this manner all the inventions of Europe might gradually take root in Japan, even without the creative spirit of a Peter, merely by the power and concurrence of circumstances. The Japanese certainly would not be in want of teachers if they would only invite them. I therefore believe that this just and upright people must by no means be provoked."

DONAT SAMPSON.

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THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN THE MEDIÆVAL GUILDS.

IT HAS been said by a keen, scholarly critic that the cheerful optimism of the American people often blinds them to social evils that day by day wax strong under the very eyes of statesmen and legislators, much to the danger of our national peace and security. That this contains at least a measure of truth was well proved on the occasion of our last national elections. Statistics of votes revealed to many an incredulous eye the startling fact that socialism, a sure sign of unrest and discontent, had suddenly, as if by magic, become a power in politics. A great many of our citizens blinked their eyes and caught their breath and for a while refused to be convinced. But facts are stubborn and will in the event displace sentiment and make room for a fairer play of reason. So at least it happened in the present case, and then forthwith "dire portent and prophecy" went abroad. Our conservative fathers shook their venerable heads in token of serious misgivings, whilst the young in their own thoughtless way wondered whither away the nation. And yet had these men taken more serious thought on our social conditions, no optimism, cheerful or otherwise, would have closed their eyes to the real state of affairs. Dense, widespread smoke argues an extensive fire. Frequent lawless disturbances bespeak deeper and more serious social ills. For years past there have swept over the country periodic waves of violence that was regardless of human life, defiant of law and authority and destructive of trade. For instance, in 1886 strikes and lockouts, violent and mild, totaled 9,861; thereafter they wavered like uncertain fever curves, until at last, in 1890, they jumped to the maximum again and seriously menaced public security. In many respects the aspect of still later days is a bit more gloomy. An able summary in a recent issue of the

Catholic Fortnightly Review[1] so presents the situation that even "he who runs may read:" "For two years and a half . . . deaths from violence incident to strikes were four-fifths as many as in the two days' fighting at El Caney and San Juan, while the injuries were actually one-third more numerous. There were in all 180 deaths, 1,651 injuries and 5,533 arrests. . . . A further analysis establishes the fact, which hardly needs statistical proof, that the deaths and injuries are chiefly inflicted on non-union men, while most of the arrests are of union strikers. Of the 180 killed 116 were non-union men, 51 union strikers and 13 officers. Of the 1,651 injured 1,366 were non-union men, 151 union strikers and 134 officers. On the other hand, of the 5,333 arrests 5,159, or nearly four-fifths, were of union men. These figures need no comment; they show that at times an evil leaven ferments to excess the susceptible spirit of our workmen. In critical moment, and perhaps in others, too, the trade unions betray a surly, socialistic temper that discredits them in the public mind and undoes much of the good work which they have so laboriously accomplished.

To law makers and economists this is no doubt annoying; to us it should prove interesting, in that it furnishes occasion for a study of other workmen, and especially of other unions which were so deeply permeated with a religious spirit that they proved an almost universal blessing to employer and employe, to Church and State alike. Such were the guilds of the much maligned Middle Ages, unions in name and fact, with a sublime mission for good to craftsmen and tradesmen of all ages and conditions.

When these societies first came into vogue it is hard to say. Tertullian is witness for the fact that some such unions had place amongst the early Christians. Two centuries later frequent and clear reference is made to a society of goldsmiths, and thereafter there is no obscurity. Dagobert I. in the seventh century issued an edict that concerned a bakers' guild; the first holy Roman Empire boasted its corporations of artisans; the annals of Ravenna witness a fisherman's union as early as 943 A. D., which brings us to the beginning of the period with which our remarks are chiefly concerned.[2] In final aim, not, however, in method, these guilds were much the same as our modern union; in structure they differed, in that they included not only the employes, but also the employers. The one and the other lived together under approved rules which, though severe in their Christian simplicity, were insisted on with an exactness that is little short of marvelous. This will surprise us the more when we consider that the observance of

[1] Summarizing from the *Outlook*.

