THE FINEST ROOM IN THE COLONY

The Library of John Thomas Mullock

EDITED BY ÁGNES JUHÁSZ-ORMSBY
AND NANCY EARLE

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Preface

The title of this catalogue comes from the travel memoir *Lost amid the Fogs: Sketches of Life in Newfoundland, England's Ancient Colony*, written by Lieutenant Colonel R. B. McCrea of the Royal Artillery and published in London in 1869. In the concluding chapter of this book, McCrea records meeting the Roman Catholic bishop of St. John's, John Thomas Mullock, and visiting "his noble library, the finest room in the colony." As Mullock died the same year as McCrea's book appeared, this brief mention helps us to imagine the Episcopal Library, and the precious book collection it contained, at the height of what its founder imagined it to be. Today the site of the Basilica Museum, the library still possesses most of Mullock's original collection, along with the more recent additions that together make up the Episcopal Library collection. Visitors can view these books as well as other artefacts from the Episcopal collections displayed in a program of permanent and temporary exhibitions.

Few personal or public libraries from the mid-nineteenth century are known to survive in Canada in their original settings today; only a small percentage of these libraries are in the Atlantic region; and none but the Mullock collection exists in Newfoundland and Labrador. We hope that this book, which explores the history and some of the highlights of the Mullock collection, will inspire others to take an interest in this fascinating resource. An invaluable part of our heritage, this previously dormant collection deserves again to hold a place in our common culture.

After decades of disuse, the library was enlivened by a group of students at Memorial University who started to leaf through the books once again. Under William Barker's direction, John Gushue produced a short-title list of the Mullock collection in 1988. Two decades later, Gushue's work was revived and continued by another group of students from the Department of English with the help of Memorial University's MUCEP and SWASP funding programs. Over the years they compiled a complete list of the Mullock and the Episcopal Library collections. We would like to thank Nicole Boggan, Seamus Dwyer, Melanie Hurley, Sarah Milmine, Matthew Pike, and Amy-Ann Smith for their dedicated work which made this catalogue possible in the first place. We are also indebted to Hélène Cazes, Carrie Dyck, Linda Quirk, and Patrick Warner, for their initial encouragement, and for providing models for our project, as well as to Paul Whittle, Robert Ormsby, and Elizabeth Ormsby, for their patient and continual support as we completed the catalogue. We are extremely grateful to the contributors of this volume, who enthusiastically responded to our invitation and most generously offered their expert knowledge across the variety of fields covered by Mullock's diverse books. They formed an inspiring community of scholars who filled the Episcopal Library with new life.

This catalogue is the result of the collaboration of a number of partners. We are grateful to the Department of English, particularly Jennifer Lokash, Lisa Dawe,

and Tina Power, for providing much-needed administrative support, and to Memorial University Libraries for taking on the task of publishing the catalogue. The idea was first embraced by Lorraine Busby and was later carried on by Louise White, both of whose assistance we greatly appreciate. A number of people offered their expertise to facilitate the publishing process: Graham Blair, Chris Hammond, Kristine Power, and Joan Ritcey. We were especially fortunate to have Iona Bulgin as part of our editorial team; she went far beyond what a copy editor's duties entail. At the Basilica Museum we were aided by Anne Walsh and Rene Estrada, who were always ready and eager to help. We benefitted immensely from the help of Larry Dohey and J. B. Darcy, CFC, two committed unofficial guardians of the Mullock collection and the Episcopal Library. They liberally shared with us their knowledge of the collection and the history of the library.

Our catalogue would not have happened without the generous financial support of Memorial University's Public Engagement Accelerator Fund and the Vice President Academic's Fund for the Scholarship in the Arts. For the latter, we owe special thanks to Kim Ian Parker, the Department of Religious Studies, and the Office of the Dean of Arts.

Finally, we would like to thank the Most Reverend Martin W. Currie, D.D., archbishop of St. John's, who not only granted permission to reproduce images from the collection but, following his predecessor Bishop Mullock's vision, also graciously opened up the Episcopal Library to us and to future generations of readers.

Ágnes Juhász-Ormsby and Nancy Earle
St. John's, March 2016

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PART I

Introduction

The Life of John T. Mullock

NANCY EARLE

A profound and practical thinker, John Thomas Mullock (1807–69) was a man of exceptional ability, strong allegiances, and far-reaching vision. The successor of Michael Anthony Fleming as Roman Catholic bishop of Newfoundland, the Right Rev. Dr. Mullock arrived in St. John's in the spring of 1848. Over the next 21 years, he made many contributions to the growing colony. He completed and ornamented the cathedral (since 1955, the Basilica of St. John the Baptist) begun by Fleming, as well as established an orphanage, a college, and numerous churches, convents, and schools. He advocated for better roads, for steamship communication, and for the as-yet-unimagined Atlantic telegraph cable. He capably exerted his influence on governing bodies from the nascent Catholic Board of Education to the Newfoundland government, and worked effectively within the church hierarchy. As an author and translator, he enriched European and North American readerships with his scholarship on religious and secular subjects.

Among his many legacies, Mullock's library stands as testament to his life and learning. As various and rich as the interests of the man himself, this personal collection was donated by the bishop as the library for St. Bonaventure's College (est. 1857) and was intended, by him, for use as a public library. Through this collection, we can trace the life of a man who was both a citizen of the world and a tireless proponent of his adopted home.

EARLY LIFE, EDUCATION, AND ORDINATION

John Thomas Mullock was born on September 27, 1807, in Limerick, Ireland, to Thomas Mullock (1781–1858), a woodcarver and furniture maker, and Mary Teresa Hare (d. 1841). The Mullocks appear to have been nurturing and pious parents who encouraged a love of religion, learning, and music in their children. The eldest of thirteen[1] and a gifted student, John Thomas spent his childhood and early adolescence in Limerick, studying classics at a local academy and taking private lessons in French.

Mullock's youth coincided with the last years of the penal laws, legislation that had been passed against Roman Catholics in Britain and Ireland in the 1690s. In addition to curtailing Catholics' civil rights (Mullock's own ancestors were said to have lost possession of their land), the laws placed strictures on Catholic public worship as well as the training and ordination of priests. Although the penal laws affecting the clergy had been greatly relaxed through the eighteenth century, their effect on religious orders, such as the Franciscans, had been significant. These orders had survived due in a large part to the network of Irish colleges that had been established across continental Europe over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries following the Reformation. When Mullock displayed signs of a religious vocation, therefore, his spiritual advisor, a Franciscan father, proposed finding him a place at a college in Rome. It is possible that Mullock's father at first was reluctant to send his

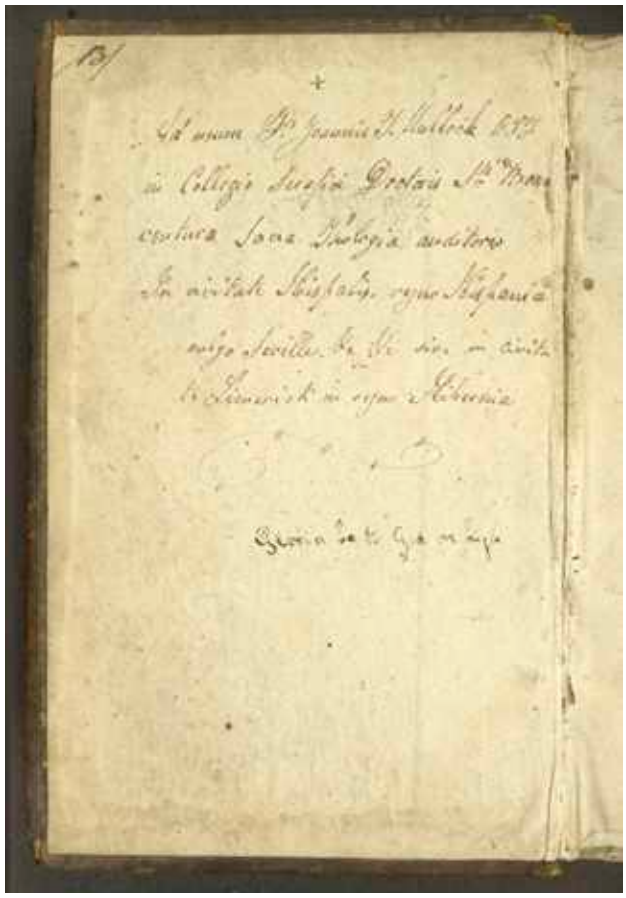


Figure 1.1. The Latin inscription in *Cornelii Schrevelii lexicon manuale Graeco-Latinum et Latino-Graecum* (Edinburgh, 1818) begins, "For the use of Friar John T. Mullock, O.S.F., a student in Sacred Theology at the College of St. Bonaventure in the town of Hispalis, commonly known as Seville, in the Kingdom of Spain."

Figure 1.2. Title page of Joannis Sylveira, *Commentariorum in Textum Evangelicum*, vol. 2 (Lyon, 1698), showing an inscription to Mullock from a Dr. [Patrick] Sharkey.

young son away; for whatever reason, Mullock did not go immediately to Rome. Instead, on June 13, 1823, at the age of sixteen, he boarded a Portuguese ship destined for Spain.

In Spain Mullock joined a Franciscan convent near Seville to study philosophy and theology. In his *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland, Volume Two*, M. F. Howley (1843–1914) identifies this convent as El Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Loreto del Partido de San Lucar La Major; other evidence, including his book collection, indicates that Mullock completed his studies at the College of St. Bonaventure[2] (Figure 1.1). On December 7, 1825, Mullock received the habit of the order of St. Francis. From there, according to Howley, he spent a year as a novice at the convent of Xeres in the province of Cadiz and was professed—made his primary or simple vows—on December 21, 1826. For the next two years, Mullock continued his studies in philosophy and theology, becoming a sub-deacon in 1828.

Mullock's six years in Spain were happy and fruitful ones. Soon fluent in the language, he became a lifelong admirer of the Spanish people, culture, and literature. His book collection today retains numerous volumes from his student days, including student editions of the New Testament and a Greek-Latin lexicon, as well as over a dozen volumes of Spanish religious and literary works. Inscriptions in the books suggest that the network of Irish colleges in Spain sustained a closely knit community of scholars (Figure 1.2).

Years later, during his bishopric in Newfoundland, Mullock demonstrated his continued appreciation for the Spanish. In 1860, a report of boys throwing rocks at Spanish sailors provoked an angry admonition from the bishop on the youths' "ingratitude": "In the dark days of Ireland's sorrow," he wrote in a letter published in a local newspaper, "Catholic Spain was the refuge, the home of the persecuted Irish. The Spanish Colleges and Convents were open to every Irish student, and to the liberality of Spain, Ireland owes in a great measure the preservation of her Church and, consequently, Newfoundlanders, their religion. I myself should be the most ungrateful of men, if I could forget that noble people among whom

a portion of my youth was spent, and my ecclesiastical studies prosecuted."[3]

In June 1829, Mullock left Seville for the Irish Franciscan College of St. Isidore's in Rome, where he completed his studies in theology. Founded in 1622, St. Isidore's was—and remains today—a premier institution of the Franciscan order. It was one of a minority of colleges to have had a more or less uninterrupted existence through the Napoleonic period, and it played an important role in the global Catholic church through the nineteenth century. With its venerable library and vibrant community, St. Isidore's was undoubtedly inspiring for Mullock, who perfected his Italian and French as he worked toward his ordination.

The art and architecture of Rome also profoundly impressed the young novice. It was during these years that Mullock first met the Irish artist John Hogan (1800–1858), at whose studio he and other Irish students were frequent visitors. Mullock was also awed by the architectural heritage of Rome, from the classical antiquities to the Vatican (Figure 1.3). As he recalled in a 1860 lecture, "The dreams of my boyhood were realized by the sight of the imperishable monuments of ancient pagan Rome, and by the glorious edifices and institutions of the Christian Capital of the World." Particularly moving were the catacombs used by the early Christians: "How many hours have I spent in my youthful days in the Catacomb of St. Sebastian, musing among the hollow niches, and the sepulchres of the martyrs, or in the humble recess which served as a Cathedral, and comparing that with the dome of St Peter's and the splendours of the Vatican! I merely speak of the impressions these scenes made upon my own mind.... [O]n me they always had the effect of exciting the most lively emotions of faith, and a most ardent desire ... of labouring until death for the glory of the Church whose humble child I was."[4]

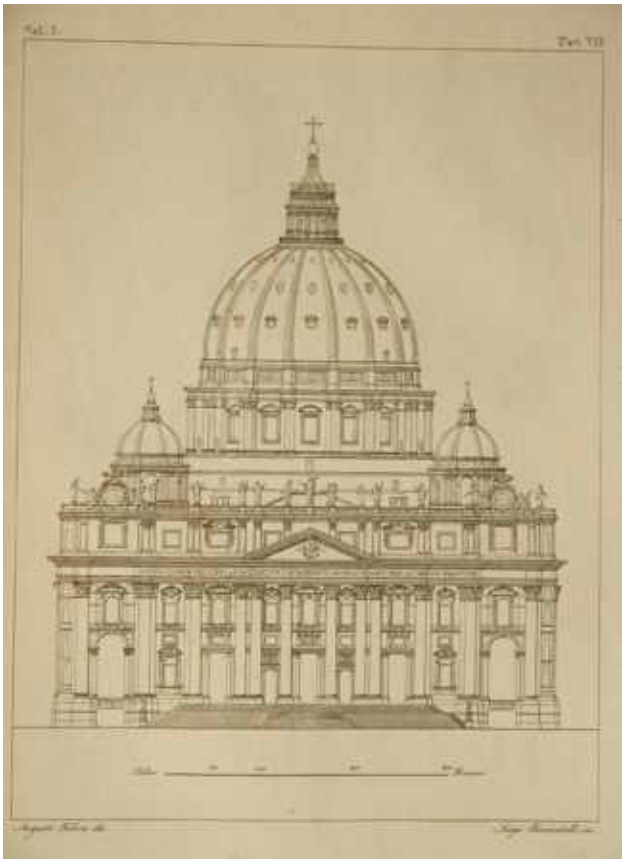


Figure 1.3. Illustration in Erasmo Pistolesi, Camillo Guerra, and Tommaso de Vivo, *Il Vaticano descritto ed illustrato*, vol. 1, plate 7 (Rome, 1829).

By canonical dispensation, Mullock was ordained at the age of 22 by Cardinal Giacinto Placido Zurla at the Archbasilica of St. John Lateran in Rome on April 10, 1830.

Mullock was now prepared to return to Ireland as a priest, but on his return he served a brief stint as a chaplain in the Royal Forces in France. The Franciscans, called "King's priests," had traditionally served in such positions since the reign of Louis XIV (1638–1715). According to Howley, Mullock was in Paris to witness the July Revolution (July 27–29) that led to the abdication of Charles X.

A FRANCISCAN IN IRELAND

The Catholic Relief Act, also known as the Emancipation Act, of 1829, which brought the repeal of penal laws and a new dawn of public worship for Irish Catholics, also represented a renewed threat to the monastic orders. The new legislation required all regulars (under threat of banishment) to register, and prohibited both the training

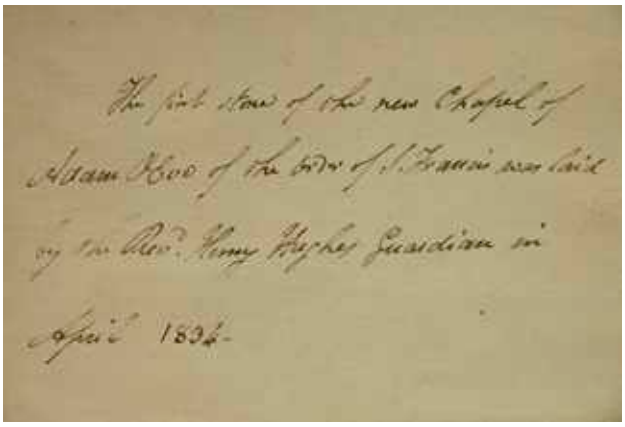


Figure 1.4. Note by Mullock inscribed in Juan Márquez, *El governador christiano* (Salamanca, 1612) recording new building by the Franciscans in Dublin.

