

the young Queen of Scots to marry Francis II., they seemed to recognize that they could only maintain their advantage by meeting public opinion in endeavoring to reform the church. Accordingly, in November, 1549, a council was convoked at Edinburgh, of which the first canon declares that the licentiousness of the clergy had given rise to the gravest scandals, to repress which the rules enjoined by the council of Bâle must be strictly enforced and universally obeyed. The second canon is no less significant in ordering that prelates and other ecclesiastics shall not live with their illegitimate children, nor provide for them or promote them in the paternal churches, nor marry their daughters to barons by endowing them with the patrimony of Christ, nor cause their sons to be made barons by the same means.¹

This was of small avail. Ten years afterwards, the progress of heresy becoming ever more alarming, another council was held in March, 1559, to devise means to put a stop to the encroachments of the enemy. To this assembly the Catholic nobles addressed an earnest prayer for a reformation. After alluding to the proceedings of the Parliament of 1542, they add, "And siclyk remembring in diverss of the lait provinciale counsaes haldin within this realm, that poynt has been treittet of, and sindrie statutis synodale maid therupon, of the quhilks nevertheless thar hes folowit nan or litill frutt as yitt, bot rathare the said estate is deteriorate . . . it is maist expedient therefore that thai presentlie condescend to seik reformation of thir lyvis . . . and naymlie that oppin and manifest sins and notor offencis be forborn and abstenit fra in tyme to cum." In this request they had been anticipated by the Reformers, who, the previous year, in a supplication addressed to the queen-regent, included among their demands "That the wicked, slanderous and detestable life of Prelats and of the State Ecclesiasticall may be reformed, that the people by them have not occasion (as of many dayes they have had) to contemne their Ministrie and the Preaching whereof they should be Messengers."

The council, thus urged by friend and foe, recognized the

¹ Concil. Edinburgens. ann. 1549, can. 1, 2. (Wilkins, IV. 48.)

extreme necessity of the case, and did its best to cure the in-
 medicable disease. Its first canon reaffirmed the observance of
 the Basilian regulations, and appointed a commission empow-
 ered to enforce them; and, that nothing should interfere with
 its efficiency, the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow
 made a special renunciation of their exemption from the juris-
 diction of the council. The second canon, in forbidding the
 residence of illegitimate children with their clerical fathers,
 endeavored to procure obedience to the rule ordered by the
 council of 1549, by permitting it for four days in each quar-
 ter, and by a penalty for infractions of £200 in the case of
 an archbishop, £100 in that of a bishop, and leaving the
 mulct to be imposed on inferior ecclesiastics at the discretion
 of the officials. The third canon prohibited the promotion of
 children in their father's benefices, and supplicated the queen-
 regent to obtain of the pope that no dispensations should be
 granted to evade the rule. The fourth canon inhibited ecclesi-
 astics from marrying their daughters to barons and lairds, and
 endowing them with church lands, or making their sons barons
 or lairds with more than £100 annual income, under pain of
 fine to the amount of the dowry or lands abstracted from the
 church; and all grants of church lands or tithes to concu-
 bines or children were pronounced null and void.¹

When such legislation was necessary, the disorders which
 it was intended to repress are acknowledged in terms admit-
 ting neither of palliation nor excuse. The extent of the evil
 especially alluded to in the latter canons is further exempli-
 fied by the fact that during the thirty years immediately fol-
 lowing the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland, more

¹ Wilkins, IV. 207-10.—Knox, p. 129. These canons, it appears, were not adopted without opposition. According to Knox, "But herefrom appealed the Bishop of Murray and other prelates, saying That they would abide the canon law. And so they might well enough do, so long as they remained Interpreters, Dispensators, Makers and Disannullers of the Law."—(Op. cit. 119.) It was doubtless on some such considerations that the

Archbishop of St. Andrews relied when he consented to waive his exemption in this matter. His personal reputation may be estimated from the remark of Queen Mary when, in December, 1566, he performed the rite of baptism on James VI. She forbade him to use the popular ceremony of employing his saliva, giving a reason which was in the highest degree derogatory to his moral character. (Sir J. Y. Simpson, *ubi sup.*)

letters of legitimation were taken out than were issued in the subsequent two centuries. These were given to the sons of the clergy who were allowed to retain their benefices, and who then made over the property to their natural children.¹

Such being the state of morals among the ministers of the old religion, it is easy to appreciate the immense advantage enjoyed by the Reformers. They made good use of it. Knox loses no opportunity of stigmatizing the "pestilent Papists and Masse-mongers" as "adulterers and whoremasters," who were thus perpetually held up to the people for execration, while the individual wrongs from which so many suffered were noised about and made the subject of constantly-increasing popular indignation.² Yet the abrogation of celibacy occupies less space in the history of the Scottish Reformation than in that of any other people who threw off the allegiance to Rome.

The remote position of Scotland and its comparative barbarism rendered it in some degree inaccessible to the early doctrines of Luther and Zwingli. Before it began to show a trace of the new ideas, clerical marriage had long passed out of the region of disputation with the Reformers, and was firmly established as one of the inseparable results of the doctrine of justification professed by all the reformed churches.³

¹ Robertson, Hist. Scot. Bk. II.

² Thus the Parliament of 1560, which effected a settlement of the Reformed Religion, was urged to its duty by a Supplication presented in the name of "The Barons, Gentlemen, Burghesses, and other true Subjects of this Realm, professing the Lord Jesus within the same," which, among its arguments against Catholicism, does not hesitate to assert—"Secondarily, seeing that the sacraments of Jesus Christ are most shamefully abused and profaned by that Romane Harlot and her sworne vassals, and also because that the true Discipline of the Ancient Church is utterly now among that Sect extinguished: For who within the Realme are more corrupt in life and manners than are they that are called the Clergie, living in whoredom and adultery, deflouring Virgins, corrupting Matrons, and doing all abomination

without fear of punishment. We humbly, therefore, desire your Honors to finde remedy against the one and the other."—Knox, p. 255.

³ This doctrine bore its full share in the history of the Scottish reformation. Two years after the execution of the protomartyr, Patrick Hamilton, in 1528, his sister Catherine was arraigned on account of her belief in justification through Christ. Learned divines urged upon her with prolix earnestness of disputation the necessity of works, until her patience gave way, and she rudely exclaimed, "Work here and work there, what kind of working is all this? No work can save me but the work of Christ my Saviour." By the connivance of the king she was enabled to escape to England.—Froude, Hist. Engl. IV. 63.

Not only was it thus accepted as a matter of course by all converts to the new faith, but that faith, when once introduced, spread in Scotland with a rapidity elsewhere unknown. The permission to read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, granted by Parliament in 1543, doubtless had much to do with this; the leaning of the Regent Arran to the same side gave it additional impetus, and the savage fierceness with which the Reformers were prepared to vindicate their belief is shown by the murder of Cardinal Beaton, which was countenanced and justified by Knox himself. Powerful nobles soon saw in it the means of emancipating themselves from the vacillating control of the regent; nor was the central authority strengthened when, in 1554, the reins of power were wrested from the feeble Arran and confided to the queen-dowager, Mary of Guise, who found herself obliged to encourage each party by turns, and to balance one against the other, to prevent either Catholic or Calvinist from obtaining control over the state. Then, too, as in Germany and England, the temporal possessions of the church were a powerful temptation to its destruction. From the great Duke of Chatelleraut to the laird of some insignificant peel, all were needy and all eager for a share in the spoil. When, in 1560, an assembly of the nobles at Edinburgh listened to a disputation on the Mass, and the Catholic doctors were unable to defend it as a propitiatory sacrifice, the first exclamation of the lords revealed the secret tendencies of their thoughts—"We have been miserably deceived heretofore; for if the Mass may not obtain remission of sins to the quick and to the dead, Wherefore were all the Abbies so richly doted and endowed with our Temporall lands?"¹

Of course less selfish purposes were put forward to enlist the support of the people. On the 1st of January, 1558, when the storm was gathering, but before it had burst, the inmates of the religious houses found affixed to their gates a proclamation in the name of "The Blinde, Crooked, Lame, Widows, Orphans, and all other Poor, so visited by the hand of God as cannot work," ordering the monks to leave the

¹ Knox, p. 283.

patrimony intended to relieve the suffering, but usurped by indolent shavelings, giving them until Whit-Sunday to make their exit, after which they would be ejected by force, and ending with the significant warning—"Let him, therefore, that hath before stollen, steal no more, but rather let him work with his hands that he may be helpfull to the poore."¹

Such a cry could hardly fail to be popular, but when the threat was carried into execution, the blind and the crooked, the widow and orphan received so small a share of the spoil that they were worse off than before. As we have already seen in England, the destruction of the Scottish monasteries was the commencement of the necessity of making some public provision for paupers.² The nobles seized the lion's share; the rest fell to the crown, subject to the payment of the very moderate stipends assigned to the comparatively few ministers required by the new establishment, and these stipends were so irregularly paid that the unfortunate ministers were frequently in danger of starvation, and were constantly besieging the court with their dolorous complaints. Where the lands and revenues went is indicated with grim humor by Knox, in describing the resistance offered in 1560 to the adoption of his Book of Discipline by those who had professed great zeal for the Lord Jesus. Lord Erskine had been one of the first and most consistent of the "Lords of the Congregation," yet he also refused to sign the book—"And no wonder, for besides that he had a very evill woman to his wife, if the Poore, the Schooles, and the Ministerie of the Church had their owne, his Kitchin would lack two parts and more of that which he unjustly now possesseth."³

¹ Knox, p. 119.

² Thus the assembly of the church in 1562 drew up a remonstrance to the queen, in which they requested that "in every Parish some of the Tythes may be assigned to the sustentation and maintenance of the poor within the same: And likewise that some publike relief may be provided for the poor within Burroughs."—Ibid. p. 339.

³ Ibid. p. 278. The Book was signed at Edinburgh, Jan. 27, 1561, but only after the adoption of a proviso—"Provided that the Bishops, Abbots, Priors and other Prelates and Beneficed men, which else have adjoyned themselves to us, brooke the revenues of their Benefices during their lifetimes."—Worldly wisdom certainly was not lost sight of in the ardor of a new and purer religion.

Yet, when compared with the rich abbatial manors of England or the princely foundations of Germany, the spoil of the church was mean indeed. Knox had resided much abroad, and had seen the vast wealth which the piety of ages had showered upon the church in the most opulent lands of Europe, yet his simplicity or fanaticism finds source of wondering comment in the homespun luxury of the unfortunate monks whom he assisted in dispossessing. When the destruction of the monasteries in 1559 commenced by a brawl in Perth, where three prominent convents were broken up, Knox, who was present, expatiates on the extravagance revealed to sight—"And in very deed the Grey-Friers was a place so well provided that unlesse honest men had seen the same, we would have feared to have reported what provision they had, their sheets, blankets, beds and coverlets were such that no Earle in Scotland had better: Their naperie was fine; they were but 8 persons in the Convent, and yet they had 8 puncheons of salt beef (consider the time of the yeere, the eleventh of May), wine, beere, and ale, beside store of victuals belonging thereto."¹ Imagine an abbot of St. Albans or an abbess of Poissy reduced to the coverlets and salt beef which the stern Calvinist deemed an indulgence so great as to be incredible!

Still, in so impoverished a country as the Scotland of that period, even these poor spoils were a motive sufficient to prove a powerful aid to the conquering party in the struggle. And yet, amid all the miserable ambitions of the Erskines and Murrays, the Huntleys and Bothwells, who occupied the prominent places in the court and camp, we should do grievous wrong to the spirit which triumphed at last over the force and fraud of the Guises, if we attributed to temporal motives alone the movement which expelled licentious prelates and drove Queen Mary to the fateful refuge of Fotheringay. The selfish aims of the nobles would have been fruitless but for the zealous earnestness of the people, led by men of iron nature, who doubted themselves as little as they doubted their God, and who, in the death-struggle with Antichrist, were as ready to suffer as they were ruthless to inflict. Nor can the

¹ Knox, 136.

disorders of the Catholic clergy be rightly imputed to the temperament of the race, for the reformers, who carried with them so large a portion of the middle and lower classes, preached a system of rigid morality to which the world had been a stranger since the virtues of the Germanic tribes had been lost in the overthrow of the Empire; and they not merely preached it, but obtained its embodiment in a code of repressive laws, which their vigilant authority strictly enforced.

I have said above that the question of celibacy appears but rarely in the course of the contest, yet notwithstanding the causes which rendered it comparatively unimportant, it occasionally rises to view, showing that it entered into the struggle and was the subject of disputation, together with the other points in controversy. Thus George Wishart, one of the early heretics who ventured openly to preach the Lord Jesus, was seized in spite of powerful protectors, and after a prolonged captivity was brought for trial before Cardinal Beaton in 1545. In the accusation against him, article 14th asserted, "Thou false Hereticke hast taught plainly against the Vows of Monks, Friers, Nuns and Priests, saying, That whosoever was bound to such like Vows, they vowed themselves to the state of damnation. Moreover, That it was lawfull for Priests to marry wives and not to live sole." Wishart tacitly confessed the truth of this impeachment by rejoining—"But as many as have not the gift of chastity, nor yet for the Gospel have overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, and have vowed chastity; ye have experience, although I should hold my tongue, to what inconveniences they have exposed themselves."¹ He was accordingly condemned as an incorrigible heretic, and promptly burnt.

Even as late as 1558 the trial of Walter Mill shows that the question was still agitated in the controversies between the polemics of the two parties. One of the articles of accusation against Mill was that he asserted the lawfulness of sacerdotal marriage. To this he boldly assented, declaring that he regarded matrimony as a blessed bond, open for all men

¹ Knox, p. 65.—Knox's characteristic comment on this is—"When he had said these words, they were all dumb, thinking it better to have ten concubines than one wife."

to enter, and that it were better for priests to marry than to vow chastity and not preserve it, as they were wont to do. Condemned to the stake, the unfortunate old man commanded the sympathies of the people, even in the archiepiscopal town of St. Andrews. No one could be found to act as executioner, until at length one of the servants of the archbishop consented to fill the abhorrent office; but when a rope was sought with which to bind the wretched sufferer to the stake, no one would furnish it, and the tragedy was necessarily postponed. Equally unsuccessful was the next day's search, until the archbishop, fearing to lose his victim, gave the cords of his own pavilion, and the sentence was carried into effect. Even after the sacrifice, the popular feeling was manifested by raising a pile of stones as a monument on the place of torture, and as often as these were cast aside by the priests they were replaced by the people, until the followers of the archbishop carried them off by night, and used them for building.¹

These incidents show us that the question received its share of attention in the controversy by which each side endeavored to secure the support of the nation, but it makes no appearance in public negotiations and declarations. Thus, in 1558, when the growing strength of the Lords of the Congregation led the Catholics to offer concessions, which were rejected by the conscious power of the reformers, there was no allusion to celibacy on either side. In fact, between the respective leaders, the questions were almost purely personal and political; while among the conscientiously religious supporters of either party, opinions were too rigidly defined for argument. Convictions were too divergent and too firm for compromise or concession to be possible, and Catholic and Calvinist grimly recognized, as by a tacit understanding, the alternative of extermination. When the English alliance at

¹ Knox, p. 130.—Burnet, vol. II. The implacable character of Scottish persecution is aptly illustrated by a proclamation issued by Cardinal Beaton in 1540 for the purpose of spiting Sir Ralph Sadler, the English envoy at Edinburgh. It was during Lent, and the proclamation declared "that whosoever should buy an egg or eat

an egg within those dioceses should forfeit no less than his body to be burnt as a heretic, and all his goods confiscate to the king."—Froude, Hist. Engl. IV. 54.