[2] German craft guilds belong to a somewhat later period.

these regulations called for the practice of an exalted virtue that is almost unknown to-day, even amongst our most upright American workers. Mediæval craft and tradesmen evidently grasped to the full the significance of these words of one of their favorite manuals: "Let us," it reads, "work according to God's laws, else shall our labor be without blessing and bring evil on our souls. Men should work for the honor of God. . . . He who, acting otherwise, seeks only pecuniary recompense of his work, does ill and his labors are but usury."[3] Or, again, as it is written elsewhere: "The master must take the apprentice to church and with zeal bring him up in honesty and the fear of God. . . . He (the apprentice) must, morning and evening, during his work, beg God's help and protection, for without God he can do nothing. . . . Every Sunday and holyday he must hear mass and a sermon and read good books. He must be industrious and seek not his own glory, but God's."[4] Herein was the secret of the guild's power. The sweet spirit of Christ was abroad on the earth, all pervading and deep enough to leaven the hearts of the crudest toiler. Cooks and butchers, brewers and fruit venders, tailors, masons, painters and shoemakers, bakers, dyers, barbers and carpenters, everybody who earned his bread in the sweat of his brow had learned the true lesson of life and was anxious to enroll himself in a guild which would see to it that his stay on earth was sweetened as best it might by virtue and prosperity.

There was no neglect, no inactivity. Over each guild there presided a warden or syndic whose constant care it was to preserve the honor and dignity of his society. Elected by his fellows or appointed as might be by a King or feudal lord, he felt the importance and responsibility of his position. As a consequence, his eye was ever alert for abuses which, as we shall see, were met with most drastic remedies. Day after day he made his tour of inspection to see that no rule, however slight, was disregarded.

But the guild's care of the virtue and fair name of its members did not begin with this precaution. For from the beginning it exercised a most careful vigilance over all candidates. The very first conditions for admission were legitimate birth and a spotless reputation. He who lacked unimpeachable testimony on these scores applied in vain for enrollment. These assured, the young man after due instruction in his duties and obligations, was led to a church or shrine by two sponsors, and there before an altar or favorite statue most solemnly assumed the obligations of his state. Then forthwith, while the

[3] Janssen, Vol. II., p. 9.
[4] Janssen, Vol. II., p. 20.

spell of religion was still fresh upon him, he was inducted with much ceremony into the presence of the Mayor or other official and in turn taken to the house of his master. Here, at one period at least, he found an honorable place amongst the children of the household. This was no mere "boarding out system." Under pain of most severe penalties the master was obliged to look sharp to the spiritual and bodily welfare of his charge. He was to maintain him in comfort and upbring him in the fear of God and love of work. And woe to him were he caught overtaxing the boy's strength or prolonging his hours of labor or setting him a task that prevented his attendance at Mass on days of obligation. As a consequence of all these precautions the master usually proved a sincere, tender foster-father. In accordance with his rule he was watchful of the boy's morals, shielding him by quaint means from love of prowling by night and gambling and excessive drink. Moreover, in his own conduct the master was scrupulously careful to set an example of purity and uprightness that was sure to have effect upon a susceptible heart. He had before his mind this ennobling thought contained in one of the rules of the stone-cutters' guild: "If, according to the Christian dispensation, all are bound to seek the salvation of their souls, how much more so are those masters and workers whom God has graciously endowed with talents. . . . If they possess Christian hearts, they should be filled with gratitude and work for the glory of God and the salvation of their own souls."[5] Now this was not hollow cant. It was at once a rule of life and an expression of an almost universal conviction which saw fulfillment in daily work. These men of the days of faith were wise with the wisdom of their Father and gave force to their wisdom in the rules of the guilds. In keeping with their precepts they observed faithfully and joyfully fast and feast. Moreover, no consideration of profit or desire of pleasing dissenting neighbors was taken as a justification for "open shop" on a forbidden day. Indeed, in many guilds so strict were the rules about religious duty that play at dice or cards on the eve of those feasts, which were celebrated with special pomp and ceremony, was forbidden under pain of a year's suspension. Games, it was argued, meant late hours and late hours were apt to induce neglect of a sacred duty on the morrow. The consequence of all this can easily be inferred. There were few complaints about empty pews, skipping of sermons and prolonged absence from confession. The guildsman's rules obviated these modern difficulties. No mere whim could keep him from Mass or confession or monthly attendance at the special service in the guild church or chapel. All these