Figure 1.5. Gold cross bequeathed to Mullock by Patrick Geoghegan, bishop of Adelaide, Australia (Basilica Museum).

of novices and the return to Ireland of those educated elsewhere. Disconcerted, the Irish Franciscans contacted Daniel O'Connell, member of Parliament and champion for Irish Catholic rights, who assured them in a letter of March 18, 1829, that the laws were "unexecutable."

It was in this uncertain but hopeful new era that the newly ordained Mullock returned to Ireland. On the one hand, for several decades the Catholic church had been engaged in a widespread program of building; on the other, the Franciscan order was weak. In 1830, only 33 convents or friaries remained in Ireland, and more were closing every year as the friars died. After six months in his native Limerick, Mullock was posted to his first mission in Ennis, County Clare. Finding there a dilapidated friary, Mullock energetically set to work to strengthen the Franciscans' presence and restore their way of life. To the consternation of the bishop, Mullock stopped ministering in the parish chapel and opened a new chapel, asserting the Franciscans' right to a public church. Rome supported Mullock's position.[5]

Ten years after Mullock's death, his sister Mary de Pazzi wrote to a priest in Ireland that her brother's "delight was particularly to build sacred edifices and beautify them,"[6] and this delight in rebuilding and growth characterized Mullock's years in Ireland as well as those in Newfoundland. On October 28, 1832, Mullock was appointed as one of the fathers of Adam and Eve's, the convent attached to the church of the same name (officially, the Church of St. Francis, now the Church of the Immaculate Conception) in Dublin, which was also undergoing renovations and expansion (Figure 1.4). In 1837, Mullock was elected guardian of the Convent of St. Francis in Cork, where he rebuilt the church in Broad Lane. In his diary for 1838, a satisfied Mullock recorded an account of the progress: 50 friaries were now active in Ireland, and eleven new churches had been established.[7]

Mullock quickly distinguished himself as a capable administrator and inspiring leader. He advanced steadily within the order, holding his first appointment as definitor of his chapter in 1832. As provincial definitor, in 1837, Mullock attended a meeting of the Franciscan province in Dublin, at which he was appointed to see to

a matter concerning the order in Rome. On November 1 of that year, Mullock returned from Rome to Dublin as the guardian of the convent of Adam and Eve's. Over the next four years, he oversaw the total reconstruction of the Dublin church. In order to raise money for the project, in 1847 he went on a preaching tour of England and Ireland.

During these years, Mullock was also making his reputation as a scholar. The early to mid-1840s were a rich period for the Dublin book and periodical trade, and Mullock was actively involved in writing and publishing. His books, *The Life of St. Alphonsus M. Liguori* (1846) and his translation of Liguori's *The History of Heresies and Their Refutation; or, The Triumph of the Church* (1847), appeared during this period, in addition to his translation "A History of the Irish Franciscans," attributed to Father Hugh Ward, which was serialized in 1847.

THE NEW WORLD

Mullock had had ample opportunity to consider the New World. During his time in Dublin he served as an agent for the colonial bishops, and in 1847 alone had accompanied to Liverpool and Southampton two groups of nuns on their way to foreign missions. His good friend from Adam and Eve's, Patrick Geoghegan (1800–1864), who later became bishop of Adelaide, had left Dublin for Australia in 1837 (Figure 1.5), and other friends and acquaintances from his student days had been posted elsewhere in the British Empire and the United States.

In addition to the missionary movement, Ireland itself was experiencing an exodus due to the Great Famine (1845–49). On March 14, 1847, a little over a year before his own departure, Mullock wrote in his diary: "People going in thousands to America. The quay crowded as if a fair was going on with emigrants." Due to starvation and disease on the one hand, and emigration on the other, the Irish population decreased from 8.4 million people in 1844 to 6.6 million in 1851. The emigration was a blow to Ireland but served to significantly strengthen Irish Catholic communities and sense of identity in North America.

As the historian Colin Barr has documented, the mid-nineteenth century was characterized by the rise of "Irish Episcopal Imperialism," or, in the words of D. H. Akenson, "the spiritual empire of the Irish Catholic church." This movement had one key player in the figure of the Irish-born priest Paul Cullen (1803–78), whom Mullock knew from his time in Rome. In his roles as the rector of St. Isidore's from 1832 to 1850 and as Rome's official agent for the colonial bishops from 1830, Cullen exercised immense authority in shaping the ethnic make-up (largely Irish) and ideology (ultramontane) that came to characterize English-speaking Catholic churches around the globe in this period.[8] The decades between 1830 and 1850, when Cullen returned to Ireland, where he would eventually become the archbishop of Dublin, were especially important for the "hibernicization" of the American Catholic church, a phenomenon bolstered by the waves of Irish emigrants to the United States.[9]

By September 1847, when he embarked once again to Rome, this time bearing a letter requesting his appointment as coadjutor bishop of Newfoundland, Mullock must have felt confident about his evolving role in this "spiritual empire." Newfoundland may have particularly appealed to him. A British colony on the eastern edge of the North American continent, Newfoundland by this time had a well-established and large Irish population, and a history of Irish Franciscan bishops.

Mullock had first met Dr. Fleming, bishop of Newfoundland, in Dublin in 1833, and since that time Mullock had kept notes in his diary on the bishop and the colony. On June 30, 1846, Mullock recorded the news of the Great Fire: "Dreadful acc'ct of the total burning of St. John's, Newfoundland. Dr. Fleming totally prostrated, as all he had in the world was burned." When Fleming arrived in Dublin on June 5, 1847, he was, despite the significant setback of the previous year and his own deteriorating health, forging forward with the building of the St. John's cathedral. He was also seeking to choose his successor, and Mullock, whom Fleming described in his letter to Rome as "learned, prudent, of the highest moral character, a distinguished preacher and endowed with all the qualities which should adorn a prelate of the Church," was the person he wanted.[10]

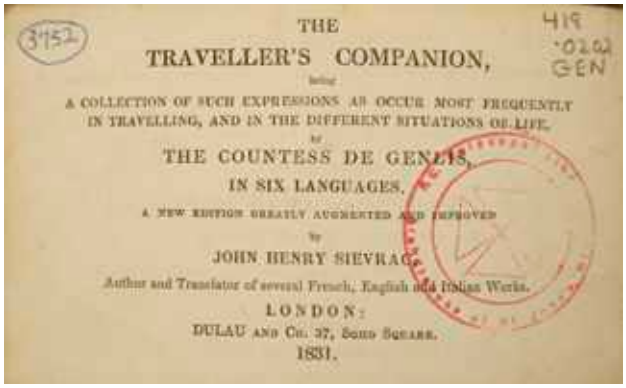
Mullock travelled quickly to Rome and delivered Fleming's request. As the appointment process took several months, Mullock, an avid traveller (Figure 1.6), took the time to enjoy some sightseeing in Italy. North of Rome, he visited Capranica and Sutri (once governed by Pontius Pilate); he then headed east to Tivoli, and south to Naples, where he toured the Grotto of Posillipo (today the Crypta Neapolitana) and the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum. In Rome he purchased the vestments and other ceremonial accoutrements he would need for his new role, along with a gift for Fleming (Entry 37).

Mullock was consecrated on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist (December 27, 1847) at St. Isidore's. Cardinal Franzoni, prefect of the Propaganda, presided, assisted by two bishops, and a Swiss guard of honour was deployed. "Everything magnificent," Mullock wrote in his diary.

ARRIVAL IN NEWFOUNDLAND: TAKING STOCK

On May 6, 1848, Mullock arrived in St. John's and, in a delicate move to ensure proper respect was paid to Fleming's position and feelings, quietly disembarked in a small craft before the ship docked, in order to avoid the crowds who had gathered to meet him.

In his first year in Newfoundland, Mullock took stock of his new surroundings. Between June 23 and September 10, he undertook his first visitation of the south and west coasts of the island, covering hundreds of kilometres of coastline and travelling to places "[n]ever before visited by a N.F.L. priest." (In a ten-week visitation in 1852, he circumnavigated the island and toured Labrador, visiting a total of 28 communities.) In his notebook, Mullock recorded the population statistics from the census of 1845: Total population: 95,506; Catholics: 46,995; Protestants (all denominations): 51,511; increase in the population of the island since 1836: 30 percent. Twelve years later, in his *Two Lectures on Newfoundland*, Mullock offered what he saw as a conservative estimate of Newfoundland's population in 100 years' time: 1.3 million people. In his eyes,


THE
TRAVELLER'S COMPANION,
being
A COLLECTION OF SUCH EXPRESSIONS AS OCCUR MOST FREQUENTLY IN TRAVELLING, AND IN THE DIFFERENT SITUATIONS OF LIFE,
by
THE COUNTESS DE GENLIS,
IN SIX LANGUAGES.
A NEW EDITION GREATLY AUGMENTED AND IMPROVED
by
JOHN HENRY SIEVRAC,
Author and Translator of several French, English and Italian Works.
LONDON:
DULAU AND Co. 37, Soho Square.
1831.


DESCRIPTION
DE TOUTS LES
PAYS-BAS,
LA GERMANIE INFERIEVRE,
BASSE ALLEMAGNE,


GENLIS.
Manuel du Voyageur.

Figure 1.6. Travel books in the Mullock collection.

Newfoundland was poised to become an important centre in North America, and from this moment he worked toward this future with optimism and vigour.

The growth of the colony enabled both Fleming and Mullock to gain and maintain greater autonomy within the church hierarchy. In 1847, the church in Newfoundland had been raised from a vicariate apostolic to a diocese, one attached to the ecclesiastical province of Quebec. (Mullock had in fact first heard this news in Rome on the day he learned of his appointment as coadjutor.) In October 1850, due to the efforts of Fleming, the diocese of Newfoundland was changed from a suffragan see of the Quebec archdiocese to a direct dependency of the Holy See. In 1851, Mullock in turn opposed the plan to attach the diocese to the newly formed ecclesiastical province of Halifax. Arguing distance, population, and the advanced development of the Roman Catholic church in Newfoundland, he made his case to the pope on a trip to Rome. In 1856, Mullock secured the creation of a second diocese in Newfoundland: the diocese of Harbour Grace. John Dalton (1821–69) was consecrated bishop of the new diocese, and Mullock's title became bishop of St. John's.

Figure 1.7. John Hogan, *Dr. Fleming Entrusting His Diocese to Dr. Mullock* (1853) (Basilica of St. John the Baptist).

The rapid development of Newfoundland may have also helped Mullock regard it as his "adopted country" and home. Within five years of his arrival, Mullock had four members of his family in St. John's: his beloved father, his sister Mary, his brother Thomas, and Thomas's wife, Charlotte Frances. Each lent his or her talents to the life of the diocese: his father built furniture for the cathedral and Episcopal Library; Mary was professed Sister Mary Magdalen de Pazzi at the Presentation Convent in 1854 and served as its superior from 1875 to her death in 1889; and Thomas became the cathedral organist as well as the first piano teacher at St. Bonaventure's College.

THE COMPLETION OF THE CATHEDRAL

During Mullock's first two years in St. John's, he and Fleming were busy with preparations for the cathedral. In separate trips, both men crossed the Atlantic in 1849 to commission some of the statuary that would adorn the edifice and its grounds, including John Hogan's masterwork *The Dead Christ* (1854) and several statues by the Irish-born and London-dwelling John Carew (c. 1782–1868). When Bishop Fleming died on July 14, 1850, Mullock memorialized his predecessor as the visionary behind the cathedral and as a benefactor of poor children with a marble bas-relief by Hogan showing Fleming with one hand holding the plans for the construction and the other gesturing compassionately toward an orphan girl (Figure 1.7).

The Hogan bas-relief was one of many artworks Mullock bought or commissioned during trips to Europe through the 1850s. Along with Italian statuary and stained-glass windows of the firm of William Warrington of England, copies of famous paintings

produced by the Paris workshop of Jacques-Paul Migne (also a major supplier of Mullock's books) also adorned the cathedral interior in Mullock's day. Mullock did not neglect the outdoor space: along with Carew's statues of St. Patrick, St. Francis of Assisi, and the Immaculate Conception, Mullock also oversaw the installation of an impressive entrance arch topped by a marble statue of St. John the Baptist by the Italian Filippo Ghersi. In the midst of these plans, Mullock explained in his July 14, 1856, Pastoral Letter, that in the courtyard "the people of St. John's will have a place of recreation such as few Cities can boast of, where Art and Religion will refine the minds of the young, and where all may breathe the pure air and enjoy the glorious prospect of land and sea" (Figure 1.8).

Among the fine artworks in the cathedral were two of great personal significance to the bishop. Mullock and his siblings donated the central stained-glass window in the apse (now largely obscured by the high altar installed in 1955) in honour of their parents. In the west transept, the bishop placed a marble monument to the memory of his father, who died on April 14, 1858, and was buried in the cathedral near the statue of St. Patrick. While Thomas Mullock, who had built many of the first pews in the cathedral, had requested to be buried in it, the impressive monument is one of numerous indications that Mullock deeply mourned his father and wanted to keep his memory close (Entry 37). Produced by Ghersi in Rome, the monument arrived with a shipment of books in the spring of 1860 and was installed on the second anniversary of Thomas Mullock's death (Figure 1.9).

The cathedral was consecrated on September 9, 1855, by Archbishop John Hughes of New York. The bishops of Toronto, New Brunswick, and Arichat (now

Figure 1.8. Photograph of Mullock at the gate of the cathedral c.1860 (Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's).

Antigonish), along with 22 Newfoundland priests, were also present for the event, which comprised two weeks of lectures, services, and celebrations. To underscore the impression that the completion of the cathedral was not a concluding chapter but rather a prologue to continuing development, Mullock capped his visitors' itinerary by laying the cornerstone for what would become the grand stone edifice of St. Patrick's Church. Following these festivities, Mullock gathered the detailed report of the consecration printed in *The Newfoundlander* together with his own history and description of the cathedral, and published *The Cathedral of St. John's, Newfoundland, with an Account of Its Consecration* (Dublin: Duffy, 1856).

Figure 1.9. Monument to Thomas Mullock (Basilica of St. John the Baptist).

ENVISIONING NEWFOUNDLAND: "THE FIRST LINK IN THE ELECTRIC CHAIN"

During his 21 years in Newfoundland, Mullock made at least seven trips back to Europe. He also travelled several times to New York, as well as to other American cities (Philadelphia, Baltimore), and toured Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and the Province of Canada. Mullock's taste for travel and his openness to new sights and experiences are evident in his diaries, which record his itineraries and impressions in some detail. His enthusiasm for much of what he encounters is palpable, for example, when he reflects on December 27, 1851, "I saw during the year the greatest wonders of nature and art, Northern icebergs of the largest size, Niagara and the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes of America, The Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in London, Paris, St. Peter's, Rome and the Pope, etc."

This mention of the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace, which showcased innovations in manufacturing from around the world, points to Mullock's embrace of technological advancements. In particular, Mullock was eager to have St. John's benefit from modern advances in transportation and communication. In 1851, there was a coordinated movement in St. John's to make the city a port of call for the steamers that were running between Europe and the United States, and Mullock took considerable personal initiative in promoting steam connections to St. John's. On April 25, 1851, having heard that Galway was poised to become a "packet station" for America, he wrote a letter, which was published in the Irish newspaper *Freeman's Journal* (May 31, 1851), to Thomas R. Russ in Galway, presenting a strong case for St. John's being the first port of call for the transatlantic steamer. Offering a calculation of how much less coal would need to be carried on board to reach St. John's

rather than Halifax, Nova Scotia, Mullock argued that a stopover in St. John's would actually shorten the trip to Boston by 24 hours.