It was a life and death struggle, in which quarter could neither be asked nor given.

last drove the Catholics to the wall, and in July, 1560, there assembled the parliament to which by the Articles of Leith was referred the duty of effecting a settlement of the kingdom, the vanquished party made no struggle against their fate. Such Catholic prelates and lords as took their seats refrained from all debate, and allowed the victors to arrange the temporal and spiritual affairs of the kingdom at their pleasure.

In this settlement, our subject affords a curious comparison between the English and Scotch churches. In the former, at a period even later than this, it was considered necessary to embody a renunciation of celibacy in the organic law, which has been maintained to the present day. In the latter, ecclesiastical marriage had become already so firmly established in the minds of the Reformers that it was accepted as a matter of course, which needed no special confirmation. Although laws were passed prohibiting the Mass and abolishing the supremacy of the pope, none were thought necessary to legalize the marriages of the clergy. Even in Knox's Confession of Faith, adopted by the parliament on the 17th of July, there is no direct allusion to the matter. The only passage which can be construed as having any bearing upon it occurs in Chapter XIV., when considering "What works are reputed good before God."—"And evill works we affirme not onely those that are expressly done against God's commandment, but those also that in matters of religion and worshipping of God have no assurance, but the invention and opinion of man, which God from the beginning hath ever rejected, as by the prophet Isaiah and by our Master Christ Jesus we are taught in these words—*In vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines which are precepts of Men.*"¹

Nothing more, in fact, was needed when the triumph of the new ideas was so complete that Knox could exultingly exclaim, "For what Adulterer, what Fornicator, what known Masse-monger or pestilent Papist durst have been seen in publike within any Reformed Town within this Realme before that the Queen arrived? . . . For while that Papists were so

¹ Knox, p. 263.

confounded that none within the Realme durst avow the hearing or saying of Masse then the thieves of Tiddisdale durst avow their stouth or stealing in the presence of any upright judge."¹ When persecution thus had changed sides, no minister could feel that his nuptials required special authorization.

It were foreign to our object to enter into the dark details of Mary's short and disastrous reign. The intrigues of the camarilla, the boyish weakness of Darnley, the subtlety of Rizzio, and the coarse ambition of Huntley and Bothwell were alike harmless against the earnest reverence of the people for the new faith; and the expiring struggles of Catholicism were too feeble to give any practical importance to the vain attempts at reaction.

¹ Knox, p. 304.

XXIX.

THE POST-TRIDENTINE CHURCH.

THE great council, on which so long had hung the hopes of the Christian world, had at last been held. The reformation of the church, postponed by the skilful policy of the popes, had been reached in the closing sessions, and had been hurriedly provided for. As we have seen, the regulations which concerned the morals of the clergy were sufficient for their purpose, if only they could be enforced, yet as they were but the hundredth repetition of an endeavor to conquer human nature, which had always previously failed, even those who enacted them could have felt little faith in their efficacy. It remains for us to see what they accomplished.

Although Catherine de Medicis and her courtiers refused to allow the council to be formally published in France, yet she permitted its decrees to be freely circulated, and her bishops were at liberty to adopt them as the code of discipline in their dioceses. The difficulties raised by the Emperor Maximilian on the score of priestly celibacy were met with a vigor on the part of Pius IV. which savored of the thirteenth rather than the sixteenth century. Philip II., after a short hesitation, ordered the reception of the council in all his dominions, which extended from Naples to the North Sea; and Poland, despite some opposition from an ambitious primate, submitted to it before the year 1564 was ended.¹

As an authoritative exposition of the law of the church of Christ, conceived and elaborated under the influence of the

¹ By a Bull dated July 18, 1564, Pius IV. fixed May 1, 1564, as the time when the Tridentine canons became the law of the church. His letter to the Archbishop of Bremen with an official copy and directions as to its promulgation, is dated Oct. 3d of the same year.—(Hartzheim, VII. 25.)

Holy Ghost, and commanded for implicit observance by the Vicegerent of God; as the expression of the needs and wants of the Catholic faith, wrought by the concentrated energy and wisdom of the leading doctors of Christendom, and transmitted for practical application through the wondrous machinery of the Catholic hierarchy, it should have had an immediate influence on the evils which it was intended to eradicate. Those evils had confessedly done much to create and foster the schism under which the church was reeling; their magnitude was admitted by all, and no one ventured to defend or to palliate them. Their removal was acknowledged to be a necessity of the gravest character, and every adherent of Catholicism was bound to lend his aid to the good work. What, then, was accomplished by the council which had for so long a period labored ostensibly with the object of restoring Latin Christianity to its primitive purity?

Pius IV. rested satisfied with promulgating and confirming the decrees of the council, and waited to see them produce their destined effect. In 1566, however, he was succeeded by Pius V., whose experience as grand inquisitor had doubtless rendered him familiar with the prevailing neglect of ecclesiastical discipline, while his unbending temper made him rigorous in his determination to restore it.¹ One of the earliest

¹ Already, in 1564, the Synod of Haarlem announces that the penalties of deprivation and excommunication are insufficient, and it superadds a fine of 100 florins for each conviction, as more likely to effect a reformation.—Synod. Harlem. ann. 1564, de Cohab. Cleric. § ii. (Hartzheim, VII. 5.)

The condition of monastic discipline in Holland may be gathered from the reproof which the Synod of Utrecht, in 1564, administered to certain nunneries, the youthful virgins of which were in the habit of introducing musicians into the privacy of their cells and passing the nights in singing and dancing. (Hartzheim, VII. p. 22.)

Quite as suggestive is the prohibition, in the Council of Utrecht, Oct. 1565, forbidding the younger clergy

and nobility, "sine justa et urgenti causa," from visiting nuns in their cells and dining-rooms, or drinking with them by day or night.—Concil. Ultraject. ann. 1565 (Hartzheim, VII. 137).

It is true that, at this time, the Council of Trent had not been officially received in the Low Countries. In August, 1564, Philip II. had ordered its publication, but Margaret of Parma had hesitated to obey in consequence of the intense opposition excited by its interference with local liberties and franchises. It was not until Dec. 18, 1565, that it was finally promulgated, under imperative commands from Philip, and to it William of Orange attributed the inevitable revolution which followed.—(Stradæ de Bell. Belgic. Lib. iv.) Difficulties were still thrown in the way by factious

acts of his pontificate was the publication of a Bull commanding the ordinaries of all churches to put in force the Tridentine canons respecting concubinary priests, thus showing that already they were treated with contempt,¹ while a special mandate on the subject, addressed to the Archbishop of Salzburg, describes the unchecked corruption of the German priesthood as threatening the speedy destruction of the Catholic religion there.² Two years later, he found it necessary to issue another Bull, directed against darker crimes, the deplorable prevalence of which can hardly be attributed to any additional and unaccustomed vigor in removing the female companions of the clergy.³

In 1571 Pius undertook another subject of reform. Notwithstanding the decree of the council that any action of clerical fathers for the benefit of their offspring should be considered as fraudulent, the transmission of ecclesiastical property to such illegitimate heirs continued almost unchecked, and Pius recognized the necessity of further legislation to diminish the abuse. His Bull on the subject is drawn up with a care and minuteness which show the magnitude of the evil and the extreme difficulty of preventing it.⁴ Nor

deans and chapters. In 1578 we find the Duke of Alva still ordering its observance in the province of Utrecht, and it was not till 1570 that the Synod of Mechlin finally received it.

¹ Bull. *Cum Primum* § 12. (Mag. Bull. Roman. II. 180.)

² "Plerosque . . . abjecto Dei timore et sine ulla hominum verecundia, concubinas palam habere, easque perinde, ac si legitimæ eorum uxores essent, in ecclesiis et aliis locis publicis conspici, vulgo iisdem, quibus illi vocantur, officiorum et dignitatum nominibus appellatas; eoque hæreses tantopere crevisse, ac multiplicatas fuisse; quod ecclesiastici tam turpiter et nequiter vivendo, omnem plane existimationem amiserint, et in summam non apud hæreticos modo, sed etiam Catholicos contemptionem venerint . . . Nisi enim tam nefandum concubinitus vitium extirpetur, nullam spem reliquam esse videmus reprimi posse hæreses. Sed timemus (quod Deus

avertat) ne brevi tempore istæ, quæ supersunt, Catholicorum reliquiæ amittantur, et omnis prorsus Catholicæ religionis cultus apud vos extinguatur."—Breve Pii V. ad Archiep. Salzburg. (Hartzheim, VII. 231.)

³ Bull. *Horrendam* (Mag. Bull. Roman. II. 267).

⁴ Bull. *Quæ Ordini*.—How difficult was the task thus undertaken is admitted in the Bull itself—"Quia vero difficile nimis esset, præsentibus quocumque illis opus erit proferre." (Ibid. II. 323-4.) This did not put an end to the abuse, and Rome itself apparently winked at contraventions of the rule, which could be rendered profitable by the prerogative of issuing dispensations. In 1610 the Synod of Augsburg found it necessary to declare that it would enforce the Tridentine canons prohibiting the illegitimate sons of priests from holding preferment in their fathers' benefices, notwithstanding what dispensations

was there only the need of preserving the possessions of the church; the scandal of sacerdotal families required repression, and all other means having apparently failed, in 1572 another decretal declared that such children were incapable of receiving even the private and patrimonial property of their fathers.¹ These successive edicts are a full confession that the long-promised reformation was a failure, and that while the council might regulate doctrine, it was utterly powerless to enforce discipline.

Yet even these legislative labors of the pope are less instructive than the war which he commenced against the courtesans of Rome. If the new enactments could have been expected to command respect, the example should have been set in the Holy City itself, but Pius IV. had allowed the most public and scandalous immorality to flourish unchecked under his immediate supervision. Pius V. felt the disgrace keenly, and resolved on its suppression. He at first proposed to put an end to the nefarious trade, and to banish all the public women who would not give a pledge of reformation by an immediate marriage. Forced to relinquish this measure as impracticably harsh, he contented himself by restricting their residence to certain houses, and forbade their plying their vocation in the streets by day or night. Although he thus admitted the necessity of the evil, and endeavored to restrain only its public manifestation, even this moderate attempt at reform was deemed insufferable. The clergy were ashamed to offer opposition openly, but found no difficulty in urging the Senate to strenuous resistance. The remonstrance made by that body shows not only the frightful extent of the prevalent immorality, but also the settled conviction that immorality was inseparable from celibacy. It was represented that if the proposed rules were enforced, the prosperity of the city would be destroyed and the rents of houses be reduced to nothing; moreover, it was urged that, amid so vast a number of men condemned to celibacy, if any such restrictions were put in force, it would be impossible to preserve the virtue of the

they might produce to the contrary.
—Synod. August. ann. 1610, P. III.
c. iii. § 1. (Hartzheim, IX. 59.)

¹ Bull. Ad Romanum. (Mag. Bull. Roman. II. 325.)

wives and daughters of the citizens. The contest was stubbornly continued until at length Pius was driven to declare that, if any further difficulties were interposed, he would abandon the city.¹

In spite of these well-meant but nugatory efforts of Pius, the immorality of the papal court itself and of its highest dignitaries was admitted by a Bull which Sixtus V. promulgated in 1586. In decreeing that no one who had children, even if they were legitimate, should be eligible to the cardinalate, he took care to let the world understand the cause of the restriction by declaring that in no other way could evidence be had of the observance of their vows.²

If Pius V. met with opposition in the task of purifying the Augean stable of Rome, St. Charles Borromeo, encouraged and stimulated by his example, found himself involved in a more dangerous quarrel when he attempted, in the equally demoralized city of Milan, to enforce respect for the decrees of Trent. In 1569 he undertook to reform the canons of S. Maria della Scala, whose licentious mode of life was a scandal to the faithful. So persistently did they deny their subjection to his archiepiscopal jurisdiction, that, after a long discussion, his only resource for vindicating his authority was excommunication. The contumacious canons were still indisposed to yield, and, assembling in their church, they maltreated his messenger. Thinking that his presence might bring them to reason, he ventured himself to expostulate with them, and found them drawn up in their cemetery, with arms in their hands, and supported by soldiers whom they had hired. On reaching the gate, he dismounted from his mule and advanced towards them with his cross, which he had snatched from his cross-bearer. Unabashed by this symbol at once of religion and authority, the mutinous canons rushed upon him with shouts of "Spagna," "Spagna," brandishing their weapons and discharging their fire-arms at the

¹ De Thou, Lib. xxxix. "Nec matronarum pudicitiam inter tot cœlibes integram et inconcussam aliter servari posse nisi pristina libertas restitatur."

² Bull. Postquam Verus (Mag. Bull. Roman. II. 567).—"Certum nequeat suæ testimonium continentiae exhibere."

cross in his hands—fortunately without injuring him. Having thus driven him off, they continued for some time in open rebellion, until they were at length obliged to submit, when Pius V. and Philip II. united their power in support of St. Charles.¹

Still greater was the peril to which the saint was exposed in his quarrel with the Umiliati. They were a branch of the Benedictine order, founded in 1180 by the Milanese who escaped the destruction of their city by Frederic Barbarossa. Sharing in the general license of the age, the excesses of the Umiliati became so infamous that they surpassed in turpitude the worst exploits of the unbridled youth of the city. Supported by the decretals of Pius, in 1568 St. Charles undertook to reduce the order to the observance of monastic rule. The Umiliati resisted with so much energy and success that, after two years of contest, they were still defiant. Regarding St. Charles as the cause of all their troubles, Jeronymo Lignana, Provost of S. Cristoforo di Vercelli, who assumed their leadership in 1570, engaged a monk of the order named Girolamo Donati to murder him. The blackness of the deed was not relieved by the circumstances under which it was attempted. While the holy archbishop was absorbed at midnight in his devotions, Donati stole into the oratory and discharged full upon him an arquebuss loaded with slugs. Some of the missiles struck St. Charles, but rebounded to the floor, leaving him unhurt, and the miraculous nature of his escape was proved by the depth to which others penetrated the walls. At this moment the policy of Philip the Catholic supported the disaffected and rebellious monks, and for some time yet they escaped the retribution due to their many crimes, but at length those concerned in the attempted murder were caught and executed, and the order of the Umiliati was broken up.²

These examples sufficiently show how little the great body

¹ Fleury, Liv. CLXXI. chap. 104 et seq.

