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The Jesuits

AND THE

British Press

BY

MICHAEL J. F. McCARTHY,

Author of

"Priests and People in Ireland."

Published by THE LOYALIST LEAGUE,
Melbourne.

THE JESUITS AND THE BRITISH PRESS.

THE GRIEVANCE OF THE PROTESTANT MAJORITY AGAINST THE PRESS.

One like myself, who has had to do with journalism and publishing ever since his undergraduate days, can appreciate the difficulties of those who own and manage newspapers as well as of those who cater for their literary columns; and nothing is farther from my desire, as nothing would be farther from the truth, than any imputation of sinister motives to proprietors or journalists in their dealings with that Protestantism which is, happily, still the national religion of Great Britain.

Briefly put, the grievance of the Protestant majority of the United Kingdom against the British Press, as a whole, allowing for certain honourable exceptions, may be stated as follows:—

1. The picture of contemporary life in the British Isles presented in the secular newspapers conveys the impression that the religious belief prevalent amongst the British people is a belief in Sacerdotalism and Ritualism.
2. That such a presentation is at variance with the facts.
3. That, in presenting such a picture from day to day, the secular Press unintentionally, or intentionally it may be in a few cases, lends its powerful influence to spreading the propaganda of Sacerdotalism, especially amongst the young.
4. That Sacerdotalism is an effete and pernicious cult which has been a source of unmitigated evil to humanity in all ages, and that the prominence now given to it in the Press is out of all proportion to the number of its adherents.
5. That the recrudescence of a popular belief in Sacerdotalism would be the greatest calamity that could possibly befall this nation, and yet the popular Press appears to espouse the cause of those who would make Sacerdotalism supreme in the United Kingdom.

If the widespread anxiety and discontent, existing for a considerable time amongst the Protestant majority of the United Kingdom at this state of things, has not found regular public expression before now, it is because of the exceptional difficulties

We are accustomed to ventilating our grievances through the Press or through the mouths of our public men; but how can we expect the Press to incriminate itself by ventilating for us this grievance; and what class of public men can we expect to take up the cudgels for us?

Those who speak and write for the public—clergymen, for instance, politicians, authors, lecturers, actors, reformers, propagandists, and agitators of various kinds—find it so necessary to be kept before the notice of the public by the Press that they never dare to criticise the newspapers. Even our old friends, *Constant Reader* and *Pro Bono Publico*, who have been airing grievances in the Press from time immemorial, dare not touch this thorny question, lest they should be put in the editorial black list.

And, if we cannot expect the newspapers to condemn themselves; and, if public speakers and writers cannot be expected to criticise the medium by which they hold the public ear, is it to be wondered at that individuals, who neither write nor speak for the public, should be diffident about criticising an institution like the Press on which they are dependent for all their information about public affairs.

Thus it will be seen at the outset that the situation bristles with difficulties. And now let us come to a definition of terms.

THE "JESUIT" POLICY TOWARDS THE PRESS.

By the expression "Jesuits," as used in the title of this lecture, I mean to cover, not merely the members of the Jesuit Society itself, but that entire department of the Roman Church, of all ranks and orders, which devotes itself to propagandist work of a political and literary nature—and of which the Jesuits are the guiding spirits in this country. *The Tablet*, for instance, which used to be the private property of the late Cardinal Vaughan, or the Vaughan family, has long been the *journal officiel* of the Papacy in this country; and Cardinal Vaughan's brother has been for some years now the most prominent figurehead amongst British Jesuits. But, in addition to this, the Jesuits have several monthly and weekly publications of their own in England and Ireland, dealing not merely with official Romanism but with all political and social questions, from which the clergy of other grades may learn the course of conduct which is to the best interest of the Church.

The Jesuit Society, being in fact a political society *par excellence* aims at directing public opinion in the British Isles; and Protestants have come to the disquieting conclusion that the Society is succeeding in its work to a degree that is not consonant with the continued prosperity and good government of this country.

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The peculiar strength of the Jesuits' political campaign, and its peculiar danger to Protestantism, is that the Jesuit priests do not openly identify themselves with politics. One never met a Jesuit, for instance, on a political platform in Ireland all through the Land and Home Rule agitations, when priests of every other description were to be found speaking and presiding at such gatherings. And yet—and I say it after mature consideration of the fruits of those agitations—the Jesuits were pulling the strings of politics in Ireland from beginning to end of both agitations, and the Jesuit Society has gained more in cash and *prestige* by those agitations than any other class of Roman priests.

The plausible methods of the Jesuits in politics and literature are pre-eminently calculated to appeal to the love of "fair play all round" which is so characteristic of the Englishman, and the result now is that the Jesuit Society is stronger in the British Isles than it is in any other European country.

The Jesuit campaign for the direction of public opinion divides itself into two broad spheres of action in this country:—

- I. *Within* the Roman Catholic Church; (a) in the education of the children of the Roman Catholic upper classes, whom the Jesuits inoculate with Jesuitical views and beliefs, thereby securing for the Jesuit Society control over those who lead and determine lay Roman Catholic public opinion; (b) in keeping up the connection with past pupils, so that, whatever profession a Jesuit-educated man may belong to in after life, he ought, in fact, to be regarded as a Jesuit; (c) in the ownership and inspiration of Roman Catholic newspapers, and in the dissemination of literature of a controversial character designed to convince Roman Catholic laymen that all not in communion with the Church of Rome are destined to eternal damnation, and teaching them how to argue with Protestants.
- II. *Outside* the Roman Catholic Church; (a) in conducting a propagandist campaign in favour of Roman Catholicism in newspapers whose proprietors are Protestants and the majority of whose readers are Protestants; (b) by getting Jesuit priests into the employment of Protestant publishing houses and newspapers; (c) by getting Jesuit past pupils into such employments; (d) by helping forward the publication of apparently non-sectarian novels, histories, biographies, and books of travel which depict the Church of Rome in a favourable light; (e) by getting their men on the committees of public libraries and on Education Committees, so that all books dealing adversely with the preten-

sions and past history of the Church of Rome may be excluded, and books in favour of the papal system may be taken in; (f) by supplying the newspapers with a constant stream of news about the Church of Rome, thereby securing that no day passes in which the doings of the Pope or the Roman Church in Britain do not loom large in the public eye; (g) by suppressing, or misinterpreting, news of an adverse character for the Roman Church.

As the Jesuits are the designers and most effective operators of this system of moulding British public opinion in favour of Romanism through the Press, I have used their name in the title of this lecture; but the propagandist work specified is carried on by the united force of the whole ecclesiastical organisation of the Roman Church in this country. The Roman ecclesiastics make no secret of this policy, which has been publicly avowed by the responsible heads of the Church.

ROMAN CATHOLIC POLICY APPROVED BY HIGHEST ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY AND STATE-PAID EDUCATIONISTS.

Presiding at the annual meeting of a well-known Roman Catholic propagandist and proselytising institution,† at the Mansion House, Dublin, last October, Cardinal Logue, Archbishop of Armagh and highest dignitary of the Roman Church in the British Isles, said that "the principal object for which they were met that day was to induce them to avail themselves of the wonderful modern power of the Press to a large extent for the advancement of Catholic interests."

That meeting was also remarkable for the no less important and, shall I say, ominous fact that the inaugural address of the institution concerned was composed and delivered by Dr. Windle, an ex-Anglican, who is now a Roman Catholic and President of what used to be Queen's College, but is now known as University College, Cork—one of the three constituent colleges of the alleged non-sectarian National University created and endowed by the Irish Universities Act of 1908, and of which the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin is Chancellor. The most richly endowed college and predominant partner in the National University is University College, Dublin, which used to be, and is still, except in name, the Stephen's Green College of the Jesuit Society.

