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of revelation, which had now culminated in "the coming of the Just One," of whom the judges present had been the betrayers and murderers. But that was not the end of the story. It was time to bring the great argument to a head, to speak of Resurrection and Ascension, and to testify that God has made that same Jesus whom they have crucified both Lord and Christ. But the speaker's words are arrested. There is momentary silence. His eyes, entranced, are gazing upwards. There is a cry of recognition, adoration, and joy: "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God." The argument is finished for him. The testimony is supplied.

T. D. BERNARD.



ART. II.—LEO XIII.

TWENTY-FIVE years have gone by since Cardinal Pecci was elected to the vacant chair of Pius IX. He had been for two years Camerlengo of the Roman Church, and that office, by unbroken precedent, was thought to exclude its holder from the keys and triple crown. Indeed, it was believed that Pius had given the office to Cardinal Pecci, in order to exclude him. He was elected, however, after a Conclave of two days, and against only one serious competitor. Cardinal Bilio was young; he withdrew in favour of a much older man, saying that his chance would come again, and in a few months he was dead. Gioacchino Pecci was sixty-eight at his election, and gave out that he was in feeble health. The Cardinals were said to have calculated upon a reign of ten or a dozen years, which might enable them to judge, and if necessary to revise, the policy of the Holy See towards united Italy and the disconcerting posture of affairs in Rome. Leo XIII. was intended to be a transitional Pope. Instead of answering to this expectation, he frustrated it signally by living on till he was ninety-three, and by reigning for a quarter of a century. He enjoyed the longest reign, with one exception, which is recorded in the authentic history of the Popes. It is too early, no doubt, to judge fully or finally of this exceptional pontificate. We cannot remove ourselves far enough from Leo XIII. to see him in his true perspective and proportion. We cannot decide whether he will or will not rank among the greatest Pontiffs; but we may examine his completed reign, and estimate his character as it appears to us, and see what his influence has been upon contemporary politics. We may recall the position of the Roman Court at

the death of Pius IX., and point out a few obvious changes in the power and influence of the Papacy at the close of Leo's twenty-five years of strenuous and perhaps tortuous activity.

Leo XIII. was no doubt intellectually superior to Pius IX. His personal influence upon the whole Roman hierarchy was assuredly stronger. At the same time, his reign was not so conspicuous in decisive and great events. It will not stand out as a landmark in Church history among the reigns which symbolize the development of beliefs and the fatal progress of ecclesiastical ambition. It was given to Pius IX. to define a couple of new dogmas. One of them was the Immaculate Conception, and that definition closed a long controversy which no mediæval Pope had ventured to decide against either one or the other of two powerful Religious Orders. It also gave an official sanction to that extravagant Mariolatry which the later Middle Ages had initiated, and which modern enthusiasts like Alphonso Liguori had increased. That fabricator of devious morality and of credulous devotion was proclaimed by Pius a Doctor of the Universal Church. The second dogma imposed by him was the decree of Papal Infallibility, which was certainly required by the arrogance of his words and actions. This decision completed the secular process of absolutism and centralization, which had already become aggressive under Hildebrand in the eleventh century, which was organized under Innocent III., and extended by Boniface VIII., and imposed forcibly on the Papal section of the old mediæval churches at the Council of Trent. Besides these two momentous definitions, Pius IX. drew up and issued the Syllabus of 1864, which was a declaration of open and uncompromising warfare by the Papacy against the most cherished principles and institutions of our modern society. To balance these defiances and triumphs, Pius had to endure the gradual diminution of his temporal power. The States of the Church were absorbed, slowly and inevitably, by the growing Italian monarchy. The Pope was maintained precariously in Rome for about thirteen years, against the wishes and aspirations of his subjects, by a French garrison, and when France withdrew those regiments in 1870, Rome asserted her natural prerogative, and became the metropolis of a free and United Italy. These events will make the reign of Pius IX. conspicuous in Church history. It remains to be seen whether the definition of infallibility will prove to be the logical and final stage of an obsolete theology, or whether it will be a destructive and stultifying legacy, to which the reactionary elements of the Roman Church will cling, and from which the Papacy will never be able to escape. So far the unerring voice has been dumb or exhausted since it pro-

