbishop of Cambray. A young boy was drowned, and an hour was spent in fruitlessly endeavouring to bring him back to life; after which his father consecrated his child to our Lady of Hal, and prayed her to restore him to life, which she immediately did.

In the year 1419 there was living at Binche, in Hainault, a poor woman who one day having to go out to work left her child in the cradle. A neighbour went into the house and found that the infant had been strangled by the list used to fasten it. The poor mother was in agony when she saw what had come to pass: but she invoked the powerful aid of our Lady of Hal, and hardly had she done so when the infant, who for three hours had been regarded as dead, breathed and moved. A few days after the woman made a pilgrimage to Hal, where she dedicated her child to Our Lady.

The next case is that of a child still-born at Seneffe, near Hal. Before the mother was told of what had happened the little body was buried. The following night she believed that she saw a beautiful woman who promised to help her on condition that she should make a vow to Our Lady of Hal. Full of confidence she next day insisted on the exhumation of her child. This was done, and as the mother looked at it, colour slowly tinged its cheeks, its arms moved and it cried: it was taken to the church, and when the parish priest had satisfied himself that this infant, which had been three days buried, was really alive, he baptized it; after which the little christian was taken back to its mother, to die a few hours later. A record of this, duly attested, was entered in the archives of the church, and a piece of tapestry marking the date of the event was placed in the treasury of the church of Hal.

A somewhat similar case, but not authenticated by

Monsignor de Bergher, occurred on October 17th, 1643. A still-born child was prepared for burial, when its father vowed its weight in wax if it were restored to life: the mother that she would go barefoot to Hal. The child received its life and was immediately baptised: the parish priest having been called, ordered it to be taken to the church that he might supply the ceremonies. This parish priest made a declaration on oath before the *Echevins* of Nivelles, and a record of it was preserved in the office of the town clerk.

Two or three instances of cures and deliverances must be given, though it is a matter of no small difficulty to select from the many given by Fr. Maillard. The first shall be the case of a child afflicted with blindness and paralysis, the cure of which proved to be beyond the skill of its doctor. A vow was made to Our Lady of Hal, the child was cured, and a massive silver statue presented to the shrine. The second occurred in the course of the war between England and France during the reign of Henry VI. A man named William Mostier, a native of Picardy, was obliged to go to Poitou on business; he was arrested and confined for eight months in a dungeon, being unable to pay the ransom demanded. He one day implored our Lady of Hal to help him, and as soon as he had done so fell asleep. When he awoke he found himself freed from his chains, and at a distance of three leagues from his prison. Some English horsemen approached, and one of them, a Captain named Turnbull, asked for an explanation. Mostier told him of his prayer and its result. The English soldiers were so moved that they not only made no effort to detain him, but gave him a passport with an authentication of the miracle, which the escaped prisoner took to Hal. These two cases are authenticated by the Archbishop of Cambray, already alluded to.

Our last instance shall be that of an Irish soldier named Denis Caran, who when eighteen years of age left Ireland to join the Swedish army. He lived as a good Catholic, and after a time left the service of the King of Sweden to enter that of the Emperor. Seven years after

leaving Ireland his legs became so swollen that he could not move without crutches, for which reason he was taken to the hospital of St. John in Brussels; he expressed so great an anxiety to make a pilgrimage to Hal that he was carried there in a cart. He got down at the gates of the town and with the greatest difficulty dragged himself to the church, where he remained the whole day. The following morning he was much worse, but on the third day feeling somewhat better, he again went to the church and prayed, after which, feeling some slight relief he returned to Brussels, but was far from being cured. Two months later he made another pilgrimage; and after another six months a third. This time he left one of his crutches. He then made a pilgrimage to Montaigu, where he left his other crutch. Finally, on May 8th, 1614, he went to Hal to thank Our Lady, to whom he attributed his cure.

The *ex-votos* in the church testify that the Help of Christians still rewards those who with faith invoke Her as Our Lady of Hal. A large number of pilgrims, mostly Brabançon, every year visit the Shrine, especially during the month of May. In 1878 it was recorded that the numbers amounted to more than 60,000. On Christmas Eve two bodies of pilgrims, chiefly drawn from the nobility of Brabant, visit the sanctuary: one body headed by a Capuchin Friar comes from Enghien, a place some ten or twelve miles from Hal, the other from Brussels. *No matter what the weather may be the whole journey is made on foot.* The pilgrims reach the church in time for the midnight Mass, during which they all receive Holy Communion. It will be a fitting conclusion to note that Pius VI. to encourage pilgrimage to Hal granted in perpetuity a plenary indulgence on the ordinary conditions to all who should visit the church on the seven principal feasts of Our Lady; during the Octave commencing on the first Sunday of September; and finally, on any one day in the year at choice.

E. W. Beck.

BRUNOLATRY: WHAT IT MEANS.

"Quell'uomo non ebbe alcum merito nè come cittadino, nè come letterato, nè come filosofo" (from the protest of the *Società Primaria Romana*).

THE world has always had firebrands enough to lead a row, and fools enough to follow them. When therefore a few revolutionary orators gathered a crowd around them in the *Campo dei fiori* in Rome and vowed a monument to Giordano Bruno on the spot which, according to anti-Catholic imaginations, was consecrated by his martyrdom, the newspapers fought over it for a few days, and there seemed to be an end of it. It was thought that the project would die out when the sudden gush of fierce zeal created by the evening's speech-making would cool. At any rate it was hoped that the municipality would not countenance it, and that Rome would be spared so much shame. But the revolutionists have had their way so far, and the municipal council have not only yielded to them but have even been represented in a deputation to secure the presence of Signor Crispi at the inauguration of the memorial. The Italian prime minister was equal to himself, and to the occasion. He said that as minister of the Crown he could not be present; but he assured them that he would be with them in spirit. He said that their victory was a glorious one, and that their coming demonstration needed no officialism to solemnize it. Signor Crispi has, it appears, one conscience for private and another for public use; one of principle, the other of expediency. The prime minister could not identify himself with the project, but Signor Crispi could and would!

But the organisers of the Bruno memorial have been more successful still. They have succeeded in getting an international committee; so that at the formal inauguration of the memorial on the 9th June, at which irreligion and anarchy must necessarily be preached if the panegyrists of the occasion duly honour their hero, the civilization of the old world and of the new will be represented. America is represented by H. E. Wright, Colonel R. Ingersoll, D. Thompson, &c.; England by Herbert Spencer, Max Müller,

J. Stansfield, A. Swinburne, and Charles Bradlaugh; Germany by E. Haeckel, L. Büchner, K. Fischer, &c.; France by E. Renan, Th. Ribot, A. Espinas, &c.

Reading the names of these men suggested many things. Such a committee is no doubt the most natural place for some of them, at least the most fitting that their antecedents and character could consistently assign them. Some of them are, in more than one respect, honoured names; and we cannot help doubting whether they took the trouble to realise the meaning of what they have lent themselves to. It is not easy to understand how men who have a reputation to lose could help in pulling Giordano Bruno out of the oblivion of three centuries, and placing him on a pedestal of immortality, if they had taken the trouble to inquire what there is in his life or works that is worthy of remembrance or honour. And yet, if they are acquainted with him and his works, the difficulty of understanding their action becomes greater still. It is to be presumed that the motive of honouring science in his person is common to them all, for fools and philosophers are crazed by the bare name of "science" in these days; and we shall see what kind of science Bruno taught. We shall see also that neither American, nor English, nor French, nor German, have much reason to be grateful to their representatives for honouring a man whose conduct made every country to which he fled too hot for him to stay there, and who repaid hospitality by travestying the national peculiarities of those who received him, by his extravagant flattery of persons in power to whom he looked for patronage, and by his extravagant mockery of the common people from whom he had nothing to get.

If they meant to honour liberty of thought in honouring him, their purpose shows an amazing ignorance of their hero; for liberty of thought with Bruno meant precisely what it means in practice with most freethinkers, that is, liberty for themselves to think and say and do as they like, and liberty to revile and howl down everyone who dares to think or speak or do otherwise. When we consider that the memory of this newly-unearthed hero had nearly died out before his own generation, that few records of his time have preserved his

name, that literary or scientific writers since then rarely mention him, and only with dishonour, natural curiosity bids us to ask what can it be that has in our generation awakened his name into honour and life. The answer is revealed in the religious and moral condition of the dominant element in Italy to-day. The work of the Piedmontese intruders has been going on regularly for over eighteen years, and the monument to Bruno is their latest inspiration. Their purpose is not so much to honour Bruno as to insult the Pope; for we shall presently see how little there is to honour in Bruno. It is not admiration for his depraved philosophy that inspires them, but hatred for religion. Probably most of them know little and care less about what doctrines he taught; but his hatred for all religious belief, which he deserted, is well known to them all, and they honour him just for his apostacy.

Let us first see the ostensible reason of this international Brunolatry; and then turning from the professions and pretensions of the admirers of Bruno we shall look at the reality in Bruno himself as he was in the flesh, and as he thought, and acted, and impressed his generation.

In the circular issued by the acting committee in 1885 we find the following:—

"In the monument which we propose to erect to Bruno there ought to be before all things a high moral meaning—gratitude to the hero of thought, to the herald of the new philosophy which permits us to think and speak freely, and a high civil meaning, to carry out that purpose as becomes men who desire the glory of a nation redeemed by great sacrifices. And we will find a response amongst every civilised people, because Bruno preached the gospel of the new civilisation in Switzerland, France, Germany, England, &c. This monument is a great reparation, a tardy tribute of gratitude and admiration. It cannot and ought not to be an instrument of religious passions or burning politics. The erection of a monument to Bruno, who was a martyr to liberty of conscience, is a sign that that liberty should be acknowledged everywhere, and respected in all. No Italian who desires a Rome worthy of the new Italy, and of the new civilisation, can refuse to co-operate; no person who feels that he is a son of liberty of thought can deny a tribute of recognition to the great philosopher who was a heroic martyr to it."

If these statements were true, if these professions were

sincere, Bruno undoubtedly deserves the honours of the *piazza*, and the promoters of the memorial are the proper persons to solemnize his canonization. But we shall presently see that the statements are falsehoods, and that the professions cover an hypocrisy which is betrayed by the indiscreet zeal and belied by the daily acts of the promoters themselves.