That meeting furnishes thoughtful men with a striking object-lesson of the Roman Catholic educationist working under the surveillance of the high ecclesiastic for the moulding of

†The Catholic Truth Society, whose employees distribute their tracts and leaflets at the doors of public halls where Protestant meetings are being held in Britain, and leave their literature in railway waiting-rooms and other public places.

British public opinion through the Press—its President the head of the Roman Church in these islands; its lecturer a highly paid civil servant, who manages a seat of secular learning which draws its entire endowment from the British Exchequer, and got that endowment on the representation that it was to be strictly unsectarian; its wire-puller in the background, the Jesuit Society, wielding the predominating influence in the State-Endowed National University which it was mainly instrumental in establishing.*

Having made it clear, I hope, that by the term "Jesuits" I mean the whole force and power of the Roman Church in these islands, may I say that in the term "Press" I include chiefly, of course, the daily papers as the most effective medium for influencing public opinion; but I also include the weeklies and monthlies, and books of almost every description—histories, biographies, and books of travel; novels, essays, and literary commentaries; and text-books for use in schools, colleges, and universities. The trail of the Jesuits is found in every one of those branches of publication.

THE BRITISH PRESS OWES ITS FREEDOM TO PROTESTANTISM.

Bearing in mind this comprehensive definition, let us now consider shortly the history of the British Press in its relations with Protestantism. It has been the legitimate boast of Britain that she has had a free press for over two hundred years—that, in fact, she has been the only country in the world which possessed anything like real, sustained liberty of the Press—the only country where men might print what they thought, subject only to the common responsibility of printer and publisher and author to the ordinary laws of the land which apply to them as to all other citizens.

By reason of that freedom of printing, book-publishers have grown wealthy and newspaper-owners in modern times, especially at the present day, have grown rich beyond the dreams of avarice. May one deferentially ask those magnates to consider who and what it was that made such prosperity possible? May the Protestant majority respectfully invite them to look backwards and recollect who were their friends?

The truth is that the newspaper business in Great Britain owes its present position of power and wealth primarily to the Protestant Christians who were the first to enunciate the principle that God's written or printed Revelation to man

*"Ensnared by the Jesuits," a lecture delivered by me at Edinburgh in 1908, and published in that year by Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, gives a full account of that transaction.

was addressed to man's intelligence, and that no particular man or body of men had a proprietary right to its interpretation. It was the Scriptures, liberated by Protestants from the close custody of the priests, that first made the art of reading to any degree common, and made print important as a vehicle for the widespread transmission of ideas in Great Britain.

"Standing fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free," Protestant Christianity was always synonymous with mental freedom in Britain, just as surely as it was always a protest against this nation "being entangled again with the yoke of bondage" whereby all sacerdotal systems enslave their votaries. And as long as the claim of any man or body of men to spiritual authority over their fellow-men, by reason of alleged special agency from God on earth, continues to be acquiesced in by hundreds of millions of human beings, Christianity must continue to be Protestantism.

The intimate connection between Protestantism and the freedom of the Press was strikingly personified in John Milton, the immortal epic poet, who was at once the champion of Protestantism and of free printing in England. The Sacerdotalists of Milton's later years, that is of the Restoration period, who then enjoyed the patronage and approval of the dissolute king, always opposed the liberty of the Press.

It is a common characteristic of Sacerdotalists, here and on the Continent, that they have always opposed the liberty of the Press. There was one, and only one, species of printing to which they gave full liberty, and that was obscene and licentious literature. The classical instances of this are, in England, the scandalous dramas of the Restoration period—notably those of the Roman Catholic poet Dryden; and, in France, the works of Rabelais, which had to be written in a vein of repulsive ribaldry in order to pass the censor, and thus get the author's protest against Sacerdotal hypocrisy printed and published.

And fourteen years after Milton's death, namely, at the Great Revolution of 1688, when the Protestant majority of the nation, so long misrepresented, rebelled against Sacerdotalism, ejected the Romanist king, and invited William of Orange to come over and ascend the British throne as a Protestant sovereign appointed by Parliament, one of the first reforms effected by the dominant Protestants was the realisation of Milton's dream—the abolition of the censorship of the Press, the conferment upon Britishers of the right of freely printing their thoughts without submitting them to the ecclesiastical authority. Thus it was that Protestant Christianity secured freedom for the Press in Great Britain a hundred years before the French Revolution.

THE BRITISH PRESS OWES ITS READING PUBLIC TO PROTESTANTISM.

But not only did Protestantism give the Press its liberty. It also supplied it with a reading public. I have mentioned how it was that the Bible, set free by Protestants, made reading general in England. As Mr. J. R. Green, the historian, well put it, England for centuries after the Reformation became a nation of one book—namely, the Book of Books—which made all other books possible for Englishmen. From the first days of the Reformation in England, when Edward VI. established grammar-schools with the endowments taken from the colleges of papal priests, it was the Protestants who always strove to educate and improve the condition of the common people; and it was the Sacerdotalists who always strove to keep them ignorant and in subjection.

At every stage of British history when Protestantism was in the ascendant, literature prospered and the cause of education flourished; and conversely, when Sacerdotalism was in the ascendant, literature and education always declined.

I shall mention six critical eras in British history exemplifying the connection between Protestantism and education:—

1. John Wycliffe's Protestantism produced, not only a literary and educational revival, which found voice in Langland's *Vision of Piers Plowman* and Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, but also secured the abolition of villenage or slavery in England—the last English slave-owners to emancipate their slaves being the papal ecclesiastics.

2. The Reformation of Edward VI.'s reign was directly productive of the glorious Elizabethan literature, which, besides giving us Shakespeare and Bacon, made it possible for England to produce that marvellous Authorised Version of the Scriptures which, more than anything else, has bound the Anglo-Saxon race into one homogeneous whole all over the world.

3. The Reformation in Scotland, as it was the most complete and logical in Europe, was also unique in having produced the first perfect scheme of popular education. Simultaneously with the separation from Rome in Scotland came the affirmation of the principle that education was the concern of the State. In John Knox himself, as in no other individual, were personified the twin ideas of Reformation and Education. Concurrently with his immortal plan of Presbyterian Church Government, Knox propounded a universal system of free and compulsory secular education for Scotland—a school in every parish, teaching grammar and Latin; a college in every important town, teaching logic, rhetoric, and foreign languages; universities at Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Aberdeen—the whole maintained out of a portion of the properties of the papal Church. Dealing with the rights of parents, of which we hear so much in England to-day, John Knox laid it down that "no

fader of what estait and condition that ever he be," should be allowed to "use his children at his own fantasie, especially in their youthheade, but all must be compelled to bring up their children in learnyng and virtue." Thus it is directly to their Protestantism that Scotsmen owe their reputation for being the best generally educated nation in the world; and the Scotsman's love of literature has been one of the prime factors in providing the Press of the United Kingdom with a reading public.

4. The revival of Protestantism in England during the Protectorate deserves to be remembered with gratitude by all readers of print, if it was only for the superb writings of Milton—his prose writings on behalf of liberty and secular education, and his poetical writings, surpassing anything which had appeared since Homer, Virgil, and Dante.

5. The final revival and establishment of Protestantism as the religion of the British Throne, the British Constitution, and the Church of England, after the Revolution of 1688, gave the British Press the complete liberty it has ever since enjoyed.

6. Lastly, the Protestant struggle for the education of the masses in England during the nineteenth century, in face of the bitter opposition of the Sacerdotalists, effected the passage of the Education Act of 1870 and the establishment of the Board Schools, thereby giving the modern English Press its millions of readers, and enabling newspaper-owners to become millionaires.

If the Sacerdotalists, of whom the Jesuits are the extreme and perfect type, had had their way, the position of a newspaper-owner in Great Britain to-day would be one of insignificance and impecuniosity, as it is in Roman Catholic countries where the Church controls the Government—for we should have had neither a free Press nor a reading public.