² Muratori, Annal. ann. 1569.—Henrion, Hist. des Ordres Religieux l. 196.—Fleury, Liv. CLXXI. chap. 26.—De Thou, Lib. L.—The calm Mura-

tori stigmatizes the Umiliati as “troppo scorretto e corrotto ordine,” and Henrion, who cannot certainly be regarded as a prejudiced authority, declares that “les excès des Humiliés surpassoient ceux des laïques les plus débauchés.”

of ecclesiastics was disposed to submit to a curtailment of the license which had become traditional, and how little respect was paid either to the commands of the great Œcumenic Council, or to the general and local authorities. It is easy to imagine that few prelates were so disposed to court martyrdom as the saintly Charles, and that churches with less conscientious pastors easily found means to purchase or compel exemption from the laws which bound them to morality. If more proof be wanted of the inefficiency of the Tridentine measures of reform throughout Italy, and the hesitation of the officials to enforce them, it is to be found in the series of provincial councils held during the remainder of the century, from Lombardy to Naples.

The papacy had succeeded in crushing the reformers who had responded in so many Italian cities to the uprising in Germany; it had then convoked and managed at its will the great Congress of Catholic Christendom which was to put an end at once and forever to all the evils which had led to the schism; it had every opportunity and every motive for vindicating itself from the aspersions of its enemies, and yet we see it at once recur to the old machinery of local councils enacting canons whose frequency and wordy severity are the inverse measure of their efficiency. Had the promises of reform so liberally made been possible in their fulfilment, there had been no need of further legislation. A convocation of the ecclesiastics of each province to receive and publish the decrees of Trent would have been all-sufficient. When, therefore, we see the endless iteration with which the guilty clergy were threatened with the Tridentine canons, and with other new or revived penalties—as at the councils of Milan in 1565 and 1582¹ and at those of Manfredonia in 1567, of Ravenna in 1568, of Urbino in 1569, of Florence in 1573, of Naples in 1576, of Consenza in 1579, of Salerno in 1596, of S. Severino in 1597, and of Melfi in 1597²—we can only

¹ Concil. Mediolanens. ann. 1565, P. II. Const. xiv. (Harduin. X. 661) —Concil. Mediolanens. ann. 1582 Const. xiv. (Ibid. p. 1117).

² Concil. Sipontin. ann. 1567, De

Vit. et Honest. Cleric.—Concil. Ravennat. ann. 1568, De Vit. et Honest. Cleric. c. v.—Concil. Urbinat. ann. 1569, De Vit. et Honest. Cleric. c. vi.—Concil. Florent. ann. 1573, Rubr.

conclude that the evil was irremediable, in spite of the well-meant efforts to suppress it, or to throw off the responsibility of its existence.

Throughout the whole extent of Central Europe the Tridentine canons met with a like slackness of obedience. Even the question of sacerdotal marriage, which had been raised by the council to the dignity of a point of faith, was stubbornly contested, and was not yielded until after a protracted struggle.

In 1569 we find the synod of the extensive and important province of Salzburg virtually dividing its clergy into two classes—those who haunt the taverns under pretext of getting their meals, but really for the purpose of indulging in drunken riots with their parishioners, and those who keep houses, with concubines under the guise of female servants, whom they secretly marry, and who are openly known by their husbands' names.¹

In 1565, Anthony, Archbishop of Prague, promulgated the council of Trent in his provincial synod. He was a man of more than ordinary vigor; he had been the imperial orator at Trent, understood fully the views of the council, and was not likely to underrate either their importance or their authority. Armed with the Tridentine canons, he set actively to work and instituted a very thorough system of inquisitorial visitations, which ought to have succeeded if success were possible. Yet, after the lapse of thirteen years, in a special

xxxvii. c. 3, 4.—Concil. Neapol. ann. 1576, cap. xxii.—Concil. Consentin. ann. 1579, Sess. iv.—Concil. Salernit. ann. 1596, cap. xviii.—Concil. S. Severin. ann. 1597, De Vit. et Honest. Cleric.—Concil. Amalfitan. ann. 1597, De Vit. et Honest. Cleric. c. v.—(Labbei et Coleti, Supplement. T. V. pp. 827-1331.)

¹ To meet this condition of affairs, the synod devised an elaborate system, by which the richer clergy were directed to keep as domestics respectable middle-aged married women with their husbands, while the poorer ec-

clesiastics were to club together for the same purpose.—Synod. Salzburg. ann. 1569, Const. xxvii. c. xviii. xix. xx. xxi. xxii. (Hartzheim, VII. 306-8). The results of this may be guessed when, in 1616, we see the Archbishop of Salzburg, in his instructions for a general visitation, ordering that all priests should remove their concubines to the distance of six miles, and that they should not allow their illegitimate children to live openly with them, except under special license from him.—Statut. Visitat. Salzburg. ann. 1616, Tit. i. c. vi. (Ibid. IX. 266).

mandate issued by him in 1578, he deplores the obstinate blindness of many of his clergy, who still believed, with the heretics, that marriage was not incompatible with priesthood.¹

The same wilful ignorance apparently existed in the diocese of Wurzburg, for Bishop Julius, in 1584, found it necessary, in his episcopal statutes, to discountenance clerical matrimony and to prove its nullity by laboriously quoting innumerable canons and decretals; and he even condescended to remind his priesthood that in taking orders they had willingly and knowingly entered into an engagement of continence, by the consequences of which they must be prepared to abide.²

A provincial synod of Gnesen, of which the date is uncertain, but which was probably held in 1577, deplored the insane audacity displayed by ecclesiastics in marrying, and threatened them with the Tridentine anathema.³ This warning appears to have been completely disregarded, for the Bishop of Breslau, a suffragan of the metropolis of Gnesen, in opening his diocesan synod in 1580, still complained that many of his clergy were guilty of this perversity, and he was at some pains to disavow any complicity with it, or any connivance at the licentiousness which was prevalent among the unmarried.⁴ In 1591, the synod of Olmutz asserted that

¹ It would seem that those who did not marry were guilty of the more venial error of concubinage—"Plerosque etiam prælatos et sacerdotes qui de monasteriorum parochiarumque proventibus et beneficiis ecclesiasticis vivunt, magno suo dedecore, famæ et existimationis periculo, maximoque aliorum scandalo, denique salutis suæ dispendio, turpes et infames mulieres vel concubinas alere et ex illis illegitimos soboles procreare: multos insuper invenimus eo erroris et dementiæ prolapsos, ut cum hæreticis putent sibi licere, una cum sacerdotio, etiam copulatas fœminas habere."—Decret. Reformat. Pragense (Hartzheim, VII. 53).

² Statut. Rural. Julii Wirceburg. P. III. c. iv. (Gropp Script. Rer. Wirceburg. I. 471-4). It is somewhat remarkable that Bishop Julius attributes the prohibition of marriage to the Council of Nicæa. After describ-

ing the custom of the Greek church, he proceeds, "Permissio vero et consuetudo illa duravit usque ad Nicænum concilium, in quo generali decreto abrogata est, statutumque ne aliquis habens uxorem consecratur sacerdos"—a falsification which is equally singular, whether it proceeded from ignorance or fraud, and an admission that celibacy was not of apostolic origin which was rare in a Catholic prelate of that period.

³ Quoniam nonnulli ex sacerdotibus qui in cæteris se Catholicos esse profitentur, eo audaciæ atque dementiæ progrediuntur, ut sibi uxores ducere licere existiment, et de facto nuptias celebrent, etc.—Synod. Gnesnens. c. xxxiii. (Hartzheim, VII. 891).

⁴ Synod. Wratislav. ann. 1580 (Hartzheim, VII. 890). "Magnam quidem clericorum quorundam præsertim parochorum, in hanc diœcesin

many clerks in holy orders contracted pretended marriages, and were not ashamed of the families growing up publicly around them, while others indulged in scandalous concubinage with women, whom they styled housekeepers or cooks.¹ Even as late as 1628, at the synod of Osnabruck, the orator who opened the proceedings inveighed in the vilest terms against the female companions of the clergy, who not only occupied the position of wives, but were even dignified with the title.²

We have seen above that the highest authorities in the church did not hesitate openly to attribute the origin and success of the Reformation to the scandalous corruption of the ecclesiastical body. The council of Trent had not resulted in removing the scandal, and clear-sighted prelates were not wanting who proclaimed that the same causes continued to operate and to produce the same effect. Anthony, Archbishop of Prague, in his synod of 1565, took occasion to declare that the misfortunes of the church were attributable to the dissoluteness of the clergy, and that the extirpation of heresy could best be effected by reforming the depraved morals and filthy lives of ecclesiastics.³ These

irrepsisse perversitatem, quod occasione rei familiaris et œconomicae curæ necessitate, publico vel privato matrimonii vinculo mulieribus fidem hactenus dedissent, liberosque summo cum dedecore et scandalo procreassent: fidem autem Domino Deo et ecclesiæ datam irritam fecissent."

¹ Synod. Olomucens. ann. 1591, c. xiii. (Hartzheim, VIII. 352).—"Hinc nonnulli ad matrimonia prætensa, post ordines sacros susceptos convolare, atque eas quibus illicite copulati sunt legitimarum uxorum loco habere, nec minus cum illis quam cum liberis incontinentiæ nefandæ testibus, publice circumvehi non verentur."—In endeavoring to put an end to this state of affairs, the synod manifested its estimation of the morals of the priesthood by renewing the hideous suggestions which we have seen in the ninth and thirteenth centuries. Pastors were allowed to have with them the near relations authorized

by the Nicene canon, but, in view of the assaults of the tempter, were prudently advised not to let them reside in their houses.

² Synod. Osnabrug. ann. 1628 (Hartzheim, IX. 431).—"Foveant domi suæ focarias, alant spurcas lupas ac lenas pudicitiae prostitutrices suæ, expugnatrices alienæ, quas uxorum et conjugum non tantum locum habeant, sed nomine etiam dignentur."—As usual, a distinction is drawn between those who thus formed permanent, though illicit connections, and others who indulged in promiscuous license—"alii vaga dissoluti lascivia, tanquam equi emissarii, ad incontinentissimum quodque scortum aut adulteram adhinniunt trahuntque ingentes liberorum spuriorum greges. Hæc in propatulo sunt; quæ vero in occulto fiunt ab ipsis, turpe est et dicere."

³ Statut. Diœces. Pragens. ann. 1565 (Hartzheim, VII. 26).

complaints continued long. In 1609, at the synod of Constance, the Rev. Dr. Hamerer, in an official oration to the assembled prelates, deplored the continued spread of heresy, which he boldly told them was caused by the perpetually increasing immorality that pervaded all classes of the priesthood. The Reformation had begun, had derived its strength and was still prospering through their weakness, which rendered them odious to the people, and made the Catholic religion a by-word and a shame.¹ In 1610, the Bishop of Antwerp, in a synodal address, attributed the evils which had so grievously afflicted the church of Flanders for nearly half a century, to the same cause, and, in recounting the various successive efforts at internal reform made since the council of Trent, he pronounced each one to have been a failure in consequence of the incurable obstinacy of the clergy.² Damhouder, a celebrated jurisconsult of Flanders, whose unquestioned piety and orthodoxy gained for him the confidence of Charles V. and Philip II., does not hesitate to speak of the clergy of his time as men who rarely lived up to their professions, and who as a general rule were scoundrels distinguished for their indulgence in all manner of evil.³ In a similar mood the Bishop of Bois-le-Duc, in opening his synod of 1612, declared that the scandalous lives of the ecclesiastics were a source of corruption to the laity, and a direct encouragement of heresy.⁴ So, in 1625, the synod of Osnabruck gave as its reason for endeavoring to enforce the Tridentine canons that the true religion was despised on

¹ Quid insuper aliæ causæ esse suspicamini, quod præfatæ hæreses usque in hanc diem non modo non cessaverint, sed multis variisque amplificatæ accessionibus accreverint semper et indies grandescant adhuc, quam quod clerus tam superior quam inferior, tantis ecclesiæ ærumnis et calamitatibus non modo nihil afficiatur, sed longe insolescat, gulæ, crapulæ, et libidini obscænæ indulgeat.—Synod. Constant. ann. 1609 (Hartzheim, VIII. 838). Another orator, the Jesuit Dr. Mayer, though more cautious in his deductions, was equally

outspoken in his denunciations of the wickedness of the clergy (Ibid. p. 831).

² Synod. Antwerp. ann. 1610 (Hartzheim; VIII. 979).

³ Quum ipsos clericos satis raro vivere conspiciamus juxta ipsorum professionem, sed ut scelerati nebulones multa indigna mala perpetrantes.—Damhouder. Rerum Crim. Praxis cap. xxxvii. No. 25 (Antwerp. 1601).

⁴ Synod. Boscodunens. II. ann. 1612 (Hartzheim, IX. 200).

account of the depraved morals of its ministers, whose crimes were a sufficient explanation of the stubbornness of the heretics.¹

The Thirty Years' War proved a more effectual bar to the spread of heresy than these fruitless efforts to cure the incurable malady of the church. After the Peace of Westphalia, there was no further need to appeal to the dread of proselyting Lutheranism as a stimulus to virtue, but still the same process of reasoning appears in exhortations to regain the forfeited respect of the community. Thus, in 1652, the Bishop of Munster expressed his horror at the obstinacy with which, in spite of fines, edicts, and canons, his clergy persisted in retaining their concubines, and he declared that the discordance between the professions and the practice of the priesthood rendered them a stench in the nostrils of the people and destroyed the authority of religion itself;² and in 1662 the synod of Cologne deplored that the notorious want of respect felt for the ministers of Christ was the direct result of their own immorality.³

It is evident from all this that the standard of ecclesiastical morals had not been raised by the efforts of the Tridentine

¹ Cum in sacerdotum et clericorum crimine sat causæ imperitæ plebi videatur cur hæreses non deserantur . . . facileque consequatur ut quorum vita contemptui est, eorum quoque doctrina proculcetur (Synod. Osnabrug. ann. 1625 cap. v. (Hartzheim, IX. 350). The synod was obliged to take strong ground against the inveterate abuse by which beneficiaries enriched their illegitimate children out of the patrimony of the church. No concealment of these relationships was apparently thought necessary (Ibid. cap. ix.).