Steamships were not the only modern means of connection Mullock envisioned for Newfoundland. In his letter to Russ, Mullock made an interesting comment: "I saw six months ago, suggested in one of your journals here, the feasibility and necessity of making this [St. John's] the general telegraph station for the whole continent—in fact the telegraph link between the New and the Old World." Here it is very likely that Mullock is, in a rather wily manoeuvre, referring to his own letter, signed "J.T.M.," which appeared in the *Morning Courier* on November 8, 1850, and is sometimes credited as the first mention of the transatlantic telegraph in print. In the letter, Mullock urged the architects behind the cable to make St. John's, not Halifax, the American terminus. He concluded, "I hope the day is not far distant when St. John's will be the first link in the electric chain which will unite the Old World with the New." From the first attempt to lay the cable in 1858 to the final success in 1866, Mullock remained intensely interested in the realization of transatlantic telegraph communication, and developed close relationships with two of the major backers of the project, Cyrus Field and Peter Cooper of the New York, Newfoundland and London Electric Telegraph Company (Entry 41).

Mullock played a strong role in Newfoundland public affairs from the 1850s to the early 1860s. He made his political debut on February 7, 1852, with a letter to Philip Francis Little (1824–97), a young barrister and member of the Liberal party. Responding to the Colonel Office's hesitation to grant responsible government, Mullock's letter was a scathing indictment of Britain's and the Newfoundland House of Assembly's mismanagement of the colony. The letter was printed and distributed widely as a broadside and marked the beginning of Mullock's (and by extension the Catholic church's) support for Little and his cause of responsible government. Although the letter prompted an immediate complaint that the clergy should not be involved in politics, Mullock countered this with a letter to the *Pilot*: "I cannot see why a priest is to be deprived of his right to citizenship more than anyone else." Due in great part to Mullock's support, Little became premier in 1855, and responsible government was achieved.

In unapologetically exerting his influence in these matters, Mullock maintained that the "spiritual and temporal interests" of his diocese were within his purview as bishop (Pastoral Letter, February 10, 1861). Through the late 1850s, however, he quickly grew disillusioned with the Liberals' handling of poor relief and funds for roads and steam communication. Frustrated by the lack of advancement on concerns that he thought were vital to the colony, in 1860 Mullock famously took matters into his own hands and personally arranged on a trip to New York for a steamship to connect St. John's and the Newfoundland outports. Upon his return, the government rightly protested that Mullock had not been authorized to make such an arrangement, causing the bishop to publish an angry letter "To the Catholic People of Saint John's" on June 4, 1860. Alluding to the persistent difficulties he himself faced on his visitations, Mullock wrote, "Will strangers believe that in a British colony, the shire town of Fortune Bay, two hundred miles by sea from St. John's, is in reality farther from us than Constantinople; but then we have the satisfaction of seeing thousands and thousands of pounds distributed among our locust-like officials." While steam service for the island and Labrador was soon inaugurated, Mullock's frustration with the government's decision-making was clear.

The episode reveals Mullock's deepening divide with the Liberals and coincides with the period of political unrest that culminated in the violent events that took place in Cat's Cove and St. John's in 1861 (Entry 38). While commentators have argued that Mullock played a part in fueling sectarian discord,[11] in his own published letters and sermons his response to the violence was firmly on the side of law and order. In any case, the unhappy episode marked the end of Mullock's active involvement in political questions. In his Pastoral Letter dated just one year later (March 2, 1862), Mullock wrote that he would not speak of the "sad events which disgraced this country" and expressed "confidence" that Newfoundland would once again be a model of "peace,

order, mutual forbearance, and good feeling." Avoiding a direct commentary on the situation, Mullock offered instead some unflinching common sense: "Those quarrels about what are called politics in this Country ought to have no existence.... They are in general but a disreputable struggle for place, not principle.... Catholics and Protestants in possession of the same rights have the same interests."

Even Mullock's critics concede that throughout his tenure the bishop appeared to be genuinely motivated by the interests of the people in his diocese. His notebooks and pastoral letters reflect his observations of the hardships people faced, such as the cholera outbreak of 1853, which resulted in 6,000 deaths, or the all-around dismal year of 1860, with "6 or 8 child burials a day from diphtheria and measles" in the summer, a potato blight, and a poor fishing season. Mullock endeavoured to be of service to all parts of his large diocese, as evidenced by, for example, his eighteen-year correspondence with Father Alexis Bélanger (1808–68), the isolated francophone priest stationed in Bay St. George on the west coast of the island.

EDUCATIONAL MISSION

In his Pastoral Letter of February 22, 1857, Mullock expressed his vision for Newfoundland while encouraging the faithful to make themselves ready for their new role on the world stage: "A new era is now dawning on the country; wealth, commerce and population are increasing. No longer isolated, Steam and Electricity will render Newfoundland the connecting link between two hemispheres, placed by the Almighty in front of the New, and in close proximity to the Old World, surrounded by an ocean richer than all the mines of America or Australia, the future home of a great and noble people; it is absolutely necessary that the Catholic youth should have an education to fit them for the great destiny before them ..."

Education was the most frequent and prominent theme of Mullock's pastoral letters. "Considered in itself," he wrote, "Education is the most important of all subjects in a social, a national, and a religious point of view" (February 22, 1857).

The year 1850 marked the beginning of the denominational school system in Newfoundland: the churches, receiving equitable amounts of government support, devised the curricula and ran the schools for the children of their respective parishes. In his pastoral letters, the bishop consistently praised the arrangement, writing on February 26, 1865, "Education without religion is a curse, not a blessing ... Here all classes are agreed on this important subject, and the Government acts impartially towards all denominations."

In many of his efforts to foster education, Mullock was following in the footsteps of Fleming, who in 1833 had founded in St. John's a school for poor girls administered by the Irish sisters of the Presentation Order of the Blessed Mary, and in 1842 had founded Mercy Convent, which taught middle-class girls. Mullock strongly supported both these institutions and the religious communities that sustained them. Toward the end of 1849, on his first visit back to Ireland since becoming coadjutor, Mullock took the opportunity to deliver an "eloquent and impressive" appeal on behalf of the Presentation schools, which raised £70.[12] The following year, in his Pastoral Letter of December 15, 1850, he similarly encouraged the people of St. John's to support the "industrial, intellectual, and religious improvement of the children of [their] neighbours" through donations to the Presentation schools and convent.

Throughout his life, Mullock was particularly outspoken on the need for education for girls: "The greatest blessing that can be conferred on any community is the virtuous education of female children," he wrote during his first year as bishop. "This is the foundation of the temporal prosperity and eternal salvation of future generations" (Pastoral Letter, December 15, 1850). A decade later, in a Pastoral Letter of February 27, 1860, he observed that "the spread of convent schools over the Diocese is most gratifying to every friend of Religion; to all who have the real interest of the rising generation at heart." At a time when a small percentage of Newfoundland children (only 10.2 percent of Catholics and 13.3 percent of

Protestants in 1861) enjoyed even rudimentary schooling, by the early 1860s these co-educational convent schools, which had high attendance rates and offered a wide breadth of curriculum, provided, in the words of one school inspector, "a very superior education."[13] By 1866, Mullock had extended the network of convent schools to thirteen parishes.

While Mullock and Fleming saw eye to eye on many aspects of education, Mullock differed from his predecessor on the need for a local seminary. While Fleming, fearing clashes between foreign- and native-born priests, had always opposed the establishment of such an institution, Mullock saw the fostering of a native priesthood as a priority. As early as 1850, he began collecting the Migne volumes that would form the core of the seminary library. Returning via Ireland from Rome and an audience with the pope in 1851, Mullock was reported by the Irish press to have immediate plans to establish "an extensive seminary" in St. John's to serve the needs of the "widely extending diocese."[14]

Figure 1.10. Painting of St. Bonaventure given by Mullock to St. Bonaventure's College.

Many of Mullock's fellow bishops around the globe were of the same mind about the need for local seminaries. Mullock regularly corresponded with his friend the Right Reverend Colin MacKinnon, bishop of Arichat, Nova Scotia, who founded his seminary (the present-day St. Francis Xavier University) in 1853. Mullock also shared his own plans with Archbishop Hughes of New York, who added his encouragement. It was not until his Pastoral Letter of February 19, 1855, that Mullock announced to his diocese his plans for "a Seminary for the education of Candidates for the Clergy." Within a year or two, however, the plans for the educational establishment had extended to comprise a seminary and a college equipped to educate boys "for any profession they may adopt" (Pastoral Letter, February 27, 1860).

On April 27, 1857, Mullock laid the cornerstone of St. Bonaventure's College, named after his own alma mater in Spain (Figure 1.10). The college opened on October 4, 1858, and within a year had 70 day students, 28 boarders, and a full staff. For president of the college, Mullock chose a fellow Franciscan he knew from St. Isidore's, Enrico Carfagnini (later bishop of Harbour Grace), who taught theology and philosophy. The curriculum, devised to rival that of any such educational institution in Europe, included "Christian Doctrine, Church history, English composition, grammar and spelling ...; English history, geography; Latin, Greek, French and Spanish; algebra, geometry, arithmetic, mensuration, navigation, astronomy and bookkeeping, [as well as] singing and instrumental music."[15] Mullock was aided in his search for professors by John Henry Newman, rector of the Catholic University of Ireland (Entry 20).

For Mullock, education was linked very closely to citizenship, another term that arises frequently in his pastoral letters. Several times he went as far as proposing that the right to vote be restricted to those with a basic education, while "not disenfranchising

Figure 1.11. Bookcase in the Episcopal Library.

those now in possession" (February 23, 1868). As the years passed, Mullock's exhortations to parishioners to educate their children in order to ensure their future political power and the very "survival of the country" grew more strident: "Knowledge is power," he wrote on February 10, 1861, "and if the rising Catholic youth be left without the means of a refined education, they must sink in their own land, and strangers will come from the East and the West, and the native Catholics will be ... excluded in great measure from the learned professions, from every high and honorable position." Interestingly, when pressed for an opinion in 1865 on whether Newfoundland would join the confederation of the British North American Provinces (Entry 40), Mullock responded in a letter stating that, in this likely future occurrence, the St. Bonaventure pupils would be "perfectly qualified" for "the highest offices of the law and the government" or any such distinguished post in the confederation.

NEWFOUNDLAND PRINT CULTURE

Mullock continued his writing and publishing during his time in Newfoundland. In addition to his pastoral letters, letters on political and economic concerns, and other works already mentioned, he also published several lectures, the best known of which is *Two Lectures on Newfoundland*, published in St. John's and New York in 1860. These lectures capture the extent of Mullock's explorations into Newfoundland history and geography and reveal his vision for the "great and noble country." They reveal too Mullock's belief in progress and the desirability of making connections. Outlining some of the historical circumstances that hindered Newfoundland's growth from the time of European settlement, for example, Mullock wrote, "Despite of all this [Newfoundlanders] have increased twenty-fold in ninety years, have built towns and villages, erected magnificent buildings, as the cathedral in St. John's, introduced telegraphs, steam, postal, and road communications, newspapers, everything, in fact, found in most civilized countries" (22). As this passage suggests, Mullock believed that the printed word and global communication had a large part to play in advancing society. The book collection he offered Newfoundland, largely transported from Europe but also containing volumes from the United States and other British colonies, must have been in his eyes another mark of a sophisticated civilization (Figure 1.11).

DEATH AND TRIBUTES

Mullock, who is thought to have suffered from diabetes and heart trouble, was in ill health for many years. On the morning of Easter Monday, March 29, 1869, at the age of 62, he collapsed on Garrison Hill and died a short time later at the Episcopal Palace.

Mullock bequeathed "all [his] lands, houses, pontifical ornaments, church vessels, vestments, church furniture, books and other chattels" to his successor bishop. He also stipulated that an amount of no more than £10 was to be spent on his burial. His body was

waked Monday evening and all day Tuesday in the Episcopal Library, and then moved to the cathedral, where thousands continued to file through to pay their respects. Government, businesses, and banks closed on Thursday, the day of his funeral, and flags flew at half-mast.

The bishop's death was noted with sorrow and respect in newspapers of all political and religious stripes. "Filius," writing in the *Chronicle*, paid tribute to Mullock's "extraordinary erudition" and "peculiarly gifted mind." A long account of Mullock's death and funeral was published in *The Newfoundlander* and reprinted in the *Public Ledger*. The "Month's Memory" for Mullock was celebrated on Wednesday, April 30; on May 4, *The Newfoundlander* published the address given on the occasion by the Rev. Richard V. Howley. Prefacing his words with a passage from Ecclesiastes on the "wise man"—"Nations shall declare his wisdom, and the Church shall shew forth his praise" (Eccl. 39:12–13)—Howley said of the late bishop, "No one could appreciate more highly everything that tended to enlightenment and progress. No one advocated more strongly than Dr. Mullock especially for this, his adopted country and people; his mind was ever at work, his voice ever uplifted to encourage intellectual and social advancement; he never disassociated this from religion itself."

Mullock's life was shaped by numerous religious, cultural, and linguistic traditions, and the spheres in which he made his mark were both local and transnational. The richness of his experience and outlook is evident in his library, which embodies within four walls the many worlds of John Thomas Mullock.

1. It is not known if all the children survived infancy. Of Mullock's siblings, I have been able to identify his oldest sister, Elizabeth, who married cabinetmaker Nicholas Lynch in 1849 and died in 1853 in Limerick; Mary (Sister Mary Magdalen de Pazzi) (1829–99), sister and superior of Presentation Convent, St. John's; Austin, organist at St. Mary's Church, Kilmallock (d. 1847); and Thomas, who, along with his wife, Charlotte Frances, joined Mullock in Newfoundland in 1853. According to Susan Chaulker Browne, in *The Story of the Basilica of St. John the Baptist* (St. John's, 2015), Thomas and his family spent fifteen years in Newfoundland before returning to Ireland.

2. M. F. Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland, Volume Two*, ed. Joseph B. Darcy, assoc. ed. John F. O'Mara (St. John's, 2005).

3. Mullock's letter (September 15, 1860), cited in Howley, *Ecclesiastical History*, 11 n.4.

4. John T. Mullock, *Rome, Past and Present; A Lecture Delivered in St. Dunstan's Cathedral, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, on Thursday, August 16, 1860* (Charlottetown, PEI, 1860).

5. Patrick Conlan, "Reforming and Seeking an Identity, 1829–1918," in *The Irish Franciscans 1534–1990*, ed. Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon, and John McCafferty (Dublin, 2009), 102–131.

6. St. John's, Archives of the Presentation Sisters, Mary de Pazzi Mullock file, Mary de Pazzi Mullock to James Burke (October 27, 1879), in Bartholomew Egan, "A Newfoundland Link with Limerick in Pre Aviation Days" [unknown publication] (September 2, 1878).

7. Conlan, "Reforming and Seeking an Identity," 106.

8. Colin Barr, "'Imperium in Imperio': Irish Episcopal Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century," *English Historical Review* 123 (June 2008): 611–50.

9. Colin Barr, "The Irish College, Rome, and the Appointment of Irish Bishops to the United States, 1830–1851," in *The Irish College, Rome, and Its World*, ed. Dáire Keogh and Albert McDonnell (Dublin, 2008), 102–15.

10. Quoted in Howley, *Ecclesiastical History*, 21.

11. Frederick Jones, "Bishops in Politics: Roman Catholic v. Protestant in Newfoundland 1860–2," *Canadian Historical Review* 55 (December 1974): 408–21.

12. *Limerick Reporter* (December 4, 1849); "Public Thanks," *Limerick Reporter* (December 14, 1849).

13. Phillip McCann, "Class, Gender and Religion in Newfoundland Education, 1836–1901," *Historical Studies in Education* (1989): 179–200.

14. "Catholic Church," *Freeman's Journal* (May 29, 1851).