Giordano Bruno was born in the year 1548 in Nola, in Campania, one of the oldest towns in the Kingdom of Naples. His father was neither rich nor noble, as Giordano used to pretend. He was a Neapolitan soldier, and the Neapolitan army at that time was, both as to pay and as to men, very much like our present militia. The family inhabited a modest dwelling at the foot of the Cicalian hills, in a *paese* renowned for its exquisite wine and for the richness of its soil. Giordano received his early education in his native town, and at the age of twelve was taken by his uncle to Naples for a course of higher studies. We know from himself that this consisted in what was known in mediæval schools as the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*—Arithmetic, geometry, music, logic, poetry, physics, metaphysics, &c. Not a very limited course, under the shadow of the Inquisition! In Naples he had the advantage of studying under two men remarkable for their learning and piety; yet it is probably at this time he began to inhale the noxious vapour of heresy and unbelief of which he became in after life so fierce an apostle. If it be asked how, we may, perhaps, attribute it to certain reunions held by some of the students, which, in order to allow more freedom of discussion, enjoyed privileges that kept them more or less independent of the Inquisition. Before Bruno's time they were much in vogue, but they were condemned by Paul III., in 1542, owing to propositions being defended in them which savoured of the tendency of the time. Yet, although as an institution these clubs ceased, some ardent spirits, no doubt, upheld them privately, of whom Bruno by all accounts was one.

Drawn away by two opposing currents, both exercised an influence over him. The restless spirit fostered at the reunions turned him with the current of error that was

beginning to flow through Europe; the old faith which he brought with him, rich as the soil of his native Campania, and informed by the Christian science of his teachers, led him to seek shelter from disaster in the cloisters of San Domenico Maggiore.

This was in 1563, three years after he went to Naples. The name he received at baptism was Philip. It was when he entered religion that he took the name Giordano, after St. Dominick's successor in the government of the order. He went through the course of novitiate and studies, and was ordained priest in 1572. He was then sent to a convent of the order in Campagna, where the beauty of the scenery should have helped the solitude and peace of his cloister to preserve in his soul an abiding feeling of God's presence. But Bruno was restless, and was soon sent elsewhere, and again to another convent and to another. In one place he was unhappy with his companions, in another with his superiors, in another he was dissatisfied with the food or with the air. It was the first spring of the current rippling through the fissures of his soul, and it only required self-neglect and time to make its way down the mountain rocks of remorse in an irresistible flood.

For three years this restlessness tried the patience and prudence of his superiors, and in 1576 he was ordered to return to San Domenico, where he had spent his novitiate. This significant exercise of power by his superiors made him feel more sensibly the repressive influence of authority. For that reason living under rule came to be doubly difficult to him. The reckless passion that was fermenting in his will soon made way for itself into overt insubordination. The process of destruction had evidently been going on in him for some time, for he soon showed a decided leaning to Arianism, and did not care to conceal his doubts about the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation. Indeed, as transpires from the work itself, he was at this time thinking out the plan of a disgraceful comedy called the *Candelajo*, which he wrote and published some years after. As there was little hope for better things, the prudence of his superiors that had made them deal with him mildly up to

this now bade them to take stronger measures, and they denounced him before the Inquisition. Through fear of the consequences he fled from Naples and went to Rome, where he was received in the Convent of the Minerva. A letter followed him to Rome, making known to the superiors of the Minerva the cause of his flight. Finding danger closing round him here again, he fled from the Minerva, and, casting away his religious habit, made his way to Genoa. He taught grammar at Noli; met Paolo Sarpi in Venice—*arcades ambo*,—visited Turin, got hospitality from the Dominican Fathers at Chambery, and arrived in Geneva towards the close of the year 1576.

In Geneva he found two opposing religious factions—the native Calvinists and a colony of Italian Waldenses. When he left his baptismal faith he had leaped over the only barrier that could stand for an instant between his erratic spirit and universal unbelief, and he was not likely to bow to either of the two newly-made creeds he found there before him, confident as he undoubtedly was that he himself could make one a great deal better. He did not, therefore, fraternise with the Calvinists or the Waldenses; he despised them both, and in turn received a welcome from neither. From Geneva he went to Lyons, and thence to Toulouse, where he arrived in the early part of 1577. In Geneva and Lyons he eked out a livelihood by correcting proof sheets; but in Toulouse he parted company with the printer's devil, and is pictured by his panegyrists, to the gaping admiration of his worshippers, as seated in a chair of philosophy, expounding to thirsting intellects the method of Raymund Lullo, and refuting the peripatetics. He won his professor's chair by public concursus, so his worshippers say; and he wrote a book. It was a treatise on the soul, we are told; but it has not reached us unfortunately, and so the Brunolators are left to mourn a valuable item in their liturgy. In 1579 he went to Paris, and gave a course of lectures at the Sorbonne by permission of the rector. In these he propounded doctrines subversive of Christianity, and, of course, had at once to desist. During his stay in Paris he published four books, one of which he dedicated to

Henry III. in language of slavish adulation, which is enough to cover with mockery the homage now sought for him in the name of liberty by our self-commissioned apostles of light.

After four years' stay in Paris he crossed over to England, and through the influence of the French ambassador obtained permission to deliver a course of lectures at Oxford. In his lectures he played the philosopher by exhibiting for the instruction of his audience a clumsy modification of the metempsychosis of the ancients. He shocked the faculty by his doctrines, and in a controversy that ensued in consequence he used language that should be less expected in the debating hall of a university than amongst the philosophers of a fishmarket. As we shall have to return later on to his sayings and doings in England, we will at once follow him back again to France, where he arrived in 1585. Evidently the light of his philosophy shone more dimly in the eyes of the doctors of the Sorbonne than it did before, for he passed into Germany without delay. He spent a few days at Mayence, invoked the genius of Luther at Wittenburg, visited Prague, Helmstadt, and Frankfort, and arrived again in Venice after ten years of capricious wandering.

It appears that he came to Venice at the instigation of Mocenigo, a Venetian politician, who had heard a great deal about him. He was undeceived before long. He found that he had mistaken an irreligious charlatan for a philosopher. He was shocked by the doctrines of Bruno, and denounced him before the Inquisition on May 23rd, 1592, for such specimens of wisdom as the following:—He taught that the Real Presence is blasphemy; that the Mass is an imposture; that all religions are false; that Christ was an impostor and the inventor of impostures; that the Trinity would be an imperfection in God; that the world is eternal, and that the number of worlds is infinite; that there is no punishment for sin; that the soul is a product of nature, and not a creation of God; that the soul passes from one animal into another and is the same in man as in beast, etc.

His panegyrists to-day are never tired of setting forth his

courage. No meeting of his worshippers is complete unless some orator flourish, as if in the teeth of Christians, the heroic answer he is alleged to have made to the Roman Inquisitors at his condemnation—"Maggiore timore provate voi nel pronunziar la sentenza contro di me che non io nel riceverla." Perhaps he said so; but if he did he must have made amazing progress in courage since his trial before the Inquisitors of Venice. The following are the words of this martyr to conviction, as found in the records of his trial:—

"Possibly, during this long course of time, I have erred more, and wandered away from Holy Church in other ways besides those already exposed. But, if so, I do not remember. I have confessed, and do willingly confess, my errors. I am here in your hands to receive a remedy for my salvation. I cannot tell you how great is my sorrow for my misdeeds. I humbly ask pardon of God and of you for all my errors, and I am here ready to do whatever you in your prudence may ordain and think best for my soul. I would prefer a punishment rather severe in itself than a public one, lest any dishonour may fall thereby on the religious habit that I have worn. And if, by the mercy of God and you, I be allowed to live, I promise to make a notable reformation in my life, which may counteract the scandal I have given."

There could be no more fervent protestation of sorrow and submission than this, and he made other protestations equally humble. But it must have been either insincere at the time it was made, or, if it was sincere, it was only a temporary cessation of the storm that was raging in his soul, for it broke out again more fiercely, and made him recalcitrant once more. If it were otherwise, he would never have been brought before the Roman Inquisition; there would have been no meaning in it. But he was taken to Rome, and was tried there. Everything that patience and prudence suggested was done to wean him from insubordination and error. His sentence was held over for seven years in the hope of his final submission. But in vain; for on January 20th, 1600, the following official report was made in reference to him:—"Dixit quod non debet nec vult resipiscere, et non habet quid resipiscat, nec habet materiam resipiscendi; et nescit super quo debet resipiscere." If we are to believe himself he had many things to retract eight

years before, and he most humbly retracted them. Now he has nothing to be sorry for; he has no reason and does not wish to repent. There is not very much heroism in all this, and there is less truthfulness and consistency.

On February 8th, 1600, he received his final sentence of condemnation. The process of degradation from the ecclesiastical state was gone through, and he was handed over to the secular power.