claimed its own infallibility. The loss of the temporal power marks a fresh era in the annals of the Papacy, which is no less clear for the purposes of history than was its acquisition of territorial possessions. That state of things which was inaugurated by Charlemagne was ended formally by Napoleon. The restored Papacy of 1814 lingered on precariously and artificially for little more than half a century, and then, like some others of the restored monarchies, it yielded to the inevitable forces of a newer and healthier society. For these various reasons the name of Pius IX. will be connected in historical summaries with striking and momentous events, as are the direful names of Gregory VII. and Innocent III.

The name of Pius, however, will not be so highly esteemed by those who study the details of his reign, and who understand the vital movements of his time. His arrogant and irritable words had little force behind them. They were the querulous and petulant complaints of weakness, not the assertions of confidence and talent. Pius IX. left the Roman Church at war with almost every government, and estranged as it had never been before from all that is most living and progressive in the modern world. When Leo XIII. was elected he was welcomed as a liberal Pope, and many changes were foretold. Those who misjudged him thus had short memories. They forgot his previous career at Benevento and in Perugia. In the latter place he was the vindictive and implacable executioner of those Italian patriots who had risen against the tyranny and misrule of the Papal administration. Both as Apostolic delegate, and afterwards as Archbishop, Monsignor Pecci was resolutely opposed to liberal institutions, and to the aspirations of United Italy. In 1859 he published a letter to the Pope, in which he described the liberation of Italy as "revolt and schism," as "an impious attempt to rob the Sovereign Pontiff." Every utterance of Leo XIII. about the temporal power was consistent with that early and uncompromising letter. With regard to Italy, he never swerved from that position. He continued the tactics of Pius IX., and fixed himself immovably in the Vatican. So far as he could, he withdrew Italians from politics and from their national life. They were to be neither electors nor elected. The Roman Court opposed itself to a constitutional, an orderly, and a liberal monarchy. It withheld the conservative and stable part of the nation, so far as it had influence, from public life, hoping that the kingdom would be overthrown by Republicans and Socialists. Its policy aided those factions negatively. How far the Vatican may have intrigued with them or have aided them actively is a dubious question, about which there are many suspicions and only too many

just grounds for them. However the world may have been deceived in the Liberalism of Leo XIII., the Cardinals probably had no illusions. They wanted an uncompromising Pope. So far as Italy was concerned, they wished the tactics of Pius IX. to be prolonged, and they obtained what they wanted in his successor. Leo, then, was not more liberal than Pius, but he was far more diplomatic. We should not forget that he was a diplomatist in the first place, and a clergyman only in the second. He never had any parochial charge nor any pastoral work until he was made Archbishop. Perugia, it must be remembered, had been in the Papal States, and Archbishop Pecci was there always as a politician who represented the old Order and protested violently against the new. What he had been at Perugia he continued to be on a larger scale in Rome. It is extraordinary, and perhaps significant, that these facts, and the inferences to be drawn from them, should have been so generally ignored by the press, both when Pope Leo was elected, and throughout his reign, and even in the obituary estimates of his life and work. The attitude of Leo XIII. towards the temporal power gives us the chief clue for estimating his character and policy. Everything he did and said was calculated with a view to gaining his main object. At his accession he reiterated the protests of Pius IX., and he never ceased to repeat his protests in language of increasing bitterness. No Englishman will forget the indecent words about an allied and friendly power which were put into the mouth of the Duke of Norfolk during the late war, or the answer of the Pope, which was an outrage not only to the Italian Government, but to the principles upon which modern society is founded. The interests of religion in Italy were sacrificed in the most callous way to the temporal ambitions of the Roman Court. Everything else was made subservient to that end, and was favoured only as it might serve that purpose. Nevertheless, history will record that the Italian policy of Leo XIII. was a failure. He did not regain his temporal power, and he undoubtedly has weakened the moral and spiritual influence of his Church. Even the faults and follies of Italian politicians were not able to restore the credit of the Vatican, while the scurrilities and sophistries of the clerical press were perpetually revealing and damaging its character. During the last thirty years the monarchy has been gaining ground, and the Papacy has been losing. The attitude of the royal Government has been correct and dignified, in spite of incessant and outrageous provocation. It has more than fulfilled all its pledges, and has refrained from even the suspicion of interference. The powers have learnt that the Roman Court in ordinary times, and the Conclave when