15. J. B. Darcy, *Noble to Our View: The Saga of St. Bonaventure's College* (St. John's, 2007), 18.

Mullock as Author and Translator

NANCY EARLE and ANNE WALSH

At the time of Bishop Mullock's death in 1869, a writer identified as E. J. P. wrote in a local newspaper, "No scholar living in [Mullock's] time possessed a larger fund of universal knowledge, or mental faculties more perfectly developed."[1] As this and other tributes attest, John Thomas Mullock was renowned for his intellect and learning. His reputation as a scholar was due not primarily to his establishment of St. Bonaventure's College and the Episcopal Library but to his record as a speaker, author, and translator (Figure 2.1).

There is no definitive bibliography of Mullock's works, as it is likely that he published more texts anonymously than have been identified. One possible gap is revealed by Edward Morris, who asserted in 1931 that Mullock produced translations from the Italian and Spanish,[2] as today there is no evidence of Spanish translations. Mullock did have a longstanding scholarly interest in the life and work of the Italian bishop Alphonsus de Liguori (1696–1787) and translated at least one title by him, *The History of Heresies and Their Refutation*, in 1847, but numerous other Alphonsian translations of all kinds were being issued by Mullock's publisher, James Duffy of Dublin, around this time (Figure 2.2). At least two other translators, Nicholas Callan of Maynooth (1799–1864) and Louis de Buggenoms (1816–82), were active during this period, and both attributed their translations to "A Catholic Clergyman," as was common for ordinary priests.

Figure 2.1. Works by Mullock.

In terms of anonymous Liguori translations, a question mark must be added next to Liguori's book on the Council of Trent translated by "A Catholic Clergyman" and published by Duffy in 1846,[3] which John Gushue, in a 1988 unpublished essay, identified as a possible Mullock work.[4] Support for this claim is provided by Mullock's book collection, which contains a conspicuous number of French and Italian titles on the Council of

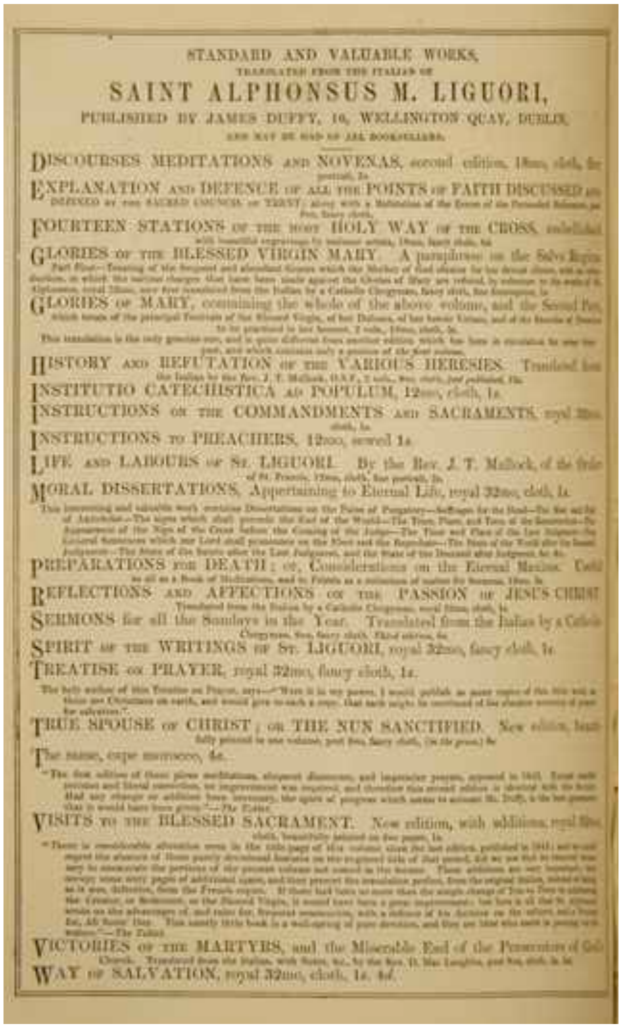


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Figure 2.2. James Duffy advertisements.

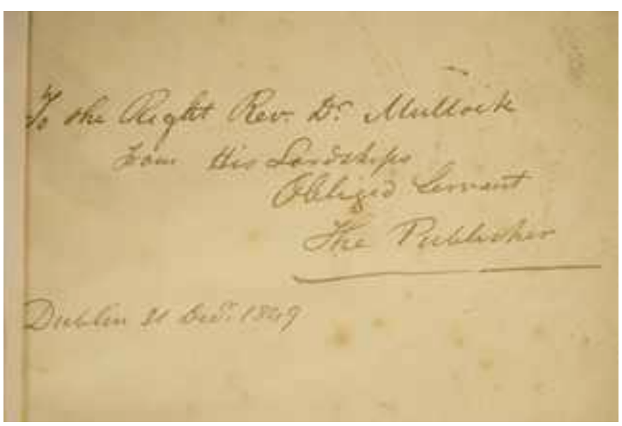


Figure 2.3. Duffy's dedication to Mullock on bound volumes of *Duffy's Irish Catholic Magazine*.

Trent: counting the books that do not bear Mullock's signature or stamp, there are nearly twenty volumes on the subject published between 1738 and 1844 in the Episcopal Library. In addition to this title, it is possible that Mullock translated some of Liguori's devotional works as well.

We do know that Mullock published anonymously at least once. His diary records that he was the translator of a work by (or attributed to) Father Hugh Ward (1592–1635) called "A History of the Irish Franciscans," which appeared in installments in *Duffy's Irish Catholic Magazine* in 1847. Mullock likely became acquainted with Ward's manuscript, which was held at the Irish Franciscan College of St. Isidore's in Rome, during his theological studies there from 1829 to 1830. Mullock continued his research into the history of the Franciscans during his time in Cork from 1837 to 1843. His notebooks containing Latin transcriptions of manuscripts, as well as material in English, remain today in the Franciscan Library, Killiney, in Ireland and the Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's in Newfoundland, respectively.[5] Mullock's research is evident in his translation of Ward's "History," which includes extensive footnotes supplementing Ward's text with other sources and offering Mullock's own accounts of the churches and friaries Ward described.

The first titles to which Mullock's name is attached are two books relating to Alphonsus de Liguori. Mullock's *The Life of St. Alphonsus M. Liguori, Bishop of St. Agatha, and Founder of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer* (1846) and his translation of Liguori's *The History of Heresies and Their Refutation; or, The Triumph of the Church* (1847; 2nd ed. 1857) are discussed by Anne Walsh in detail in entries 15 and 16, so a brief publishing history of these volumes will suffice here. The *Life* was first issued by Duffy in a high-quality edition selling for two shillings in 1846. It is likely Mullock began this work around 1843: his diary notes that he produced it "during the few spare hours [he] had" while he was guardian of the Franciscan convent of Adam and Eve, Dublin. A 1862 edition of the *Life* by the same publisher was issued as part of a series called the "Young Christian's Library." These pocket books were

advertised as "beautiful volumes, handsomely bound in cloth, lettered in gold, for Presents, School Prizes, &c.," which sold for the affordable price of twopence each. Duffy issued a third edition of the *Life* in 1877. *The History of Heresies* was published in book form in two editions by Duffy: the first in 1847 was a two-volume set, which sold for twelve shillings, while the second a decade later was a one-volume edition. After Mullock's death, both books were issued by American companies: the *Life* was published in several editions (1874, 1886, 1896) by New York's P. J. Kenedy, a publisher who catered to the burgeoning Irish Catholic American community, and *The History of Heresies* was issued by Wipf and Stock of Eugene, Oregon (2004).

The Dublin-based James Duffy (1809–71), a leading publisher specializing in Catholic and Irish national literature, published all Mullock's works during this period. Established in 1838, Duffy's business was one of the few Dublin publishing companies that endured through the lean years of the late 1840s and beyond. Duffy's survival was due to his business acumen (his list ranged widely in production quality and pricing, allowing him to reach multiple audiences), as well as his "pioneering" activity in the publishing of periodicals.[6] Mullock's original and reprinted work appeared in two of the numerous periodicals Duffy produced: as previously noted, "A History of the Irish Franciscans" was published in *Duffy's Irish Catholic Magazine* (subtitled *A Monthly Review Devoted to National Literature, Ecclesiastical History, Antiquities, Biography of Illustrious Irishmen, Military Memoirs*, *etc.*), a high-quality monthly magazine offering "an ambitious alliance of culture and religion" that ran from 1847 to 1848, while *The History of Heresies* was reprinted under the title "A History of Protestant Heresy" in *The Catholic Guardian: or, The Christian Family Guardian*, a cheap weekly noted for its improving literature, which ran from February to November 1852.[7]

Mullock and Duffy's relationship continued after Mullock left Ireland in 1848 (Figure 2.3). Duffy would go on to publish Mullock's booklet *The Cathedral of St. John's, Newfoundland, with an Account of Its Consecration* in 1856. Mullock believed that Irish and European audiences would be keen to learn of thriving Irish Catholic institutions in the New World; he in fact assured his flock in St. John's that accounts of the consecration had been published all over Europe in various languages.[8] After *The Cathedral of St. John's*, Mullock's last publication with Duffy, however, there is a notable shift in the bishop's envisioned readership. From 1860, Mullock produced his sermons and lectures for North American audiences (Figure 2.4).

Figure 2.4. Mullock's writing desk (Basilica Museum, St. John's).

In 1856, Mullock began an ecclesiastical history of Newfoundland, entitled "Memories of the Catholic Church in Newfoundland," the first part of which remains today among Mullock's papers in the Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's. This unpublished manuscript formed the basis of the two lectures on Newfoundland that Mullock delivered in the winter of 1860, and which stand today as his most secular literary undertaking.

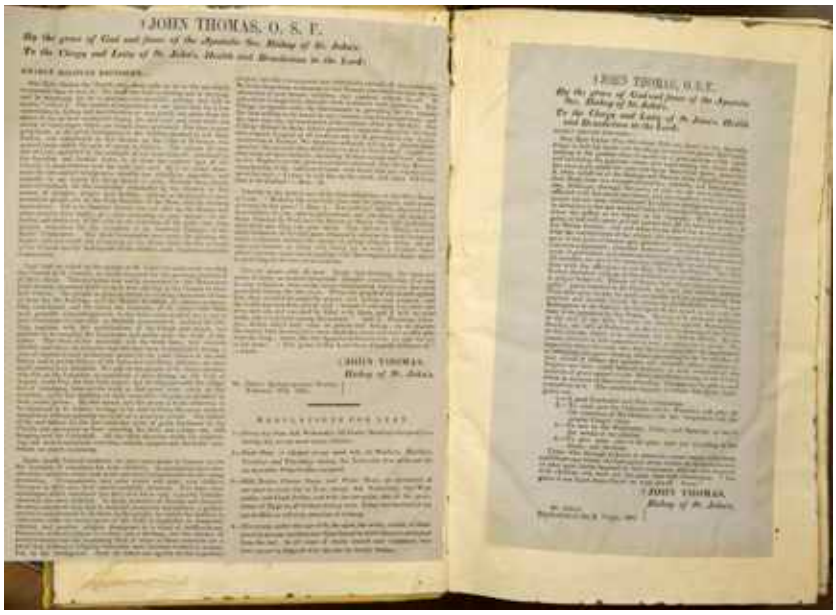
Mullock's lectures were published twice in 1860. In St. John's, the pamphlet *Lectures on Newfoundland* was printed and sold for one shilling at the office of the *Patriot*, a local Liberal newspaper published by the Protestant and ardent Newfoundland patriot Robert J. Parsons (1835–83). In New York City, *Two Lectures on Newfoundland Delivered at St. Bonaventure's College January 25, and February 1, 1860* was published by John Mullaly at the office of the *Metropolitan Record*, a newspaper published by the Catholic church. Both John Hughes, the archbishop of New York, and Mullaly had visited Newfoundland just five years earlier in 1855, the former at Mullock's invitation for the consecration of the cathedral, and the latter to witness the laying of the Atlantic telegraph cable, another undertaking dear to Mullock's heart. It is likely that Mullock arranged for the publication of the lectures during his visit to Hughes in New York in May 1860.

While Mullock was said to have given an annual lecture at St. Bonaventure's College, only these lectures and one other, delivered on January 24, 1861, entitled "The Catholic Church: Its Present State," survive.[9] Although the Newfoundland lectures may have been drawn from a projected ecclesiastical history, they go well beyond a history of the church. While the first lecture details the discovery and history of Newfoundland, paying considerable attention to the history of Catholicism, the second discusses "the physical description of the country, its climate, its capabilities, [and] its future prospects."[10]

The lectures reveal Mullock's wide-ranging intellect and progressive attitude. They convey his thorough knowledge of the history of Newfoundland, as well as his personal acquaintance with every corner of the region. Speaking knowledgeably on geography; geology; the salmon, cod, and seal fisheries; and agriculture, Mullock identifies untapped and underdeveloped industries, from mining and textile production to the drying and pickling of caplin. For Mullock, all that was lacking to realize Newfoundland's potential was the necessary population, and this, he believed, would take care of itself through continuing immigration. Extracts of Mullock's lectures were picked up by British newspapers and periodicals, notably *The Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle* (vol. 29, 1860), which reprinted passages on Newfoundland's militarily and commercially strategic location, as well as its mineral resources, climate, seal fishery, agricultural practices, and peaceable population.

Another "edition" of the Newfoundland lectures is also worth noting. Mullock's text formed the basis of the so-called biographical sketch that appeared, along with the bishop's photograph, in William Notman's *Portraits of British Americans, with Biographical Sketches by Fennings Taylor, Volume 1* (Montreal: William Notman, 1865). The timing and place of publication of this book is interesting given the Canadian confederation of 1867. Extracts of Mullock's lectures account for almost a third of the chapter on Mullock and largely inform the rest. Mullock's chapter is the only one centring on a Newfoundlander in Notman and Taylor's two-volume work, whose overall purpose was, in the words of the historian Robert Lanning, to illuminate "the historical journeys of Canada's great men at the juncture of Confederation."[11] For readers aware that Newfoundland did not enter the Canadian confederation until 1949 and that Mullock's attitude toward the idea was ambivalent (Entry 40), the bishop's inclusion here is intriguing. The publication of the Newfoundland lectures in St. John's, New York, and Montreal suggests that Mullock was publishing strategically, promoting his vision for Newfoundland and his own authority in three centres of political and economic power (Figure 2.5).

Unlike in the case of Mullock's Liguori scholarship, for which the Mullock collection retains many of Mullock's source texts, his sources on Newfoundland history are not so easily located. In his manuscript, for example, Mullock refers to "a foolish and bigoted piece of [anti-Catholic] declamation" in Lewis Amadeus Anspach's *A History of the Island of Newfoundland* (London, 1819; 2nd ed. 1827). This title is not found in the Mullock collection today, although Mullock's published lectures clearly draw on the earlier work's content and structure. Even more tantalizingly, in his lectures Mullock cites a 1560 world atlas by the Florentine writer Rucellai, whose "very imperfect" map of Newfoundland and short description of the Beothuk people were rife



(Left) Figure 2.5. Portrait of Mullock in Notman's *Portraits of British Americans* (1865) (Memorial University, Archives and Special Collections). (Right) Figure 2.6. Mullock's pastoral letters pasted in Jean Bolland et al., *Acta Sanctorum Junii*, vol. 4 (Venice, 1743).

with errors. It is not known where Mullock viewed this rare work. In both cases, he cites sources which he wishes to correct, suggesting he might have been less likely to name those whose information he found persuasive, making such works difficult to identify. One exception is Mullock's source for his discussion of the Viking discovery of Newfoundland. For this content, Mullock gestures toward the successive translations of "Professor Rafn" and "Mr. Beamish of Cork" and thus seems to have drawn directly on North Ludlow Beamish's important work *Discovery of America by the Northmen in the 10th Century* (London: T. & W. Boone, 1841). This volume does in fact reside in the Episcopal collection, but was not signed or stamped by the bishop.