These well-meant efforts of the synod were of little avail. Three years later, the orator of a succeeding synod bewailed the continued excesses of the clergy most forcibly, and his indignation is particularly excited at abuses which he describes in language almost identical with that of the Anglo-Saxon canonists of the tenth century—"nec sine dolore et gemitu versantur ob oculos aliquo-

rum concubinæ et damnato procreati coitu liberi splendidius ornati quam sancti, meretrices cultiores quam Divorum imagines, et, quod dicere horror est, direpta e sacrariis supellectili sacra, instrumentoque ecclesiastico, focariæ stolatæ amiciuntur, et e pannis Christi, insolentium finguntur vestium novitates."—Synod. Osnabrug. ann. 1628 (Ibid. p. 428).

² Synod. Monasteriens. ann. 1652 (Hartzheim, IX. 786-7).—"Quam parum vita cleri et pastorum cum doctrina et professione concordet, unde sit ut autoritas sanctæ fidei periculetur et eorum nomen fœteat qui Christi bonus odor esse deberent in omni loco."

³ Synod. Colon. ann. 1662 P. III. Tit. i. cap. 1 § iii (Hartzheim, IX. 1006).—"Et sane quod sacrorum ministris debitus non tribuatur honos non nisi vitæ nimis dissolutæ et depravatis clericorum moribus est imputandum."

fathers, and yet a study of the records of church discipline shows that with the increasing decency and refinement of society during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the open and cynical manifestations of license among the clergy become gradually rarer. It may well be doubted, nevertheless, whether their lives were in reality much purer. A few spasmodic efforts were made to enforce the Nicene canon, prohibiting the residence of women, but they were utterly fruitless, and were so recognized by all parties; and the energies of the arch-priests and bishops were directed to regulating the character of the handmaidens, who were admitted to be a necessary evil. The devices employed for this purpose were varied, and repeated with a frequency which shows their insufficiency; and it would be scarce worth our while to do more than indicate some sources of reference for the curious student who may wish to follow up the reiteration which we have traced already through so many successive centuries.¹ Among them, however, one new feature shows itself, which indicates the growing respect paid to the

¹ Collect. Synod. Mechlin. Tom. I. pp. 39, 57.—Synod. Mechlin. ann. 1570, Tit. xiv. (Ibid. I. 118).—Synod. Lovaniens. ann. 1574 (Ibid. I. 191).—Synod. Provin. Mechlin. ann. 1607, Tit. xviii. c. viii. (Ibid. I. 395).—Synod. Dioceses. Mechlin. ann. 1607, Tit. xvii. c. vi. (Ibid. II. 237).—Congregat. Archipresbyt. ann. 1613 (Ibid. II. 271).—Tertia Congregat. Episc. ann. 1624 (Ibid. I. 466).—Ibid. I. 514.

Synod. Augustan. ann. 1567, P. III. c. ii. (Hartzheim, VII. 182).—Synod. Constant. ann. 1567, P. II. Tit. i. c. 9. (Ibid. VII. 541).—Synod. Ruremond. ann. 1570 (Ibid. VII. 653).—Synod. Boscodunens. ann. 1571, Tit. xiv. c. ii. (Ibid. VII. 723).—Synod. Warmiens. ann. 1577, c. i. (Ibid. VII. 871).—Synod. Mettens. ann. 1604, c. xlvi. liii. lxii. (Ibid. X. 768-70).—Synod. Brixiens. ann. 1603, De discip. cler. c. xviii. (Ibid. VIII. 576).—Synod. Namurcens. ann. 1604, Tit. viii. c. vi. (Ibid. VIII. 623).—Synod. Constant. ann. 1609, P. II. Tit. xvii. c. 7 (Ibid.

VIII. 906).—Synod. Mettens. ann. 1610, Tit. xi. c. xi. (Ibid. VIII. 962).—Synod. Antverp. ann. 1610, Tit. xvii. c. vi. (Ibid. VIII. 1003).—Statut. Visitat. Salisburgens. ann. 1616, Tit. i. c. vi. (Ibid. IX. 266).—Synod. Iprens. ann. 1629, c. xx. (Ibid. IX. 496).—Synod. Namurcens. ann. 1639, Tit. xix. c. ix. x. (Ibid. IX. 592-3).—Synod. Audomar. ann. 1640, Tit. xiv. c. vii. (Ibid. X. 802).—Synod. Colon. ann. 1651, P. II. c. ii. § 1 (Ibid. IX. 742).—Synod. Hildesheim. ann. 1652 (Ibid. IX. 805-6).—Synod. Colon. ann. 1662, P. III. Tit. ii. c. 1, 2, 3 (Ibid. IX. 1008-11).—Statut. Synod. Trevirens. ann. 1678, c. xi. xii. xiii. xiv. (Ibid. X. 60).—Statut. Synod. Argentinens. ann. 1687, De clericis addit. i. (Ibid. X. 180).—Synod. Brugens. ann. 1693, Tit. v. § 2 (Ibid. X. 202).—Cod. Canon. Mettens. ann. 1699, Tit. x. c. xviii. (Ibid. X. 245).—Synod. Bisuntin. ann. 1707, Tit. II. c. xxv. (Ibid. X. 291).—Synod. Culmens. et Pomesan. ann. 1745, c. ix. (Ibid. X. 517).

appearance of decency—complaints that concubines are kept under the guise of sisters and nieces.

A darker and more dangerous sin, however, begins during this period to attract more attention than of old. The power of the confessional, one of the most effective engines invented by the ingenuity of man for enslaving the human mind, was peculiarly liable to abuse, while the relations existing between the confessor and his female penitents rendered guilt under such circumstances especially atrocious. It is not easy to imagine temptation more dangerous, and, to a priesthood which, as we have seen, could not be restrained from the grossest and most criminal indulgences, such temptation must frequently have proved irresistible. In 1561, Pius IV. issued a special Bull directed against the seduction of women by their confessors, a crime which he describes as being especially prevalent in Spain,¹ and, in 1622, Gregory XIV. republished this Bull, which he strengthened by further provisions, and made universally applicable throughout all Catholic countries.² The local ecclesiastical legislation of the period is surcharged with innumerable minute directions as to the form and structure of confessionals; restricting female penitents, unless dangerously ill, from being heard except in church and by daylight, and prescribing the relative positions to be maintained by confessor and penitent, all

¹ Bull. *Cum sicut nuper* (Mag. Bull. Roman. II. 44).

² Bull. *Universi Dominici Gregis* (Ibid. III. 432).

These evils commenced to attract attention almost as soon as enforced celibacy coexisted with auricular confession. As early as 398, the First Council of Toledo (can. vi.) orders "ne qua puella Dei aut familiaritatem habeat cum confessore." Occasional references in the preceding pages show the perpetuation of the scandal; and to these may be added the testimony of Savonarola, who, at the close of the fifteenth century, graphically describes the abuses of the confessional, which he declares to be

almost universal—"Elle vient, cette brebis, cette femme, cette enfant qui est tombée dans le péché. Christ l'a perdue: le bon prêtre la trouve, il doit la rendre à Christ. Mais le mauvais prêtre la flatte, il l'excuse, il lui dit: Je sais bien qu'on ne peut toujours vivre chastement et se garder du péché. Peu à peu il l'attire à lui; il l'éloigne de Christ plus que jamais. —O frère! ne touche pas cette corde. —Je ne nomme personne, mais il faut dire la vérité. Le mauvais prêtre la flatte, il l'entraîne, de manière que cette pauvre brebis perde la tête. Loin de la rendre à Christ, il la garde pour lui. Toutes les cités d'Italie sont pleines de ces horreurs."—Perrens, Jérôme Savonarole, p. 71.

of which tends to show how much men's minds were excited by the subject, and how, as usual, the church sought palliatives for the evil to which she dared not apply a radical cure.

This abuse of the confessional naturally led to an even more detestable abuse of the power of absolution, whereby the spiritual director absolved his partner in guilt.¹ So vile a prostitution of the sacrament of penitence could not but arouse the sharpest indignation, as it was not only an incentive to the foulest immorality, but also tended directly to bring the whole system into contempt. In 1661, therefore, the provincial synod of Cambrai, and in 1663, a congregation of arch-priests of the province of Mechlin, revived the ancient rule that no confessor should have power to grant absolution in such cases to his paramour, except *in articulo mortis*.² This seems to have aroused considerable opposition and no little discussion, for, at a convocation of bishops, held at Brussels in January, 1665, it was the first question submitted for debate by the Archbishop, Andreas Creusen.³ The question, however, still remained unsettled, for, although the power to grant such absolution was specially excepted in all commissions issued to confessors, the subject again came up for discussion at the synod of Namur, in 1698, and the practice was peremptorily forbidden for the future.⁴

In the province of Besançon, a statute of 1689 declares that although the abuse had long been prohibited, yet it was still continually practised. A formal enunciation was therefore considered necessary, taking away the power of absolution in all such cases—and this regulation had to be repeated

¹ Occasional references to this practice may be found in earlier times. See, for instance, Concil. Monasteriens. ann. 1279, c. xv. (Hartzheim, III. 649).—Suppression of Monasteries, No. xvii. (Camden Soc. Pub.).—Statut. Synod. Tornacens. ann. 1520, c. vii. (Hartzheim, VI. 156).

² Synod. Camerac. ann. 1661, c. xi. (Hartzheim, IX. 888).—Collect. Synod. Mechlin. II. 319.

³ Ut reservetur per totam provinciam iste casus: "Si confessarius

inciderit, quod Deus avertat, in peccatum carnis cum aliqua, eam non possit absolvere."—Collect. Synod. Mechlin. I. 559.

⁴ Supervenit quædam quæstio super reservatione potestatis absolvendi complicem in peccato carnali externo; quapropter jussimus impostum exprimi id non licere, prout habetur in commissione ad excipiendas confessiones, et in omnibus expeditionibus ad curam animarum.—Synod. Namurcens. ann. 1698, c. xxviii. (Hartzheim, X. 219).

in 1707.¹ In 1742, at Namur, it was again found requisite to renew the prohibition,² and not long after, Benedict XIV. issued his Bull, "Sacramentum Pœnitentiæ," by which he formally and absolutely condemned the practice. Even this was insufficient to put an end to it, for, in 1768, we find the Bishop of Ypres obliged to recall to the attention of his clergy this Bull and that of Gregory XIV., and to threaten excommunication against those who persisted in transgressing either of them.³

In France the influence of the Tridentine canons had been equally unsatisfactory. At a royal council held in 1560, which resolved upon the assembly of the States at Orleans, Charles de Marillac, Bishop of Vienne, declared that ecclesiastical discipline was almost obsolete, and that no previous time had seen scandals so frequent or the life of the clergy so reprehensible.⁴ The colloquy of Poissy, in 1561, of course had no result, and the effect of the council of Trent on the Gallican church was imperceptible. In 1564 the Cardinal of Lorraine, not long after his return from the council, held a provincial synod at Rheims, where he contented himself with declaring that the ancient canons enjoining chastity should be enforced.⁵ The next year, 1565, a synod held at Cambrai reduced the penalties to a minimum, and afforded every opportunity for purchasing immunity, by enacting that those who consorted with loose women, and who remained obdurate to warnings and reprehension, should be punished at the

¹ Synod. Bisuntin. ann. 1707, Tit. xiv. c. xiv. (Hartzheim, X. 323).

² Nullus poterit in materia venerea excipere confessionem secum in peccato mortali externo complicitis, secus in aliis materiis.—Synod. Namurcens. ann. 1742, c. iv. (Hartzheim, X. 487).

³ Instruct. Pastoral. J. H. de Wavrans Episc. Ipres. ann. 1768, c. xxvii. (Hartzheim, X. 638.)

⁴ Car, outre la variété des doctrines, qui veit oncques la discipline ancienne de l'église plus dissipée, plus abbatue, plus négligée, les abus plus multipliés, les scandales plus

fréquens, la vie des ministres plus reprenable, et les tumultes des peuples plus grands?—Pierre de la Place, Estat. de Relig. etc. Liv. iii.

From the proceedings of the Huguenot Synod of Poitiers in 1560 (Chap. vi. Art. x.) it is evident that priests not infrequently secretly married their concubines, and when the woman was a Calvinist, her equivocal position became a matter of grave consideration with her church. (Quick, Synod. Gall. Reform. I. 18.)

⁵ Concil. Remens. ann. 1664, Stat. xvii.

pleasure of the officials.¹ In two years more the same council was fain to ask the aid of the secular arm to remove the concubines of its clergy²—a course again suggested as late as 1631.³ The terms in which Claude, Bishop of Evreux, at his synod of 1576, announced his intention of taking steps to eject those who for the future should persist in their immorality show not only that such measures were even yet an innovation, but also indicate little probability of their being successful.⁴ The council of Rheims, in 1583, while proclaiming that the Tridentine canons shall be enforced on all concubinary priests, manifests a reasonable doubt as to the amount of respect which they will receive in threatening that those who are contumacious shall be subdued by the secular arm.⁵ The council of Tours, in the same year, deplures that the whole ecclesiastical body is regarded with aversion by the good and pious on account of the scandals perpetrated by a portion of them. To cure this evil, the residence of suspected women, even when connected by blood, is forbidden, as well as of the children acknowledged to be sprung from such unions, and various penalties are denounced against offenders.⁶ The council of Avignon, in 1594, declares that the numerous decrees relative to the morals and manners of the clergy are either forgotten or neglected, and then proceeds to forbid the residence of suspected women.⁷ That of Bordeaux, in 1624, earnestly warns the clergy of the province not to allow their

¹ Concil. Camerac. ann. 1565, Rubr. VIII. c. 3. "Si quis hac parte peccaverit, monitus castigatusque, nisi animum et vitam mutaverit, graviter ordinarii arbitrio puniatur."—At this council, which was held in June, 1565, the council of Trent was formally adopted. As forming part of *Flandre Française*, Cambrai may properly be considered as French, though Francis I., by the treaty of Madrid in 1526, had been compelled to surrender his sovereignty, and till a hundred years later it continued under Spanish dominion.

² Concil. Camerac. ann. 1567, c. iii. (Hartzheim, VII. 216.)

³ Synod. Camerac. ann. 1631, Tit. XVIII. c. xiv. (Ibid. IX. 562.)

⁴ Denuntiamus omnibus diœcesis nostri ecclesiasticis viris, nisi a die hujus synodi, si aliquas habent mulieres suspectas, a se expulerint et ab incontinentia destiterint . . . nos adversus deprehensos progressuros usque ad privationem beneficiorum.—Claudii Episc. Ebroicens. Statut. cap. III. § 1. (Migne's Patrol. Tom. 147, pp. 244-5.)

⁵ Concil. Remens. ann. 1583, cap. xviii. § 5. (Harduin. X. 1293.)

⁶ Concil. Turon. ann. 1583, cap. xv. (Ibid. p. 1481.)