A good deal of fire and fury has been let loose on the Church on account of the burning of Bruno by those who have been seized with this sudden mania for immortalizing him. They take it for granted that he was burnt; they even point out the exact spot. It is not to our purpose now to sift the truth of it, and I would be very far from going the length of denying it. At the same time it is well to remember that the burning of Bruno is not at all so certain as his disciples would ask the world to believe. Balan, the learned continuator of Rohrbacher's *Ecclesiastical History*, gives some reasons that throw a good deal of discredit on it. Again, it is not the scope of this article to defend the action of the Church in condemning Bruno to death. But admitting that Bruno was not only sentenced, but also that the sentence was executed; admitting also alleged facts of a similar nature about which a certain class have been howling at the Church for the last three centuries, the admission of such facts would not at all justify such denunciation. Ignorance, bigotry, and hatred, have always played an important part in this matter, in fact they have had nearly all to do with it. Two things have to be kept distinct for the right understanding of it, namely, the action of the Inquisition and the action of the State. The Inquisition declared a man a heretic or a blasphemer, the secular power then took and dealt with his crime in its own way and according to its own laws. The Inquisition was established really to guide and curb the excessive laws made by the State for the extirpation of heresy. And in making such laws the State was not aggressive but defensive. The Albigensian heresy, for instance, was not merely a movement of religious error; the doctrines embodied in it were anti-social as well. In fact they directly went to

undermine all morality, for it was nothing more than a mixture of manicheism and the errors of pagan origin. And if the errors of the Reformation have not come to be equally subversive of civil authority, it is not because the germs are not contained in them, but because the reformers were not logical. The experience of statesmen taught them to consider religious error as tending to destroy the power which it was their office to sustain, and they could not be expected in those days to make distinctions between one heresy and another, or to make allowances for the possible inconsistency of those who chose to embrace religious error without following it on to its natural consequences. Again, wherever the Roman Inquisition had influence very few cases of capital punishment for heresy or blasphemy can be proved. In Spain it was otherwise, and against the repeated disapproval of the Pope. Neither is it fair to look back with disapproval on the cruelty of the Spanish Inquisitors without remembering that what we abhor now as cruel was looked upon then as a matter of course and a matter of necessity, and without remembering also that in this respect the executioner had a more busy time of it in Protestant England than in Catholic Spain. And this appears all the more abnormal and ridiculous when we reflect that in Protestant countries men were sent to the block precisely for using the religious liberty which Protestantism pretended to give, because forsooth they dared to differ from the teaching of a church that could not even dare to assure them that they were wrong. In Spain it was quite the reverse; if men were executed they were assured of being in error because their doctrines were condemned by a Church that was held to be infallibly right. In this self-willed generation we are shocked at the thought of any one having to suffer for heresy or blasphemy. And if we are asked why, we appeal to public opinion as the standard of morality; and we are proud of our ethics. But with all our cleverness and love of liberty we are either too stupid or too wilful to see that three hundred years ago "public opinion" called for the punishment of blasphemy just as in our "wise" generation it says to us "why may not a man blaspheme if he like? That is his own business." Let us see a little more how inconsistent

we are. A man is sent to the gallows or the guillotine for treason felony and we say that he richly deserved it, whilst we gape with horror because three centuries ago the same end awaited a man who blasphemed God; as if the crime of *laesae majestatis* were an unpardonable enormity and the crime of *laesae Divinitatis* only a trifle. Murder is also becoming a trifle with us, and capital punishment for any crime is gradually disappearing; so that some of us may live to witness "*our* barbarity" abhorred by a new generation as heartily as we damn the cruelty of the Spanish Inquisitors.

But this is rather wandering from our subject. Our purpose is to see whether Giordano Bruno deserves a monument; and if not, whether its promoters go on with it because they admire Bruno, or because they hate the Church. This rapid sketch of Bruno's life has been given in order to prepare us for the opinions which were entertained of him by his contemporaries, by men of succeeding generations up to the present, and by the present generation also, save of course the promoters of his memorial, who, forsooth, are too enlightened to acknowledge Christ and yet are slavish enough to worship the philosopher of Nola. We have no means of knowing him unless from his works or from the testimony of his contemporaries; and neither in the one nor in the other do we find the slightest evidence of his greatness. Of the writers of the sixteenth century only four or five mention him at all. All they say about him could be reprinted in a quarto page, and indeed his character would not gain much by the publication. Let us see what subsequent writers thought of him. Tiraboschi says:—

"A lover of order, of precision, of clearness, will look for them in vain in the works of Bruno. Verbose, confused, obscure, it is difficult to know what he means in many places. Brucker has given us a compendium of his philosophy, but I defy the most acute mind to penetrate the system or the patience of man to read it through. Everything is enveloped in darkness and in mysterious expressions of which he himself probably did not understand the meaning." (*Storia della letteratura Italiana*, vol. vii.)

Andres calls his philosophy "extravagant and unintelligible." (*Origine d'ogni letteratura*, vol. v.)

Bayle, who would certainly not fall out with him for his infidelity, says that:—

"His principal doctrines are a thousand times more obscure than the most incomprehensible things ever written by the disciples of Aquinas or Scotus. He had the ridiculous notion that what he taught was a new departure from the hypothesis of the peripatetics, whilst the contrary appears from his works. In fact he borrowed much that is to be found in his works from Aristotle and Plato. He owes everything to one or another ancient philosopher, and nothing or very little to himself." (*Dictionnaire historique et critique, Ant. Bruno*, vol. i.).

To the mind of Bayle the philosophy of Bruno must have been inexpressibly foolish, inasmuch as he thought it a thousand times more unintelligible than that of the Schoolmen; for everybody knows how truly contemptible indeed they would be if they really were what Bayle represented them to be. He says elsewhere:—

"The hypothesis of Bruno is at bottom that of Spinoza. Both were extravagant pantheists. Between those two atheists the only difference is one of method; the method of Bruno is that of the rhetorician, the method of Spinoza that of the geometrician. Bruno did not trouble himself about precision; he used a figurative language which often hinders clearness. The hypothesis of both surpasses the aggregate of all imaginable extravagances. It is the most monstrous that man could imagine, the most absurd, the most directly opposed to all the most evident ideas of our intelligence."

Carlo Botta calls him "a visionary, the propounder of silly opinions and of atrocious blasphemies." Cousin says that "in his speculations he was not guided by analysis; he stumbled over principles which he had not studied, and fell into the abyss of an absolute unity that was bereft of the intellectual and moral character of a divinity."

Such was the philosopher. What was thought of his literature? Maffei calls the *Candelajo* "an infamous and wicked comedy." What was thought of it by the Italians as a people may be judged from the fact that Wagner deeply offended them by saying that the personages of the *Candelajo* were representative of the Italians of the sixteenth century. But if the promoters of the memorial could be considered a representative body we should conclude that the Italians of the present day have undergone an entire change in their

ideas of propriety. Fortunately, however, for the Italian character they are more representative of the historic Three of Tooley-street than of the Roman people. Terenzio Mamiani says that it is "without grace and purity of language;" and yet, with strange inconsistency, his name appears on the committee list of 1885.

Having seen what others thought of Bruno, it will be instructive now to see what Bruno thought of himself. From the rapid glance we have taken of his chequered life we should be inclined to think that his was a spirit played upon by varying and discordant feelings. And so it was. In some parts of his works, the internal war between conscience and passion reveals itself in expressions of angry melancholy; in other places he exalts himself to the pinnacle of intellectual greatness, and from his tripod treats all gainsayers with disgusting contempt expressed in appropriately disgusting language. In the introduction to the *Candelajo* he describes himself as—

"Quarrelsome angry, capricious, satisfied with nothing, fitful as an old man of eighty, uneasy as a dog bitten in a thousand places, fed on onions. If you knew him you would say he has a bewildering appearance. He appears as if he were always meditating on the pains of hell. He is like one who laughs merely in order to do as others do."

In the dedicatory letter of one of his works to the Professors of Oxford, he speaks of himself as—

"Doctor of an exquisite theology and professor of a philosophy purer and more innocent than that which is usually taught; the awakener of the sleeping; the conqueror of presumptuous ignorance and obstinacy; neither Italian nor Briton, male or female, bishop or laic, but a citizen of the world, a child of the sun his father and of the earth his mother."

Comparing himself with Columbus and other historic personages, he asks if they are so extolled—

"What is to be said of him [*i.e.* Bruno himself] who has found a way of penetrating up into the heavens, of running along the circumference of the stars, &c.?"

Again:

"Bruno has set free the human mind and the knowledge that enclosed in the elevated prison of an agitated atmosphere from which

through a few portholes he was just able to observe the most distant stars, and his wings were clipped to prevent him from flying aloft to remove the veil of the clouds and pry into what is really to be found there, and to free himself from the chimeras of those who, having come out from the mire and caverns of the earth like Mercuries and Apollos descended from heaven, by many impostures have filled the whole world with an infinity of silly notions, divinities and doctrines, extinguishing that light which made the intellects of our ancient fathers divine and heroic, approving and fostering the midnight darkness of sophists and asses."

The unintelligible character of these words will naturally be attributed by the reader to a defective English rendering of the original. The translation could, no doubt, be better; but at best much sense cannot be expected in the translation of what is incoherent nonsense in the original. It seems that he meant to proclaim himself as the liberator of the human mind kept in prison before his time, as the morning-star casting the first ray of the light of ancient philosophy over the world after it had been extinguished by "sophists and asses," who under the guise of heaven-sent teachers had debased mankind. He elsewhere speaks of his "*divine*" doctrines, and says they found favour with all intelligent persons on whom exalted teaching is not lost. Such persons, he says, are worthy of being able to understand him; others prefer to grope in darkness.

"One alone (he says) can by himself conquer and shall triumph over the general ignorance that prevails; for no number of eye-balls can equal one eye that sees, and no number of fools can cope with one wise man." (*La cena de le ceneri.*)

When he felt dissatisfied with the expressions of admiration that greeted him in England, he accounted for it by saying that they were not great enough to appreciate him.

"If this land (he says) instead of giving forth a thousand grim giants were to produce as many Alexanders, you would see more than five-hundred of them coming to pay court to this Diogenes." (*La cena de le ceneri.*)

The unchecked germs of vanity and conceit had been growing apace in him since his boyhood, and he became contemptuous of serious study, and was above learning from others. That begat ignorance; and pride and ignorance

combined to stupify him into the senseless rubbish we have quoted. It seems hard to account for it otherwise.

Turning back again to the circular issued by the promoters of the memorial, we recollect him as the "hero of thought," the "herald of the new philosophy," the "martyr to liberty of conscience."

It is to be presumed that Bruno knew his own mind and feelings better than those who seek to canonize him to-day. Let him speak for himself. The following expressions from the works of this herald of liberty are not very becoming quotations to appear in print, but their purpose must be our apology. They bring out before us not a philosopher or a liberal thinker but an intolerant trifler whose highest aim seems to have been to heap mockery on everything, and to play the buffoon regardless of self-respect or the criticisms of others. Of one who happened to be of a different way of thinking from his own he says:—

"I should not be surprised if he were nephew of the ass that was kept in Noah's ark to preserve the species."

Summing up a mixture of argument and defiance against another, he says:—

"Hence the ravens croak, the wolves howl, the pigs grunt, the sheep bleat, the cows bellow, the horses neigh, the asses bray."