The second Newfoundland lecture, with its more contemporary and scientific focus, references a sprinkling of published works and current discoveries. In his discussion of mineral resources, Mullock alludes to the "gold matrix, as described by Humboldt and others" (35); in his explanation of the route of the Gulf Stream, he references "the deep sea soundings of Captain Berryman" (39), transatlantic soundings that had been conducted prior to the laying of the transatlantic cable in the 1850s. When characterizing the Newfoundland climate, Mullock cites "the climate table furnished [him] by Mr. Delaney" (42), as well as the observations of "Abbe Raynal" (43). John Delaney was the local public servant and amateur scientist who recorded Newfoundland's weather data for the Smithsonian Institution between 1857 and 1864; Guillaume-Thomas Raynal (1713–96) was a French Enlightenment thinker whose works are included in the Episcopal Library in eighteenth-century volumes not signed or stamped by Mullock. The information drawn from unspecified archaeologists, ethnologists, and naturalists remains to be attributed.

While Mullock identified few of his sources for any of his published lectures and sermons, his research methods were seemingly exhaustive, taking him beyond his own book collection. In *Rome, Past and Present* (1860), published and apparently composed in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, he claims to be working from memory and not from his books.[12] In *Two Lectures on Newfoundland*, he explains he "rapidly sketched the history of the country from the earliest records [he] could find down to the period within the memory of thousands in St. John's" (27). This sentence

suggests research into primary documents (which he characterizes as "those of an infant people, few and uninteresting to any one but ourselves and posterity" [29]), and possibly oral history. The only archives Mullock references by name are the archiepiscopal archives of Quebec; in his manuscript he explains that Archbishop Pierre-Flavien Turgeon (1787–1867) furnished him with relevant copies from that collection.

While the research material for Mullock's works of the 1860s is a gap in the Mullock collection today, an even more conspicuous absence is a complete collection of the bishop's own body of work. We suggest, however, that there was once an intact collection, as the bishop was clearly intent on adding a record of his own writing to the library. In over two dozen volumes (apparently selected at random for their large format), Mullock pasted one and sometimes several of his pastoral and circular letters, his letters to newspapers, and other ephemeral material relating his activities (Figure 2.6). The copy of *A Sermon Preached by the Right Rev. Dr. Mullock, Bishop of St. John's, Newfoundland, in the Cathedral of St. John's, on Friday, May 10th, 1861* (St. John's: Bernard Duffy, Record Office, [1861]), pasted in a 1856 volume of Jacques-Paul Migne's *Collection intégrale*, is today the only original copy of this pamphlet held by the Episcopal Library. Given this careful preservation of his own works in volumes which were otherwise kept in pristine condition, we can conclude that the bishop saw his own writing as a valuable contribution to the body of knowledge he was building.

1. Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's, Mullock fonds, 104/1/1.

2. Lord [Edward] Morris, "Seventy-Five Years of Educational Triumph," *The Adelphian* (1931), 108.

3. St. Alphonsus M. Liguori, *An Exposition and Defence of All the Points of Faith Discussed and Defined by the Sacred Council of Trent: Along with a Refutation of the Errors of the Pretended Reformers and of the Objections of Fra Paolo Sarpi* (Dublin, 1846).

4. John Gushue, "The Personal Library of John Thomas Mullock, Bishop of Newfoundland: An Incomplete Short-title List" (1988), Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

5. Mullock's 1838 Cork notebook is held in Dublin, Franciscan Library, Killiney, Ms. Section M, in the collection "Note-books including diaries of Rev. P. F. O'Farrell, 1854, and A. Holohan, 1879, missionaries in Australia, and note-books of Rev. J. T. Mullock, afterwards a bishop in Newfoundland, and of Rev. R. L. Browne and E. B. Fitzmaurice and other Irish Franciscan historians." Mullock's 1840 notebook is held in Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's, Mullock fonds, 104/2/2.

6. Rolf Loeber and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, "James Duffy and Catholic Nationalism," in *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, Volume IV: The Irish Book in English 1800–1891*, ed. James H. Murray (Oxford, 2011), 115–21.

7. Elizabeth Tilley, "Periodicals," in *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, Volume IV: The Irish Book in English 1800–1891*, ed. James H. Murray (Oxford, 2011), 144–70.

8. Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's, Mullock fonds, 104/1/41, Pastoral Letter (July 14, 1856).

9. Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's, Mullock fonds, 104/3/1, "Scrapbook."

10. John T. Mullock, *Two Lectures on Newfoundland Delivered at St. Bonaventure's College January 25, and February 1, 1860* (New York: John Mullaly at the Office of the Metropolitan Record, 1860), 29. All page references are to this edition.

11. Robert Lanning, "Portraits of Progress: Men, Women and the 'Selective Tradition' in Collective Biography," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 30 (Fall, 1995): 38–59.

12. John T. Mullock, *Rome, Past and Present; A Lecture Delivered in St. Dunstan's Cathedral, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, on Thursday, August 16, 1860* was first published in the Charlottetown newspaper *The Examiner* (Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's, Mullock fonds, 104/3/1, "Scrapbook") and then in pamphlet form by the newspaper's publisher in October 1860.

Mullock and the Episcopal Library

LARRY DOHEY

In the nineteenth century, one St. John's tradition encouraged leading citizens of the town to host a New Year's Day levee, a reception held early in the afternoon of New Year's Day, typically at the residence of its host. One prominent citizen expected to host a levee was the Roman Catholic bishop. Those attending, dressed in their finest, would, upon arrival, stand in line to sign a guest book and be introduced to the host. The introduction was followed by refreshments. On a New Year's Day in the mid-1860s Bishop John Thomas Mullock, the Roman Catholic bishop of St. John's, hosted his New Year's levee in the newly established Episcopal Library. Among the invited guests was Lieutenant Colonel Robert B. McCrea, a battery commander and later garrison commander at Fort Townshend (now the site of The Rooms).

Impressed by the reception, McCrea, in a book about his experiences in Newfoundland, *Lost amid the Fogs: Sketches of Life in Newfoundland, England's Ancient Colony*, remembered this about the levee: "Then to His Lordship [Mullock] we paid our respects and congratulations as was right and proper. A hearty reciprocation and a glass of champagne were his return for the compliments, to say nothing of taking us around his noble library, the finest room in the colony." McCrea was not so impressed by the living quarters of the bishop and the priests. "[The] reception room was handsome, adorned with statuary from Italy," he noted, "but for himself and the priests who lived with him, the little room below with its deal chairs and common delf, would have probably been scorned by a bagman. So strange is the contrast which he presents in the attributes of his daily life and the profession he upholds." Mullock, who died in 1869, the year McCrea's book was published, would have been pleased with the description of his living quarters—"fitted only for the residence of a plain, simple gentleman"—as reflecting his priestly vow of poverty. Mullock was, however, anything but "plain [and] simple"; he may have been indifferent to the aesthetics of his own residence, but he spared nothing when it came to his Episcopal Library.

When Mullock arrived in St. John's in 1848, his first duty was to help in rebuilding the city. The Great Fire of 1846 had destroyed everything that Bishop Fleming, Mullock's predecessor, possessed. "[T]he destruction," Fleming wrote, "involved that of everything of any value that I personally possessed, all my furniture, my books and other valuables, and what to me was scarcely less valuable than all of these, my papers, including my own manuscripts and correspondence as well as numberless Deeds, Grants, etc." Mullock's first task, then, was the completion of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist (the Basilica of St. John the Baptist since 1955), which had been under construction for fourteen years. Once the cathedral was completed, he turned his attention to other ambitious building projects.

In a February 22, 1857, Pastoral Letter, Mullock eloquently expressed what he considered to be the church's mandate: "[The Church] is the nurse of genius, the mother of the arts and literature: wherever she planted the

cross, convents, schools and colleges sprung up; splendid temples adorned the land, the marble breathed and the canvas glowed with the images of Christ and his Saints: and the majestic ceremonies of the Church, the music and poetry and splendor of the Catholic Ritual refined and elevated the souls of her children above the earth ..." And so, after completion of the cathedral, he next envisioned a college, which became St. Bonaventure's College. With both cathedral and college a reality, his next enterprise was to establish a library (Figure 3.1).

The idea of a library was raised at the 51st anniversary meeting of the Benevolent Irish Society (BIS) on February 17, 1857, when the chairman, Walter Dillon, addressed the patron of the society, Bishop Mullock: "We think nothing would be more calculated to improve the moral and social conditions of the growing youth of the country, than giving them a table for reading and inducing habits of thought and reflection that must greatly affect the character." This BIS proposal fit perfectly with Mullock's plans. At this time, there was only one other large library in St. John's, the St. John's Library and Reading Room, established in 1820 "with a view [to] rendering accessible to the public generally at a moderate subscription the standard literature of the United Kingdom and the United States," according to its president. In 1857 this library boasted that "[i]t ha[d] 2700 hundred volumes on its shelves and in the Reading Room."

MULLOCK'S LIBRARY—THE EPISCOPAL LIBRARY

In December 1859, Mullock informed the Newfoundland House of Assembly that he was undertaking the construction of another important library: "I may mention that the library now in the course of erection will be a room of 79 feet by 30, and 30 feet high. The 10 windows will be of stained glass, and it will be partially a Library for the use of the Public as well as the College. I have a collection already of over 2500 volumes as the nucleus of the Public Library, and many of these books are rare and valuable ... [T]he great benefit of the Institution will not be apparent for several years when the generation now obtaining a high education will become active members of Society" (John Thomas Mullock, *Journal of the House of Assembly Appendix*, Education, December 31, 1859).

As with all the building projects Mullock had undertaken, he was determined that his "Public Library" would also be a significant architectural and educational edifice. Located on the grounds of the cathedral it stood strategically between the "Palace" (the traditional name of the bishop's residence) and the newly built St. Bonaventure's College. In his February 23, 1857, Pastoral Letter, Mullock had dared to dream that, as the population of St. John's grew, "without interfering with the plan," St. Bonaventure's College could be enlarged, "if necessary[,] even to the dimensions of a University." His proposed library would be part of this university.

Figure 3.1. St. Bonaventure's College, the Episcopal Library, and the Episcopal Palace, with the Cathedral in the background (Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's).

The construction of this Episcopal Library is not well documented, but the land on which it would sit was part of an original

Figure 3.2. *The Veiled Virgin* (Presentation Convent, Cathedral Square). Photo: Peter Hanes.

land deed given to Bishop Fleming in 1838 for the cathedral. The library would be a two-story saddle-roof construction with a separate entranceway a few yards from the main entrance to St. Bonaventure's. Only a few shreds of evidence remain of costs; these are bills that Mullock alludes to in his pastoral letters, in which he suggests that initially he had invested "some £1,000 in the construction." In a 1860 Pastoral Letter he appealed to the generosity of the Roman Catholic population; he "need[ed] about £1500 more to finish the Library and other offices required to perfect the [college] ..." It was a substantial commitment; £2,500 in 1860 had the same buying power as Cdn. $300,000 in 2016.

Mullock was keen to embellish the library with the finest art and ornamentation. His December 4, 1856, diary entry stated: "Received safely from Rome, a beautiful statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary in marble, by Strazza. The face is veiled, and the figure and features are all seen. It is a perfect gem of art." This statue, executed in flawless Carrera marble by the renowned Italian sculptor Giovanni Strazza (1818–75) in Rome, his second of a veiled woman, was described in *The Newfoundlander* the same day as its arrival. The writer attempts to convey its perfection: "To say that this representation surpasses in perfection of art, any piece of sculpture we have ever seen, conveys but weakly our impression of its exquisite beauty. The possibility of such a triumph of the chisel had not before entered into our conception. Ordinary language must ever fail to do justice to a subject like this—to the rare artistic skill, and to the emotions it produces in the beholder." *The Veiled Virgin* (Figure 3.2) was displayed in the Episcopal Library until 1862, when Mullock presented it to the superior of Presentation Convent. His sister, Sister Mary Magdalen de Pazzi Mullock, was a professed member of that community, and later its superior.

As for those who designed and constructed the structure that held such works of art, the archives are silent. Likely the same men involved in the construction of the cathedral and St. Bonaventure's College also worked on the library. It is almost certain that the Conways, a family of masons from Waterford, Ireland, brought over to work on the cathedral, were among them. The ornate plaster ceiling appears to be the work of the Conways; their name has become synonymous with the fine artisanship in all the buildings of the Basilica complex. But perhaps the most personal element connected with the Episcopal Library are the bookcases that still house the Mullock collection; these were built by Mullock's father, Thomas.

A LIBRARY FOR PUBLIC USE

In 1859 when he proposed his library, Mullock specified that "it w[ould] be partially a Library for the use of the Public as well as the College." By 1863, however, a shift had occurred in his thinking.

On May 1, 1863, Mullock recorded in his diary that he had attended a meeting called by Reverend Richard V. Howley in the Orphan Asylum (School) for the formation of a Catholic Literary Institute. This institute was to be formally established as the St. John's Catholic Institute (later the St. Joseph's Catholic Institute) with a constitution that called for "[t]he Librarian [to] have charge of and superintend the Reading Room and

Library." The librarian was to "keep a list of the Books and Periodicals belonging to the Institute, and of the names of the members to whom they may be lent, stating the name of the book, the time it was given out, and the date of its return; and he shall at each quarterly meeting report to the Institute the condition of the Library and Reading Room ..." In April 1866, Mullock approved a Memorandum of Agreement between Daniel Henderson and Howley, the institute's president, to take the rooms and apartments which formed the second floor of the building situated on Duckworth Street opposite the Exchange Building, also known as "The Temple," as a home for the institute. This building remained the home of the Catholic Institute with its public library until the Great Fire of 1892.

Mullock's books may have been limited in the early days to use by the clergy and the students of St. Bonaventure's College, but the library itself continued to be used extensively by Catholic organizations for formal and informal gatherings. Given that the number of individuals attending a function in the Episcopal Library could range from 400 to 900, such gatherings were not only a nightmare for the claustrophobic but an invitation for structural failure. On March 3, 1878, members of the Star of the Sea Association of St. John's gathered at the cathedral to celebrate the seventh anniversary of the association's founding in 1871. The celebrations began with a High Mass at 11 a.m., included Vespers later that day lead by Father Ryan, and concluded with a "resplendent dinner." By evening, Bishop Thomas J. Power recorded in his diary that a disaster had been averted that day: "The members of the Star of the Sea came to the Library after the High Mass. There were about 900 assembled. All did not get in the room." After Power had given a brief speech, he "retired from the library," and shortly thereafter, "a beam supporting the floor cracked—there was some confusion and great fear for awhile. It might have been a serious matter. It could have been a deplorable calamity but thank God that all escaped." The following day Power "did Mass in thanksgiving to God for the almost miraculous escape of the many individuals in the Library yesterday."

Other events took place with less threat to life and limb. On July 13, 1881, the *Evening Telegram* reported that for the St. Bonaventure's College closing exercises for the session ending July 12, 1881, the Episcopal Library "was fitted up ... with stage, curtains and scenes. His Lordship the Bishop presided. All the clergymen of the city and many from surrounding districts honored the occasion. The members of the boards of education and the parents and guardians of the pupils mustered in numbers so that the spacious Hall was filled with an audience of no less than four hundred." By the 1880s it was becoming clear that official receptions would have to be moved to the cathedral. This issue was highlighted by the *Evening Telegram* on January 3, 1887, when it reported that the Total Abstinence Society "entered the Cathedral to pay the usual congratulations to the Most Rev. Dr. Power and the Clergy, the numbers of the body having outgrown the accommodation of the Episcopal Library, where they were wont to pay their New Year's call in former days."

Figure 3.3. Students in the Episcopal Library, 1894 (Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's).