the See is vacant, have more liberty under the guarantee of Italy than they ever had when the Papacy was nominally a Sovereign power, and was really protected or coerced by alternate foreign governments. The protests of the Vatican will be regarded henceforth in the light of these facts, and they will be accepted as expressing merely the disappointed ambitions of the Curia and its hungry diplomatists.

The larger diplomacy of Leo XIII. was always directed to the same end as his Italian policy. He made use of every instrument and every influence which might help him to damage Italy, and to recover the Papal States. One of his main objects was to discredit the Triple Alliance, or to detach Austria and Germany from the Italian Kingdom. To gain his ends Leo did not repeat the ineffectual tirades of Pius IX. He worked by diplomacy instead of by denunciation. Though he disapproved of Liberal institutions, he was adroit enough to utilize them. He found the new German Empire at war with the Papacy over education and ecclesiastical appointments. The repressive policy of Bismarck had welded together a compact and disciplined Catholic party. This organization was inspired and encouraged by the Pope until it grew into the Ultramontane Centre, which has held the balance of power in the Reichstag for the last twenty years. The Imperial Government has always to reckon with a party which takes its orders from Rome, and obtains full value for its help. Concentration was of advantage to the Pope in Germany. Dissensions and national jealousies have served his purposes in Austria. He has extorted much from the German Government, and he has inflicted serious damage upon the interests and peace of Austria-Hungary; but he has not succeeded in detaching either of them from their alliance with Italy.

The clerical minority in France was able to embarrass and finally to ruin Napoleon III. After the war of 1870, there was a French party always willing to revenge the occupation of Rome, partly out of Ultramontane zeal, and partly out of wounded *amour propre*. Leo XIII. made use of this minority. It was able, for many years, to embitter the relations of Italy and France, and to be a cause of genuine anxiety and expenditure to the Italian Government. The clerical minority has also been a cause of perpetual disturbance and danger to the Republic. It cannot be accidental that Royalists, Nationalists, and Bonapartists have all been favoured by the clericals and supported by their press. It is true that Leo XIII. advised French Catholics to rally to the Republic. They rallied so effectually that they obtained a monopoly of education, and dominated both the army and the Civil Service, while the

Religious Orders grew to an alarming extent in wealth, in power, and in numbers. A government return made in 1900, has estimated their property in lands and buildings at £40,000,000. To this must be added their enormous annual revenues from pious and commercial enterprises, and from their exuberant press. All this wealth and influence was not used in favour of the existing government. The machinations of the Père Du Lac and of the Assumptionist Bailly were exposed in the stages of the Dreyfus affair. The country saw its danger, and has dealt with it strenuously. In spite of Leo's pacific and conciliatory words, the fact still remains that the clerical press and the Religious Orders, who are his most zealous adherents, have been the most active, the most persistent, and the most uncompromising enemies of the Republic. The Orders would have been restrained, and the press could have been re-tuned, if the Vatican had not approved their policy and utterances. These facts, and the inferences which must be drawn from them, have not been lost upon intelligent Frenchmen. They have made the legislation of the present Ministry both necessary and possible. Either Leo XIII. himself has been playing a double game, or the Pope has been made to say one thing for the mystification of the public, while his Secretary of State has been prescribing an opposite policy to the confidential agents of the Vatican in France. In any case, the Papacy is far more discredited in France than it was under Pius IX. ; and, if we may judge by innumerable signs, the French clergy are far less Ultramontane.