⁷ Concil. Avenionens. ann. 1594, can. xxxii. (Ibid. p. 1854.)

sisters and nieces to live in their houses, and especially not to sleep in the same room with them;¹ and various other synods held during the period repeated the well-known regulations on the subject, which are only of interest as showing how little they were respected.²

No one, in fact, who is familiar with the popular literature of France during that period can avoid the conviction that the ecclesiastical body was hopelessly infected with the corruption which, emanating from the foulest court in Christendom, spread its contagion throughout the land. If Rabelais and Bonaventure des Periers reflect the depravity which was universal under Francis I., Brantôme, Beroalde de Verville and Noël du Fail continue the record of infamy under Catherine de Medicis and her children.³ The genealogy of sin is carried on by Tallemant des Réaux, Bussy-Rabutin and the crowd of memoir writers who flourished in the Augustan age of French literature. Into these common sewers of iniquity it is not worth our while to penetrate; but, when the high places in the hierarchy were filled with men to whom the very name of virtue was a jest, we need not hesitate to conclude that the humbler members of the church were equally regardless of their obligations to God and man.

Like the Calvinists of Scotland, the Huguenots of France accepted sacerdotal marriage as an admitted portion of the

¹ Concil. Burdigalens. ann. 1624, cap. xiii. § 2. (Harduin. XI. 96.)

² Synod. Tornacens. ann. 1574, Tit. xii. c. 5, 6, 7. (Hartzheim, VII. 780.)—Synod. Audomarens. ann. 1583, Tit. xvi. c. 2. (Ibid. VII. 947.) Concil. Burdegalens. ann. 1583, can. xxi. (Harduin. X. 1360.)—Concil. Bituricens. ann. 1584, Tit. xlii. can. 1-4. (Ibid. X. 1503-4.)—Concil. Aquens. ann. 1585, cap. de Vit. et Honestate Cleric. (Ibid. X. 1547.)—Concil. Narbonnens. ann. 1609, cap. xli. (Ibid. XI. 96.)

³ Du Fail, whose high official position in the Parlement of Rennes precludes the supposition of any tendency to Calvinism, devotes one of

his discourses (Contes et Discours d'Entrapel No. xx.) to the evils entailed by celibacy on the church and on society, quoting the exclamation of Cardinal Contarini to Velly the French ambassador, "O quæ mala attulit in ecclesia cœlibatus ille!" It is true that such stories as "Frater Fecisti" are not historical documents, yet they have their value as indicating the drift of public feeling and the convictions forced upon the minds of the people by the irregularities of the clerical profession. The same lesson is taught by Boccaccio, Chaucer, Poggio, the Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, and all the other records of the interior life of the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries.

declaration of revolt against Rome. Calvin himself manifested his contempt for all the ancient prejudices by marrying, in 1539, Idelette de Bure, an Anabaptist widow.¹ The Huguenot Confession of Faith was drawn up by him, and was adopted by the first national synod, held at Paris in 1559. Of course the Genevan views of justification swept away all the accumulated observances of sacerdotalism, and ascetic celibacy shared the fate of the rest.² The discipline of the Calvinist church with regard to the morality of its ministers was necessarily severe. The peculiar purity expected of a pastor's household was shown by the rule which enjoined any church officer whose wife was convicted of adultery to dismiss her absolutely, under pain of deposition, while laymen, under such circumstances, were exhorted to be reconciled to their guilty partners.³ Any lapse from virtue on the part of a minister was visited with peremptory deposition;⁴ nor was this a mere idle threat such as were too many of the innumerable decrees of the Catholic councils quoted above, for the proceedings of various synods show that it was carried sternly into execution. A list of such vagrant and deposed ministers was even kept and published to the churches, with personal descriptions of the individuals, that they might not be able to impose on the unwary. Indeed, the national

¹ Idelette apparently had a stern and self-centred soul, worthy of her mate. See Calvin's curious account of her death-bed, in a letter to Farel. (Calvini Epistolæ, p. 111. Genevæ, 1617.) His grief was doubtless sincere, but his friends were able to compliment him on his not allowing domestic affliction to interfere with his customary routine of labor. (Ibid. p. 116.)

² I have not access to the original, but quote the following from Quick's "Synodicon in Gallia Reformata," London, 1692—"Art. xxiv. . . . We do also reject those means which men presumed they had, whereby they might be redeemed before God; for they derogate from the satisfaction of the Death and Passion of Jesus Christ. Finally, We hold Purgatory to be none other than a cheat, which came

out of the same shop: from which also proceeded monastical vows, pilgrimages, prohibitions of marriage and the use of meats, a ceremonious observation of days, auricular confession, indulgences, and all other such like matters, by which Grace and Salvation may be supposed to be deserved. Which things we reject, not only for the false opinion of merit which was affixed to them, but also because they are the inventions of men, and are a yoke laid by their sole authority upon conscience." (Quick, I. xi.)—See also the Confession written by Calvin in 1562, to be laid before the Emperor Ferdinand (Calvini Epist. pp. 564-66).

³ Discip. Chap. xiii. can. xxviii. (Quick, I. liii.)

⁴ Ibid. Chap. i. can. xlvi.

synod of Lyons, in 1563, went so far as to punish those ministers who brought contempt upon the church by unfitting marriages;¹ and though this was omitted from the final code of discipline, it shows the exceeding strictness with which the internal economy of the ecclesiastical establishment of the Huguenots was regulated.

The relations of the Catholic church with its apostates were somewhat confused, and they varied with the political exigencies of the situation. Ecclesiastics who left the Catholic communion did not hesitate to enter into matrimony;² and when the desolation of civil war rendered a forced tolerance of the new religion necessary, their position was recognized and acknowledged by law. Thus in the Edicts of Pacification issued by Henry III. in 1576 and 1577 there is a provision which admits as valid the marriages theretofore contracted by all priests or religious persons of either sex. The issue of such unions was declared competent to inherit the personalty of the parents and such realty as either parent might have acquired, but was incapable of other inheritance, direct or collateral.³ This concession was renewed and somewhat amplified by the Edict of Nantes in 1598, which was intended as a final settlement of the religious troubles.⁴ The provision was, however, held to be only retrospective in its action, and was not admitted as legalizing subsequent marriages. Thus in

¹ Chap. iv. Art. xii., Chap. xvi. Art. xiv. (Quick, I. 32, 38).

² The council of Rouen, in 1581, deplores the number of monks and nuns who left their convents, apostatized, and married. It directs that they shall be tempted back, treated kindly, and pardon for them be sought from the Holy See.—Concil. Rotomag. ann. 1581, Cap. de Monasteriis § 32. (Harduin. X. 1253.)

Prelates of high position were not wanting to the list of married men. Carracioli, Bishop of Troyes, and Spifame, Bishop of Nevers, were of the number. Jean de Monluc, Bishop of Valence (brother of the celebrated Marshal Blaise de Monluc whose cruelties to the Huguenots were so noto-

rious), married without openly apostatizing, and died in the Catholic faith. Cardinal Odet de Châtillon, Bishop of Beauvais, and brother of the Admiral, became a declared Calvinist, married Mdle. de Hauteville, and called himself Comte de Beauvais. He seems to have retained his benefices, and was still called by the Catholics M. le Cardinal, "Car il nous estoit fort à cœur," says Brantôme (Discours 48) "de luy changer le nom qui luy avoit esté si bien seant."

³ Édit de 1576, Art. 9.—Édit de Poitiers, Art. Secrets, No. 8. (Isambert, Anciennes Lois Françaises, T. XV. pp. 283, 331.)

⁴ Édit de Nantes, Art. Secrets, No. 39 (Isambert, T. XVI. p. 206).

1628 a knight of Malta, in 1630 a nun, and in 1640 a priest of Nevers, who had embraced Calvinism, ventured on matrimony, but were separated from their spouses and the marriages were pronounced null.¹

¹ Grégoire, *Hist. du Mariage des Prêtres en France*, pp. 58-9.

XXX.

THE CHURCH OF TO-DAY.

IF the council of Trent had thus failed utterly in its efforts to create that which had never existed—purity of morals under the rule of celibacy—it had at length succeeded in its more important task of putting an end to the aspirations of the clergy for marriage. With the anathema for heresy confronting them, few could be found so bold as openly to dispute the propriety of a law which had been incorporated into the articles of faith; and the ingenious sophistries and far-fetched logic of Bellarmine were reverently received and accepted as incontrovertible. Urbain Grandier might endeavor to quiet the conscience of his morganatic spouse by writing a treatise to prove the lawfulness of priestly wedlock, but he took care to keep the manuscript carefully locked in his desk.¹ A man of bold and independent spirit, fortified

¹ When Grandier was arrested and tried for sorcery, his papers were seized, and among them was found an essay against sacerdotal celibacy. Under torture, he confessed that he had written it for the purpose of satisfying the conscience of a woman with whom he had maintained marital relations for seven years.—(Hist. des Diabes de Loudun, pp. 85, 191.) The manuscript was burnt, with its unlucky author, but a copy was preserved, which has recently been printed (Petite Bibliothèque des Curieux, Paris, 1866). In it, Grandier shows himself singularly bold for a man of his time and station. The law of nature, or moral law, he holds to be the direct exposition of the Divine will. By it revealed law must necessarily be interpreted, and to its

standard ecclesiastical law must be made to conform. He evidently was made to be burned as a heretic, if he had escaped as a sorcerer. The promise of chastity exacted at ordination he regards as extorted, and therefore as not binding on those unable to keep it; while he does not hesitate to assume that the rule itself was adopted and enforced on purely temporal grounds — “de crainte qu'en remuant une pierre on n'esbranlat la puissance papale; car hors cette considération d'Etat, l'Eglise romaine pense assez que le célibat n'est pas d'institution divine ni nécessaire au salut, puisqu'elle en dispense les particuliers, ce qu'elle ne pourroit faire si le célibat avoit esté ordonné d'en haut” (pp. 34-5).

by unfathomable learning, like Louis Ellies Du Pin, might secretly favor marriage, and perhaps might contract matrimony.¹ Du Pin's great antagonist, Bossuet, might incur a similar imputation, and be ready to partially yield the point if thereby he might secure the reconciliation of the hostile churches.² All this, however, could have no influence on the doctrines and practice of Catholicism at large, and the principle remained unaltered and unalterable.

Yet it was impossible that the critical spirit of inquiry which marked the eighteenth century, its boldness of unbelief, and its utter want of faith in God and man, could leave unassailed this monument of primeval asceticism, while it was so busy in undermining everything to which the reverence of its predecessors had clung. Accordingly, the latter half of the century witnessed an active controversy on the subject. In 1758, a canon of Estampes, named Desforges, who had been forced to take orders by his family, published a work in two volumes in which he attempted to prove that marriage was necessary for all ranks of ecclesiastics. The book attracted attention, and by order of the Parlement it was burnt, September 30, 1758, by the hangman, and the unlucky author was thrown into the Bastille. These proceedings were well calculated to give publicity to the work; it was reprinted at Douay in 1772, and a German translation

¹ Notwithstanding his Sorbonic degree, Dupin is said to have been secretly married, and to have left a widow, who even ventured to claim the inheritance of his estate. He was engaged in a correspondence with William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, with a view to arrange a basis of reconciliation of the Anglican Church with Rome, and, according to Lafitau, Bishop of Sisteron, in that correspondence he assented to the propriety of sacerdotal marriage.

² I cannot pretend to decide the controversy as to the alleged marriage between Bossuet and Mdlle. Desvieux de Mauléon, nor to determine whether it is true that she and her daughters

claimed his fortune after his death. Much has been written on both sides, and I have not the materials at hand to justify a positive opinion. I believe, however, that there is no doubt of his engaging with Liebnitz and Molanus in a negotiation as to the terms on which the Lutherans could re-enter the Roman communion, and that he promised, in the name of the pope, that Lutheran ministers admitted to the priesthood or episcopate should retain their wives. It is asserted that the proposed arrangement was nearly agreed to on both sides, when the pretensions of the House of Hanover to the English crown caused Liebnitz to withdraw from the undertaking.

was published in 1782 at Göttingen and Munster. The Abbé Villiers undertook to answer Desforges in a weak little volume, the "Apologie du Célibat Chretien," published in 1762, which consists principally of long extracts from the Fathers in praise of virginity. Even Italy felt the movement, and in 1770 there appeared a work urging the abolition of celibacy, under the title of "Della necessità e utilità del matrimonio degli ecclesiastici," from which prudential reasons withheld the name of the author and the place of publication. Some more competent champion was necessary to answer these repeated attacks, and the learned Abate Zaccaria brought his fertile pen and his inexhaustible erudition to the rescue in his "Storia Polemica del Celibato Sacro," which saw the light in 1774, and which not long afterwards was translated into German. In 1781 appeared a new aspirant for matrimonial liberty in the Abbé Gaudin, who issued at Geneva (Lyons) his work entitled "Les inconveniens du célibat des prêtres," a treatise of considerable learning and no little bitterness against the whole structure of sacerdotalism and Roman supremacy.

Soon after this, the hopes of the anti-celibatarians grew high. The Emperor Joseph II., amid his many fruitless schemes for philosophical reform, inclined seriously to the notion of permitting marriage to the priesthood of his dominions. In an edict of 1783 he asserted, incidentally, that the matter was subject to his control, and the advocates of clerical marriage confidently expected that in a very short period they would see the ancient restrictions swept away by the imperial power. A mass of controversial essays and dissertations made their appearance throughout Germany, and the well-known Protestant theologian Henke took the opportunity of bringing out, in 1783, a new edition of the learned work of Calixtus, "De Conjugio Clericorum," as the most efficient aid to the good cause. It is a striking illustration of the temper of the times to observe that this work, so bitterly opposed to the orthodox doctrines and practice, is dedicated by Henke to Archdeacon Anthony Ganoczy, canon of the cathedral church of Gross-Wardein, and apostolic protonotary. The hope of success brought out other writers,

and the movement made sufficient progress to cause some hesitation in Rome as to the propriety of yielding to the pressure.¹

Zaccaria again entered the lists, and produced, in 1785, his "Nuova Giustificazione del Celibato Sacro," in answer to the Abbé Gaudin and to an anonymous German writer whose work had produced considerable sensation. To this he was principally moved by a report that he had himself been converted by the facts and arguments advanced by the German, an imputation which he indignantly refuted in three hundred quarto pages.

The half-formed resolutions of Joseph II. led to no result, and the subject slumbered for a few years until the outbreak of the French Revolution. At an early period in that great movement, the adversaries of sacerdotal asceticism bestirred themselves in bringing to public attention the evils and cruelty of the system. Already, in 1789, a mass of pamphlets appeared urging the abrogation of celibacy. In 1790 the work of the Abbé Gaudin was reprinted, and was promptly answered by the prolific Maultrot. Even in Germany the same spirit again awoke, and an Hungarian priest named Katz published at Vienna, in 1791, a "Tractatus de conjugio et cœlibatu clericorum," in which he argued strongly for a change. In England, Catholic priests occasionally infringed the law by marriage, and one of their number, distinguished for talents and learning, Dr. Geddes, endeavored to justify them in his "Modest Apology for the Catholics of Great Britain."²

The times were not propitious for such reforms elsewhere, but the seething caldron of the French Revolution soon destroyed the immunities and distinctive laws of the church.