Some organizations may have outgrown the Episcopal Library, but it was still the venue of choice for the bishops for private events. It was where most priests upon ordination gathered with their friends

and family, and it was where a bishop met with his clergy for formal functions as well as informal gatherings. For example, the February 2, 1881, issue of the *Evening Telegram* reported that "[t]his evening the clergy will be entertained at dinner … and will afterwards be present at a performance of the operetta, *Lily Bell*, in the Episcopal Library." Bishops were also keen to make the Episcopal Library available to Catholic organizations. The February 11, 1892, *Evening Telegram* announced that "His Lordship Most Reverend Dr. Power has very kindly placed the Episcopal Library apartment at the disposal of the Mercy Covent ladies, to have therein during the winter months wholesome and instructive entertainments for the raising of funds for the Mercy Convent Chapel." The library would have also been available to two other religious communities—the Congregation of the Sisters of the Presentation and the Congregation of Christian Brothers.

In 1892 other Catholic organizations were looking for access to the Episcopal Library. As the sun rose on July 9, 1892, more than two-thirds of St. John's lay in ruins, and approximately 12,000 people had been dispossessed, having lost everything except the clothes they were wearing. In just twelve hours, the Great Fire had claimed the lives of three people and caused the equivalent of $13 million in property damage. Among those properties that were razed were the clubrooms of many Catholic societies and associations—the Catechism League of the Sacred Heart and Holy Name Societies, the Total Abstinence Society, and the Ladies of St. Vincent de Paul were among those institutions looking for a new home.

In the 1890s, under the leadership of Archbishop Michael Francis Howley (1895–1914), the Episcopal Library doors were flung open, not only as a place of meeting for Catholic organizations and societies but also as a place of entertainment. Local papers reported almost daily on some function or event being held in the historic library. One of the first honoured the installation of Howley as bishop of St. John's, an event which the *Evening Telegram* described on February 27, 1895: "The Star of the Sea Association assembled at their hall, 400 strong, and marched in torchlight procession to the Episcopal library, to offer an address of welcome to His Lordship Bishop Howley. It was a splendid demonstration. No finer night could be witnessed than that strong brigade of stalwart men; His Lordship entered the Library, the band playing appropriate music." The Episcopal Library was also a hub of activity for students at St. Bonaventure's College: it served as an examination room, hosted senior debates, and was the site of the announcements of prizes, whether scholarships or athletic trophies, and of the Annual Exhibition of Pupils (Figure 3.3).

THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL PALACE FIRE

The future of the Episcopal Library changed dramatically on the night of February 19, 1921. The next day's newspaper headlines announced "Fire at Archiepiscopal Palace: Entire Contents of Building Destroyed." The accompanying article summarized the loss: "During the same morning, the work of salvaging the uninjured articles from the building was begun … those few articles which were saved being stored in the library, which was fortunately undamaged. Amongst the great amount of property destroyed, was a magnificent collection of modern books. It was very fortunate indeed that the adjoining library, which contained a number of rare volumes, was not harmed." The article is telling: by 1921, then, it appears that there were two book collections, the Mullock collection as it is known today and a separate "magnificent collection of modern books," which had been housed next door at the Palace, the residence of the bishop, that was destroyed in the fire. Although the Episcopal Library was not damaged, the fire meant that it would be repurposed.

With the bishop's official residence destroyed by the conflagration, new accommodation had to be found for the cathedral's clergy—Reverends Green, Carter, and Pippy. Housing also had to be found for the kitchen and cleaning staff. In the face of a poor economy that made rebuilding difficult, it was quickly decided that the new home for both clergy and support staff would be the Episcopal Library. Partitions were built to subdivide the library into "apartments" for the priests, and the grand

30-foot-high ceilings allowed for the construction of a second floor to accommodate the support staff.

Designed by the architectural firm of Delano and Aldrich of New York, and using bluestone, a type of granite from quarries at Signal Hill, St. John's, the "New Palace" was ready for occupancy in December 1924. In building this structure adjacent to the Episcopal Library, Delano and Aldrich substantially changed its exterior. In order for the library to conform to the flat-roof design of the "New Palace," its gable or saddle roof was replaced with a flat roof.

THROWING OPEN THE WINDOWS OF THE CHURCH

It was not until the 1950s that a functional use for the Episcopal Library was once more considered. After the fire of 1921, furniture that had survived the fire at the Palace had been stored there, and throughout the 1930s and 1940s it had provided storage for additional items. In the 1950s, with St. Bonaventure's College filled to the rafters, the Congregation of Christian Brothers negotiated with the archdiocese to use the library as a classroom, an arrangement that lasted from 1954 to 1959.

Figure 3.4. The restored Episcopal Library.

In the 1960s the library was directly affected by unprecedented changes resulting from the Vatican Council II reforms. When asked why Vatican Council II was needed, Pope John XXIII reportedly opened a window and said, "I want to throw open the windows of the Church so that we can see out and the people can see in." The impact on the Episcopal Library was both literal and figurative. The Basilica's younger priests thought that it was time to remove the old tomes from the Episcopal Library and replace them with the "new" theology of the 1960s, a theology written in their own language. To achieve this, they cleared out many of the old Latin and Greek texts that filled the library in order to create a space for all that was new. Some books were discarded, but many were donated to Memorial University. In the early 1970s, one young priest interpreted Pope John's words literally: he replaced the stained glass in the Library's original ten windows with clear glass.

Since the late 1970s the function of the Episcopal Library has come full circle. For the installation of the newly appointed archbishop Alphonsus L. Penney in 1973, extensive renovations were undertaken to return the library to its former glory. Since then it has been used for liturgical and social functions, bringing attention to a space that had almost been forgotten.

More recently, with the formation of the Basilica Museum Committee, the mandate and function of which mirror the expectations of the library's founder, Bishop Mullock, the books are once again considered the heart of the Episcopal Library (Figure 3.4). In 1998 the care of the Episcopal Library was codified in the establishment of the Basilica Museum and Archives established by a constitution approved on July 16, 1998, and formally incorporated on October 21, 2002. The purpose of this all-volunteer entity is the preservation and display of articles and documents of historical or intrinsic value relating to the history of the Catholic church in Newfoundland. Mullock's "noble library" is once again a place of welcome for all guests wishing to explore its treasures.

The Mullock Collection

ÁGNES JUHÁSZ-ORMSBY

The books amassed by Bishop John T. Mullock at different stages of his life in Ireland, Spain, Italy, and Newfoundland and throughout his travels in England, Continental Europe, and North America provided the foundation for the extensive collection presently housed in the Episcopal Library. Although the Episcopal collection has been significantly augmented by successive generations of archbishops (most notably by Mullock's biographer, Archbishop M. F. Howley), Mullock's original bequest still constitutes the principal part of the current Episcopal Library. The earliest description of the library's holdings was provided by Mullock himself who, in his report to the government in 1859, related that he offered his own private collection of "over 2500 volumes as the nucleus of a Public Library," emphasizing that "many of these books are rare and valuable."[1] Intended both as a public and school library for Mullock's educational establishment, St. Bonaventure's College, the original Episcopal Library was part of its founder's vision of creating a cultural centre in St. John's, serving not only the Roman Catholic clergy but also the community at large. As Mullock announced in his February 22, 1857, Pastoral Letter, he was intent on supplying "the most select works for the library, everything in fact that can promote education."

Since Mullock habitually inscribed his acquisitions with his ownership marks, including a variety of signatures and Episcopal stamps, 278 titles in 1,279 volumes from the current Episcopal collection can be securely attributed to him. The remaining 1,033 titles in 1,677 volumes of unsigned books printed before his death can be assigned only tentatively to Mullock, although, in many cases, ownership can be attributed to him with reasonable certainty. In fact, the subject matter and general coverage of the unsigned books often closely correspond with copies signed by Mullock.

A significant and unfortunate reduction of the founding collection occurred in the 1960s when, according to eyewitness accounts, a considerable number of "old books," particularly in the history, geography, and the Newfoundland reference sections, were discarded to make space in the bookcases for new arrivals and for volumes considered at the time more up-to-date. Also, in 1965, a large portion of Mullock's collection of patristic literature and theological works, printed by the nineteenth-century bookseller and editor Jacques-Paul Migne, was donated to Memorial University of Newfoundland. All 221 volumes of the *Patrologia Latina* series, 104 volumes of the *Patrologia Graeca* series, 28 volumes of the *Theologiae* series, a thirteen-volume newly edited set of the church father John Chrysostom's works, and four volumes by the medieval theologian and philosopher Thomas Aquinas were transferred to the open stacks of the Queen Elizabeth II Library, where they are still available for use by the university public. The collection at the Episcopal Library was catalogued in the 1970s according to the Dewey Decimal Classification system, but the accompanying card catalogue has regrettably gone missing. To fulfill Mullock's initial intention to create a publicly accessible

collection, a searchable electronic catalogue is currently being prepared. It is expected to be made public through the Memorial University Libraries Digital Archives portal and the Basilica Museum website later in 2016.

Reflecting his multilingual skills, Mullock collected books in a broad range of languages, including English, French, Italian, Latin, Spanish, Greek, Danish, German, Irish, and Portuguese.

Languages	*Signed*	*Unsigned*
Latin	427	522
French	416	179
English	170	809
Italian	154	221
Greek	105	0
Spanish	11	25
Danish	1	0
German	0	6
Irish	0	3
Portuguese	0	1

While the dominance of books in Latin, Mullock's professional language, is to be expected for a priest and theologian, the sizeable and diverse French collection was less of a norm for an Irishman whose mother tongue was English. However, as Howley notes in his biography, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland, Volume Two* (St. John's, 2005), Mullock had gained some proficiency in French already in Ireland: "He acquired a knowledge of classics at the Academy of Mr. George O'Keefe, and a good grounding in French from a lady who gave him private lessons" (10). Similarly, Mullock quickly learned Spanish as a student in Seville and, as Howley remarks, "Not only did he in a short time become a fluent master of the noble Castilian language, and speak with correctness of idiom, and purity of accent, but he became a student of the Literature and Poetry of the country, as is testified by the extensive collection of *Autores Espanoles* (*Spanish authors*) viz.: Cervantes, Quevedo, Ercilla, Meriano, Balmes, Ximenes, etc., which now adorn the Episcopal Library at St. John's. In after years he acquired the same facility and perfect knowledge of French and Italian" (11). Unfortunately, only a few volumes by Miguel de Cervantes and Francisco de Quevedo, and Jamie Balmes's comparative study of Protestantism and Catholicism, survive from this impressive Spanish collection. Mullock also owned a handful of Greek Bibles, Greek grammars and dictionaries (Entry 21), a Latin-Greek edition of Homer's works (Entry 23), and a fine collection of Hebrew manuals. Judging from the quality of his English-Hebrew grammar books, Mullock must have been fascinated by the language and a devoted student of it, acquiring Hebrew handbooks from his early period as a student in Spain until his later years as bishop of Newfoundland (Entry 22). Irish titles are conspicuously absent from the library, mainly because, as Mullock himself admitted, he did not speak the language. As Howley notes, "Fr. Mullock, though a linguist of more than ordinary versatility, did not know Irish, a thing he often regretted" (14 n.7).

Mullock certainly found particular joy in applying multilingual signatures, especially in languages in which he was a fluent speaker and reader. He signed his early books variably as John, Jean, Giovanni, Joannis, and Juan T. Mullock most commonly on the title page or on a front flyleaf and occasionally at the end of the text or on a rear flyleaf (Figure 4.1). His Greek-Latin lexicon, for example, contains three different signatures—English, Latin, and Greek—and one of his Hebrew manuals bears a slightly misspelled Hebrew inscription. Although he did not always do so consistently, Mullock updated his ownership marks, thus offering some tentative clues as to the dating of his purchases. His earliest signature (Fr[ater] Joan[nes]. T. Mullock O.S.F.) appears after his entry to the Order of St. Francis (*Ordo Sancti Francisci*) in 1825. Since, as a Franciscan, he took a vow of poverty and was not supposed to accumulate books for himself, Mullock's signatures were often accompanied by the phrase *ad usum*, indicating that these books were meant merely "to be used" by him, while he was in Franciscan monastic communities in Seville, Rome, and Ireland. When Mullock was ordained as a priest in Rome in 1830, he added S. P. (*Sanctissime Pater* or Most Holy Father) to his inscription and changed his title from friar to priest (P[ater] Joannis T. Mullock). He at times noted that he obtained a book with his superiors' permission (*sup. per.*), like the three volumes of the French philosopher

and Protestant writer Pierre Bayle's foundational *Dictionaire historique et critique* (Entry 32). Sometimes he even needed papal permission to own certain books, such as the English translation of the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau's seminal *Emilius and Sophia* (Entry 2) or the Protestant King James Bible (Entry 10). The permission was granted in the first case by Pope Pius VII and in the second case by Pius VIII (*cum licentia Pii VIII P[ontifex]. M[aximus]*) during his exceptionally short reign (1829–30).[2] Mullock's signatures also reflect his professional advancement, first as titular bishop of Thaumacene *in partibus* (1847–50), then as bishop of Newfoundland (1850–56), and finally as bishop of St. John's (1856–69), following the creation of the diocese of Harbour Grace. During his tenure as bishop of Newfoundland, Mullock introduced two Episcopal stamps: he used an oval ink stamp with his name and abbreviated Latin Episcopal title (FR. JOAN T. MULLOCK. O.S.F. EPUS. TERRÆ NOVÆ) surrounding the symbol of the Franciscan order: the Tau cross with two crossed arms, Jesus's right hand with the nail wound and St. Francis's left hand with the stigmata wound. His Episcopal stamp was later modified into an elegant round embossed stamp with his ceremonial mitre added to the Franciscan symbol (Figure 4.2).

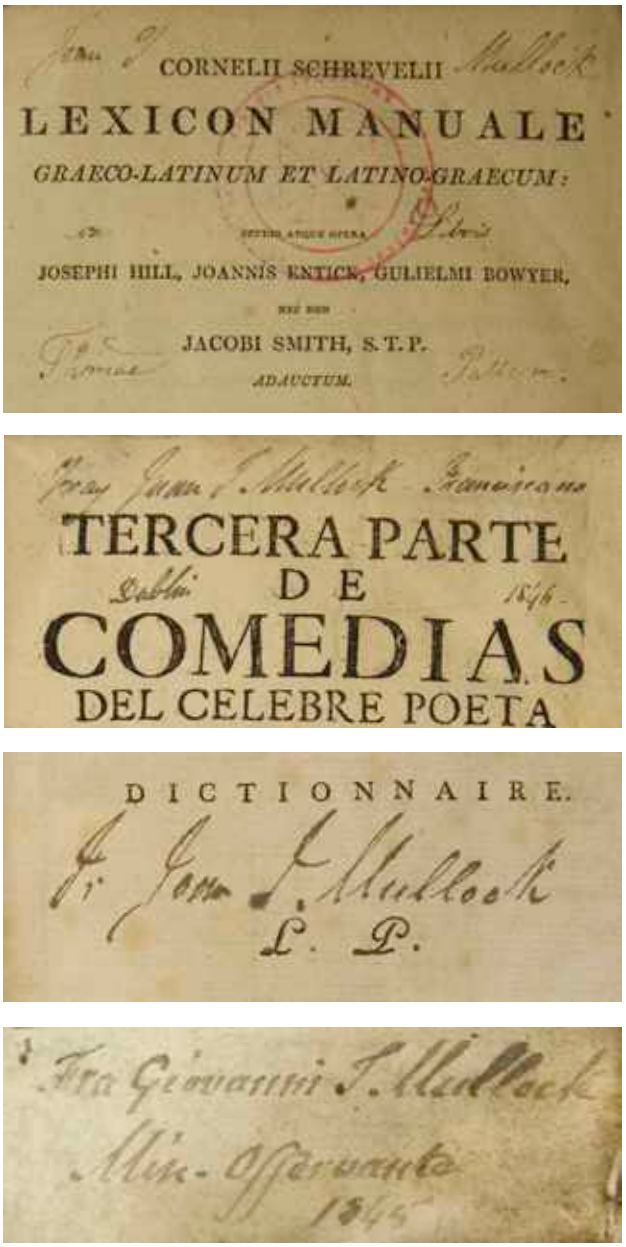


Figure 4.1. Mullock's signatures in various languages.