THE PROTESTANT PRESS AND PROTESTANT CREED OF GREAT BRITAIN.

With such a history, it was only natural that the British Press, as a whole, in so far as it concerned itself with religion, should have been decidedly Protestant for more than a century and a half after its enfranchisement. That is to say, it gave the reader the impression that the proper and best religion for the people of these islands was the belief that each individual in need of spiritual consolation had the right and privilege of free access to God without the intervention of any human intermediary; just as each individual has, or ought to have, free access to God's sunlight or God's air.

That is the Protestant creed—God no respecter of persons, save in the matter of personal virtue; God equally accessible to every human being who wishes to approach Him; no special

agency for God's grace vested by right of office in any human being or any society of human beings. That is the Protestant creed which set Northern Europe free at the Reformation, and which has enabled men and women, and especially British men and women, to do the world's best and highest work since then—a creed which means freedom of intellect coupled with an incumbent practice of virtue and a belief in one omnipotent God willing, like the sun, to shine into every human heart without the assistance of any middleman.

THE PRESS BECOMES FIRST AGNOSTIC, THEN SACERDOTALIST.

The first change in the tone of the British Press towards Protestantism synchronised with that revival of Sacerdotalism, or, as its votaries prefer to call it, High Churchmanship, amongst the Anglican clergy, known as the Oxford or Puseyite Movement, that movement being the direct outcome of the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829.

The leaven of men with Sacerdotalist ambitions to be found among the Anglican clergy had been kept in subjection by the Protestantism of the nation in the century and a half following the Revolution of 1688. But the passage of the Act of 1829 set those men in a ferment; and, when they saw Roman Catholicism once more legalised in this country, they immediately, while continuing to hold their benefices in the Reformed Church of England, conspired to regain for their order the unlimited power and opportunities for accumulating riches possessed in pre-Reformation days by the clergy of the old *Papal* Church of England.

The ways and means adopted by Canon Pusey may be said to have out-Jesuited the Jesuits themselves, on whose model he formed himself and his disciples. It was soon after he and his followers became influential that the Protestant tone of the British Press began to decline. The Puseyite leaders were all classical scholars and men of decided literary ability. Their movement was worked almost entirely through the Press—so much so that it is often called the Tractarian Movement. Besides the famous Tracts, they issued numberless publications of a sacerdotalist character, all calculated to Romanise the English clergy. They also started *The Guardian*, the weekly organ which is still the *journal officiel* of High Church Anglicanism, and corresponds to *The Tablet* on the Roman Catholic side of Sacerdotalism in this country.

But the first decline in the Protestantism of the British Press was not altogether due to Puseyite influence. Nor did the Press, as it ceased to be Protestant, become proportionately Sacerdotalist. While the cultured scepticism of the eighteenth century left the Protestantism of the nation un-

touched, the advance of science in the nineteenth century so astonished humanity that publicists thought the world was about to see the end of religious belief in civilised countries. Accordingly the prevailing tone of those publications which most influenced public opinion became decidedly agnostic. Authors and journalists, book-publishers and newspaper-owners, impressed by the amazing growth of scientific knowledge, were, so to speak, putting their money on the Agnostic Scientist as the man likely to dominate public opinion in Great Britain.

This period, during which the British Press was characterised by indifferentism towards religion, was the period during which the sacerdotalist clergy of the Established Church brought their organisation to perfection, acquired a predominating influence amongst the benefice-holders of the Church of England, and set up what is now known as Ritualism in Anglican churches in all parts of the country.

The Evangelical leaders did not see how they could make friends with the scientists of those days, who expressed themselves in needlessly offensive terms about the Christian conception of God and about the revelation of God's relationship with man contained in the Scriptures—a state of things which now, happily, has ceased to exist.

But Canon Pusey had no such qualms of conscience, and in 1878, a few years before his death, he broached a plan for an alliance with the Agnostic Scientists, devised on the lines of his scheme, formulated forty-five years before, for killing Protestantism. It is to be found in an undelivered sermon entitled "Unscience, Not Science, Adverse to Faith." The alliance, still subsisting, between the Puseyites and the Agnostic Scientists, followed in the ninth decade of the nineteenth century.

The scientists, thinking themselves badly treated by the Protestants, were glad to make friends with the High Church dignitaries in the Universities and throughout the dioceses, who had behind them so much of the wealth, rank, and social distinction of the country—who had in their gift, in fact, all those social amenities which, for the ordinary man, make life worth living. The agnostic tone of the British Press thenceforth gradually declined. First it became partly sacerdotalist and partly agnostic. Then Protestantism went out of fashion. The great discoveries in science became a thing of course and lost their power to startle. And, meantime, the Sacerdotalist tone of the Press proportionately grew in strength, until it has now reached the dimensions which I set forth at the beginning as constituting the grievance of the Protestant majority against the Press.

It would not be true to say that the book-publishers and newspaper-owners joined maliciously in a plot with the Puseyites, or High Churchmen, to re-establish Sacerdotalism in England. The members of the High Church party who came

for favours to the newspaper offices represented the dominant influence at the Universities, certainly at Oxford, as well as in the Church. They had much to give the Press in a literary way. The Marthas of religion usually have, being "careful and troubled about many things" in the way of literary attainments; while the Marys of religion, as we may call the Evangelicals, have their thoughts concentrated on "the one thing needful." Mary is strong, steadfast, and faithful; but Martha is brilliant and versatile—and brilliancy and versatility are what newspapers want.

Moreover, the Sacerdotalists had "society" behind them. For "society" wants a powerful priesthood, in whose divine agency "society" by no means believes, but which it uses to keep those outside "society" in their proper station in life—always a subordinate position in which their privilege is to minister to the wants of the favoured ones. When "society" leads, the rest of English humanity, which is not "society," is ultimately found to follow; and the book-publishers and newspaper-owners went over insensibly to "society" and the High Churchmen.

THE ROMAN SACERDOTALISTS CARRY OFF THEIR SHARE OF THE SPOILS FROM THE ANGLICANS.

But the Puseyites were sowing a crop the harvest of which was destined to be gathered in a great measure by their exemplars, the Romanists. When Newman, the most brilliant writer of all the Tractarians, and a host of other Puseyites went over to Rome, and when Manning became Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, the advantages gained by the Anglican High Church party in the Press were partially transferred to the Romanist wing of Sacerdotalism in this country. And when Manning and Newman became Cardinals, and found themselves lionised by "society" and its journalism, the Roman Church got a further important accession of influence in the British Press. Then the Jesuits, who had been plotting for the recapture of England since the days of Campion and Parsons, found such openings for the moulding of public opinion in England in favour of Romanism as they could hardly have foreseen in their most ambitious dreams.

All this time, while the Sacerdotalists were working for the aggrandisement of their own order, the Protestants, conformist and non-conformist, were heroically struggling to obtain from the State a system of free compulsory education for the masses; and as education broadened downwards, owing to the efforts of the Protestants, the circulation and consequent influence of the Press increased by leaps and bounds. But, instead of being cast on the side of the Protestant majority, that influence, by the wirepulling of the Sacerdotalists, was largely used to confirm the predominance of High Churchmanship in Established Church, and to advertise the

prototype of High Churchmanship, namely, Roman Catholicism, whose cult was now becoming even more fashionable than the cult of the Puseyites.

Those who were opposed to Sacerdotalism thought that the best way to defeat it was by educating the people. But they have since learned that the best scheme of popular education may be rendered nugatory, and, furthermore, that the faculty of being able to read print and write matter which gets itself printed does not constitute education.

ANGLO-ROMAN DISPLAY IN THE NEWSPAPERS OUSTS EVANGELICALISM.