Elsewhere he expresses a wish that some brother free-thinkers who did not agree with him, would be "despatched by fire or by the halter." He thought

"It would be a sacrifice most acceptable to the gods and a benefit to the world to persecute and clear heretics off the face of the earth;"

for he says,

"They are worse than locusts and harpies; the pest of the world, they should be chased from heaven and earth; they are less worthy of mercy than wolves, bears, and serpents."

Again he says—

"It would be a small punishment to drive them away from the society of men. It is only right that after death they should take up their abode in swine, these being the most stupid animals on the earth."

If those specimens indicate the spirit of liberty that inspired Bruno, the world of common sense may well wish his disciples joy with their inheritance.

It may be interesting and instructive to the English members of the Memorial Committee to know what Bruno thought of the English people. I do not refer to those in power, from whom the itinerant philosopher might expect patronage or favour; for on such persons he lavished words of flattery too extravagant to be sincere. But quite otherwise does he speak of the people. He calls them "low, uncivilized, rough, boorish, ill-bred," &c. He compares them to a "sewer," and says that "if they were not kept down by others [meaning those in power] they would send up such stuff and stench as would cover the entire people." It would be well worth the while of those four Englishmen who think him worthy of the honour of a pedestal and the *piazza*, to observe these select expressions of this literary hero, and the vile metaphor they are used by him to express. Let us have another specimen. When an Englishman, he says, "sees a foreigner he appears like a wolf or a bear; he looks at him with a surly countenance such as a pig puts on when obstructed at its food." He says again, "they are an ignoble lot of artisans and shopkeepers, who sneer at you once they know you are a stranger, hiss at you in derision, call you a dog, a traitor, a foreigner." If these specimens of propriety be a key to the character of Bruno, his English hosts never more truly called a spade a spade than when they called such a man "a dog, a traitor, a foreigner." When the Professors of Oxford took exception to the doctrines he propounded there he called them "bifolchi," which may be fairly translated by the word "clod."

A little more of his views on Oxford. He says—

"There reigns there a constellation of pedantic obstinate ignorance and presumption, with a rustic uncouthness that would overcome the patience of Job."

And then he goes on with sneers and sarcasms to describe its professors as—

"Select men, men with long robes, dressed in velvet, with caps of velvet, wearing chains about their neck instead of which a halter

would become them much better; they are brainless, insensate, stupid and most ignorant; they are not capable of understanding what Nola teaches."

He repaid German hospitality in a similar fashion. He says that in Germany "gluttony is extolled, magnified, and glorified amongst the heroic virtues, and drunkenness is numbered as one of the divine attributes." The following I give in the original; it defies translation, or, at least, would be spoilt by it:—

"Col trink e retrink, bibe e rebibe, ructa e reructa, cespita necespita, vomi revomi usque ad egurgitationem utriusque juris i.e. del brodo, butargo, minestra, cervello, anima e salzicchia, videbitur porcus porcorum in gloria Ciacchi. Vadasene con quello l'ebrietade, la qual non vedete là in abito Tedesco con un paio di bragoni tanto grandi che paiono le bigonce del mendicante abbate di Sant' Antonio, e con quel braghettone che dal mezzo del'uno e l'altro si discopre, di sorte che por che voglia arietare il paradiso?" (*Spaccio della bestia trionfante.*)

After all this which we have just been told about Bruno, both by himself and by those who ought to have known him better than his worshippers of to-day, nobody will question the fairness of the following summary of his character made by one of the greatest historians of our time. Cesare Cantù says of him:—

"Intolerant, sarcastic, he exalts himself as much as he depreciates others. He lays down dogmatically what is more than questionable. He trifles with the most serious problems, repeating unseemly jokes about sacred things." (*Gl'Eretici in Italia*, vol. iii.)

At the outset it was the purpose of the writer to give a short analysis of the philosophy of Bruno, and of the tumble-down edifice of religion and ethics that he built upon it; but this article has already grown beyond its intended limits. Enough, however, and more than is good for one, can be known of them from the summary already given of the charges on which he was tried by the Inquisitors of Venice, and from the incidental references contained in the extracts given in the course of the article. Indeed, it is a mistake to think that he had a system of philosophy at all; much less true would it be to say that he had a system of

religion and morals. If we were asked to state in one sentence what Bruno's philosophy was, perhaps the most comprehensive answer would be that it was Pantheism, with all the circumstantial excrescences that could grow on it in the mind of one who did not understand clearly what Pantheism is. As to his religion and ethics they ran parallel to his life, wandering about in ceaseless change from post to pillar. The religious theories he held to-day were not the same that he held to-morrow, and he was just as ready for another change the day after. Doctrines floated about in his brain, shading and shifting one another aside like the dissolving views of a magic lantern, the number of changes being limited only by the creative power of his imagination, inspired by passion. But we have seen evidence of his intolerant spirit. We have seen him as painted by himself, and a despicable picture it is. We have looked out for him, neglected and unhonoured by his own contemporaries. We have seen his character criticised and his name despised since then by Catholics and Protestants, by historians and philosophers, by faithful and infidel. All this is enough to enable us to judge whether his memory is worth preserving, and whether to take part in erecting a monument to him is worthy of philosophers or of fools. And if there be one thing more than another that can emphasise the conclusion to which common sense must lead us in this regard, it is the irrational rant that is being impudently proclaimed during these weeks from the dead walls of Rome, and backed by the names of those on the international committee already referred to, some of whom, at least, have a reputation to lose.

"The monument (says the proclamation) is a symbol of mutual toleration in the liberty of thought, of religion, and of worship. Here the Pope can pontificate freely in the face of the State which guards the right of sovereignty; the friars can threaten believers with the terrors of death in presence of the Athenaeum, which guards the rights of life and the laws of nature."

This manifesto has one merit at any rate; it sets forth the disciples of Bruno as worthy worshippers of their hero. The synthesis of Bruno's life was, that he prated perpetually

about liberty, and as we have seen never practised it towards others; the synthesis of the aims and actions of his disciples is, that they want liberty to do what they like, and liberty into the bargain to crush anyone else who wants to do likewise. "The Pope can pontificate freely in the face of the State," say the apostles of liberty; just so, and as a token of truthfulness, the new penal code has been shaped to muzzle the bishops of Italy. "The friars can threaten believers with the terrors of death," continue the virtuous worthies; and a petard is exploded in the Church of San Carlo to emphasise their insults to Padre Agostino. Our Divine Lord once said that "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light." Those who initiated the project of placing Bruno on a pedestal know well what they are about. To serve their purpose is enough to make a hero; to afford them an occasion to abuse the Church and to blaspheme God is the *tessera* of a philosopher. Hence does Bruno find favour in their sight. In 1789 the firebrands of the French Revolution enthroned a wretched woman in the Cathedral of Notre Dame and called her the Goddess of Reason. Rome to-day has its Montagnards also, and they have their God of Reason in the statue of Bruno, whom they have suddenly dragged out of the oblivion of three centuries, and declare the "herald of the new philosophy." If all goes well then, we shall have a significant centenary celebration on the 9th of June. Perhaps it is that in Bruno Mr. Herbert Spencer, "our great philosopher," as Darwin called him, has at last found his "Great Unknown;" and if so he can thank heaven at any rate that he kneels down with a blessed congregation to worship him.

M. O'Riordan.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.—Fasting Days outside of Lent.

"Would the Editor kindly inform his readers as to the regulations for ordinary fasting days out of Lent, viz., about the quality of food allowed. Thanks to the clear exposition by his Grace of Dublin we now know what allowances are made for *aetas*, *valetudo*, &c., in Lent. But do the Indults relaxing the law apply and extend to all the other fast days outside the Lent, or do they leave them to the tender mercies of the Common Law of fasting?

"Inquirer."

In order to reply fully to this question it is necessary to inquire, 1°, in a general way what *kind* of food is allowed on extra-lenten fasting days? 2°, What kind of food therefore may be taken on those days by persons who are bound to *abstain*, but are not bound to *fast?* 3, What kind of food may be taken by those who are bound to *fast?* And 4°, do the Lenten indults extend to fast days outside of Lent?

1.

What *kind* of food is allowed on extra-lenten fast days? The general law of the Church forbids the use of meat only on fast days outside of Lent. This is the common teaching of theologians (St. Lig., n. 1009.) Eggs, milk, butter, &c., are therefore not forbidden by the common law of the Church on extra-lenten fasting days; and wherever they are forbidden the law is purely local.

2.

What kind of food therefore may be taken on those days by persons who are not bound to fast: *e.g.* persons under twenty-one years?

They are *ex hypothesi* exempt or excused from the law of *fasting;* they are of course bound not to exceed the limits of temperance; but they are not restricted by ecclesiastical law in the number of their meals, nor in the quantity of food which they may take. And as extra-lenten *abstinence*, which regulates the *kind* of food that may be taken, forbids only the

use of meat, such persons may take eggs, milk, butter, &c., at their different meals during the day. Extra-lenten fast days are therefore the same as ordinary Fridays for persons who are not bound to *fast*, but are bound to *abstain.*

I must notice one exception to this rule. In this country when the Vigils of SS. Peter and Paul, the Assumption, All Saints, and the Nativity, *fall on Friday*, eggs are not allowed.

3.

What *kind* of food may be taken on those days by persons who are bound to fast?

We must distinguish between the principal meal and the collation. At the *principal meal*, as meat alone is forbidden, they may take eggs and lacticinia—of course eggs are forbidden on the Vigils already enumerated. May they take eggs and lacticinia at the *collation?* Why may they not? Is it not the law of *abstinence* that determines the *quality* of food which may be taken, and does not extra-lenten abstinence confine its prohibition to the use of meat alone? But, as the RECORD has often explained, the law of *fasting*, too, exercises a control over the *kind* of food that may be taken at the *collation* by persons who are bound to fast. The law of *fasting* in its ancient rigour allowed only one meal in the day; outside this one meal it forbade every kind of food—bread, meat, eggs, lacticinia, &c. Custom, however, has considerably modified the rigour of fasting; and now the law of fasting forbids every kind of food outside the principal meal which is not sanctioned by custom. It is custom therefore which shall determine the quality of food that may be taken at the collation, and likewise its quantity and time. In this country custom does not allow eggs at the collation, therefore they may not be taken. Custom allows the use of milk in tea. The use of butter at the collation was discussed in the March number of the RECORD.