As Leo XIII. has had one chief object in his policy, namely, to regain the temporal power, so he has adopted two methods or instruments in order to pursue it. He has understood the conditions of the modern world ; and he has worked by inspiring the press, and by manipulating votes. In Italy he strove to obtain his ends, as we have seen, by withdrawing his adherents from public and Parliamentary life. In Germany he organized his party until it dominated Imperial politics. In Belgium the clericals have been able either to hold office, or to form a restraining and influential minority. In the United States the illiterate Irish voters have been a powerful weapon in the hands of the Roman Bishops, who have been able through their means to exercise much influence upon the politicians of both sides. On a much smaller scale, the Nationalists in our own Parliament have been able to serve English Roman Catholic interests ; and the solid Irish vote, which is generally given as the hierarchy may direct, has to be reckoned with in almost every large town constituency. The clerical press throughout the world, which is almost entirely in the hands of the Bishops or of some religious

organization, is nothing less than a portent, which deserves a much more systematic study than it has received. Besides the avowedly clerical organs, the influence of Roman Catholic writers and interests on the general press of most countries is very large, and is very ably directed.

Besides utilizing the press and manipulating the franchise, Leo XIII. has posed as the friend of the working man, as the protector of labour, as the patron of many social and economical schemes which have dazzled the toilers of our time. The Pope, it must be confessed, has too often written about these problems without knowing the facts and elements which are involved in them. For instance, in 1877, whilst still Archbishop of Perugia, he issued a Pastoral Letter on the Labour Question which shows a complete ignorance of our own Factory Acts, and of all that legislation for protecting children, women, and the workers in unhealthy or dangerous occupations which were carried through Parliament by Lord Shaftesbury, by Mr. Plimsoll, and by other practical philanthropists. The Pope's socialistic utterances abound in platitudes and sounding phrases. He was willing enough to make use of Socialism as a possible weapon of disorder in Italy, and of support in France; but, when his Italian *protégés* began to take his precepts literally, and to apply them to the temporal power, they were very soon discouraged and disowned. The apparent liberality of the earlier Encyclicals was explained away effectually in the later. In the same way, Americanism was condemned as soon as it was thought dangerous to the absolutism of the Curia and the supremacy of the Roman Congregations. In all these matters the liberalism of the Pope began and ended in empty phrases. The mediæval Popes, in their conflicts with the Empire, were in the habit of praising liberty. They would favour the popular side in order to damage the Imperialists. We do not find, however, that popular government or liberty was preserved in a single place where the Pope had once obtained the mastery. We must be excused, therefore, if we suspect the liberality of any and every Pope, so long as the Syllabus be not repudiated, and the organization of the Papal Court be not reformed. The plea of liberty was misused in the past to weaken the civil power and to set up a sacerdotal absolutism. It would not be impossible in the present to utilize democratic forms and feelings in order to deceive the democracy, and then to destroy liberal institutions. It surely is not illiberal nor intolerant to restrain or to expel those who are suspected of these designs, and whose principles are opposed in every way to civil and religious liberty.