Every fresh convert to Rome from the titled aristocracy and other "society" celebrities, or from the Puseyite clergy of the Established Church, was an interesting and startling item of news to which the newspapers naturally gave great prominence. The Jesuit Press Bureau rang the changes again and again by their inspired paragraphs in all the newspapers before, at, and after each conversion, until every individual conversion seemed multiplied by ten in the public mind. For many years the papers were full of reports of conversions and rumoured conversions—or perversions—to Rome, so that the notoriety achieved was no small incentive to conversion. If the trend of public opinion in England was to be inferred rightly from the Romeward drift of "society" flotsam and jetsam in the decades following the conversion of Newman and Manning, then all the evidence before the newspapers was in favour of Rome. There were no such interesting conversions to be recorded from Rome to Anglicanism.

The perfect organisation of the Jesuits enabled them to conduct their Press campaign with scientific precision. They studied the wants of the newspapers, and sent out their inspired paragraphs just at the right moment, when they knew there was a dearth of exciting news. I had ample opportunities of judging their capacity in this respect in the office of a great Roman Catholic newspaper in Ireland. They were acting under a single chief, and in this they had the advantage of the Puseyites, who, to give them their due, never degenerated into machines or the slaves of a system, like the Jesuits.

The Puseyites did much solid literary work for the Press, besides their propagandist work. They were doubtless actuated by a sincere belief that, having regard to the success with which the Roman clerical organisation had weathered adversity in many lands since the Reformation, the best means of preserving the establishment of the Church of England was by perfecting its organisation on the old Roman model.

Protestant Christians, of course, differ from them, and hold that the disestablishment of the Church of England would be an evil of infinitely smaller dimensions than the re-establishment of Romanism under the guise of Anglicanism, which was,

THE JESUITS AND THE BRITISH PRESS.

in fact, the policy of Archbishop Laud. There is no need to question the sincerity of the Puseyites, or indeed of the Jesuits; but Protestants, fortified by a knowledge of the Bible and of European history, are justified in saying that their sincerity is the sincerity of wolves in sheeps' clothing, who, in fulfilment of their mission, secure an entrance into the sheep-fold. They are "evening wolves," in the opinion of Protestants; "they gnaw not the bones till the morrow."

The High Churchmen and the Romanists from this time forward held the public ear in the Press, flattering each other and helping each other. The High Churchman holds that he is trying to kill Romanism by kindness; but in this he is like many a lunatic asylum doctor who, in humouring his patients, becomes mad himself.

The Anglo-Romanist combination, to use a theatrical expression, presented the newspapers and, through them, the public, with a "show" which, for versatility, threw the steady-going Evangelicals completely into the shade. While the Romanists contributed their list of startling conversions, the Anglicans also presented an attractive bill of fare for the Press. There were reports of auricular confessions and elaborate Roman ritual revived in Anglican cathedrals and churches; of Roman vestments worn by Anglican bishops and priests; of Roman orders of Monks and Nuns re-established in the Church of England; and other weird goings-on which made capital matter for the Press, calculated to interest "society," to amuse agnosticism, and to make Protestant flesh creep. The Evangelical leaders were driven back upon themselves and out of the newspapers; and, in so far as the Press represents the daily life of England, it came to appear that Sacerdotalism and not Protestantism was the religious creed of the British nation, a presentation altogether at variance with the facts.

EFFECT OF THE LIBERAL-NATIONALIST ALLIANCE ON THE PRESS.

The Roman ecclesiastics always kept printing under their own control when they held power. In England before the Reformation and up to the Revolution of 1688, the Archbishop of Canterbury was *ex officio* the censor of the Press, William Sancroft, the Sacerdotalist Archbishop who refused to acknowledge William of Orange and was deprived of his office, being the last censor of the British Press.

In Ireland the Roman Catholic Press has always been completely under the thumb of the Church, so that nothing unfavourable to the Roman system ever finds its way into Nationalist newspapers. The Irish Roman Catholic newspapers, from one end of the year to the other, are elaborate calendars of rites and ceremonies and records of the meetings, speeches,

and addresses of bishops and priests—the politics and personalities with which their bill of fare is varied being merely secondary matter.

The Jesuits have always had a grip of iron on the Roman Catholic members of Parliament and the Roman Catholic Press of Ireland. Throughout the late agitation, the Jesuit Society appeared to be in favour of maintaining the connection with Great Britain; and once or twice there was apparently a quarrel between the Church and the Irish politicians and newspaper-owners. But in non-ecclesiastical matters the Jesuit Society is very often in favour of the side to which it is ostensibly opposed. All through the agitation the object which the Jesuits had in view was the obtaining at the expense of the Exchequer a University under the control of the Church; and it was only towards the end, when they thought that a little display of disloyalty would frighten Mr. Bryce and Mr. Birrell, that they sent their students to the annual meeting of the Royal University with instructions to prevent the playing of "God Save the King" and create disturbance. Those "student riots," as they were called, were not only reported but magnified in the British Press, and converted many wavering Non-conformist Liberals to the desirability of endowing a university to satisfy the Jesuits.

There was never any reality in the quarrel between the dominant priest and the subject member of Parliament or newspaper-owner in Ireland; and the Church's control of the political situation in Ireland brought a great accession of power to the Jesuit Press Bureau in Great Britain. For, when the Liberal Party allied itself with the Irish Party in Parliament, all the Liberal papers in Great Britain were captured for Romanism by the Jesuits. The Irish correspondents of those papers were men engaged on the staffs of the Roman Catholic papers in Ireland, who made up their news for English consumption under the very eye of the Jesuits.

Thenceforward the Liberal papers in London and the provinces discredited every statement made by an Irish Protestant newspaper, or by an Irish Protestant who had not joined the Roman Catholic side in politics. This was how the Liberal newspapers of Great Britain, which ought to have been, and would have been in the ordinary course of affairs, the most effective opponents of Sacerdotalism, were silenced and virtually lost to the cause of Protestantism for the last twenty-five years.

We then witnessed the curious spectacle of the Conservative newspapers, whose interests were bound up with the High Church Party, being forced to adopt a Protestant policy against the politics of Roman Sacerdotalism as practised in Ireland; while they continued bound by party ties, not only to the cause of Anglican Sacerdotalism but to the cause of Roman Sacerdotalism in England, as represented by the Duke of Norfolk and the Cardinals. The Irish priesthood were served up to

British Liberals in their daily papers as angels of light; and Roman Catholicism, by means of the Liberal Press, got many fresh advantages in Great Britain and the Empire. The Anglican High Church priesthood and the Roman priesthood in England were served up to English Conservatives as picturesque saints and martyrs who were saving England from scepticism and vice; and by means of the Tory papers Roman Catholicism made great advances in Great Britain.

Thus the Protestants found themselves almost without a real friend amongst the daily journals of both political parties—always allowing for exceptions, notably the impartial columns of *The Times*, which were never closed to any justifiable expression of Protestant opinion. But, as the Protestants had no supreme organisation whose sole business it was to attend to such things, an occasional protest, even when printed in the great newspaper whose price prevented it from circulating amongst the masses, except through the free libraries, did little to redress the balance as between the respective figures cut by Protestantism and Sacerdotalism in the Press.

The Protestantism of clerical Non-conformity was also weakened by the Liberal alliance with Jesuitry in Ireland, and by the desperate efforts which its leading preachers had to make in order to get into the columns of a Press over which the Sacerdotalists exercised the predominating influence. Nonconformist preachers, in order to keep themselves and their chapels before the public, were driven to adopt many theatrical devices which were enough to have made their Protestant predecessors turn in their graves. Extraordinary sermons, full of startling paradoxes and wild theories—and, worse still, full of pro-Roman flattery—were preached in the hope of winning for Nonconformity a small share of the notice of the Press.

ROMAN CATHOLIC EDUCATION ADAPTED TO MODERN JOURNALISM.