4.

The Lenten indults relaxing the law of abstinence do not affect fasting days outside the Lenten time.

II.—An Un-Annotated English Version of the New Testament.—The Jurisdiction of Curates.

Rev. Sir,—Would you be good enough to give, in the next issue of the Record, your opinion of an edition of the New Testament which I think is pretty generally scattered through the country. It has neither note nor comment, and is called "Douay Testament." It bears a recommendation of Dr. Troy, and an extract from a Rescript of Pius VII. to the Vicars Apostolic of Great Britain. It bears the name of Richard Coyne, of Capel-street, as printer; but though it has all these signs of orthodoxy, I greatly fear it is not Catholic nor the sort *that Catholics should read.*

"2° Have curates in this country jurisdiction to hear the confessions of their own parishioners outside their own diocese, as parish priests have.

"Please answer the above in the Record and oblige

"Vicarius."

1° It is not lawful to read the edition of the New Testament which is described by our correspondent. "Scripturae et libri controversiarum in lingua vernacula legi non possunt, nisi approbati fuerint a S. Sede; vel editi cum notis desumptis ex sanctis Ecclesiae Patribus, vel doctis Catholicisque viris" (Gury, Ed., Ball, p. ii., n. 984, 3.)

2° Curates cannot hear the confessions of their own parishioners outside their own diocese as parish priests can. They cannot hear confessions outside their own diocese without the approbation of the bishop of the place where the confessions are heard.

D. Coghlan.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

The Ceremonies of some Ecclesiastical Functions.

Solemn Mass.

Chapter VI.—From the Incensation to the Gospel.

Section I.—The Introit and "Kyrie."

The Celebrant as soon as the deacon has incensed him turns by his left to the Missal and reads the *Introit*, signing himself as at Low Mass; and, without moving from the epistle corner, he recites the *Kyrie* alternately with the sacred ministers. Having recited the *Kyrie* he may go with the sacred ministers to the bench, or he may remain standing at the epistle corner, or he may go to the centre of the altar until the choir has finished singing the *Kyrie*.

The Deacon and Sub-deacon immediately after the incensing of the celebrant take their places at the altar, make the sign of the cross with the celebrant at the first words of the *Introit*, and say the *Kyrie* alternately with him. The deacon's place is on the highest step of the altar, behind the celebrant, but a little to his right towards the epistle corner; the sub-deacons on the lowest step, or *in plano*, behind, and to the right of the deacon.[1] When the celebrant has recited the *Kyrie* the sacred ministers remain in their places if the celebrant does not move from the epistle corner. They accompany him if he goes to the centre of the altar or to the bench. If they go with the celebrant to the centre they turn by the left until their right is towards the altar, and walk to the centre, each on that step of the altar on which he stood during the *Introit*. Arrived at the centre, they turn towards the altar, and remain in a line behind the celebrant. If the celebrant goes to the bench, the sacred ministers go before him, the deacon on the left, the sub-deacon on the right, or both in a line, the sub-deacon in

[1] Authors generally.

front. Having reached the bench they turn face to face, leaving space for the celebrant to pass between them, and when the celebrant is sitting down they raise the chasuble, that it may not get crushed. The deacon then hands the celebrant his cap with the usual *quasi-oscula*, and holding their own caps, the sacred ministers salute the celebrant with a moderate inclination, and each other with an inclination of the head, and then take their seats beside the celebrant, the deacon on his right the sub-deacon on his left. While sitting they keep their hands resting on their knees either under or over the dalmatics.

The Master of Ceremonies receives the censer from the deacon, hands it to the thurifer, and takes his place at the missal on the celebrant's right. He points out the *Introit*, signs himself at the first words, and along with the deacon and sub-deacon says the *Kyrie* alternately with the celebrant. If the sacred ministers are to sit, he gives them the sign to go to the bench, accompanies them thither, and raises the dalmatic when the deacon is seating himself; then crossing his hands modestly on his breast he remains standing at the deacon's right until the choir begins to sing the last *Kyrie*.

The Acolytes remain standing beside the credence until the sacred ministers come to the bench, when the first acolyte moves towards the bench, that he may be at hand to raise the tunic when the sub-deacon is taking his seat. When the sacred ministers are seated, they, too, seat themselves on the bench provided for them. Should the sacred ministers not sit, the acolytes must remain standing.

The Thurifer carries the censer to the sacristy, and returns without delay to the sanctuary, where he takes his place between the acolytes. He salutes the choir both when going to the sacristy and on returning from it.

The Choir stands during the recitation of the *Introit* and *Kyrie*. The clergy sign themselves with the celebrant at the first words of the *Introit*. When the celebrant has finished the recitation of the *Kyrie*, the choir may sit, whether the sacred ministers sit or not. If the sacred ministers sit, the choir remains standing until the deacon and sub-deacon have sat down.

Section II.—The "Gloria in Excelsis."

The Celebrant at a sign from the master of ceremonies takes off his biretta, hands it to the deacon, and rising, follows the sacred ministers *per longiorem* to the altar, saluting the choir on the way. He genuflects at the centre of the altar, on the first step, goes up to the altar, and, when the singing has entirely ceased, intones the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, and recites in the middle tone of voice the remainder of the hymn. He remains at the centre of the altar until the choir has sung the *Gratias agimus*, when he may go to the bench, having previously saluted the altar with the proper reverence.

The Deacon and Sub-deacon while the choir is singing the last *Kyrie*, at a sign from the master of ceremonies uncover, rise, and salute the celebrant with a moderate inclination. The deacon receives the celebrant's cap with *quasi-oscula*, and places it with his own on the bench. The sub-deacon places his cap on the bench also, and goes to the centre of the altar *per longiorem*, followed by the deacon and celebrant. With them he salutes the choir on the way. Arrived at the foot of the altar, with the celebrant between them, the deacon and sub-deacon genuflect on the first step, raise the celebrant's alb, and accompany him up the steps of the altar. They do not, however, go upon the predella, but each one steps into his own place behind the celebrant, the deacon on the highest step, the sub-deacon on the lowest step, or *in plano*.

When the celebrant has intoned the *Gloria* they genuflect, and go up to the predella, the deacon to the right, the sub-deacon to the left of the celebrant. They recite the *Gloria* with the celebrant in a subdued tone, and make a profound inclination of the head at the words at which the celebrant makes this reverence. When the celebrant at the end of the hymn salutes the altar, they also salute it with a genuflection, whether the Blessed Sacrament is present or not, and immediately proceed in front of the celebrant to the bench, on which they take their seat in the manner already described. They uncover and incline during the singing of the *Gloria* when the master of ceremonies gives them the signal.

The Master of Ceremonies invites the sacred ministers to rise and go to the altar when the choir begins to sing the last *Kyrie*, he himself meanwhile going to the Epistle corner and standing there *in plano* his face towards the altar. When the choir has sung *Gratias agimus*, he invites the sacred ministers to return to the bench, as after the *Kyrie*. When they are seated he stands at the deacon's right, and gives the signal to the sacred ministers to uncover while the choir is singing the words in the *Gloria* which require this reverence.

The Acolytes and Thurifer rise with the sacred ministers and remain standing, turned towards the altar, until the sacred ministers have resumed their seats, when they also sit. They genuflect and incline along with the sacred ministers.

The Choir rises as soon as the master of ceremonies gives the signal to the sacred ministers to rise, and immediately turns towards the altar. The clergy return the salute of the sacred ministers, and when the celebrant has intoned the *Gloria* they turn *in chorum*, that is, each side of the choir turns towards the other. They incline at the *Adoramus te*, and at the *Gratias agimus*, when sung by the chanters, and make the sign of the cross at the *cum Sancto Spiritu* when said by the celebrant, and resume the sitting position as soon as the deacon and sub-deacon have taken their seats, but not until then. They uncover and incline while the words of the *Gloria* at which this reverence is made are being sung.

Section III.—The Collects and Epistle.

The Celebrant rises while the choir sings the *cum Sancto Spiritu* at the end of the *Gloria*, and proceeds to the centre of the altar in the same manner, and with the same salutations as when going to say the *Gloria*. He genuflects on the first step,[1] goes up to the altar, which he kisses, and turning round by his left he sings the *Dominus vobiscum*. He then proceeds to the missal and inclining towards the cross he sings *Oremus*; and after this, being turned towards

[1] If the Blessed Sacrament is in the tabernacle: if the Blessed Sacrament is not present he inclines profoundly.

the missal and having his hands extended, he sings the collects, appending, as in a Low Mass, the proper conclusion to the first and last, and prefacing the second as well as the first with *Oremus*. The conclusions of the prayers and the *Oremus* are sung in the same tone as the prayers themselves, and if the sacred name occurs in the conclusion the celebrant inclines to the cross. When the choir has answered *Amen* after the last prayer the celebrant recites in a subdued tone the Epistle, Gradual, &c., and before going to the centre of the altar to say the *Munda cor meum*, he turns by his right, places his left hand on the altar, and his right on the book, held by the sub-deacon. When the sub-deacon has kissed his hand he makes over him the sign of the cross without any form of words, and proceeds to the centre of the altar.

The Deacon at the signal from the master of ceremonies rises, salutes the celebrant, places his own and the celebrant's cap on the bench, and precedes the celebrant to the altar saluting the choir on the way, as already directed. At the altar he genuflects on the lowest step at the right of the celebrant, raises the celebrant's alb as he ascends the altar, and takes his own place on the highest step behind the celebrant. When the *Dominus vobiscum* has been sung he goes to the Epistle corner along with the celebrant, and standing on the highest step, right behind the celebrant, he inclines with him to the cross at the *Oremus* and at the conclusion of the prayers. At the name of the saint whose feast is celebrating, or who is commemorated in the office, and at the name of the reigning Pontiff, should it occur, he inclines his head, not towards the cross, but towards the missal. When the celebrant begins to sing the last prayer, the deacon, at a sign from the master of ceremonies, goes to the celebrant's right, where he remains, pointing out the place in the missal, until the celebrant has read the Gradual, &c., which follow the Epistle. At the end of the Epistle he says *Deo gratias.*

The Sub-deacon at the end of the *Gloria* rises when the master of ceremonies gives the signal, and goes to the altar as already directed. He genuflects on the lowest step at the celebrant's left, raises his alb, and takes his place behind the deacon *in plano*, or on the lowest step.