The prevailing desire for Christian reunion was also utilized

for the aggrandisement of the Papacy. By reunion the Pope and his adherents meant invariably complete submission to the claims of Rome, and a full acceptance of its current theology. Leo XIII. made several advances to the Eastern Churches, but none of them was deceived by his empty phrases. They all protest now, as they protested fourteen centuries ago, against Roman arrogance and alterations in the creed. In fact, during those fourteen centuries the Papacy has increased and strengthened the barriers which separate the East and West. The Russian Government refused to have closer relations with the Papacy, as it suspected a Polish agitator in every Papal ecclesiastic. In our own country, the Pope's judgment on English Orders has hardened the historical and theological differences between ourselves and Rome. Mr. Wilfrid Ward speaks rather disingenuously of the "charity and conciliation" shown in the Pope's letter *Ad Anglos*, because he has to confess that "no practical prospect of reunion had ever existed," either on the basis of recognising English Orders, or of making any other concession in doctrine and discipline. The Papacy is regarded with more tolerance now by the English public than it was fifty years ago, but the cause of Rome has not gained in strength or numbers here during that period. The zealous and compact Ultramontane body over which Cardinal Manning ruled has lost a great deal of its unity and zeal. The stream of influential proselytes has almost ceased. The leakage from the Roman body is continuous, and it does not hold its relative position either to the increase of population or to the growth of other denominations. The Anglophobia of the clerical press has turned the former Ultramontanism of the more thoughtful laity into a distrust of the Vatican and its methods. Both the parochial clergy and the educated laity are discontented with the arbitrary and secret administration of the Bishops and the Roman Congregations. There is a growing jealousy and friction between the Secular Clergy and the Religious Orders. There is also an eager struggle for supremacy between the Jesuits and Benedictines. The free atmosphere of our English life and institutions, the higher and freer standards of education to which children of all denominations must now attain, have transformed the English Roman Catholics. Similar influences are telling heavily against Romanism in the United States and in Australia.

Since 1870 the Papal Church has been more centralized, in consequence of the Vatican decrees, and also by our quicker methods of communication. The Roman Catholics are no longer a confederation of national Churches, communicating slowly and occasionally with Rome. They are

a compact and homogeneous international body, in touch continually with Rome, and controlled more systematically by the Vatican; but while the Papacy has gained in immediate influence, it has lost in ultimate life and power. A body of international or anti-national Ultramontane zealots is worth less than a confederation of Churches which are vigorous with national life and growth. The theory of Nippold, that the Papacy has gained in power during the nineteenth century, cannot be denied. Leo XIII. was far more influential than Leo XII. Pius X. is in a very different position from the restored Pius VII. It is necessary, however, if we would realize the truth, to make a distinction which Nippold has perhaps overlooked in his brilliant and startling volume.

The Papacy is no doubt more prominent in the world now; it has more influence with politicians and with the press than it had sixty years ago. It owes these advantages to the publicity of the present age, and to our instantaneous methods of communication. It is more than probable, however, that the Papacy has less hold on the majority of its adherents than it ever had before. The Vatican is not opposed in Italy merely or chiefly to the House of Savoy. The contention there is not so much between one dynasty and another, or even between the civil power and a theocracy. The Vatican is opposed really by the spirit and institutions of our modern world, reinforced as they are now by scientific, liberal, and popular systems of education, which are being absorbed by a whole nation that is inspired with a living patriotism and the glories of its past. Against these forces a reactionary and narrow oligarchy cannot in the end prevail. The Papacy is confronted by similar forces, not in Italy alone, but in France, in England, in the United States, in all countries which are really progressive and liberal. In all of them the Papacy is losing ground. Even in the more backward and reactionary nations the Roman Church is losing not only the educated, but the majority of the population. A Catholic authority reckoned not long ago that out of 18,000,000 Spaniards only 5,000,000 were practising members of the Church. The proportion of nominal Roman Catholics and of active anti-clericals is probably even larger in France. An accurate return of Roman Catholics who are technically "in the Church," that is who are practising its laws and fulfilling their sacramental obligations, would perhaps be equally surprising to themselves and to their opponents. It would make a considerable shifting in what are called religious statistics, as those mendacious figures are given in atlases and books of reference.