The result of this high tide of Sacerdotalism in the Press was that there were soon Jesuits, that is, Jesuit-educated men or Roman Catholics of one description or other, to be found on the permanent or casual literary staffs of almost every newspaper in Great Britain, not infrequently unknown to the proprietor, and occasionally unknown even to the editor. The class of education given by the Jesuits is peculiarly adapted to journalism; and, as the Jesuit Society sets the pace in education in the Roman Church, the Roman Catholics, as a whole, take more congenially to journalism than Protestants—except the High Churchmen, who object to being called Protestants.

There is no fallacy, I find, more prevalent amongst those who are not Roman Catholics than the fallacy that the Jesuits give their pupils a sound education calculated to produce men

of character; and it has been my invariable experience that those who think so draw their conclusion from the conversational ability of some Jesuit priest or layman into whose company they chanced to be thrown at home or abroad—preferably abroad.

This subject would require a treatise to itself. Let me say briefly here that shallowness and superficial brilliancy, coupled with a considerable degree of worldly adroitness, are the characteristics of the Jesuit-educated man; and by no means thoroughness, or profundity, or adherence to principle. Where the Jesuit layman makes a signal success, it will be found that it is by adaptability and absence of principle and by man-pleasing qualities.

Ignatius Loyola's Society, which is the proper name for Christians to give the Jesuits' organisation, has always aimed at dominating institutions for university education—the National University at Dublin, for instance; the Roman Catholic University at Washington, whose financial troubles were recently mentioned by some of the British newspapers while the Jesuit Press-sentinels slumbered; and the Roman Catholic mission at Oxford University, which the Society ultimately hopes to develop into a Roman Catholic University for England. The Society never did anything for the education of the common people, whose ignorance it has always held to be "the best safeguard of their faith"—to use the *dictum* of the Society itself. After the Reformation, intellectual culture of some form became necessary for the upper classes who had remained faithful to the Church; but Loyola's followers regarded it as a necessary evil—a dangerous commodity to be only dispensed by themselves in homoeopathic doses. Lord Macaulay has well said that the Jesuits "seem to have discovered the point up to which intellectual culture can be pushed without reaching intellectual emancipation."

Two orders of priests obtained special celebrity in the Roman Church as educationists. The famous Jansenists, in their innocence and sincerity, tried for some years to give a genuine education to Roman Catholics; the Jesuits preached a war of extermination against them; the Jansenist schools at Port Royal were closed up by order of the Pope, the buildings were razed to the ground, and the dead in the graveyard of the community torn from their graves. Since then the Jesuits have had it all their own way in the educationist department of the Roman Church.

They cultivate the pupil's showy faculties. In classical literature, which is their *forte*, they lay stress on eloquent passages in prose and poetry, not on the thoughts, but on the niceties of expression and rhetorical effect. "They give the mind occupations which absorb it," to quote a great specialist on education, "soothing it like a dream without awakening it. They give their pupils an embellished memory, not a reflective reason." They aim at producing, not men of character,

such as the Jansenists tried to produce, but superficially polished men, with a considerable amount of craft, and mentally dependent on the Church—their Jesuit education making them more subservient to the Church than if they were illiterate.

The Jesuit pupil "assimilates no real matter," but only "cultivates pure form." As the General of the Society once put it, and not very long ago, their colleges are "a gymnastic for the intellect." Their pupils produce literary fireworks, but add nothing to useful knowledge. The Society has always neglected scientific studies, except where it is temporarily forced by Protestant competition, and for a special object, to take them up—as in Ireland, where they have been in the habit of employing Protestants to coach their pupils in mathematics. And even in Ireland not a single pupil from their college got a scientific degree in the Royal University for the twenty years ended 1901.* They always neglected the study of history, one of their maxims being, "history is the destruction of him who studies it!"

They flatter their pupils, and the connection between the Society and its past pupils is kept up all through life, especially where the pupil has succeeded. They help on their pupils, and expect their pupils to help them in return. They dispose of more Government patronage in Ireland than any other individual or corporation, the great majority of Roman Catholics appointed to public office being their nominees. I have known several men who worked for the Jesuits on the Press and afterwards got lucrative public appointments.

The attention to literary form given by the Jesuits was not characteristic of Protestant educational establishments. They did not develop the showy faculties of their pupils. They gave an education more calculated to build up character; and in recent times they went in more and more for mathematics and science. Indeed it may be said that classics and literary composition were singularly neglected in recent years in the general run of Protestant schools. The result was that the average Protestant young man was not able to do any journalistic work. He went out into the world from school to do practical work of one kind or another. He became a reader of newspapers, but hardly ever a contributor. The only Protestants—I hope those I refer to will pardon the use of the obnoxious word—who were able to compete, as journalists, with the Jesuit-bred men were the High Church Anglicans. Thus the Protestant man of the world became a subject to be operated upon, as a newspaper reader, by a band of literary Sacerdotalists, who, though often Agnostics themselves, always wrote in favour of High Churchmanship and Romanism.

*Appendix to Report of Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland, 1902.

LARGE NUMBER OF ROMAN CATHOLIC JOURNALISTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The educated man who used to seek a living in journalism was usually one who had not persistence enough to master the details of a profession, or who, having got a profession, had not sufficient technical knowledge to succeed at it. There is a far larger percentage of such men amongst the Roman Catholics—and especially amongst the Irish, who constitute the great majority of British Roman Catholics—than amongst the Protestants.

Speaking somewhat unfeelingly of those young men, who are one of the by-products of Roman Catholicism in many lands, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick said: "I will say this in general, that nine-tenths of them are lost, and that they are going to swell the ranks of the *declasses*, without an education that is worth a button to them for any useful purpose."

It may be safely said that all of those young men are pupils of the Jesuits, or of the other orders of priests, monks, or brothers who follow the Jesuit lead in education. This large body of derelict young men, with a literary education and no definite aims, constitute one of the worst features in Irish Roman Catholic life. Numbers of them drift to England and get employment on the Press, so that, apart from the Jesuit journalists in editorial and sub-editorial positions, the number of Irish Roman Catholics amongst the rank and file of British newspaper literary staffs is large out of all proportion to the number of Roman Catholics in the country.

I cannot, as an Irishman, pass from this branch of the subject without alluding to the brilliant work done by so many of my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen in the Press here in Great Britain, on matters unconnected with religion. One only regrets that it is undone to so large an extent by the use which the Jesuits make of our Irish journalists when a religious issue is at stake, and when it would be so much better for the country if the Press opposed instead of supporting the Jesuits.

ROMAN CATHOLIC WORK IN FREE LIBRARIES AND EDUCATION COMMITTEES.

Just as the Board Schools and free popular education were the achievement of the Protestants against Sacerdotalism in Great Britain so the multiplication of free libraries is due entirely to the opponents of Sacerdotalism—a definition which does not exclude Mr. Carnegie. But the free libraries, as well as the Board Schools, have to a large extent been used

*Evidence given before the Royal Commission on University Education.

as an engine of warfare against their creators, and a medium for propagating Sacerdotalism amongst the masses who make use of them.

The librarians in the free municipal libraries are, as a rule, solely responsible for the purchase of books. They have a very difficult, fiduciary duty imposed upon them, owing to the ignorance of the members of the municipal committees which are supposed to control them. The Corporations and Urban District Councils rarely elect experienced or cultured men to the post of librarian. A man must have come to years of maturity before he can be a judge of books; but the librarian is oftener selected for his youth, like a clerk or a labourer, than for his experience. And he is elected frequently because he is a friend of the municipal "boss," and not because he is a cultured or scholarly man of wide reading. Some "nice, young man," who is a "B.A." or "M.A." in *partibus infidelium*, is thus pushed into an office where he is as well paid as a bank manager and has much less to do.