The *Dominus vobiscum* having been sung, the sub-deacon marches with the celebrant and deacon to the epistle corner, taking care to keep in line with the deacon. At the epistle corner he stands right behind the deacon, either *in plano*, or on the first step, and inclines towards the cross at the *Oremus* and the sacred name, when it occurs; but towards the missal at the name of the Blessed Virgin, of the saint whose feast is celebrating, or who is commemorated in the feast of the day, and at the name of the reigning Pope.

During the singing of the last prayer, he turns by his right to receive the missal from the master of ceremonies, whom he salutes with an inclination of the head when he approaches, and again when he has received the missal from him. The sub-deacon keeps the opening of the missal towards his left, lets the upper edge rest against his breast, and holds the lower edge in both hands. Having received the missal, he turns again towards the altar and remains in his place until the celebrant reaches the conclusion of the last prayer, when he proceeds to the centre of the altar, genuflects on the first step,[1] and, turning by his left, salutes the choir, first on the gospel, and then on the epistle side.[2] He returns to his place beside the celebrant, and when the choir has sung *Amen*, he sings the Epistle. During the singing of the Epistle he inclines his head towards the cross at the Sacred Name; but towards the missal at any other name requiring an inclination. At the words *In nomine Jesu omni genu flectatur*, he genuflects in his place.

Having sung the Epistle, he closes the book, holding it as already directed, proceeds again to the centre of the altar, genuflects on the first step, and salutes the choir as he did before the Epistle. He then goes to the epistle side of the altar, mounts the lateral steps, and, kneeling on the

[1] De Herdt, Tom. i., n. 317: "Ita autem ad medium altaris accedere debit, ut genuflectat, si fieri possit, dum celebrans in ultimae orationis conclusione dicit *Jesum Christum*." Some writers, as Baldeschi, Vavasseur, etc., direct the sub-deacon to remain at the epistle corner until the celebrant has said *Jesum Christum* in the conclusion of the last prayer, to incline towards the cross at this Sacred Name, and then to proceed to the centre of the altar. We prefer De Herdt's opinion.

[2] Bourbon, n. 372; Vavasseur, Part vii., sec. i., chap. i., art. 3, n. 40, Baldeschi, Bauldry, De Conny, etc.

predella, or on the highest step, he advances the upper part of the missal a little towards the celebrant, whose hand, placed on the missal, he kisses, and, having received the celebrant's blessing, he descends and hands the missal to the master of ceremonies, whom he salutes before presenting the missal, and after he has received it.[1]

The Master of Ceremonies, as soon as the choir reaches *cum Sancto Spiritu* of the Gloria, invites the sacred ministers to go to the altar, he himself going to the epistle corner to point out the prayers, and to turn the leaves of the missal for the celebrant.

Having pointed out the last prayer, he makes a sign to the deacon to take his place at the missal, and goes to the credence for the book of epistles. Taking the book, so that the opening is at his right, he carries it to the sub-deacon, whom he salutes before and after handing the book to him. He then goes to the left of the sub-deacon, where he stands until the celebrant reaches the conclusion of the last prayer, when he goes with the sub-deacon to the centre of the altar, genuflects with him on the lowest step, and together with him salutes the choir on the gospel side and on the epistle side. He returns with the sub-deacon to his place behind the celebrant, and stands at his left, but a little behind him, during the singing of the Epistle. If the sub-deacon inclines or genuflects at any words in the Epistle, the master of ceremonies makes, at the same time, a similar reverence. The Epistle having been sung, the master of ceremonies again accompanies the sub-deacon to the centre of the altar, genuflects with him on the lowest step, salutes the choir together with him, and goes with him to the epistle corner. When the sub-deacon, after receiving the celebrant's blessing, descends *in planum*, the master of ceremonies salutes him, receives the book from him, again salutes him, and immediately, with like salutations, presents the book to the deacon.

The Acolytes, towards the end of the Gloria, rise along with the sacred ministers, and stand in their places turned

[1] When the sub-deacon uses a folded chasuble, he puts it off during the singing of the last prayer before he receives the missal, and resumes it again when he has returned the missal to the master of the ceremonies.

towards the altar, inclining and genuflecting with the celebrant and sacred ministers.

The Thurifer rises with the acolytes, and comports himself as they do until towards the end of the last prayer, when he goes to the sacristy to prepare the censer. He genuflects at the centre of the altar with the sub-deacon and master of ceremonies, and with them also salutes the choir. Returning from the sacristy, he again salutes the choir, genuflects to the altar, and, when the celebrant has read the Gospel, he goes up to the altar to get incense in the censer.

The Choir rises as soon as the master of ceremonies invites the sacred ministers to rise, turns towards the altar, and returns the salute of the sacred ministers. The choir is turned towards the altar during the singing of the prayers, and the clergy make along with the celebrant the proper inclinations. When *Amen*, at the end of all the prayer, has been sung, the choir resumes the sitting position. During the singing of the Epistle, the clergy uncover at the sacred name, etc.

(To be continued).

Number of Wax Candles at Benediction.

"In the next issue of the Record state the law of the Church in general and in particular as in force in Ireland regarding the number of wax candles required for the Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament. "P., Dublin."

We beg to refer our correspondent to the Record for June, 1888, p. 540, for the answer to his question. We may remark that, as far as we can discover, there is no special legislation for Ireland regarding the number or quality of the candles to be lighted during Benediction.

Questions regarding Requiem Masses.

"1. I am attached to a charitable institution where a certain number of Masses have to be celebrated monthly for the welfare of the benefactors, alive and dead. Would I discharge this obligation by saying the *Missa de Requie* on semidoubles, or is it necessary under the circumstances always to say the Mass of the day or its votive Mass, making commemoration of living benefactors at the

memento of the living, and praying for the deceased benefactors at the memento for the dead?

"2. I would also feel obliged if you would say whether when asked to celebrate Mass for deceased persons, there is any obligation on the priest to say a Requiem Mass if the day upon which he is about to offer the Mass happens to be a semidouble, or simple, or a feria? Of course it is supposed that no promise to say a 'black' Mass has been given, and that there is no question of an anniversary or other recurring day. "SACERDOS."

We have not seen our correspondent's first question anywhere discussed. Still we have no hesitation in saying that he will fully discharge his obligation by celebrating Requiem Masses on the days on which such Masses are permitted. For, in the first place, by celebrating a Requiem Mass for the benefactors, living and dead, he does no injury to the living; they derive as much profit from a Requiem Mass as from the Mass of a feast. This follows from the apparently certain doctrine that even where the Mass is for living persons only a priest discharges his obligation by celebrating a Requiem Mass.[1] There is, therefore, on the part of the living benefactors nothing to hinder our correspondent from celebrating Requiem Masses for the benefactors in general. Again, though the substantial fruit of every Mass is the same—the victim and priest being the same in all—yet by reason of the prayers a Requiem Mass produces an accidental or extrinsic fruit for the deceased, which another Mass does not. Consequently, the deceased benefactors in our correspondent's case will derive more profit from the Requiem Masses than from the Masses of Feasts, etc. And as we have already shown that the living benefactors profit as much by the former as by the latter, it would appear that, not only would our correspondent fully satisfy his obligation by celebrating Requiem Masses when the Rubrics permit, but that it would be even advisable for him in the circumstances to celebrate such Masses. This view will appear still better supported when we recollect that the deceased benefactors of an institution some time in existence must far out number the living.

[1] *Vide* Lehmkuhl, vol. ii., n. 201. De Herdt., vol. i., n. 67.

Hitherto we have made no reference to the case in which a priest circumstanced as is our correspondent has a privileged altar either local or personal. In such a case there can be no doubt at all that he should always, when possible, say a Requiem Mass for the benefactors. For as everyone knows the indulgence of a privileged altar is not gained on days on which a Requiem Mass can be said, by saying any other than a Requiem Mass. If then on such a day a Requiem Mass is not said, the deceased benefactors are deprived of the indulgence, and the living receive no compensating advantage.

2. In the hypothesis made in the second question, it is quite certain there is no obligation on the priest to celebrate a Requiem Mass. De Herdt's words on this point are "Satisfacit etiam in diebus, quibus missae privatae de Requiem permittuntur, nisi missa celebranda sit in altari privilegiato, aut nisi testator aut dans stipendium expresse rogaverit dici missam de Requiem." This opinion is confirmed by a decree of the *S. C. Indulg., April* 14*th*, 1840. "Utrum Sacerdos" it was asked "satisfaciat obligationi celebrandi missam pro defuncto, servando ritum feriae, vel cujuscumque sancti, etiamsi non sit semiduplex aut duplex?" And the reply was, *Affirmative.*

From what has been said in answer to the preceding question, however, it follows that, unless there are some reasons to prevent him, a priest should, when the Rubrics permit, celebrate Requiem Masses for deceased persons for whom he is obliged to offer Mass.

D. O'Loan.

DOCUMENT.

S. Congregation "de Propaganda Fide."

Summary.

Instruction regarding the causes which justify the granting of Matrimonial Dispensations, and the mode of making the application.

Cum dispensatio sit juris communis relaxatio cum causae cognitione, ab eo facta qui habet potestatem, exploratum omnibus est

dispensationes ab impedimentis matrimonialibus non esse indulgendas, nisi legitima et gravis causa interveniat. Quin imo facile quisque intelligit, tanto graviorem causam requiri, quanto gravius est impedimentum, quod nuptiis celebrandis opponitur. Verum haud raro ad S. Sedem perveniunt supplices literae pro impetranda aliqua hujusmodi dispensatione, quae nulla canonica ratione fulciuntur. Accidit etiam quandoque, ut in hujusmodi supplicationibus ea omittantur, quae necessario exprimi debent, ne dispensatio nullitatis vitio laboret. Idcirco opportunum visum est in praesenti instructione paucis perstringere praecipuas illas causas, quae ad matrimoniales dispensationes obtinendas juxta canonicas sanctiones, et prudens ecclesiasticae provisionis arbitrium, pro sufficientibus haberi consueverunt; deinde ea indicare, quae in ipsa dispensatione petenda exprimere oportet.