¹ Zaccaria, in the introduction to his "Nuova Giustificazione" (p. ix.), denies that the papal court entertained any idea of making the concession; but, in considering the question as to the power or duty of the pope to alter the law of celibacy (Diss. iv. cap. 6), his remarks show clearly that the subject was discussed

in a tone to afford the partisans of marriage reasonable grounds for hope. Among the threatening proceedings of the emperor was the suppression of no less than 184 monasteries. (Lecky, Hist. of Rationalism, chap. vi.)

² Grégoire, Hist. du Mariage des Prêtres en France, pp. 41-2.

The attack commenced on that which had been the strength, but which was now the weakness, of the ecclesiastical establishment. As early as the 10th of August, 1789, preliminary steps were taken in the National Assembly to appropriate the property of the church to meet the fearful deficit which had been the efficient cause of calling together the high council of the nation. This property was estimated as covering one-fifth of the surface of France, yielding with the tithes an annual revenue of three hundred millions of francs. So vast an amount of wealth, perverted for the most part from its legitimate purposes, offered an irresistible temptation to desperate financiers, and yet it was a prelate who made the first direct attack upon it. On the 10th of October, 1789, Talleyrand, then Bishop of Autun, introduced a motion to the effect that it should be devoted to the national wants, subject to the proper and necessary expenses for public worship; and on the 2d of November the measure was adopted by a vote of 568 to 346. This settled the principle, though the details of a transaction so enormous were only perfected by successive acts during the two following years. One of the earliest results was the secularization of those ecclesiastics whose labors did not entitle them to support, a preliminary necessary to the intended appropriation of their princely revenues. This was accomplished by an act of February 13th, 1790, by which the monastic orders were suppressed, and a moderate annuity accorded to the unfortunates thus turned adrift upon the world.

The great body of the parochial clergy, patriotic in their aspirations, and suffering from the abuses of power, had hailed the advent of the Revolution with joy; and their assistance had been invaluable in rendering the Tiers État supreme in the National Assembly. These measures, however, assailing their dearest interests and privileges, aroused them to a sense of the true tendency of the movement to which they had contributed so powerfully. A breach was inevitable between them and the partisans of progress. Every forward step embittered the quarrel. It was impossible for the one party to stay its course, or for the other to assent to acts which daily became more menacing and revolutionary. Forced

therefore into the position of reactionaries, the clergy ere long became objects of suspicion and soon after of persecution. The progressives devised a test-oath, obligatory on all ecclesiastics, which should divide those who were loyal to the Revolution from the contumacious, and lists were kept of both classes.¹ Harmless as the oath was in appearance, when it was tendered in December, 1790, five-sixths of the clergy throughout the kingdom refused it. Those who yielded to the pressure were termed *assermentés*, the recusants *insermentés* or *réfractaires*, and the latter of course at once became the determined opponents of the new régime, the more dangerous because they were the only influential partisans of reaction belonging to the people. To their efforts were attributed the insurrections which in La Vendée and elsewhere threatened the most fearful dangers. They were accordingly exposed to severe legislation. A decree of November 29, 1791, deprived them of their stipends and suspended their functions; another of May 27, 1792, authorized the local authorities to exile them on the simple denunciation of twenty citizens. Under the Terror their persons were exposed to flagrant cruelties, and a *prêtre réfractaire* was generally regarded, *ipso facto*, as an enemy to the Republic.

Under these circumstances, sacerdotal marriage came to be looked upon as a powerful lever to disarm or overthrow the hostility of the church, and also as a test of loyalty or disloyalty. Yet the steps by which this conclusion was reached were very gradual. In the early stages of the Revolution, while it was still fondly deemed that the existing institutions of France could be purified and preserved, the National Assembly was assailed with petitions asking that the privilege of marriage should be extended to the clergy. These met with no response, even after the suppression of the monastic orders. As late as September, 1790, when Professor Cournand, of the

¹ "D'être fidèle à la nation, à la loi, au roi, et de veiller exactement sur le troupeau confié à leurs soins." It was not only the objections of the king and of the pope that rendered this oath unpalatable, but also the fact that it gave adhesion to the law for the secu-

larization of ecclesiastical property and of the monastic orders. It was ordered in the Constitution civile du Clergé, Tit. II. Art. 21, 38, adopted July 12 and promulgated Aug. 24, 1790.

Collège de France, made a motion in favor of sacerdotal marriage in the assembly of the district of St. Etienne du Mont in Paris, the question, after considerable debate, was laid aside as beyond the competence of that body. It was not until the adoption of the Constitution of 1791 that celibacy was deprived of its legal guarantees, and then it was by indirection only. In the preamble to that instrument a section declares that the law does not recognize religious vows or any engagements contrary to the rights of nature or to the constitution,¹ and this was elucidated by a decree of September 20, 1791, which, in enumerating the obstacles to marriage, does not allude to monastic vows or holy orders.

Professor Cournand was probably the first man of position and character to take advantage of the privilege thus tacitly permitted, and his example was followed by many ecclesiastics, who had won an honorable place in the church, in literature, and in science. Among them may be mentioned the Abbé Gaudin of the Oratoire, the author of a work already alluded to on the evils of celibacy, who in 1792 represented La Vendée in the Legislative Assembly, and who in 1805 did not hesitate to publish a little volume entitled "Avis à mon fils, âgé de sept ans"—although, in the preface to his work in 1781, he had described himself as long past the age of the passions. Even bishops yielded to the temptation. Loménie, coadjutor of his uncle the Archbishop of Sens, Torné Bishop of Bourges, Massieu of Beauvais, and Lindet of Evreux were publicly married. Many nuptials of this kind were celebrated with an air of defiance. Pastors announced their approaching weddings to their flocks in florid rhetoric, as though assured of finding sympathy for the assertion of the triumph of nature over the tyranny of man. Others presented themselves with their brides at the bar of the National Convention, as though to demonstrate that they were good citizens, who had thrown off all reverence for the obsolete traditions of the past.

A nation maddened and torn by the extremes of hope, of

¹ La loi ne reconnaît ni vœux religieux, ni aucun autre engagement qui serait contraire aux droits naturels ou à la constitution.

rage, and of terror, which met the triumphal march of three hundred and fifty thousand hostile bayonets with the heads of its king and queen, which blazoned forth to Europe its irrevocable breach with the past by instituting festivals in honor of a new Supreme Being and parading a courtesan through the streets of Paris as the Goddess of Reason, was not likely to employ much tenderness in coercing its internal enemies; and chief among these it finally numbered the ministers of religion. To them it soon applied the marriage test. To marry was to acknowledge the supremacy of the civil authority, and to sunder allegiance to foreign domination; celibacy was at the least a tacit adherence to the enemy, and a mute protest against the new régime. Matrimony, therefore, rose into importance as at once a test and a pledge, and every effort was made to encourage it. Among the records of the revolutionary tribunal is the trial of Mahue, Curé of S. Sulpice, Aug. 13, 1793, accused of having written a pamphlet against priestly marriage, and he was only acquitted on the ground that his crime had been committed prior to the adoption of the law of July 19, 1793.¹ A decree of November 19, 1793, relieved from exile or imprisonment all priests who could show that their banns had been published, and when, soon afterwards, at the height of the popular frenzy, the Convention sent its deputies throughout France with instructions to crush out every vestige of the dreaded reaction, those emissaries made celibacy the object of their especial attacks. Thus, in the Department of the Meuse, deputy De la Croix announced that all priests who were not married should be placed under surveillance; while in Savoy the harsh measures taken against the clergy were modified in favor of those who married by permitting them to remain under surveillance. One zealous deputy ordered a pastor to be imprisoned until he could find a wife, and another released a canon from jail on his pledging himself to marry. Many of those thus forced into matrimony were decrepit with years, and chose brides whose age secured them from all suspicions of yielding to the temptations of the flesh. Such was the venerable

¹ Desmazes, *Pénalités Anciennes*, p. 222. Paris, 1866.

Martin of Marseilles, who, after seeing his bishop and two priests, his intimate friends, led to the scaffold, took, at the age of 76, a wife nearly 60 years old. As an unfortunate ecclesiastic, who had thus succeeded in weathering the storm, fairly expressed it, in defending himself against the reproaches of a returned emigré bishop, he took a wife to serve as a lightning rod. These unwilling bridegrooms not infrequently deposited with a notary or a trusty friend a protest against the violence to which they had yielded, and a declaration that their relations with their wives should be merely those of brother and sister.

Yet in this curious persecution the officials only obeyed the voice of the excited people. The press, the stage, all the organs of public opinion, were unanimous in warring with celibacy, ridiculing it as a fanatical remnant of superstition, and denouncing it as a crime against the state. The popular societies were especially vehement in promulgating these ideas. The *Congrès fraternel* of Auch, in September, 1793, ordered the local clubs to enlighten the benighted minds of the populace on the subject, and to exclude from membership all priests who should not marry within six months. A petition to the National Assembly from the republicans of Auxerre demanded that all ecclesiastics who persisted in remaining single should be banished; while a more truculent address from Condom urged imperiously that celibacy should be declared a capital crime, and that the death-penalty should be enforced with relentless severity. In times so terrible, when suspicion was conviction and conviction death, and when such were the views of those who swayed public affairs, it is not to be wondered at if many pious churchmen, unambitious of the crown of martyrdom, thought matrimony preferable to the guillotine or the noyade.

Indeed, the only source of surprise is that so few were found to betray their convictions. The ecclesiastics of France, previous to the Revolution, were reckoned as numbering about 80,000 souls, yet it is estimated that only about 2000 marriages of men in orders took place, after the reign of terror had rendered it a measure of safety. In addition to this, about 500 nuns were also married; and though this proportion

is larger, it is still singularly small when we consider that these poor creatures, utterly unfitted by habit or education to take care of themselves, were suddenly ejected from their peaceful retreats, and cast upon a world which was raging in convulsions so terrible.

This is doubtless attributable to the steadfast resistance which the better part of the clergy made to the innovation, in spite of the danger of withstanding the popular frenzy, and in disregard of the laws which denounced such opposition. Even the *assermentés*, who had pledged themselves to the Revolution by taking the oath of allegiance, were mostly unfavorable to the abrogation of celibacy, and the position thus maintained by the clergy gave tone to such of the people as retained enough of devout feeling to still frequent the churches and partake of the mysteries of religion. The existence of an active and determined opposition is revealed by an act of August 16th, 1792, guaranteeing the salaries of all married priests, thus showing that in some places, at least, their stipends had been withheld. Many pastors, indeed, were driven from their parishes by their congregations, in consequence of marriage, to put an end to which a decree of September 17th, 1793, ordered the communes to continue payment of salaries in all such cases of ejection.

There were not wanting courageous ecclesiastics who opposed the innovation by every means in their power. Although Gobel, Bishop of Paris, a creature of the Revolution, favored the marriages of his clergy, a portion of his curates openly and vigorously denounced them, and Gratien, Archbishop of Rouen, addressed to him a severe reproach for his criminal weakness. The same Gratien excommunicated one of his priests for marrying, and published, July 24th, 1792, an instruction directed especially against such unions. For this he was thrown into prison, where he was long confined. Fauchet, of Bayeux, for the same offence, was reported to the Convention, but was fortunate enough to elude the consequences. Philibert, of Sedan, issued, January 20th, 1793, a pastoral in which he more cautiously argued against the practice, and, after a long persecution, he was lucky to escape with a decree of costs against him. Pastorals to the same

effect were also promulgated by Clément of Versailles, Héraudin of Châteauroux, Sanadon of Oléron, Suzor of Tours, and others.

The Convention was not disposed to tolerate proceedings such as these. To put a stop to them, it adopted, July 19th, 1793, a law punishing with deprivation and exile all bishops who interfered in any way with the marriage of their clergy. For awhile this appears to have put a stop to open opposition, but when the reign of terror was past, and the Catholics saw a prospect of reorganizing the distracted church, one of their earliest efforts was directed to the restoration of celibacy. On the 15th of March, 1795, some *assermentés* bishops, members of the Convention, issued from Paris an encyclical letter to the faithful, in which they denounced sacerdotal marriage in the strongest terms. Those who entered into such unions were declared unworthy of confidence; the fearful constraint under which they had sought refuge in matrimony was pronounced to be no justification, and even renunciation of their wives was not admitted as entitling them to absolution for the one unpardonable sin.¹ In a second letter, issued December 15th of the same year, this denunciation was repeated in even stronger terms.

In these manifestoes the bishops did not speak by authority. They could not threaten or command, for they were acting beyond or in opposition to the law. With the progress of reaction they became bolder. In 1797 the church ventured to hold a national council, in which it forbade the nuptial benediction to those who were in orders or were bound by monastic vows, thus reducing their marriages to the mere civil contract, and depriving them of all the sanction of religion. The local synods which, encouraged by the fall of the Directory, were held in 1800, adopted these principles as a matter of course, and took measures to enforce them. That of Bourges even prohibited the churching of women who were wives of ecclesiastics.

¹ Conformément à l'esprit de l'église et aux règles canoniques, nous regardons comme indignes de leur état et de la confiance des fidèles, en matière de religion, les ecclésiastiques qui se sont mariés sous prétexte d'éviter les persécutions, ou par quelque motif que ce soit, quand même ils renonceraient au mariage. — Lett. Encyc. 15 Mars, 1795, art. ix. (Grégoire, p. 109).

This condemnation of the married clergy carried despair and desolation into the households of those who had offended, and upon whom the door of reconciliation was so sternly closed. Grégoire of Blois, a leading actor in all these scenes, records the innumerable appeals received from the unfortunates, who, torn by remorse and thus repudiated by the church, begged in vain for the mercy which was incompatible with the respect due to the ancient and inviolable canons.