His controlling committee consists of town councillors and their friends, who never read anything but the morning paper. Each month he presents his committee with a list of new books which he proposes to purchase. He candidly admits—I speak from experience—that the list is almost entirely compiled from the reviews in the newspapers, or to be more accurate, from the reviews in his favourite papers. He knows nothing, and never will know anything of the interior contents of the books, except, perhaps, from the casual comments of readers more ignorant than himself. He thinks it his duty to buy books red-hot—the newer they are, the better he thinks them—except in the case of important books, especially biographies, which are published at a high price, and which he always waits for until he can get them secondhand.

The useless, ephemeral book gets into the free library hot from the press, on the strength of a friendly review in the literary columns of the librarian's favourite newspaper; but the important book, which it costs money to produce, has to wait or a long time before it gets inside the portals of the free library; and very often it never gets in, because the librarian, for whom his literary friends are ever providing new sensations in the "literary page," forgets all about it. Thus it comes about that tons of ephemeral trashy books are being purchased by men who never see or read them, at the cost of hundreds of thousands of pounds yearly to British, but especially to English, ratepayers.

It is the reviewers of books in the newspapers who are mainly responsible for the stocks in the public libraries; and the "literary page" in the daily papers is precisely the department in which the Jesuits and the High Churchmen do most of their work. There is a well-known case where a daily paper, which occasionally poses as a champion of Protest-

antism, employs a Roman Catholic as its literary editor. And this man is not a mere nominal Roman Catholic, but a friend and *protege* of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, who is put forward as their spokesman on State occasions and in public assemblies. The Protestants who read this particular paper for its occasional Protestant outbursts are being daily advised to buy sacerdotalist books, and especially books in favour of Romanism—not obviously religious books, for the Jesuit does very little of his work through such books, but ephemeral books of travel, novels, collections of essays, snippety histories, and so forth, which contain a word of praise for the Jesuits.

I have long amused myself, when I see a gaudy new book, which is apparently anything but religious, by turning to the index and finding the places where Roman Catholicism is dealt with, and discovering on the page indicated the inevitable tribute to Romanism. The class of Protestant author—he does not, of course, admit he is a Protestant, though he strenuously denies he is a Romanist who writes such books deliberately puts in his tribute to Romanism, often quite foreign to his context, apparently for the purpose of catching the Roman Catholic reviewer's eye.

Thus the Jesuits infect at its fountain-head the free library's source of supply. But, in addition to this, the Jesuits always have a man, either a priest or a layman, on the committee of almost every public library in Great Britain—in Ireland, of course, outside Belfast and its neighbourhood, the Jesuits encounter no opposition whatever in their control of public libraries. There is also a Jesuit man on every education committee, whose business it is to exclude books unfavourable to Romanism from the *c rricula* of the rate-supported schools.

The Jesuits' man occupies a very different position from his non-Romanist colleagues, Christian and Agnostic, on library and education committees. They, as a rule, know nothing of the list of new books which it is proposed to purchase; but the Jesuits' man comes provided with two lists, a black list, which includes every well-known book, ancient and modern, adverse to Romanism; and a white list of new books especially favourable to Romanism which he submits beforehand to the librarian, and eventually succeeds in getting placed in the library. This Jesuits' man may be a poor and ignorant layman, but, even then, he is formidable; for he is only a mask behind which stands the well-disciplined priest. The Jesuits have nothing else to do but to attend to such matters; their votaries expect nothing from them but the formalities of the altar; and, in any case, they set aside special men for this purpose. The Protestants have their business to attend to, their wives and families to support; their *personnel* is continually changing in a given locality; but the Jesuits never change, and this is the business of their celibate lives.

If any book on the Jesuits' black-list is, by some mischance, proposed for purchase by a member of committee, the Jesuits' man is up in arms on the instant, and denounces the book as bigoted and insulting to "Catholic" religious sentiment. He is backed by the High Churchmen on the committee, and so works on the feelings of the indifferent members, appealing always to the "English spirit of fair play," that the book is almost sure to be rejected. In such cases the most cultured and experienced librarian would be powerless, and his opinion, if tendered, set at naught.

In this way a public sympathy for Sacerdotalism is being worked up through the public libraries and schools; young people are being hypnotised, their Protestant common-sense is being drugged, and they are being prepared to fall a prey, first to Anglican Sacerdotalism and then to Romanism; and millions of young Britishers are to be found so ignorant of history that they see nothing in Protestantism but narrowness and bigotry.

The influence of Jesuitical reviewers on those individual buyers of books who have not a sound education or a cultured training to guide them, and their influence in turn on booksellers, are so obvious that it is not necessary to dwell on them.

The twofold result is that many Protestant authors are forced to speak favourably and kindly of Romanism and High Churchmanship in books which, under happier circumstances, would assuredly have been written to fortify the reader against the evils of Sacerdotalism; the publication of books containing friendly allusions to Protestant Christianity has almost ceased in England; and an immense stream of Sacerdotalist propagandism, open and covert—oftener covert than open—issues from the English printing-presses and floods the country.

THE ROMAN CATHOLICS AND OUR NEWS SUPPLY.

The net result of Jesuit work on the news department of the newspapers, as distinguished from the literary department, is that Protestant public opinion is inadequately, and often unfairly, reported; while Sacerdotalist opinion is magnified by long and embellished reports and sympathetic notices. That is the feeling about the Press which one hears expressed on all sides by Protestants. May I give one or two illustrations from my own recent experience? I could multiply instances, but, as I entertain no personal grievance against the Press. I have no object in doing so.

I always hear complaints of the newspapers when I travel through the country for the purpose of addressing meetings.

I am told by a local committee, for instance, at the beginning of a meeting, that the local newspaper has sent a Roman Catholic to report it; or that the editor or sub-editor of the local paper is a Roman Catholic; or that the committee have no expectations of getting a proper report; or that no reporter has been sent; or that, if the meeting should chance to be tolerably reported, long letters from the local priest, or Roman Catholic laymen coached by the priest, condemning or misrepresenting the meeting, are sure to be inserted, while replies from local Protestants are as sure to be suppressed.

A recent glaring instance of suppression is worth mentioning. I addressed a large meeting in the large Portland Hall, Portsmouth, last September. Floor and galleries were filled with a representative audience, and the meeting was characterised by enthusiasm and unanimity throughout, though there were several Romanists and High Churchmen present. It was such a meeting as High Churchmen, or even politicians, rarely get together, and an examination of the next day's local paper proved that it was a more important public gathering and expression of public opinion than any reported as having occurred in Portsmouth that day. Yet there was not even a record of the fact that it had taken place! Though I was astonished, especially when I heard who were the owners of the local paper, the local committee were not at all surprised. They told me that the leading Anglican clergy in Portsmouth are very sacerdotal, having a free hand to practise on the naval seamen; that there are a Roman Catholic cathedral and several churches in the city; and that the local newspaper is so committed to the Sacerdotalists that it had recently refused to insert even an advertisement of a Protestant meeting.

At Bournemouth, last October, I addressed two meetings, one of them at Prince's Hall being one of the best and largest afternoon meetings I ever saw. The local weekly paper gave the meetings a column; but, in its issue of the following week, it gave a column to a sermon by a local Jesuit, in which a violent and untruthful personal attack was made on myself, giving me good grounds of action against the newspaper. My friends asked me to reply, and I did so, contrary to my rule in such cases. But the reply was printed in small type in a back page, while the Jesuit attack had appeared on a good page in large type. And, in the issue containing my reply, there was proudly printed a public eulogium passed upon the paper by the Jesuit for its defence of "Catholicism!" This paper is, I am told, owned by Protestants—I mean people who are not Roman Catholics—and the Roman Catholics of Bournemouth, as everybody knows, are not one-twentieth of the population; but the Jesuits are firmly established there, and as usual they pay close attention to the Press.

One only regrets that such experiences should not be individual but general. Large gatherings, expressive of Protest-

ant opinion on questions of public interest, are held in the Queen's Hall and the Albert Hall from time to time, and never a word about them appears in a London paper; while Romanist gatherings and other Sacerdotalist meetings in the same places, and insignificant Sacerdotalist meetings elsewhere, and obscurantist utterances of Sacerdotalist bishops, priests and monks will be found reported at full length.