Atque ut causis dispensationum exordium ducatur, operi pretium erit imprimis animadvertere, unam aliquando causam seorsim acceptam insufficientem esse, sed alteri adjunctam sufficientem existimari, nam quae non prosunt singula, multa juvant, *arg. l.* 5, *C. de probat.* Hujusmodi autem causae sunt quae sequuntur;

1. *Angustia loci* sive absoluta sive relativa (ratione tantum Oratricis), cum scilicet in loco originis vel etiam domicilii cognatio foeminae ita sit propagata, ut alium paris conditionis, cui nubat, invenire nequeat, nisi consanguineum vel affinem, patriam vero deserere sit ei durum.

2. *Aetas foeminae superadulta*, si scilicet 24ª aetatis annum jam egressa hactenus virum paris conditionis, cui nubere possit, non invenit. Haec vero causa haud suffragatur viduae, quae ad alias nuptias convolare cupiat.

3. *Deficientia aut incompetentia dotis*, si nempe foemina non habeat actu tantum dotem ut extraneo aequalis conditionis, qui neque consanguineus neque affinis sit, nubere possit in proprio loco, in quo commoratur. Quae causa magis urget, si mulier penitus indotata existat et consanguineus vel affinis eam in uxorem ducere, aut etiam convenienter ex integro dotare paratus sit.

4. *Lites super successione bonorum jam exortae*, vel *earumdem grave* aut *imminens periculum*. Si mulier gravem litem super successione bonorum magni momenti sustineat, neque adest alius, qui litem hujusmodi in se suscipiat, propriisque expensis prosequatur, praeter illum qui ipsam in uxorem ducere cupit, dispensatio concedi solet; interest enim Reipublicae, ut lites extinguantur. Huic proxime accedit alia causa, scilicet *Dos litibus involuta*, cum nimirum mulier alio es desituta viro, cujus ope bona sua recuperare valeat. Verum hujus modi causa nonnisi pro remotioribus gradibus sufficit.

5. *Paupertas viduae*, quae numerosa prole sit onerata, et vir eam alere polliceatur. Sed quandoque remedio dispensationis succurritur viduae ea tantum de causa, quod junior sit, atque in periculo incontinentiae versatur.

6. *Bonum pacis*, quo nomine veniunt nedum foedera inter regna, et Principes, sed etiam extinctio gravium inimicitiarum, rixarum, et odiorum civilium. Haec causa adducitur vel ad extinguendas graves inimicitias, quae inter contrahentium consanguineos vel affines ortae sint, quaeque matrimonii celebratione omnino componerentur: vel quando inter contrahentium consanguineos et affines inimicitiae graves viguerint, et, licet pax inter ipsos inita jam sit, celebratio tamen matrimonii ad ipsius pacis confirmationem maxime conduceret.

7. *Nimia, suspecta, periculosa familiaritas*, nec non *cohabitatio* sub eodem tecto, quae facile impediri non possit.

8. *Copula* cum consanguinea vel affini vel alia persona impedimento laborante praehabita, et *praegnantia, ideoque legitimatio prolis*, ut nempe consulatur bono prolis ipsius, et honori mulieris, quae secus innuptia maneret. Haec profecto una ex urgentioribus causis, ob quam etiam plebeis dari solet dispensatio, dummodo copula patrata non fuerit sub spe facilioris dispensationis; quae circumstantia in supplicatione foret exprimenda.

9. *Infamia mulieris*, ex suspicione orta, quod illa suo consanguineo aut affini nimis familiaris, cognita sit ab eodem, licet suspicio sit falsa, cum nempe nisi matrimonium contrahatur, mulier graviter diffamata vel innupta remaneret, vel disparis conditionis viro nubere deberet aut gravia damna orirentur.

10. *Revalidatio matrimonii*, quod bona fide et publice, servata Tridentini forma, contractum est: quia ejus dissolutio vix fieri potest sine publico scandalo, et gravi damno, praesertim foeminae, *c.* 7, *de consanguin.* At si mala fide sponsi nuptias inierunt, gratiam dispensationis minime merentur, sic disponente Conc. Trid. *Sess.* XXIV, *cap.* v. *Reform. matrim.*

11. *Periculum matrimonii mixti* vel *coram acatholico ministro celebrandi.* Quando periculum adest, quod volentes matrimonium in aliquo etiam ex majoribus gradibus contrahere, ex denegatione dispensationis ad Ministrum acatholicum accedant pro nuptiis celebrandis spreta Ecclesiae auctoritate, justa invenitur dispensandi causa, quia adest non modo gravissimum fidelium scandalum, sed etiam timor perversionis, et defectionis a fide taliter agentium, et matrimonii impedimenta contemnentium, maxime in regionibus, ubi haereses impune grassantur. Id docuit haec S. Congregatio in instructione die

17 Apr. 1820 ad Archiepiscopum Quebecensem data. Pariter cum Vicarius Apostolicus Bosniae postulasset, utrum dispensationem elargiri posset iis Catholicis qui nullum aliud praetexunt motivum, quam vesanum amorem, et simul praevidetur, dispensatione denegata, eos coram judice infideli conjugium fore inituros, S. Congregatio S. Officii in Fer. IV, 14 Aug. 1822, decrevit: " respondendum Oratori, quod in exposito casu utatur facultatibus sibi in Form. II. commissis, prout in Domino expedire judicaverit." Tantum dicendum de periculo, quod pars catholica cum acatholico Matrimonium celebrare audeat.

12. *Periculum incestuosi concubinatus.* Ex superius memorata instructione an. 1822 elucet, dispensationis remedium, ne quis in concubinatu insordescat cum publico scandalo, atque evidenti aeternae salutis discrimine, adhibendum esse.

13. *Periculum matrimonii civilis.* Ex dictis consequitur, probabile periculum quod illi, qui dispensationem petunt, ea non obtenta, matrimonium dumtaxat *civile*, ut aiunt, celebraturi sint, esse legitimam dispensandi causam.

14. *Remotio gravium scandalorum.*

15. *Cessatio publici concubinatus.*

16 *Excellentia meritorum*, cum aliquis aut contra fidei catholicae hostes dimicatione aut liberalitate erga Ecclesiam, aut doctrina, virtute, aliove modo de Religione sit optime meritus.

Hae sunt communiores, potioresque causae, quae ad matrimoniales dispensationes impetrandas adduci solent: de quibus copiose agunt theologi, ac sacrorum canonum interpretes.

Sed jam se convertit Instructio ad ea, quae prae causas in literis supplicibus pro dispensatione obtinenda, de jure vel consuetudine, aut stylo Curiae exprimenda sunt, ita ut si etiam ignoranter taceatur veritas, aut narretur falsitas, dispensatio nulla efficiatur. Haec autem sunt:

1. *Nomen et cognomen* Oratorum utrumque distincte, ac nitide ac sine ulla litterarum abbreviatione scribendum.

2. *Dioecesis originis* vel *actualis domicilii.* Quando oratores habent domicilium extra dioecesim originis, possunt, si velint, petere, ut dispensatio mittatur ad Ordinarium dioecesis, in qua nunc habitant.

3. *Species* etiam *infirma* impedimenti, an sit consanguinitas, vel affinitas, orta ex copula licita vel illicita; publica honestas originem ducens ex sponsalibus, vel matrimonio rato; in impedimento *criminis*, utrum provenerit ex conjugicidio cum promissione matrimonii, aut ex conjugicidio cum adulterio, vel ex solo adulterio cum promissione

matrimonii : in cognatione spirituali, utrum sit inter levantem et levatum, vel inter levantem et levati parentem.

4. *Gradus consanguinitatis* vel *affinitatis* aut *honestatis* ex matrimonio rato, et an sit simplex, vel mixtus, non tantum remotior, sed etiam propinquior, uti et linea, an sit recta et transversa ; item an Oratores sint conjuncti ex duplici vinculo consanguinitatis, tam ex parte patris, quam ex parte matris.

5. *Numerus impedimentorum*, e. gr. si adsit duplex aut multiplex consanguinitas vel affinitas, vel si praeter cognationem adsit etiam affinitas, aut aliud quodcumque impedimentum sive dirimens, sive impediens.

6. *Variae circumstantiae*, scilicet an matrimonium sit contrahendum, vel contractum ; si jam contractum, aperiri debet, an bona fide saltem ex parte unius, vel cum scientia impedimenti ; idem an praemissis denuntiationibus, et juxta formam Tridentini ; vel an spe facilius dispensationem obtinendi ; demum an sit consummatum, si mala fide, saltem unius partis, seu cum scientia impedimenti.

7. *Copula incestuosa* habita inter sponsos ante dispensationis executionem, sive ante, sive post ejus impetrationem, sive intentione facilius dispensationem obtinendi, sive etiam seclusa tali intentione, et sive copula publice nota sit, sive etiam occulta. Si haec reticeantur, subrepticias esse et nullibi ac nullo modo valere dispensationes super quibuscumque gradibus prohibitis consanguinitatis, affinitatis, cognationis spiritualis, et legalis, necnon et publicae honestatis declaravit S. Congregatio S. Officii, fer. IV., 1 Augusti 1866. In petenda vero dispensatione super impedimento affinitatis primi vel secundi gradus lineae collateralis, si impedimentum nedum ex matrimonio consummato cum defuncto conjuge Oratoris vel Oratricis, sed etiam ex copula antematrimoniali seu fornicaria cum eodem defuncto ante initum cum ipso matrimonium patrata oriatur, necesse non est, ut mentio fiat hujusmodi illicitae copulae, quemadmodum patet ex responso S. Poenitentiariae diei 20 Martii 1842, probante s.m. Greg. XVI ad Episcopum Namurcensem, quod, generale esse, idem Tribunal literis diei 10 Decembris, 1874, edixit.