Not only did Mullock sign his books but he also regularly dated them, starting from his sojourn in Spain until the end of his life. He bought books while in Dublin and while travelling in Rome, Paris, and London as the inscriptions in the books and the occasional references in his diaries confirm.[3] Following his arrival in Newfoundland, he had a considerable number of volumes shipped from Europe (particularly Paris) to St. John's. Mullock's dated acquisitions constitute a diverse selection, revealing his eclectic approach to collecting. They are not restricted to his philosophical and theological studies, nor to his Liguori scholarship, nor to his interest in universal and especially Irish church history, but they also include literary and secular historical works, biographies, travel books, and a broad range of journals in different languages which he obtained randomly along with other necessary professional tools. His love of literature is apparent in his choice collection of classical Greek and Latin works, eighteenth-century English poetry (Entry 30), French and Italian drama (Entries 27, 29), William Shakespeare's plays (Entry 28), and works by Spanish authors (Entry 26). Some early purchases suggest that Mullock's interest in translating Ligouri's works began in Spain and he consciously gathered primary and secondary sources long before his

Figure 4.2. Mullock's Episcopal stamps.

first English translations of Liguori's historical accounts of the heresies or of the Council of Trent appeared in print (Entry 15). It was also in Continental Europe where he gathered many of the rare sixteenth- and seventeenth-century imprints he so cherished and brought with him to St. John's.

There is a marked shift, however, in the pattern of acquisition once Mullock moved to Newfoundland in 1848 and conceived of the idea to establish a seminary and school. In the subsequent period, whole sets of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Latin, French, and Italian moral theological works, biblical commentaries, sermon collections, ecclesiastical historical encyclopaedias, and practical theological guides arrived *en masse* to furnish the library with studies and research tools indispensable for Mullock's newly founded seminary.[4] As attested by his dated inscriptions, multi-volume sets streamed into the library from Migne's bookstore, the Parisian Atelier Catholique, year after year between 1849 and 1861 to provide a complete course (*cursus completus*) of Catholic theology (Entries 13, 14). Although not dated or signed as assiduously as the theological collection intended for seminarians, there is a marked increase in educational books, in particular school editions of classical Greek and Roman authors; French, Italian, Spanish, and German grammars; dictionaries; English literary works; and recent publications in history, geography, music, and natural sciences aimed at younger students. It was during this period that Alexander von Humboldt's *Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe* (Entry 7) and other books popularizing the mechanical arts appeared in the collection. They were added in the 1850s and 1860s when Mullock was preoccupied with creating an ideal environment for study at St. Bonaventure's College. His acquisitions mirror the curriculum he envisioned in his Lenten Pastoral Letter of 1857: "a good English, commercial and scientific education together with a knowledge of modern languages … the study of the ancient languages and mental and natural philosophy."

But even when his collecting habits were so clearly focused on stocking the public and school library with essential volumes, Mullock did not abandon his own personal interests. After his move to St. John's, his discovery and conscious reorientation toward the New World was manifested in the rapidly growing number of books he collected that were printed in or concerned with the affairs of British North America and the United States (Entry 34). In the turbulent years of the political upheaval of the 1860s in Newfoundland, Mullock obtained a group of French and English books on the history of the French Revolution which were, perhaps in his view, particularly pertinent to his own situation and (at times controversial) participation in local politics. Characteristic of his scholastic methods, Mullock gathered studies on the French Revolution that represented both sides of the debate, weighing the arguments for and against his examined topic (Entries 3, 4). The same attitude is exhibited in the considerable amount of

controversial literature in the Mullock collection which takes a defensive position about the Catholic church and demonstrates the bishop's firm support for papal authority. Notwithstanding Mullock's ultramontane loyalties and overt Roman preferences in ecclesiastical matters, he gathered numerous studies on the history of Methodism, Jansenism, Jacobinism, Lutheranism, and the German Reformation, as well as writings by Quietist authors, which he clearly consulted for the footnotes of his translation of Ligouri's *History* and his own supplementary chapter on the heresies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Entry 16). Furthermore, he collected a substantial number of books on the English Reformation, a topic particularly close to his heart, to inform and even revise his translation of Ligouri's *History*. Mullock patently displayed his rigorous approach to scholarship in his translator's preface: "In the latter portion of the work, and especially in that portion of it, the most interesting to us, the History of the English Reformation, the Student may perceive some slight variations between the original text and my translation. I have collated the Work with the writings of modern Historians—the English portion, especially with Hume and Lingard—and wherever I have seen the statements of the Holy Author not borne out by the authority of our own Historians, I have considered it more prudent to state the facts, as they really took place; for our own writers must naturally be supposed to be better acquainted with our History, than the foreign authorities quoted by the Saint [Ligouri]" (unnumbered page).

Perhaps it was this meticulousness and curiosity of the scholar-theologian that led Mullock repeatedly to seek out authors whose works were placed by the Catholic church on the Index of Prohibited Books (*Index librorum prohibitorum*), an unusual, though not unprecedented, choice for a Victorian ecclesiastical official. Prompted by the spread of Reformation ideas through the printing press, the original indexes compiled by the faculties of theology of the Universities of Paris and Louvain in the early sixteenth century were soon followed by similar compilations in Italy, Portugal, and Spain, and were eventually codified by the first papal index issued by Paul IV in 1559.[5] Although the ever-growing list of banned books was regularly updated and revised on subsequent papal indexes until the whole enterprise was finally abolished in 1966, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent nineteenth-century Catholic readers and scholars followed, if at all, the guidance of these indexes, when selecting their reading material. Mullock certainly did not seem to have been restricted by these prohibitive lists. He owned condemned works by, among others, Niccolò Machiavelli (Entry 5), Erasmus of Rotterdam (Entries 11, 25), Francis Bacon, Johannes Buxtorf (Entry 9), Hugo Grotius (Entry 6), Blaise Pascal (Entry 1), Pierre Bayle (Entry 32), Montesquieu, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Entry 2), Voltaire (Entry 29), John Locke, Samuel Richardson, and Edward Gibbon (Entry 33). Whether it was this extensive reading list of freethinkers combined with the religious conflicts in contemporary Newfoundland (Entry 38) that convinced Mullock to obtain Thomas Clarke's *History of Intolerance* (Waterford, 1819) will remain an unresolved question. Nevertheless, if, as the full title of the work suggests, Mullock indeed reflected on Clarke's *Observations on the Unreasonableness and Injustice of Persecution, and on the Equity and Wisdom of Unrestricted Religious Liberty*, one of the last dated books in the collection, it represents a fitting closure to Mullock's long and versatile intellectual journey. While reflecting on Clarke's work, Mullock may have also revisited an early acquisition, which he most likely obtained while he was a young student in Spain, Bernard Picart's seminal *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peoples du monde* (Entry 8). Yet another banned book, the Huguenot Picart's pioneering advocacy of religious tolerance could have proved not only a suitable accompaniment to the *History of Intolerance* in the public collection but also a profound private companion to the aging and ailing bishop in the final years of his life.

Mullock also received books from friends, associates, and publishers. These gifts are often the only remaining evidence of Mullock's personal connections with his contemporaries, among them Irish and English bishops, political sympathizers and enemies, old family friends and patrons. While studying in St. Bonaventure's College in Seville, Mullock must have

built up close ties with the Dominican St. Thomas College in Madrid from where his copy of a Greek New Testament (*Novum Testamentum Graece* [Edinburgh, 1804]) originated. Two Spanish theological works by the sixteenth-century writer and preacher Luis de Granada were bequeathed to him by Patrick Sharkey, an Irish student at St. Thomas's in Madrid and later Dominican friar at Sligo Abbey. Apart from these Spanish bequests, the Reverend Charles Browne, an acquaintance from the Adam and Eve convent in Dublin in the 1830s, enriched Mullock's steadily developing French collection with eighteenth-century editions of Molière's and Corneille's dramatic works, and Nicolle de La Croix's *Géographie moderne* (Entry 36). Mullock's consecration as bishop of Thaumacene *in partibus* in Rome in 1847 is memorialized in a Latin breviary (*Breviarium Romanum*), inscribed by both Mullock and the Prefect of Propaganda de Fide, Cardinal Franzoni, who officiated the ceremony. Mullock's relationship with the prominent English cardinal, John Henry Newman, is documented by a now partially lost correspondence, as well as by Newman's *Discourses on University Education*, which arrived, most likely as an unbound bundle, in St. John's in 1857 (Entry 20). The records of the Halifax councils were sent to Mullock from Nova Scotia by Reverend Michael Harrison, while Mullock was kept updated about the politically significant Baltimore provincial councils by his friend, the archbishop of Halifax, William Walsh (Entry 18) (Figure 4.3). James Rogers, the freshly installed bishop of Chatham, New Brunswick, evidently attended Mullock's lecture "Rome, Past and Present" delivered in St. Dunstan's Cathedral in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, in 1860. A day after the lecture, his "humble and grateful friend" gave Mullock a copy of Alexander Monro's *New Brunswick; with a Brief Outline of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. Their History, Civil Divisions, Geography and Productions*, published in Halifax in 1855 and signed by Rogers in Charlottetown on August 17. Another token of gratitude is found in a beautiful eighteenth-century edition of Horace, presented to Mullock appropriately enough by William Cowper Maclaurin, an Anglican convert from England, who became professor of classics at St. Bonaventure's College on Cardinal Newman's recommendation (Entry 24).

Inscriptions in books also point to Mullock's less-known political activities. The *Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces*, published in Quebec in 1865 and sent to Mullock by the Canadian Parliament, contain a revealing letter by the bishop on the question of confederation (Entry 40). A surprisingly friendly gesture from Mullock's political adversary, the governor of Newfoundland, Alexander Bannerman, is preserved in Thomas C. Harvey's *Official Reports of the Out Islands of the Bahamas*. That Bannerman's present was not simply a customary act of politeness but a genuinely thoughtful gift is confirmed by Harvey's book, the main focus of which, the improvement of infrastructure in the Bahamas (the governor's previous posting), was a major concern to both Mullock and Bannerman (Entry 39). Mullock's interest in the development of communication and transportation in Newfoundland also brought him into contact with the American industrialist Peter Cooper, who, as president of the New York, Newfoundland and London Electric Telegraph Company, was in charge of the transatlantic cable endeavour. Apart from their interest in communications, Mullock and Cooper shared their views on progressive educational models, delineated in Cooper's complimentary contribution to the Mullock collection, *Charter, Trust Deed, and By-Laws of the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art* (Entry 41). According to the testimony of his books, Mullock also closely followed current political events in Ireland. Mullock's contemporary, one of the leading Irish nationalists, William Smith O'Brien, presented him with two books after O'Brien's return from exile. Following his three-month tour of North America, which included a visit to St. John's in 1859, O'Brien gave Mullock a copy of his own *Principles of Government; or Meditations in Exile* (Boston, 1856) which he signed in New York in May 23, 1859. A year later O'Brien sent Mullock a copy of John Donoghue's *Historical Memoir of the O'Briens: With Notes, Appendix, and a Genealogical Table of Their Several Branches* (Dublin, 1860), signed in May 1860 (Entry 35).

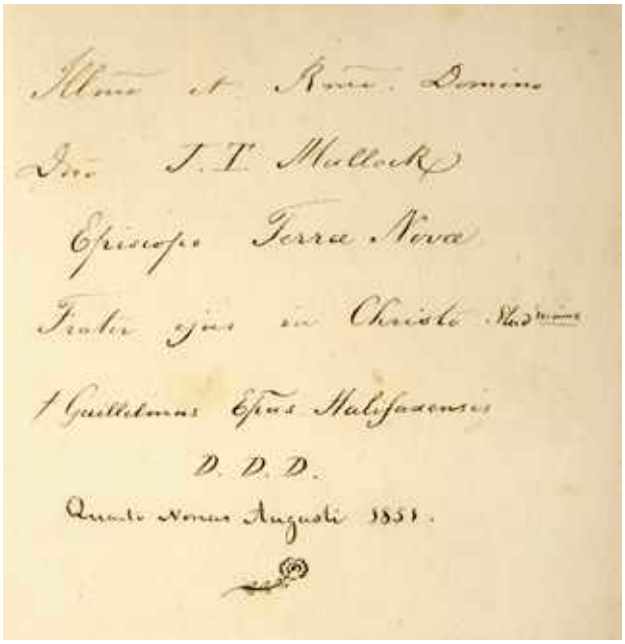


Figure 4.3. William Walsh's inscription in *Concilia provincialia Baltimori habita ab anno 1829 usque ad annum 1840* (Baltimore, 1842).

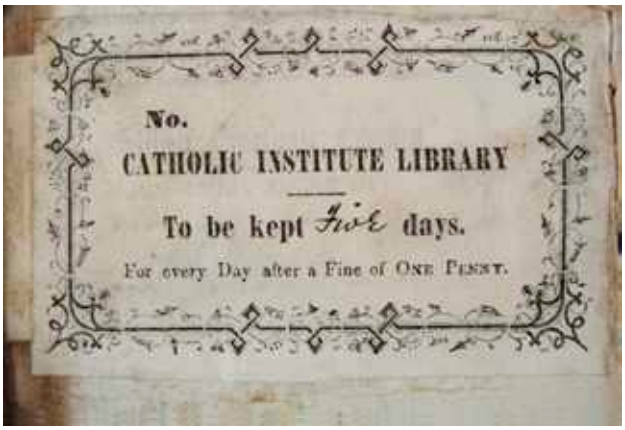


Figure 4.4. Catholic Institute Library label on front pastedown of *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, vol. 4 (Dublin, 1846).

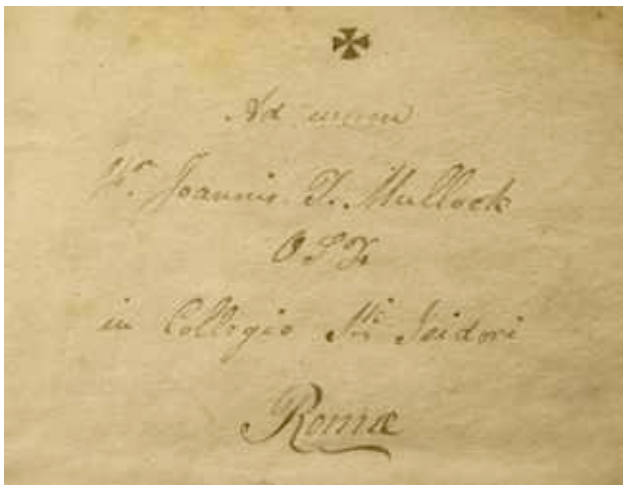


Figure 4.5. Inscription of St. Isidore's in *Nuovo Testamento secondo la Volgata* (Livorno, 1818).

Gifts and complimentary copies were also sent to Mullock by publishers James Duffy and Gerald Bellew from Dublin. When Mullock visited Limerick and Dublin in 1849, after his first year in Newfoundland, his pianist Jane McKenna gave the relentless wanderer a *Handbook for Travellers in France*. Some books migrated to Mullock's collection from other institutions: René-Aubert Vertot's *History of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem* (Edinburgh, 1770) came from the Dublin Lending Library, and Marie Louise Prudhomme's *Histoire générale et impartiale des erreurs, des fautes et des crimes commis pendant la Révolution Française* (Paris, 1797) was previously owned by Henry Fitzpatrick, the printer and bookseller of the Royal Seminary at Maynooth in Ireland from where a devotional work, *Officium Beatæ Mariæ Virginis* (Prague, 1797), also arrived in St. John's. Finally, a whole set of William Shakespeare's works (London, 1830) was borrowed from the Catholic Institute Library in St. John's, but (despite the five-day limit) it was never returned there (Figure 4.4).