[5] Janssen, Vol. II., p. 10.

were of precept, and that was sufficient for him. Perhaps the guildsman's religious enthusiasm, so simple and spontaneous ever in those phlegmatic by nature, found its fullest expression on the patronal feast of his society. At an early hour he was at the guild house, where he met his happy, cheery companions who had gathered together from all sides. When all was in readiness off they went to the church, column after column in grand array, catching inspiration from brilliant banners, emblazoned with pictures of their patron saints, who had been chosen for this office because they had sanctified themselves at their trades or crafts and would in turn guide their client guildmen in the way of light and truth. In the church all assisted at a Solemn Mass, and while they were thus engaged within, the poor without were enjoying a substantial dinner at the guild's expense. But perchance this may smack of sentiment. Some skeptic may ask for stronger proof of the religious spirit of these guilds.

If his standard of judgment be: "By their fruits ye shall know them," he will find strong argument in a still broader charity that always characterized these unions. Amongst themselves the members were as brothers, soul knit to soul. A master guildman's home was the whole world. Wherever he went he was welcomed with open arms and a warm heart. Differences of race and language did not interfere with the exercise of tender charity; the traveler was welcomed to the hearth of his fellows, to be cheered by the same joy and peace that obtained at his home in a far distant land. Nor was this fine sense of fellowship reserved for members alone. The needy of every age and condition felt its spell. The saddened lives of widows and orphans were brightened by it. Dowerless maidens had reason to be thankful for it. It reached out to slaves in far-away lands and broke the gyves that fettered body and soul.[6] It found expression in the establishment of schools for the conversion of pagans and infidels. In France, Spain, England, Germany and Italy it erected and adorned churches and built and maintained hospitals. We read in an ancient chronicle, for example, that at one time France was dotted with exquisite shrines wrought of gold and silver, the generous gift of the guilds. Gothic cathedrals, too, and storied stained-glass windows and delicate screens and marvelous bronze gates all tell the same story of whole-souled charity. But no doubt the sweetness and tenderness of the guild's charity is shown to the best advantage by their care

[6] Digby, in "Ages of Faith," Vol. I., bk. 2, p. 212, records that in the year 1830 it was stated in London that the ironmongers' fraternity were then in possession of £104,000, and of £3,000 per annum, accumulated in their hands from ancient donations which had been destined for the redemption of Christian slaves on the Barbary coast.

of the sick. Almost every union maintained its own hospital, where the suffering members of Christ's body were nursed with a tenderness and consideration that appealed to every heart. Luther, for instance, during his visit to Rome bore glowing testimony to the perfection of the Italian hospitals, a fact which is the more surprising in view of the circumstance that for years his own land was justly famous for its guild infirmaries and hospitals.[7]