Haec prae oculis habere debent non modo qui ad S. Sedem pro obtinenda aliqua matrimoniali dispensatione recurrunt, sed etiam qui ex pontificia delegatione dispensare per se ipsi valent, ut facultatibus, quibus pollent, rite, ut par est, utantur.

Datum ex Ædibus S. C. de Prop. Fide die 9 Matt. 1887.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

God, Knowable and Known. Benziger Brothers.

Under this title Father Ronayne, S.J., gives us a clear and very readable work upon natural theology; to use his own words—"he has attempted to draw out, in English, arguments that bear upon the existence and knowableness of God." In proving his thesis he does not pretend to originality; his aim indeed, as he states in his preface, is to show that in the war with infidelity old arguments that have been before the human mind during all the ages are as available now as in any period of the past, and need only be refurbished that they may perfectly suit our modern uses.

Books of this sort are nowadays a decided gain; they popularise knowledge which a century back would be in place only in the lecture hall of a university, but which now must be at hand for the safety and defence of minds that move on a much lower intellectual level. It used be the luxury of the learned and cultured to indulge a refined scepticism concerning the first principles of knowledge, to narrow our thoughts to mere sense perceptions, to dispute about a First Cause, and to pride themselves in finding methods of questioning its reality or weakening its demonstration. But in our time we have changed all that; the active propaganda of unbelief and agnosticism has made these questions burning topics in circles that are badly prepared for their discussion. This is the warfare of infidelity that our author speaks of, and which now is waged upon men of peace, in no way prepared for such hostilities, and this treatise on God, *Known and Knowable*, is a manual of drill that will enable them to cope with the enemy and meet him at every turn.

Father Ronayne professes to have sought light wherever he believed he might find it; but his main help and strength has evidently been borrowed from scholasticism. But in turn he has given their theories such treatment and exposition as they rarely meet with at the hands of writers trained according to the systems in vogue in English speaking countries. In the opening chapter on "Nature witnessing to God," he develops in a masterly way the physico-theological arguments that evince the necessity of a supreme ruler and architect, and further brings into very clear light how contingent things postulate some self-existing and necessary Being from whose hands they must ultimately proceed. These arguments are put

forward with great skill, and the conversational form into which they are thrown is an admirable scheme for introducing the objections that modern thought has evolved against the various reasons adduced in the central thesis. Here and there the author deviates somewhat from scholastic doctrine, as for instance, page 45, where he writes:—"I hold that all bodies have an activity peculiar to them, and that their very essence is the principle of their activity." To the first part of this sentence no sound schoolman would demur, but we think they would put the other section in a more confined and more correct form.

But in so far as it is an exposition of scholastic principles, the second chapter on the "Data of Natural Knowledge," is the most valuable portion of this work. The form is somewhat different from that of the opening section, the interlocutory method is laid aside, and, perhaps, there are traces of transcription from Latin manuals, and an absence of that smoothness that shows complete assimilation, but at the same time it presents a singularly just and adequate view of the schoolmen's theory of thought. It faces, too, every difficulty; and treats Pantheism with the scorn and contempt it deserves. The notion of Being (we are told, at page 105), which Pantheists abstracts from things they take for Deity, much after the manner that Positivists abstract human humanity from mortal men, and then set it up as a divinity. This is the most subtle and most recent form of this delirium, and meeting it vigorously and overthrowing it our author deserves the thanks of all who love true principles and sound philosophical enquiry.

This section could be made more intelligible to non-scholastics, by appending in some places definitions or explanations of the terms used. For instance, page 72, we read: "that the sensible rendered intelligible by the working of the active intellect becomes connatural to it;" which, putting aside that it is the loose way of putting the matter, is difficult to follow without knowing what the nature an functions of the *Intellectus Agens* may be. This might interrupt the flow of the eloquent periods, but it would seem to be necessary for those readers with respect to whom the book is bound to do its best work.

Of the remaining chapters we have no room to speak; but they seem as satisfactory as those we have so far analysed. Taken as a whole, the work is bound to do great and far-reaching good. It will popularise sound philosophy, it will enable plain people to reap some of the fruits promised to the learned from the revival of scholastic

methods, it will adjust the armour of Saul to the shoulders of many of less gigantic stature, and as a consequence, "give security to some souls, and in a measure stem the tide of infidelity," which the author proposes as the end and best reward of his labours.

A. W.

MEDITATIONS ON THE LIFE AND VIRTUES OF ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA, Founder of the Society of Jesus. Translated from the French by M. A. W., and Revised by a Father of the Society of Jesus. London: Burns & Oates, Limited New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

THE little volume before us contains an abstract of the life of St. Ignatius, proposed in the form of Meditations on his admirable virtues. These Meditations are divided according to the three states of the spiritual life by which God Himself led the saint to perfection. St. Ignatius, in the first instance, is proposed to us in the garb of a penitent; we are then invited to follow him through the different stages of his ever-increasing sanctity, until after a life spent in promoting the honour and glory of God and the salvation of his fellow-man, we stand by his side to meditate on his calm and peaceful death. Each Meditation is followed by maxims of the saint; a brief recapitulation of the points of the Meditation; a petition for the virtue under consideration, and, finally, to stimulate our devotion, an example is introduced.

The careful perusal of these Meditations will, we feel confident, be of great use to all classes; sinners will find in them all-powerful motives for contrition; the lukewarm will be aroused to fervour, while pious souls will have a large field for their holy thoughts and devout aspirations.

THE VIRGIN MOTHER, ACCORDING TO THEOLOGY. By the Rev. John Baptist Petitalot.

THIS work is a translation of the third edition of the Abbé Petitalot's *La Vierge Mère d'après la Théologie*, and as such gives a simple and easy rendering of a very valuable book. It is full and satisfactory in its treatment of that inexhaustible theme, the life and dignity, and prerogatives of the Virgin Mother.

It is distinguished sharply from the host of somewhat similar treatises, by the view it takes of the Madonna. It does not consist in recounting the favours or miracles of the Blessed Virgin, nor does it deal in rhapsodies or highly tinted word-pictures, such as Father Faber's

works have made us familiar with, but describes her as she appears in the authentic light of Patristic teaching and severe theological thought. It is well to accentuate this view of devotion to the Blessed Virgin; the more logical and reasonable our devotion towards her becomes, the more secure it will be and the more worthy of her supereminent dignity. Our love for Mary has no fear of investigation; rooted in eternal truths it will grow with a knowledge of her glory and her power. As our author tells us, it would be still greater and more tender if it were more thoughtful and better informed. This fuller knowledge cannot be had by mere meditation, nor through the *obiter dicta* of saints or mystics; *Habemus firmiorem propheticium sermonem;* and to this we must needs attend if we would fully consolidate and define our devotion to the Virgin Mother.

This is the scope of this work; it examines every aspect of the question, from the Predestination of Mary and her Immaculate Conception, to her Assumption and Celestial Glory. It treats of her Virginity and Maternity, of her Joys and her Dolours, and gives the true idea of devotion to her, and of her relation to the great mysteries of our faith.

Being all this, it may be safely commended to our people and clergy as a secure guide to popular devotion, and as a treasury of thoughts well suited to the instruction and edification of the faithful.

A. W.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH, FROM ITS FIRST ESTABLISHMENT TO OUR OWN TIMES. By Rev. J. A. Birkhaeuser. New York and Cincinnatti: F. Pustet & Co.

WE extend a hearty welcome to this work which comes to us across the Atlantic. It is intended to supply "a real need of a good English text book on Church history suited for theological students and more advanced pupils." That such a work is necessary few will deny. *Alzog* and *Darras*, the most popular of our text books, are not at all suitable for students; the former is more learned than useful, while the manner of treating events pursued by the latter is an insuperable objection to its suitableness as a text book.

Father Birkhaeuser's work in its general plan and execution is the most suitable English text book for students we have seen. Its style is clear and simple, while the order is everything that could be desired. Not only is each question treated by itself, but also its different parts are marked by letters or numerals—an arrangement which while it assists the memory is calculated to produce habits

of accuracy in the minds of students. Within the comparatively narrow limits of 776 pages, the history of the Church is treated from the birth of Christ down to the Vatican Council (1870), and nearly every question of interest in the ecclesiastical history of that period is touched on. We must, however, confess that in a book intended for "the more advanced pupils," we should wish to find a fuller treatment of the more important questions, especially those of a controversial kind, even at the cost of excluding others of less interest. For instance, there are only a few lines of a footnote devoted to the case of Galileo, though in recent times there is perhaps no other event so frequently referred to by anti-Catholic writers in their attacks on the Church. Moreover, the statement of the author that "the decree against Galileo . . . was simply disciplinary not doctrinal" is, to say the least, misleading; for granting that the decree of 1616 was purely disciplinary, the same cannot be said of the decree of 1633, which declared Galileo's heliocentric system "false and opposed to Sacred Scripture."

There are some opinions advanced by Father Birkhaeuser which we cannot accept. Thus, speaking of the False Decretals of Isidore, he says:[1] "The main object of the author in compiling this collection was to defend and maintain by principles already universally acknowledged, the dignity and prerogatives of the Roman Church; the relation of the Holy See to the Metropolitans and Provincial Synods, and Suffragan Bishops to their Metropolitans; and the independence of the spiritual power from the secular." We admit that the purpose of the writer was to protect the clergy against oppression by Metropolitans, and to secure "the independence of the spiritual power from the secular;" but the whole tenor of the Decretals forbids us to admit that they were fabricated in the interests of Rome. Even Canon Robertson, one of the best modern Protestant authorities on Church history, says:[2] "that the protection of Roman interests appears to have been a result beyond the contemplation of those who planned or executed them [the Decretals."]

Then we are told that St. Boniface "established the Church in Germany upon a permanent footing by uniting the different Churches already founded with the See of Rome."[3] Surely the writer does not mean to convey that the Churches of Germany, many of which were founded by Irish missionaries, were not in union with Rome before the time of St. Boniface.

[1] P. 330. [2] Vol. iii. p. 323. [3] p. 260.

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