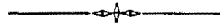
It is true that Papal activity, or, at any rate, Papal advertisement, has been more prominent of late years. We see and

hear more of pilgrimages. The Pope has had more visitors. New devotions have sprung up. St. Anthony of Padua has become the fashionable divinity of a new religion. St. Joseph has been elevated to a new height. The mother of Christ is held to be communicated in the Eucharist. The Vicar of Christ is held to be a continued manifestation in the flesh of Christ Himself. All these extravagances are now written and preached, and they are not condemned officially. They do not prove, however, the growth of Romanism. They only prove that popular Romanism has been driven to a lower level, and has to maintain itself by more desperate and excitable methods. The better educated repudiate these superstitions, or stand aloof from them; and the better educated grow steadily in influence and numbers. The Roman Church is at the parting of the ways. It has entered upon a new era. The temporal power has gone. The system of Charlemagne and Innocent III. is over. Mediæval and feudal Christendom is dead. That revival of it which the Jesuits arranged at Trent has had its day, and is incapable of living in the modern world. The Papacy must make its choice between reaction and reform. It may prefer to lean upon the Religious Orders, to obstruct all intellectual and administrative reform, and to rely upon the uneducated populace. In that case its days are numbered. Or it may accept modern scholarship and free inquiry, and act loyally with the better elements in modern society. In this case, the historical Papacy will have to be transformed. It is surely not necessary to believe that its spiritual use and influence would be weakened by the process. The Bishop of Rome represents traditions which might be of inestimable service to Christianity. No rival can dispute them. No enemy can deny them. No one but himself can deprive him of them, or make them worthless. It is lamentable that so many of his predecessors have succeeded in making them harmful to the Church, and a cause of scandal to religion.

It is not possible to think that the Papacy has gained on the whole under Leo XIII., who has merely continued the traditional policy of his predecessors. His principal object has not been achieved. The recovery of the temporal power seems more remote and unlikely than ever. Mr. Wilfrid Ward even says all hope of it has been abandoned. If so, it would be more politic for Pius X. to show himself again in Rome, where he would certainly be welcomed with reverence and enthusiasm as Bishop. If we consider all the elements in Leo's life and career, instead of eliminating those which are inconvenient for a preconceived theory, it is impossible to hold that he was a liberal Pope, or even a spiritual teacher.

He was, above all things, a diplomatist, and a diplomatist who failed in his chief object. Nevertheless, in spite of his failure, the Vatican is a dangerous power, not so much on account of its ostensible theology as of its political methods, and the financial weapons which it is still able to employ. It is a good omen, perhaps, that Leo's successor is a clergyman and not a diplomatist; that he has never held any of the higher and more intimate offices in the bureaucracy of the Vatican, though he may only be more easily manipulated in consequence by those who really direct the Roman Church. That Church will never reform unless it be un-Jesuitized. A Clement XV. would have been more welcome, as a sign that this necessity was recognised. We hope that Pius X. has not chosen his title from any devotion to the policy and methods of Pius IX. We hardly know which Pius is a desirable model, certainly not the Fifth. Pius I. is a legendary name, and Pius II., attractive as he may be to wits and scholars, will hardly commend himself as an ecclesiastic to this age of exterior decorum. A study of the Popes, however, shows that the individual matters very little, as the system moves on its way inflexibly to the appointed goal, in spite of the mutability and titles of its figure-head.

ARTHUR GALTON.



ART. III.—RECENT GERMAN CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THERE are many persons who are far more impressed by the citation of a string of German names, when it is a question of Old Testament criticism, than with the clearest evidences of familiarity with the subject-matter of the Old Testament itself. Such persons should be asked to note the signs of reaction against the Graf-Wellhausen theory which is growing in Germany itself. We may cite as opposed to that theory the names of Von Orelli, Strack, Kleinert, Klostermann, Bredenkamp, Hommel, König, Kittel, and many others, including even the learned Dillmann, whose Lectures on Old Testament theology are positively indignant in their repudiation of Wellhausen's views. And now we have a work by Möller, a young German critic, who was once an enthusiastic disciple of Wellhausen, but who, having undertaken an independent investigation of the question, finds that it is impossible to maintain his theories. "Scholars," then, in Germany, at least, are no longer "agreed" on the subject. At Oxford, however, these theories are still represented as