The guilds' consideration for the minor comforts of the poor is well illustrated by the fact that in many places, especially in Germany, they spent large sums of money in the erection of bath houses, which were open to the use of all. Sometimes, it is true, a small fee was exacted for the bath. This, however, was quite exceptional, and in those places in which the custom was in vogue many of the unions had a special fund for bath money, on which every apprentice might draw as he willed. Moreover, guildmen not infrequently left legacies for the foundation of bath houses, wherein wine and biscuit were distributed to the poor after the bath. And we read—how strange it sounds!—that in one city every poor person who bathed on Saturday received a small sum of money, perhaps by way of reward and encouragement. Janssen in his history of the German guilds tells us that at least once a year the guildmen of a certain town were accustomed to don white robes and march to the bath houses to the music of the fife and drum.[8] This may move a smile; and indeed at first blush it is suggestive of an unseemly prank of college boys whose inflammable enthusiasms have been fired in some mysterious way by an athletic victory over an old rival. However, quaint though this may be, it might teach a salutary lesson sadly needed in our day, when, according to the statement of a trustworthy journal, seventy-five per cent. of the public school children of one of our large Eastern cities are unwashed and fifty per cent. pediculous. All this care of the guilds about bathing does not surprise us when we understand that they considered cleanliness of body an aid to virtue. "Possess your souls in strength and purity, no less preserve your bodies strong and pure; thereto use what precautions your leisure will permit, also bathing and the like. . . . And they must use the money (bath money) well, for every laborer, whatever be his age, must keep himself clean in body, which cleanliness also ministers to the soul's good."[9] So runs the instruction to the mediæval workmen. What has been said so far, no doubt, points to a very high standard of virtue amongst the older tradesmen and craftsmen.

[7] Pastor, Vol. V., p. 65.
[8] This custom was most probably intended to furnish amusement.
[9] Janssen, Vol. II., pp. 33, 34.

However, there is yet to be considered another virtue which puts their character beyond the reach of imputation—their probity. This is in so striking a constrast with the chicanery and trickery of modern times that a few words on the subject may prove interesting and instructive. From the very beginning of their career no effort was spared to impress craftsmen and tradesmen with the dignity and beauty of honesty. The craft apprentice on his induction into the ranks of the journeymen solemnly pledged his honor before God to do sound honest work, and even apart from moral considerations he realized that it was to his advantage to bend every effort to the fulfillment of his vow. For he knew full well that the acquisition of the mastership depended on the execution of work which should be adjudged masterly by the best critics of the craft. Moreover, his shop and his work was subject at all times to the inspection of the guild wardens and municipal officers, who destroyed with unsparing hand everything that betokened careless or dishonest workmanship. Punishments for fraud were most severe; there were fines and expulsions and immersions in muddy pools.[10] Tradesmen, too, were kept rigorously in the narrow path. Nowadays adulteration of goods causes no surprise. It seems to be the rule rather than the exception. The wine of the rich, the food of the poor, the most necessary medicines are all subject to it. In other times this would have been a most perilous venture, for a merchant who was caught in this fraud was frequently treated as a robber and put to death.[11]

There yet remains for brief consideration two important fields in which the guilds exerted a vast influence for good, either directly or indirectly. It may seem strange to us to hear that simple, busy work-a-day men were strongly instrumental in building up the religious art and literature of the Middle Ages. But truth is often stranger than fiction. These guilds and societies that grew up within them or beside them were responsible for a vast deal of the art and literature that to-day is the marvel of travelers and students.

As we have seen, each society possessed its own church or chapel, a special object of care and veneration on the part of the members. Each guild vied with other to make its church the most beautiful in the land. Skilful guildmen threw their whole souls into the fashioning of stately façades or chaste marble altars or delicately carved screens or ivory crucifixes or jeweled vestments for their own beloved church. The best artists of the period were employed

[10] In connection with penalties, it is interesting and consoling to note that the guilds had systematic punishments for breaches against purity. Indeed, so high was their regard for the angelic virtue that even indelicate remarks were punished by fines.

[11] Parsons, "Studies in Church History," Vol. VI., p. 543.

to decorate. In Italy, for instance, Bellini and Carpaccio and del Sarto lent their brushes to the cause, with the result that to-day many a museum of Europe is embellished with soul-inspiring works of art that originally adorned guild churches and chapels.