This is a most unhappy state of affairs for the nation; but it would be foolish to say that it implies a malicious conspiracy on the part of the owners and editors of our leading newspapers. It must rather be set down to the superior force of the rich Sacerdotalist organisation brought to bear on the Press, as compared with the divided and individual efforts of Protestants in the same direction. The Sacerdotalists have a professional vested interest to hold them together; the vested interests of individual Protestants are not in the sphere of religion.

The proprietor of a newspaper has a right to do what he likes with his own property, to work it in the way that brings himself the most profit. He and his editor cannot well help being influenced by historic titles in forming an estimate of news or of public opinion. Newspaper men have very little time for cogitation, and are always acting like men in an emergency. They must take what comes, and there is never any lack of sacerdotalist attractions.

But one cannot help saying that the owner and editor of an important newspaper occupy, to some extent, the position of public trustees, and it is repugnant to all the ideals with which I, for one, was brought up, to think of a newspaper as merely a money-making property. The newspaper proprietor has a right to make money; but one always hopes that, besides making money, he also performs a public service worthy, in some degree, of the lofty traditions of the British Press. The suppression of Protestant opinion in this Protestant nation—as at Portsmouth; the publication of unfair personal diatribes on Protestants—as at Bournemouth, represents a line of policy which is doing a dis-service to the public, and is bound to be deleterious to the character of the younger generation of Britons. One cannot believe, undoubtedly clever as the Jesuits may be, that it will long continue. While it lasts, it detracts seriously from the value of the Press as a national institution, because one knows that there is a great section of national thought and feeling which does not find expression in the Press's picture of the national life. It makes the loss all the greater when we consider that the section of national thought thus omitted has always been the determining factor for progress, the dominant power for good, in the history of Britain.

REVOLUTION IN THE CHARACTER AND OWNERSHIP OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

How long this state of things will last no man can tell. But, in any outlook for the future, we cannot ignore the revolutionary change which has taken place in the character and ownership of British newspapers within the last ten or twelve years—most notable in London, but extending into the provinces as well.

It is only twelve or fifteen years ago since each daily paper in London—and one might say all over the United Kingdom—was an independent entity working on lines of its own. The great London morning papers were like so many colleges, each staffed by men bound to each other by fellowship in a common cause. The same may be said of many great provincial dailies. Each had a style and policy of its own, each had its own following, and the friction between them brightened the wits of their readers and encouraged independent thought.

Outside the haven of Jesuitry and High Churchmanship which pervaded most of them, as I have described, there was associated with each of them a distinct teaching and elevating mission, social and political. Not only were they all doing *well*, by which I mean making money, but they were all doing *good* in different ways. Their method was to deal exhaustively with all important subjects, trying to be thorough above all things. The great speeches, the great law trials, the great parliamentary, political, social, religious, and municipal meetings of British citizens were fully reported and seriously dealt with, so that the reader had an opportunity of mastering details and getting at principles. Each newspaper, above all things, tried to stand for a principle, and life, on the whole, was taken seriously.

All that newspaper system is now changed. The old newspapers of twelve or fifteen years ago are almost all gone, especially in London. Some of the old names that remain have been forced to adopt strange methods, so that the old name has lost its meaning. A few that are trying to keep on the old lines are being very hard pressed by the new masters of the journalistic situation.

The beginning of this revolution is to be sought in the starting of a little paper called *Tit-Bits* in the early 'eighties. It consisted of a collection of short paragraphs, jokes, and miscellaneous information, with articles giving curious details about things that there was no special reason for considering at all, and avoiding politics, religion, municipal affairs, and every serious question as to which a difference of opinion could possibly exist.

Cultured and famous writers were not employed to write for it. But a life-insurance policy for £100 was offered to the next-of-kin of any holder of the paper who happened to be killed in a railway accident. The result was that the paper

THE JESUITS AND THE BRITISH PRESS.

had an immense sale at railway stations, and, as young people got to like the tit-bits, its sale grew in the newsvendors' shops as well. As its sale increased, large prizes were offered to the readers with the most satisfactory results to the proprietor.

Tit-Bits was not long in existence when a host of imitators sprang up, but most of them failed. Two, however, succeeded and surpassed their first parent in many ways—I mean, first, *Answers* and then *Pearson's Weekly*. The railway life insurance became £1000 instead of £100. The prizes became more and more colossal. The circulation leaped up to figures previously unheard of. The advertisements became enormously lucrative, and the proprietors of what business men used to speak of contemptuously as "little rags" became wealthier than the great brewers, ironmasters, shipbuilders, and cotton spinners. It was the popular education won, as I have described, by Protestants that gave them their reading public.

The great morning papers held severely aloof from this trade in tit-bits and puzzles, as they called it, looking down upon it, and thinking fondly that it in no way touched their loftier calling. How mistaken they were! But, then, who could possibly have divined, fifteen years ago, that the purveyors of tit-bits and puzzles would ever aim at capturing not merely the monthly magazine business, but also the great daily morning papers of London? Yet that is what has happened!

This is a topic which would require a dissertation. Let it suffice to say here that the revolution has not only begun, but has been accomplished in London. The old proprietors have gone and the new men own the old morning papers; or the old proprietors manage the old papers on new lines in hopes of competing with their new rivals.

"THE DAILY MAIL."

This revolution in British daily journalism—unprecedented not merely in the United Kingdom, but in the world—began with the establishment of *The Daily Mail*, whose founder, one of the most remarkable men England has produced during the transition period from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, is the creator and guiding spirit of the new journalism. He has brought his ambitious schemes to such a pinnacle of success in an incredibly short space of time that, in combination with his erstwhile rivals, he has created something in the nature of a Trust in British newspapers; and the number and variety of his publications, which he actually controls, is so great as almost to pass the bounds of credence.

It is well for Britain that he is a man of healthy mind and virtuous instincts, a gentleman in fact, one of a family of five brothers to whom, as a whole, the same description can be truthfully applied, and who have worked together to

build up their now colossal business—a business for which the history of humanity affords no parallel.

Many old-fashioned folks may resent the change in their daily papers, but how few of them can resist the temptation to read *The Daily Mail*, in which at a glance they can see what happened yesterday! The old system of long reports and exhaustive treatment may have gone, but we have much that is bright and worth the having in its stead. There is some Americanism, but the worse features of American journalism have assuredly not been borrowed. In *The Daily Mail* we can always find proof that something really did happen yesterday. The meanest of its readers is made to feel that he or she, merely by living, is an actor in a great drama—preferably a great human comedy. And since a comedy means not a farce but a drama of life with a happy ending, Christians must agree with this non-tragic presentation of life given in *The Daily Mail*, for we hold that life cannot and ought not to end in death and gloom, but should have a bright ending.

Women who never before read a newspaper will be found reading *The Daily Mail*. Grave men of business, who buy some other paper as an old friend not to be forgotten, have to buy *The Daily Mail* as a kind of index to their old friend.

I use the term *The Daily Mail* as a kind of generic title to cover a number of other papers started in imitation of it and now run on similar lines; but, in justice, I must add that it cannot be said of any of *The Daily Mail's* imitators, as it was said of the imitators of *Tit-Bits*, that they have outstripped their first parent. I must not pursue this topic, interesting as it is.

The question for Protestant Christians is:—Will the Jesuits, under the new *regime* in the journalistic world, continue to rule the roast in the interests of Sacerdotalism? Will the new men, with their keen intuition, their lightning grasp of a situation, continue long in the old tracks of the old newspapers which were so much under Puseyite influence? Or, when they have had time to settle down to their work, will they come out with a clear note of guidance in favour of that simplicity and sincerity in religion which has characterised Britons at every building-up period of their history—at the Reformation, during the Protectorate, at the Revolution, and during the great struggle with Napoleon? Much of the future history of this country will depend on how these new men who control the British Press—and especially that one man whose name I need not mention—will discharge the great trust, to which they have fought their way by their own abilities, it is true, but which has been assuredly imposed upon them as a trust from God.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF ROMAN CATHOLIC WORK IN THE PRESS.