All this, however, was merely local action. The Gallican church had not yet been reunited to Rome. In reconstructing a system of social order, Napoleon speedily recognized the necessity of religion in the state, and, despite the opposition of those who still believed in the Republic, the Concordat of 1801 restored France to its place in the hierarchy of Latin Christianity. There is nothing in the Concordat interfering with the right of the priest, as a citizen, to contract marriage; but as, in all affairs purely ecclesiastical, the internal regulation and discipline of the church were necessarily left to itself, the rights of the priest, as a priest, became of course subject to the received rules of the church, which could thus refuse the nuptial benediction, and suspend the functions of any one contravening its canons. In consequence of the power thus restored, when the question soon after arose as to the legality of sacerdotal marriages contracted during the troubles, the Cardinal-legate Caprara issued rescripts to those whose unions were anterior to the Concordat, depriving them of their priestly character, reducing them to the rank of laymen, and empowering the proper officials to absolve them and remarry them to the wives whom they had so irregularly wedded. This created a strong feeling of indignation among the prelates who had carried the tabernacle through the wilderness, and who, while opposing such marriages most strenuously, regarded this intervention of papal authority as a direct assault upon the liberties of the Gallican church. Their time was past, however, and their denunciations of this duplication of the sacrament were of no avail. Yet the legality of such marriages, and the unimpaired right of priests to contract them, were asserted and proved by Portalis, in his mas-

terly speech of April 15th, 1802, before the Corps Législatif, advocating the adoption of the Concordat as a law, although he admitted that the duties of the priesthood and the feeling of the people rendered sacerdotal celibacy desirable.¹

Notwithstanding the authority thus restored to the church, and the certainty of ecclesiastical penalties following such infraction of the Tridentine articles of faith, the practice which had been introduced could not be immediately eradicated. Priests were constantly contracting marriage, and the question gave considerable trouble to the government, which hesitated for some time as to the policy to be pursued. Portalis, in 1802, as we have seen, declared the full legality of such marriages, and the unimpaired right of ecclesiastics to contract them; and the provisions of the code respecting marriage, adopted in 1803, make no allusions to vows or religious engagements as causing incapacity.² Yet in 1805, when Daviaux, Archbishop of Bordeaux, opposed the application of a priest named Boisset to the civil authorities for a marriage contract, Portalis, then minister of religious affairs, on being

¹ This speech of Portalis *père* is an admirable commentary on the Concordat, developing its causes and consequences with a rigidity of logic and an enlightened spirit of faith which are equally creditable to the head and heart of the distinguished orator. From the portion devoted to the subject of marriage, I quote the following, as embodying a clear exposition of the present state of French law on the subject.

“Quelques personnes se plaindront peut-être de ce que l'on n'a pas conservé le mariage des prêtres. . . . En effet, d'une part nous n'admettons plus que les ministres dont l'existence est nécessaire à l'exercice du culte, ce qui diminue considérablement le nombre des personnes qui se vouaient anciennement au célibat. D'autre part, pour les ministres mêmes que nous conservons, et à qui le célibat est ordonné par les réglemens ecclésiastiques, la défense qui leur est faite du mariage par ces réglemens n'est point consacrée comme *empêchement dirimant*

dans l'ordre civil: ainsi leur mariage, s'ils en contractaient un, ne serait point nul aux yeux des lois politiques et civiles, et les enfans qui en naîtraient seraient légitimes; mais dans le for intérieur et dans l'ordre religieux, ils s'exposeraient aux peines spirituelles prononcées par les lois canoniques: ils continueraient à jouir de leurs droits de famille et de cité, mais ils seraient tenus de s'abstenir de l'exercice du sacerdoce. Conséquemment, sans affaiblir le nerf de la discipline de l'Eglise, on conserve aux individus toute la liberté et tous les avantages garantis par les lois de l'état; mais il eût été injuste d'aller plus loin, et d'exiger pour les ecclésiastiques de France, comme tels, une exception qui les eût déconsidérés auprès de tous les peuples Catholiques, et auprès des Français mêmes, auxquels ils administreraient les secours de la religion.” (Dupin, Manuel du Droit Public Ecclés. Français, 4ème éd. pp. 196-8.)

² Code Civil, Liv. I. Tit. V.

appealed to, replied that the government would not allow its officers to register such contracts. The local administrations sometimes assented to such applications and sometimes referred them to the central authority, until at length, in 1807, a definite conclusion was promulgated. This was to the effect that although the civil law was silent as regards such marriages, yet they were condemned by public opinion. The government considered them fraught with danger to the peace of families, as the powerful influence of the pastor could be perverted to evil purposes, and, if seduction could be followed by marriage, that influence would be liable to great abuse. The emperor therefore declared that he could not tolerate marriage on the part of those who had exercised priestly functions since the date of the Concordat. As for those who had abandoned the ministry previous to that period and had not since resumed it, he left them to their own consciences. Thus, in practice, although marriage was regarded as purely a civil institution, a limitation was introduced which was not authorized by the code, which rested solely upon the authority of the emperor, and which, far from indicating respect to the church, was a flagrant insult.

Under the Restoration, a case occurred which decided these points. A priest named Martin, an old *réfractaire* of 1792, committed the imprudence of marrying in 1815. Not long after he died without issue. His relatives contested the succession with the widow, and in 1817 the inferior court decided in her favor. The next year the court of appeals reversed the judgment on the ground that sacerdotal marriage had only been sanctioned indirectly by the legislation of the Revolution, and that the Charter of 1814 (Art. 6) had restored Catholicism as the religion of the state. In 1821, however, the final decision of the court of cassation settled the question in favor of the widow, thus legalizing such unions, for the incontrovertible reason that the code did not recognize vows or holy orders as causes incapacitating for marriage.¹

¹ For many of the above details I am indebted to the curious but ill-digested little work—"Histoire du Mariage des Prêtres en France," published by Grégoire in 1826. Grégoire, though a priest of the *ancien régime*, was a sincere and consistent republican. A member of the States Gene-

By the law of France, therefore, there is no obstacle to the marriage of ecclesiastics, yet the privilege is not one which many would care to enjoy, in opposition to the opinions of society and the canons of the church. Though the wife be legally a wife, and the children legitimate, yet the union would not receive the nuptial benediction, the husband would be ejected from the ministry and would doubtless incur excommunication—penalties from which there would be little chance of escaping by an *appel comme d'abus*. Unless, therefore, prepared to abandon the Catholic faith and to embrace Protestantism, it is not easy to conceive of a priest willing to incur the results of so fatal a step, or of a decent woman consenting to share so hopeless a destiny.

I believe, indeed, that a case decided in September, 1862, is the only one which has occurred since that of Martin in 1815, and the contest over it shows how completely the rights then affirmed had fallen into desuetude. In 1861, M. de Brou-Laurière, a priest already debarred from his sacred functions, engaged himself in marriage with Mdlle. Elizabeth Fressanges, of Deuville near Périgueux. On calling upon the mayor of the village to perform the ceremony and register the con-

ral, of the Convention, and of the Council of Five Hundred, elected Bishop of Blois by the voice of a people who knew and respected him, he preserved his ardent faith through all the excesses of the Revolution, and his democratic ideas in spite of the injuries inflicted on his class in the name of the people. The sincerity and boldness of his character may be estimated by a single example. When, on the 7th of November, 1793, Gobel, Bishop of Paris, appeared before the Convention with twelve of his vicars and publicly renounced his sacred functions on the ground that hereafter there should be no other worship than that of liberty and equality, almost all the ecclesiastics in the Convention followed his example. To hold back at such a moment was dangerous in the extreme, yet Grégoire had the hardihood to utter a defiant protest. "I am a Catholic by conviction and by feeling, a priest by choice, a bishop

by the voice of the people, but not from the people nor from you do I derive my mission, and I will not be forced to an abjuration." To him perhaps more than to any one else is attributable the skilful management which carried the church through the storms and persecutions of the Revolution, but the same inflexibility which maintained his Catholicism through the ordeal of 1793 and 1794 caused him to stand by his republicanism long after it had gone out of fashion. He was not to be bought or bullied; the Legitimist was less tolerant than the Terrorist, and under the Restoration he was reduced almost to absolute indigence. Together with the other constitutional bishops, he had been compelled to resign his bishopric by order of the pope after the Concordat of 1801, and he was too dangerous a man to be rewarded for his invaluable services to religion. He died in 1831.

tract, that functionary refused to act. He was supported by the public authorities, and the expectant bridegroom was obliged to appeal to the tribunals to obtain his rights. The question was warmly contested and thoroughly argued, and it was not until a year had elapsed that the court of Périgueux rendered a decision ordering the mayor to perform his functions and to marry the patient couple. Even yet, it is said that an appeal has been entered, and that the verdict of a superior court will be required to determine the question finally. What renders more remarkable the doubt thus assumed to exist is that the article of the Charter of 1814 declaring Catholicism to be the religion of the state was omitted in that of 1830, and a simple declaration substituted that it was the faith of a majority of Frenchmen.¹

I do not pretend to judge or to accuse existing institutions. When treating of the church in bygone ages, incontestable documents present facts which form sure bases for opinions and conclusions, and such I have endeavored to present, fairly and impartially. At the present time, however, the fury of partisanship and the acerbity of religious disputation give their coloring to all published statements, while the opportunity has not yet arrived for access to the authoritative data by which posterity is to judge of the society of to-day.

If, on the one hand, the noble example of the self-devoted women who, from Burmah to the Sandwich Islands, have shared their husbands' dangers and privations, has shown that marriage is not incompatible with the most thorough self-abnegation and the most zealous labors for the propagation of the faith—still, on the other hand, the evils of celibacy, under the wholesome restraint of modern institutions, manifest themselves to a degree that is infinitesimal in comparison with the past. In a country like our own, where the laborers are few and indifferently paid, while their tasks are heavy and unceasing, the priesthood has few temptations for those whose

¹ Since the above was written I have met with an allusion to the case of an Abbé Chataigneu, occurring in 1864, in which the court of Angoulême decided that under the French law a priest was not competent to contract a civil marriage, but I have not been able to obtain the particulars of it. (Talmadge's Letters from Florence, p. 166.)

faith and resolution do not fit them to endure all its privations and fulfil all its duties. If, too, a member should occasionally be admitted who is destitute of the higher qualities that should be his safeguard, and whose passions even the ceaseless labors of his vocation cannot hold in check, there is nothing to prevent his apostasy, while, if he remains in the church, there are the wholesome restraints imposed by a jealously hostile public opinion, and there is liability not only to the municipal law, but to the rigor of the canons mercilessly enforced by prelates who feel that their church is on probation.

Even in France, where Catholicism is dominant, the same causes exist, some of them, indeed, in a still greater degree. There the priest receives his stipend not from the funds of the church or from the oblations of the faithful, but from the state, and that stipend is too moderate to nourish luxury or to attract the votaries of idleness and ease. Not only does the state thus limit the numbers of its sacred servants to the minimum requisite to perform the functions of religion, but it holds the whole body in a state of dependence insuring good behavior. Thus subjected to public opinion, and enjoying no exemption, as of old, from the secular criminal tribunals, defiant corruptions cannot well be glossed over by officials who might be disposed to conceal the vices which would degrade and dishonor the cloth. Occasionally, therefore, when some gross scandal sees the light, it is visited with a severity which shows that society expects the ministers of religion to teach by example as well as by precept;¹ nor can we safely assume that such occasional developments indicate a condition of hidden immorality worse than that of society at large. In addition to these means of efficient purification, it must be borne in mind that an overwhelming proportion of the French priesthood hold their preferment solely at the pleasure of their superiors, who are thus able at once

¹ Thus, in 1861, the journals gave full publicity to the trial, by the criminal court of Douai, of the Abbé Mallet, a canon of Cambrai, who had seduced three young Jewish girls and procured their immurement in convents under pretence of laboring for

their conversion. One of his victims lost her reason in consequence of her aggravated sufferings, and the reverend criminal received the reward of his misdeeds in a sentence to six years' imprisonment at hard labor.

to check the slightest irregularity. Thus, in 1844, there were in France but 3301 *curés* whose position was secure, while 27,451 were *cùrates* who were liable at any moment to be deprived of their parishes.¹ Where the assured income is only 1000 or 1500 francs, where the duties are so laborious and the supervision so watchful, there is little likelihood that the ministry will be sought by unfit persons or for improper objects.

In Rome itself, where the ancient system flourishes in full vigor, I can readily believe that the ancient abuses remain unpurified. On such a subject, proof that is above suspicion is not easy to obtain. Where justice is in the hands of men more anxious for the reputation of their class than for the virtue of its members; where scandal is more dreaded than crime; and where, out of a population of 3,124,668 in 1853, no less than 38,320 were vowed to celibacy, one can readily believe the assertion of the erratic and epigrammatic Edmond About, that chastity in a churchman is a quality sufficiently uncommon to attract especial attention to its possessor.²

Even in Italy, however, the days of these excesses are probably numbered, except in so far as they are connected with the insoluble problem of the pontifical territories. The formation of the kingdom of Italy is rapidly effecting a revolution in the religious condition of the rest of the peninsula. Not only is there perfect legal toleration for Protestant propagandism, but Catholicism itself is recognized as distinct from papacy, and the antagonism between the latter and the temporal authorities is working a change the ultimate results of which no one can foretell. The secularization of church property, the breaking up of monastic establishments, and the removal of all civil disabilities on clerical marriage have already placed Italy in advance even of France as to legislation. If no reaction occurs, these measures must eventually effect reforms of the most radical character.

¹ Dupin, *op. cit.* pp. 238-9.

² In his tribute to the virtues of Pius IX., About remarks—"Ses mœurs sont pures, et l'ont toujours été, même

du temps qu'il était jeune prêtre; mérite assez commun chez nous, mais rare et miraculeux au delà des monts."
—Question Romaine, p. 131.

Already there has arisen, even in the bosom of the church itself, a party clamorous for change. As early as 1862, Father Passaglia headed a movement in which nine thousand ecclesiastics petitioned the pope for such alterations in the economy and discipline of the church as would place it in harmony with the progress of the age, and among the demands made of Rome was one that "the priest shall be restored to his country by restoring to him the chaste and tranquil affections of the family." Passaglia, however, was premature.¹ The state had not yet declared itself superior to the church; the ecclesiastical structure was yet strong, and possessed the power of enforcing the subordination of the most refractory of its members by depriving them of the means of livelihood. In what direction this power was necessarily exercised may be guessed by the temper of the encyclical of December 8th, 1864, which denounced "the criminal enterprises of those wicked men who, spreading their disturbing opinions like the waves of a raging sea, and promising liberty when they are slaves to corruption, endeavor, by their pernicious writings, to overturn the foundations of the Christian Catholic religion and of civil society;" while, among the errors condemned in section VIII. of the appendix, was one respecting the celibacy of the clergy. The thunders of the Vatican, however, have lost their terrors, and, since the unification of Italy has raised a temporal power able to withstand the pretensions of the church, the reformatory spirit within the

¹ "The vast majority of the priests who subscribed to Passaglia's protest against the temporal power were men of the above low caste and description. 'Such men' (and remark that it was one who had himself collected some three thousand signatures to the document in question who made use of the expression)—'such men attach very little importance to signing anything, and will easily abjure the second day what they have pledged themselves to on the first. They signed, doubtless, with some vague hope, perhaps, of shaking off their bondage, or under the idea that they were doing something which should secure them

a living, independent of the caprice and tyranny of their superiors. But when they had done this and stood out a few days, and found that their mass was refused them at the sacristy, and that they were threatened with a permanent interdiction from their only means of getting a living, unless they repented of their act of insubordination (such as it was) and succumbed—then they withdrew their names, and thought no more about the matter."—*Letters from Florence on the Religious Reform Movements in Italy*, by William Talmadge, pp. 118-19. London, 1866.

ecclesiastical establishment grows daily bolder and more outspoken.