Of the guilds' influence in creating an ennobling literature much might be written. Long before the dawn of the Middle Ages they began to give encouragement to literary effort. Later in the days of William the Conqueror a yearly prize was offered for the best poem in honor of the Blessed Virgin. At first these literary efforts were purely lyrical; but gradually the writers caught inspiration from the beautifully dramatic ritual of the Church, with the result that their productions soon took on the character of dramas, which as early as the thirteenth century were presented with all the dignity and gorgeousness that devotion, talent and money could provide. It is wonderful how important a part these dramas came to play in the lives of the people. So popular did they become that the best litterateurs of the day bent their strongest efforts to produce a worthy miracle or mystery or morality play. The subjects for the play were drawn from the dogmas of the Church or the lives of the saints. In the beginning the plays were given in the church, but as they grew more elaborate they were removed to the open, where they were carried out on a scale of magnificence which is almost beyond belief. Renowned artists, for instance, Brunellisco, worked laboriously day in and day out to paint fitting scenery. There were marvelous light effects, too, and strange mechanism which puzzle a modern reader and tell of an ingenuity that is striking. The day chosen for the play was generally the feast day of the guild. On that day it was never gloomy by nature; such was reserved for days of penance. The festal Mass and banquet over, a merry throng gathered for the drama, which for tenderness of feeling and dignity of sentiment could hardly be surpassed. Its effects can readily be estimated by those who have seen or read "Every-Man."

In very truth these plays served the true purpose of the drama in arousing the better passion, a purpose which even the most cultured frequenters of our modern theatre would scarcely think of attaching to any plays had they not perchance read in their books of rhetoric that such is the legitimate end of the stage.

These are some of the many ways in which the Christian spirit of the guilds found picturesque expression in the lives of the people, and though the unions themselves were long since swept away by a destructive tide of neo-paganism, yet the memory of them is preserved in sweet odor. Christ's spirit towards toilers was especially deep in their souls, a temper of which our country has sore need. For protest as we may to the contrary, the condition of our work-

men is far from satisfactory. The merry song that of yore was wont to accompany the click of the tools has given way to hoarse murmurs of discontent. Wrongs are numerous and serious and call for more consideration than that shown by a shrug of the shoulders and a smart remark to the effect that the world is simply listening to the story of Dives and Lazarus once again. For be it remembered that Dives is no longer Dives and Lazarus is no longer Lazarus. The former, perchance, is as well groomed, polished, sensual, inconsiderate as ever. But over and above all this his power and the evil effects thereof are greater than ever before. And Lazarus, has he not changed? Sore afflicted he is, as from the beginning; but at this hour he lies at no man's gate, not even at his sovereign's. He no longer abides his trials in patience; Job has ceased to be his patron. He feels the power that lies in organization, and is quickly availing himself of it. The ballot is in his hand; and in its use he is largely directed by leaders who are stern fanatics in the light and wily designers under cover, men who respect no religion nor man nor God. In countries once more set in traditions and form of government than ours they have long since swung "the hewers of wood and drawers of water" into serried ranks, with the ballot as a weapon. France and Italy can tell what they accomplished, and if "Anglo-Saxon" pride persists in scorning "inferior races," what say we of their progress in Germany, Teutonic almost to the core? Scorn that, too?

It were better not to stultify ourselves. A problem presses for solution. "Frenzied finance" on the one hand and deep unrest and dissatisfaction and a grim determination to right wrongs on the other are facts that must be met. To this end two ways have been proposed; the one, the way of the head, *knowledge;* the other, the way of the head and the heart, *knowledge and religion.* As far back as 1890 Professor Marshall told a distinguished English audience that more knowledge was needed to escape on the one side the cruelty and waste of irresponsible competition and the licentious use of wealth, and the tyranny and spiritual death of an iron-bound socialism on the other. Since then day by day knowledge has grown apace. Political economy in all its branches has been reduced to quite an exact science. So great, too, has been its prominence and so minute its details that every year a comparatively new literature owes to it its origin. Newspaper and magazine and pamphlet and novel and pulpit and stage and university hall and public platform and drawing room and street corner have discussed it with the lofty air of superlative knowledge. It is on the lips of all, as well the aristocrat as the man in the street. Ways and means of relief are proposed and tried, appropriations made,