Before I close, let me give three typical instances of how the Jesuits are working the new-daily papers in the interests of the Papacy. The first example is one of a shoal of bold advertisements appearing daily in different guises and designed to re-enliven the waning power of the Pope, increase public respect for him in the United Kingdom, and familiarise the public mind with Jesuitical interference in British affairs. The second illustrates at once how the Roman Church here tampers with news in the Press so as to preserve her social power in Great Britain and how she is using marriage for proselytising purposes. The third exemplifies positive misguidance of the public by the suppression of important news, so as to safeguard the political interests of the Papacy in Ireland.

1. The following is part of a report which appeared in December, 1909, as cabled news of the first importance, in the best page of a London morning paper claiming the largest circulation in the United Kingdom. It was set out in leaded type under the double headings "Pope and Bluejackets" and "British Sailors' Cheers in the Vatican":—

"Early this morning fifty-seven bluejackets of the flagship *Duncan*, which anchored at Naples last Thursday, arrived in Rome. They were conducted to the quarter called Santa Marta and were served with breakfast. They were afterwards shown the chief sights of the Vatican and the Basilica of St. Peter's, and were then received in audience by the Pope in the Clementine Hall. The Pontiff, attended by his majordomo and chamberlain, went round the whole circle, giving to each officer and sailor his hand to kiss, smiling benevolently and asking occasional questions, which were translated to those to whom he spoke. After this the Pope stood in the centre of the hall and delivered a short address, which was translated into English, and ended by imparting the Apostolic benediction to all present and to the religious objects they had brought to be blessed. Silver medals were afterwards presented to the sailors, who gave three cheers for the Pope."

This Jesuitical item of news suggests grave problems for consideration which cannot be dealt with here, such as the encouragement of sectarianism in the navy and the allowing of British seamen to be formally invested with decorations other than those bestowed by the King of Great Britain and Ireland. By no other means, except the daily Press, could the Jesuits ensure the circulation of such a valuable advertisement, magnifying what would, in the case of any other religious denomination, have been a trivial occurrence into a politico-religious event of the first importance.

2. Towards the end of 1909, a report of a sensational suicide appeared in the Press. A girl had been engaged to be mar-

ried for a number of years; but the clergy of the Church to which the man belonged would not marry the couple unless the girl became a member of their Church. She was willing to marry the man without any change of religion on his part, but he would not disobey his clergy; and, after years of anxiety, the girl decided that she ought not to desert her own Church, which was stated to be the Church of England. The engagement was broken off, and some months afterwards the girl committed suicide. In the report of this case in many largely circulated morning papers, while the religion of the girl was stated, the religion of the man was studiously suppressed, he, of course, being a Roman Catholic. This was a most friendly service done inside the newspaper office, so as to save the papal Church from the stigma of bigotry, if not of actual complicity in the suicide; for if the truth in such cases was published, it would soon prove an effective check to the power of the Jesuits in Britain.

3. I know a man who was engaged by a London morning paper to visit a certain district in Ireland, where a prolonged quarrel was proceeding between a landlord and his tenants, a dispute which attracted world-wide attention in the Press. The special correspondent was told to find out the reason of this quarrel for the information of the British public. He went to the scene of action; discovered that the landlord was a Roman Catholic, a poor man who had barely enough to support himself and his family; that his estate was heavily mortgaged, and that the principal mortgagees were the Roman Catholic hierarchy, in their capacity of trustees of a great theological college. It was the mortgagees who were forcing the landlord on to distraint, evict, and sell up the tenants, and they took the bulk of the money so gained! It would have been most essential to enlighten the British public on this subject, in view of a Land Purchase Bill which the Government were promoting at the time, for the Roman Catholic hierarchy were posing as the friends of the tenants and anathematising evicting landlords. But to do so would have been to strike a, perhaps, fatal blow to the political power of the Papacy in Ireland; and the article of the special correspondent, though *paid for liberally*, was never printed.

THE OUTLOOK.

Such is the work done by the Jesuits in the great secular newspapers of Britain—newspapers owned by men who are not Roman Catholics, and read by a public of whom fifteen-sixteenths are not Roman Catholics. It is an amazingly clever achievement, and is accomplished by the Roman Catholics on the staffs, many of whom pose as Agnostics, rather than by the proprietors themselves. And the fewer the newspaper owners become, and the more the newspaper business develops into a Trust, the greater will grow the danger of British news-

papers becoming, as it were, text-books for the misinformation of the public in the interests of the Papacy. Many of the daily papers now publish a column of religious gossip every week; and, in the most widely circulated papers, we find this column divided into three parts—headed respectively “Anglican,” “Nonconformist,” and “Roman Catholic.” This is a great advantage to the Jesuits, for, as all three are treated with much the same fulness, it puts Roman Catholicism on a par, as it were, with the Established Church and all Nonconformity; whereas the Roman Catholics are, in fact, one of the least numerous religious bodies in Great Britain, being far less numerous than any one of the leading Nonconformist bodies.

If this Romanisation of the Press continues, it is evident that one or other of two consequences must ensue:—

1. Either the Press will convert its millions of readers to Sacerdotalism, causing Great Britain to lose its place in the ranks of Protestant nations; and the Press itself will degenerate into a mere medium for the dissemination of advertisements and decadent sensationalism;

2. Or, there will be a great estrangement between the British public and the British Press, such as has occurred in connection with other once-powerful institutions; parents will educate their children, and school-teachers their pupils, against the Jesuitry of modern print; the British Press will fall from the high position it has so long held as a force making for the education of the public; and print will become as discredited in the twentieth century as it was respected in the nineteenth.

The Protestant instinct and common sense of Great Britain is, let us hope, too ingrained to permit of the final, or even long-continued, success of the Jesuit literary propaganda. To ensure the defeat of the Sacerdotalists, the public need only to be put on their guard against the Jesuit *modus operandi*. And the same Providence, which has brought this country through so many dangers, will in due time supply the means of effectively warning British citizens against the devices of the Jesuits in British print.

CONCLUSION.

Speaking for myself, I look forward with hope to the day when the system of suppressing Protestant news, which has so long prevailed, will cease. The policy of refusing to report Protestant meetings, while giving such prominence to the meetings of Romanists and High Churchmen; the policy of representing Romanists and High Churchmen as the most numerous and influential sections of British public opinion; the policy of refusing to insert letters from Protestants, while inserting those written by Sacerdotalists of all persuasions; the policy, in short, of doing the work of the Papacy in Britain, could only have one ending for the newspapers, if it were

to succeed ultimately and wholly. And that ending would be to make British newspapers as unremunerative a class of property as newspapers are in Roman Catholic lands.

The position of Christians in this matter must not be misunderstood. They do not yearn for advertisement. Their creed is based on too sure a foundation for that. They know that their Divine Founder and His Apostles got no advertisement in the literature of their day. We search the great authors of Christ's time in vain for any allusion to Him and His ministry. Nor do the Christians of the present day feel, as the Sacerdotalists do, that publicity is the breath of life to them. Christians have found the Way, the Truth, and the Life, of which they cannot be deprived.

They approach this question, therefore, rather from a national than from a Christian point of view. They indicate by their protest what they believe to be a national want, namely, the non-dissemination of Christian, as opposed to Sacerdotalist, news. It is not for their own sakes they move in this matter. They do not aspire to see their names written in the newspapers. They humbly rejoice in the assurance that “their names are written in heaven.” And finally they know that “all things work together for good to those who love God.”

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