Since 1862 there has existed an association under the name of the *Società Emancipatrice e di Mutuo Soccorso del Sacerdozio Italiano*, which has been able to support a newspaper as its organ, the *Emancipatore Cattolico* of Naples, and its efforts are aided by a similar journal in Florence, the *Esaminatore*. The reform aimed at by this body in the discipline and structure of the church is thoroughly radical. In June, 1865, it promulgated a "platform" which proposes to deprive the pope and the Roman curia of their irresponsible autocracy, to restore to the prelates their diocesan jurisdiction, to render all ecclesiastical dignities elective, to banish Latin from the church services and to circulate the Scriptures in Italian, to render auricular confession voluntary in place of obligatory, to establish complete toleration, and to abolish compulsory celibacy. This latter point is felt to be of much importance; and now that there is no secular law to prevent sacerdotal marriage, and that ecclesiastical subordination is so much weakened, there are no insuperable obstacles to prevent the ministers of the church from exercising their discretion on the subject. Dr. Prota, the president of the "Società Emancipatrice," in a letter of October 30th, 1865, replying to numerous inquiries addressed to him with regard to it, does not hesitate to advise his friends to marry and to persist in the exercise of their functions, "and the more who do so at once and simultaneously the safer for all; for the bishops will venture the less to persecute you in the face of public opinion."¹ It would be premature to venture a prediction as to the probable result of these movements, but their serious character may be estimated from the fact that they have the countenance and even the pecuniary support of a statesman so powerful as the Baron Ricasoli.

One of the fruits of these efforts is already seen in the law of June 28th, 1866, by which all the religious corporations

¹ Talmadge, op. cit. pp. 160-168.— Already the journals of the day are recording the success of these efforts. Thus, in 1866, the registrar of Genoa refused to sanction the civil marriage of a priest, and his refusal was supported by the lower tribunal, but the court of appeals reversed the decision, and affirmed the legal right of ecclesiastics to marry. A considerable number are said to have since availed themselves of the privilege.

in the kingdom of Italy are suppressed, their members and dependents pensioned or subsidized, and their property confiscated to form a fund for popular education. The student of the past may be pardoned a feeling of regret at the destruction of the venerable institutions which for a thousand years fostered the religious growth of Christendom; but the civilization which they made possible has outgrown them, and the progress of humanity demands the removal of that which has outlived its usefulness, and has become only a stumbling-block in the path of human improvement.¹ Against all this the church has thus far protested in vain, though its attitude of opposition is boldly and persistently maintained. Thus the pope, in his allocution of October 30th, 1866, declares to be null and void the suppression of the monastic orders, the secularization of ecclesiastical property, and the civil marriage act, which leads, as he assumes, to a system of scandalous concubinage;² and he further denounces the censures of the

¹ Monte Casino, the venerable mother of Western monachism, is spared, and will be maintained intact as a national monument. More significant, perhaps, is the same favor shown to Savonarola's convent of San Marco, though this may possibly have been done in consideration of its frescoes.

The process of secularization has been a rapid one. Already, in January, 1867, the journals report that the occupants of the monasteries have nearly all dispersed, some of them returning to their families, some of them accepting refuge offered to them by the charitable, but the greater number clubbing together and hiring houses, in which they live in common as of old. It is impossible not to feel sympathy for unfortunates whose crime consists in having been born two centuries too late, and who are made to expiate the sins of a system which they have reverently received from their forefathers.

² The persistent medievalism of the church of Rome is not manifested only in papal allocutions and encyclicals. I have before me a penny tract, published in London in 1864, one of an authorized series addressed to children, "permissu superiorum," by the

Rev. J. Furniss, C. S. S. R., which illustrates the influences exercised on the people, and the mode by which educated and experienced men seek to acquire and extend their power. It is a description of Hell, skilfully adapted, by a most vivid description of material torment, to fill the untrained mind of childhood with indelible terror. The visions of St. Frances and St. Theresa, and the speculations of St. Bonaventura, are gravely related as absolute facts. Hell is four thousand miles below the surface of the earth, is illimitable in extent, and is filled with dark fire and sulphur. The Devil is a huge horned monster breathing fire, fastened to a beam with chains of red-hot iron, and waited upon by millions of little devils, whom he despatches to the four quarters of the globe, to tempt children to sin. If a little spark of Hell-fire, less than a pin-head, were thrown into the ocean, "in one moment it would dry up all the waters of the ocean, and set the whole world in a blaze." So "if one single body was taken out of Hell and laid on the earth, in that same moment every living creature on the earth would sicken and die. Such is the smell of death from one body in Hell." An

church against their authors. Whether the intrigues of the Paolotti or the complications of foreign politics will render these denunciations more than a *brutum fulmen* remains to be seen. In any event, they are interesting as showing the immutable determination of those who control the papal policy to maintain inviolate the traditions of the church.

Possibly in this resolute immobility the Roman curia may be overestimating its strength. A very significant movement is recorded in the journals of November, 1866, by which some Catholic priests of Hungary, desiring the permission to marry, and recognizing the futility of an appeal to the visible head of the church, have united in petitioning the national Diet to accord to them the license which they desire. Even though their numbers may not be great, the method which they have adopted is portentous for the future. A change in the landmarks of thought may also be observed in the fact that the popular preacher of Paris, Père Hyacinthe, himself a barefooted Carmelite, has so little reverence for the asceticism of the past that his course of sermons in Nôtre Dame, during Advent, 1866, is devoted mainly to urging upon his hearers the necessity of marriage.

While the doctrines of medieval Christianity are thus losing ground in some of their strongholds, it is curious to observe them reappearing in quarters from which they had long been expelled. Thus, in England, where the rapid extension and the activity of Dissent have drawn the attention of earnest men to the deficiencies of the Establishment, there has arisen a movement known as "Ritualism," which seeks a remedy, not in progress, but in retrogression. Refusing to recognize in the aristocratic constitution of their church the source of the evils which they so vigorously denounce, the leaders of this reform persuade themselves that a return to

eternity of burning, choking, drowning, flogging, and fighting in this abode of horrors is promised to all children who neglect mass, confession, and catechism, and do not obey their priests. (The Sight of Hell, by the Rev. J. Fur-

niss, C. S. S. R. Dublin and London, 1864.)

How many young intellects are stunted to the requisite condition of passive obedience by cruel trash like this can only be known to the Searcher of hearts.

medievalism will restore activity and vigor to institutions of which the chief imperfection already is to be found in the absence of what may be termed the popular element.

These ritualistic views have recently been authoritatively proclaimed in a volume which is a singular anachronism when viewed as the production of Englishmen of the nineteenth century.¹ In it may be found most of the principles which led to the sacerdotalism of the middle ages, and which, followed up by the lively faith and reverence for tradition displayed by the writers, can hardly fail of the same results. Minds which can bitterly denounce the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith are fully prepared to contemplate the superior holiness of virginity with all the mystic ardor which inspired St. Martin and St. John Chrysostom.² It is therefore not surprising to find that monastic vows and clerical celibacy are regarded as the panacea which is to infuse new life into what they regard as the worn-out and effete Establishment of the Anglican church. The experiment, indeed, has already been tried at Norwich, under the auspices of Mr. Lyne, or "Brother Ignatius," but its signal failure does not seem to have dampened the ardor of the disciples.

It is impossible not to feel respect for the motives of these gentlemen and sympathy for them in the consequences which can hardly fail to result to men who, in a matter so vital to themselves, so fatally mistake the tendencies of the age. Yet the world cannot afford to be put back four centuries, and those who attempt to oppose its progress must of necessity be crushed. At the same time, it must be admitted that they have had some encouragement from the application of the principle of association and division of labor to Christian work, resulting in the formation of sisterhoods devoted to charity. Of these there are, I believe, at this time about forty in England, and several have been organized in this country.

¹ The Church and the World: Essays on Questions of the Day by various writers. Edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley. Second Edition. London, 1866.

the Rev. T. Thellusson Carter, which, in its admiration for the better life of virginity and in its arguments to derive a recommendation of celibacy from the words of the Saviour, would have satisfied Bellarmine himself.

² See an Essay (*op. cit.*, p. 360) by

The vow taken on entering some of these communities is irrevocable. In others it is not, but the period of probation is long, and it is expected that no one will become a confirmed sister without at least the intention of devoting her life to the duties assumed. In this, the moral power exercised on the devotee is likely to be as efficient as the canons of which the history has been traced above. In the House of Deaconesses at Kaiserwerth, for instance, there is no authority to enforce the vow of celibacy imposed on admission, but the disposition which leads a postulant to enter and the influences which surround her daily life render expulsion a much more probable result than voluntary withdrawal.

Such institutions, where self-abnegation is sanctified by religion, are very different from those which seek to exalt the selfish aspirations of the recluse into forgetfulness of all the duties imposed on man by his Creator. It is therefore by no means strange that they should prove attractive to earnest and pious minds, and should thus have a tendency to increase in an age so intensely practical as the present.¹

In fact, monasticism outside of Italy and France has rarely been more flourishing or more vigorous than it is to-day. Pius IX., himself a tertiary, has spared no effort to restore discipline where it had been neglected, to encourage the formation of new societies, and to promote the extension of the old. In 1860 there were thus no less than 83 male orders and congregations, with 7,065 establishments, and about 100,000 members, while of female orders and congregations there were 94, with 9,247 establishments and more than 100,000 members.

The most powerful cause that has conduced to this has been that the church, yielding at length to the spirit of the age, and warned by the successive secularization of its temporalities in one kingdom after another, has learned to direct its efforts in those quarters where the benefits of the monastic system are greatest and its evils least. Recognizing the great truth,

¹ It may be doubted, however, whether the results produced are a fair equivalent for the amount of power expended. In the Insane Asylum at Kaiserwerth, for instance, the number of patients is only about double that of the sisters and attendants allotted to it. (De Liefde, Charities of Europe, Vol. I.)

reserved for these latter days to proclaim as indisputable, that every man must earn for himself the place he occupies in the world, the endeavor of the church is no longer to agglomerate around a sensual and idle community the wealth which would only pander to its vices, but to render useful by associated action and thorough training the benevolent self-abnegation which in other communions is too apt to be lost or frittered away for want of judicious combination and direction.

Even amid the horrors of the French Revolution, when conventual vows were forbidden and the monastic orders were scattered ruthlessly abroad, the gentle virtues and the tireless ministrations of the Sisters of Charity won for them respect and toleration from the cruel fanatics who respected and tolerated nothing else. When, even under the Concordat of 1801, the re-establishment of the monastic orders was strictly prohibited, and those which endeavored timidly to organize themselves under the names of *Pères de la Foi*, *Sacré-cœur de Jésus*, &c. were in 1804 broken up without ceremony, the charitable associations of females were not interfered with. In 1809 and 1810 fresh measures were taken to prevent the formation or introduction of religious orders consisting either of drones or intriguers, yet at the same time a special decree placed under the fostering care of Madame Letitia the women who devoted themselves to works of charity and mercy.¹ So, during the storms of 1826-7 and 1844-5, when the underhand patronage of authority threatened the restoration of monastic institutions, and the united voice of the bench and the tribune demanded the enforcement of the prohibitory laws, not a hand was raised against the gentle ministrants whose mission was to reverently follow their Redeemer in healing the sick, feeding the hungry, and lessening the burdens of the miserable.

Though at times mistaken in the spirit of the age; though often misled by pride, by ambition, and by avarice, the

¹ At the same time, the state refused to recognize the right of any one to abstract himself irrevocably from society. The law wisely prohibited engagements for life in any service, and this was held applicable to the religious congregations, in which, by the decree of Feb. 18, 1809, the period of

engagement was limited to five years. —Décret du 18 Fév. 1809, Sect. II. art. 8 (Dupin, Droit Ecclés. p. 295). This regulation, I believe, is still in force, and the members of these bodies are accustomed to renew their engagements every five years.

Roman church has missed its aim and neglected its vocation, yet on the whole it has manifested that adaptation to the wants of successive generations which is the source of its power and the condition of its existence. As the early Benedictines and Columbites were the Apostles of Northern Europe, carrying with them the seeds of that religion and civilization which were to develop so slowly yet so gloriously; as in the thirteenth century the worn-out institutions of sacerdotalism were regenerated in the boundless energy and self-devotion of the Franciscans and Dominicans; as, in the tortuous policy and brutal self-indulgence of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits arose to defend the shattered church with all the resources of unscrupulous fanaticism adapted to the character of the time; so now, in the hard-working practical nineteenth century, which has such scant toleration for idleness, the institutions of the church mould themselves to the necessities of the age. It is not new and fantastic forms of worship nor insane freaks of asceticism—not the pillar of Stylites, the stigmata of St. Francis, nor the thong of the Flagellants that now are sought for, but systems through which the charity of the many may be efficiently administered by the labor of the few. When celibacy is assumed, not in the hope of a life of ease and indulgence, not in the pride of pharisaical holiness, not in the lust of exaggerated maceration, not in the selfish hope of purchasing by solitude and mortification the beneficence of an all-merciful Creator, but for the purpose of wholly devoting a life to relieving the misery of fellow-men, the sternest Protestant, if he have in him aught of humanity, cannot deny that institutions which in their prosperity have wrought so much evil, contain fruitful germs of good capable of development through adversity and tribulation.

This is the fair side of the picture, and if the system only resulted in the self-devotion to public charity of those who by nature and education are specially fitted to minister to the wants of their fellow creatures, and if it involved only a voluntary engagement to be laid aside as circumstances might require, it ought to arouse little opposition. When, however, the celibacy of the sacerdotal class becomes a point of faith,

and it separates forever the minister of religion from the world, we have seen the countless ills that may follow in its train. A sacerdotal caste whose interests are in many respects antagonistic to those of the society in which its members live; whose dominant aim, from the nature of the case, must be the temporal advancement of its church, is apt to prove a dangerous element in the body politic, and the true interests of religion are almost as likely to receive injury as benefit at its hands, especially when it is armed with the tremendous power of confession and absolution, and is subjected to strict subordination to a hierarchy. Such a caste would seem to be the inseparable consequence of compulsory celibacy, and the hierarchy which is founded on it can scarcely fail to become the enemy of human advancement, so long as the priest continues to share in the imperfections of our common humanity.

It would be fruitless at this hour to speculate as to the future. We may be on the eve of great changes, but it is not easy to anticipate a change so radical as that which would permit the abolition of celibacy. The traditions of the past must first be forgotten; the hopes of the future must first be abandoned. The Latin church is the most wonderful structure in history, and ere its leaders can consent to such a reform they must confess that its career, so full of proud recollections, has been an error.

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