commissions appointed. Even fine ladies have taken up sociology and gone a-slumming. There are mothers' meetings and maidens' meetings, in which some grand dame, whose frequent and prolonged absence from home has reduced her acquaintance with her own children to a mere bowing formality, tells how a family should be upbrought, how many children can be supported on a slender stipend, how best to ventilate the house, how that babies sleep best lying on their stomachs, etc., etc. And yet what is the outcome of all, relief for the workman? Not a whit. Trials are still manifold and insistent. Mere knowledge cannot of its nature cure social ills. Political economy, ethical though it be and strong on its foundation in the natural law, lacks to a vast extent the higher saving spirit of Christ, the one thing necessary above all others. For when passions run high they are apt by the very force of impact to wreck the barrier of the mere natural law. Then revealed religion alone can stem the tide, not bare, cold political economy, which well merits Cardinal Manning's caustic description of "a dismal science of supply and demand, wage funds and labor markets." Knowledge has failed of this mission and will continue to fail until religion goes hand in hand with it, as was its wont.

Years ago a dear "white shepherd of Christendom"—God bless his name—realized this to the full and wrote it large in his encyclical on "The Condition of Labor." And he above all men knew whereof he spoke. For many a long weary year, instinct with the spirit of Christ, he had stood alone on the watch tower of his Master's vineyard, with ear attuned to every moan of despair and wail of distress that came up from hillside and valley below. Secluded from the world he yet felt its pulse, and wisely and tenderly did he prescribe for its ills, pleading with employer and employe alike to seek relief from their troubles by the second method, the way of the head and the heart through knowledge and religion. He would have all put on the spirit of Christ as the sovereign remedy of their ills. Then he would call back from the storied ages the old guilds and gather his reborn children into them, where they would be nourished with the bread of justice, the milk of kindness and the honey of charity. To each and every class he would hold up a patron who could guide, inspire and console. For servant maids there would be the meek, toilsome Zita, for farmers the holy Isidore, for goldsmiths Eligius or Eloy, for shoemakers Crispin, for millers Paulinus, for carpenters the just St. Joseph, model of all workmen—for each class a patron saint from the calendar of the one Church which alone inspires men of all stations and occupations to sanctify themselves by their daily duties.

This is all very fine and beautiful, perchance, yet how impractica-

ble and even Utopian! Not so. Leo's words were not in vain. Belgium heard them and profited by them; so, too, in great measure did his own beloved Italy and Spain and France, though in a much less degree. And has not our own America begun to move slowly in the right direction? There is hope of better days, for if, as sages say, "the past is never dead, but is invisibly working itself out in the present," may we not trust that God in His own good time will bring all to a happy event? Be this our solace, as we wait in patience for the Master of life to raise up amongst us men of strong, clear heads and brave, clear hearts, apostles to the poor, who, scorning prejudice of caste and education, will strive with all the forces of will and intellect to bring about at least a partial return to the better spirit of the ancient guilds.

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THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CALIFORNIA MISSIONS.

THE fate of the Christian Indians in the present State of California deserves serious consideration as a record of the practical results of political dogmatism and reckless experimenting with the social conditions of a population by rulers of another race. The secularization of the missions there was based on motives very like those proclaimed by modern politicians in the Philippines. It was put forward as a measure to lead the native converts to a higher civilization than that which they had already received from instructors acting on the motives of religion and using them to win their pupils from a savage life. In words the policy of Governors Echeandia and Figueroa can hardly be distinguished from that of Governor Taft or Wright in another part of the world as proclaimed to-day. In California the policy was carried out, however, in fact, and its results can be readily traced. How far the latter were due to lack of ability or honesty in the officials who carried out the policy and how far to its intrinsic defects can be practically ascertained from history. Most of the official documents connected with secularization have been preserved by H. H. Bancroft in his history and library. They do not reveal a lower moral standard among the Mexican officials than the daily press to-day tells of our own average politicians. Whether the promises of the latter are more likely to be fulfilled may best