Mullock had a clear vision of the kind of books he wished to obtain for himself and for the public library. To realize his plans, he must have regularly referred to subscription lists (particularly those of Migne), booksellers' advertisements, and journals' miscellaneous literary notices to remain informed about recent publications. The *Foreign Quarterly Review*, a London-based independent journal (later merged with the liberal *Westminster Review*) of which Mullock had eleven issues (1832–37), contained, for example, an extensive "List of the Principal Works Published on the Continent," arranged according to such topics as theology, philosophy, law, mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural and medical sciences, history, biography, travel, poetry, drama, novels, romances, and Oriental literature.

Yet, the most formative influence on Mullock's collecting habits came from his early years in Seville and Rome (Figure 4.5). Although it is hard to assess the holdings of the library of St. Bonaventure's College in Seville during Mullock's time there, the Wadding Library of St. Isidore's College in Rome has been a

Figure 4.6. Mullock's coffer (Basilica Museum, St. John's).

major centre of study and research from its foundation in 1622 until the present day. To accommodate the thorough spiritual and intellectual training program envisaged by the founder of St. Isidore's, the Irish Franciscan theologian and writer Luke Wadding (1588–1657), who placed special emphasis on the importance of acquiring a broad range of knowledge for Franciscans, the Wadding Library housed about 5,000 volumes at its inception in the seventeenth century.[6] Over the centuries, the guardians of the library built up a rich collection of theological, canonical, spiritual, and pastoral works, early Christian writings, and biblical commentaries, and expanded the core areas with books in natural science, political philosophy, history, travel, and controversial literature. Significantly, in the early 1820s, just before Mullock's arrival in Rome, a substantial number of books migrated from the equally well-equipped St. Anthony's College, Louvain, to St. Isidore's. In many ways, Mullock's own collection mirrors the composition of that at St. Isidore's and in certain areas there is a direct connection between the two libraries. As a student living a largely monastic form of life at St. Isidore's, Mullock had access to an abundance of books on such specialized topics as the Council of Trent and the hotly contested doctrine of the Immaculate Conception (promoted by Wadding and Ligouri), both of which feature in Mullock's own collection. The Tridentine collection at St. Isidore's may have prompted him to purchase such classics as Sforza Pallavicio's *Istoria del Concilio di Trento* (Rome, 1657) and whole sets of controversial writings and disputations by the Italian Jesuit Robert Bellarmine (Roberto Bellarmino), one of the most prominent figures of the Counter-Reformation. Similarly to the Irish Franciscans at St. Isidore's, who did not refrain from studying histories by Protestant writers, Mullock freely gathered all sorts of books by Anglican and Calvinist authors. It was also most likely at St. Isidore's where, following Wadding's and successive custodians' examples, Mullock was inspired to become an annalist first of the Franciscan order in Ireland and later of the church in Newfoundland. Furthermore, St. Isidore's housed an excellent map and manuscript collection, so, as Joseph MacMahon and John McCafferty have pointed out in their survey of the Wadding Library's early history, a student at St. Isidore's would have been exposed to a strategically accumulated, comprehensive collection that would have inevitably affected his outlook for the rest of his life: "Being surrounded by this wealth of printed and manuscript material, reinforced by the richness of the visual art and architecture of Rome, would undoubtedly have shaped his identity and added a new dimension to it. Being an Irish Catholic meant, not only being part of a subject people, but also of belonging to a powerful international body and tradition. It is easy to see how 'Irishness' and 'Catholic' were being irrevocably forged into a unified identity and how the latter dimension expanded one's mental horizon beyond the narrow restraints of the national and local. To be Catholic was also to be European and cosmopolitan" (116).

When Mullock disembarked from the steamer *Unicorn* with an enormous coffer (Figure 4.6) packed with English, French, Spanish, Italian, Latin, and Greek books and Hebrew grammars in St. John's harbour on May 6, 1848, it was this cosmopolitan ideal accented by a strong southern European flair that he brought with him to his new home, an ideal he subsequently attempted to transplant into his educational foundation and library.

Like many Victorian readers, Mullock cherished the aesthetic of the pristine, unspoiled page, and he

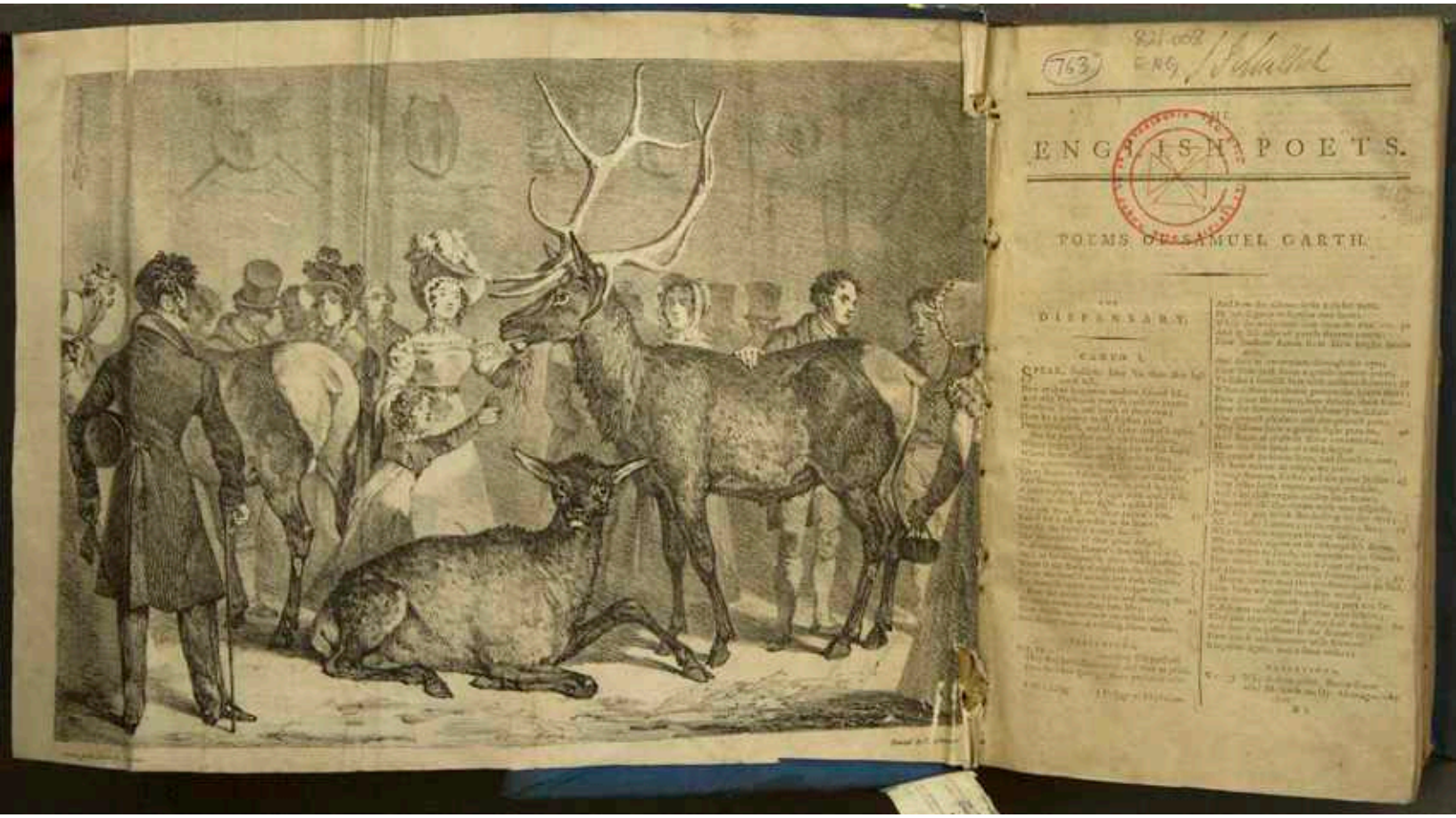


Figure 4.7. Fold-out image from Samuel Johnson, *The Works of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 4 (Dublin, 1800).

rarely annotated or marked up his books. It does not mean, however, that he did not read them. In fact, his frequent references in his writings and translations to volumes in the Mullock collection suggest that he regularly consulted many of them (Figure 4.7). Some favourites he took with him on his travels. Mullock signed his copy of *Modern British Essayists* first in 1850, then he apparently amused himself with this work, which included the essays, among others, of the British historian and Whig politician Thomas Babington Macaulay (whose books he avidly collected), in Chateaux Bay, Labrador, in 1852.

Despite his dedicated collecting that spanned a lifetime and encompassed books published from 1524 until 1868, Mullock was not technically a bibliophile. Neither did he indulge in deluxe editions or expensive fine bindings, nor did he hunt for exquisite illustrated books or first editions. Interestingly, the only instance when Mullock seemed to have paid special attention to the bibliographical features of his acquisition is when he purchased in Rome in early 1848 the breviary he gave as a gift to Bishop Fleming. Covered in beautiful gold-tooled leather binding with fine metal clasps, the Fleming-Mullock breviary is a superb example of nineteenth-century Belgian book production (Entry 37). Yet the majority of the Mullock collection consists of affordable books and reprints clad in vellum (typical of student bindings), calf or goat skin, quarter leather binding with marbled paper on the boards, canvas-type cloth, or, occasionally, plain blue paper wrappers

Figure 4.8. Sixteenth-century limp bindings.

Figure 4.9. Printer's device of Balthasar II Moretus.

(Figure 4.8). His definition of rare and valuable was largely limited to the content of his acquisitions and to his antiquarian predilection for early printed books. Among his earliest purchases are rare imprints from the print shop of Johann Knoblouch in Strasbourg (1524), Eucharius Cervicornus in Cologne (1524), Johann Herwagen in Basel (1536 and 1539), Michael de Roigny in Paris (1551), Artus Chauvin in Geneva (1562), Giovanni and Giovanni Paolo Gioliti de' Ferrari in Venice (1581), Cornelio Bonardo in Salamanca (1588), and Jan Janssonius in Amsterdam (1626). Mullock also had two copies from the famous Officina Platiniana operated by Balthasar II Moretus in Antwerp (1657) (Figure 4.9). Places of publication of Mullock's later books also vary widely, representing all major centres of printing in Europe and North America.

The collection Mullock offered to the public in 1859 constitutes a colourful assortment of highly personal and private as well as professional and public books.[7] While they showcase the versatile interests of a scholar and theologian with a marked Irish, British, and Continental European background, they also demonstrate Mullock's unfailing and untiring commitment to education in his new place of ministry, Newfoundland, which he would routinely and fondly refer to as his country. The books Mullock collected throughout his life delineate an intriguing alternative biography of his diverse and, at times, conflicting intellectual pursuits. As the following selection from the Mullock collection, organized by the headings on the bookcases in the Episcopal Library, will illustrate, his books offer a window onto an inquisitive mind that often reached beyond the boundaries of his public persona. These samplings present a multifaceted narrative of a boundless intellectual life that only the books themselves can tell.

1. Bishop John Thomas Mullock, *Journal of the House of Assembly Appendix*, Education, December 31, 1859.

2. Since Pius VII died in 1823, it is more likely that it was Pius VIII who granted the permission, just as he did in the case of Mullock's copy of the King James Bible.

3. In his diary for 1851, recording his trips to Halifax, Montreal, London, Paris, Rome, and Ireland, he notes that he bought, among other things, books in London.

4. According to Michael F. Howley, "The stocking of the [Episcopal] library may also be guessed from some of the bills. Thus we find: The Ballandists' [sic] *Acta Sanctorum* Vols. £27.13.6 pounds, Abbe Migne's Patrologia Graeca et Latina Vols. £145.11.0, Vaticano Vols. £30" (*Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland, Volume Two*, ed. Joseph B. Darcy, assoc. ed. John F. O'Mara [St. John's, 2005], 80).

5. See Jésus Martinez de Bujanda, *Index des livres interdits*, 10 vols. (Sherbrooke and Geneva, 1984–96) and *Index librorum prohibitorum* (1600–1966) (Montreal and Geneva, 2002); cf. Pearce J. Carefoote, *Forbidden Fruit: Banned, Censored, and Challenged Books from Dante to Harry Potter* (Toronto, 2007).

6. See Joseph MacMahon and John McCafferty, "The Wadding Library of Saint Isidore's College Rome, 1622–1700," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 106 (2013): 97–118. Cf. Benighnus Millet, "The Archives of St. Isidore's College, Rome," *Archivium Hibernicum* 40 (1985): 1–13. For Irish Franciscan libraries, see Canice Mooney, "The Franciscan Library, Merchants' Quay, Dublin," *An Leabharlann: Journal of the Library Association of Ireland* 8 (1942): 29–37 and "The Irish Franciscan Libraries of the Past," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (1942): 215–28.

7. The primarily theological collection of the Roman Catholic bishop of Victoria, Charles John Seghers (1839–86), provides an interesting comparison with Mullock's collection. On Seghers's books see Hélène Cazes, *The Seghers Collection: Old Books for a New World* (Victoria, BC, 2013).


SWIFTS
WORKS
VOL
VI
SWIFTS
WORKS
VOL
VII

PART II

Entries

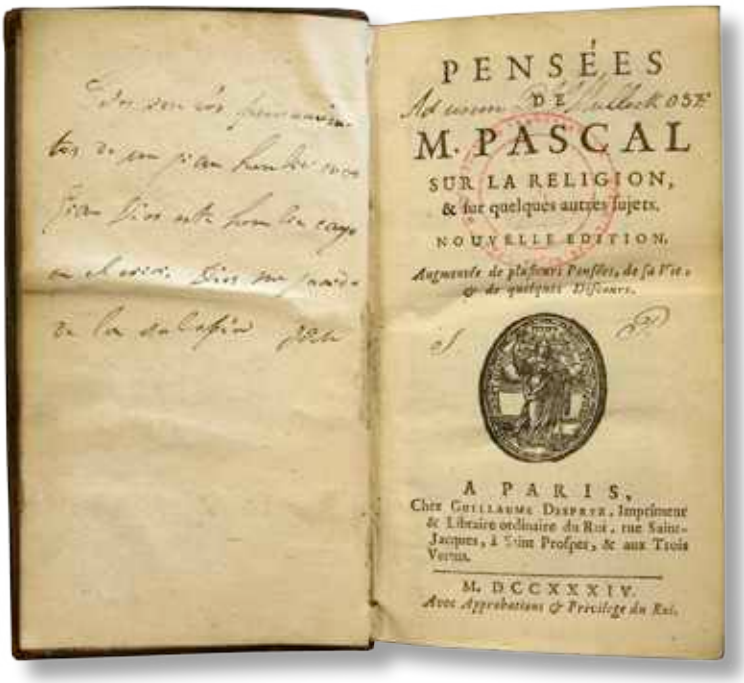
1 Pascal and Port-Royal

Blaise Pascal, *Les provinciales ou lettres écrites*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: Paul Marret, 1699). 90 x 150 mm

Blaise Pascal, *Pensées de M. Pascal sur la religion, & sur quelques sujets* (Paris: Desprez, 1734). 100 x 165 mm
Illustrations: spine (*below*), title page, pages 458–459 (*opposite*)

As the Mullock collection contains volumes associated with Port-Royal, it is worth considering the extraordinary intellectual vitality of this institution in seventeenth-century France. Founded as an abbey for women in 1204, Port-Royal flourished under the patronage of the eminent Arnauld family, from the late 1500s onwards. The community, which included nuns and *Solitaires*—laymen turning to the convent for a life of reflection and piety—eventually embraced Jansenism, a religious doctrine that promoted austerity, challenged royal absolutism, and opposed the Jesuits on many theological and philosophical fronts. It also created the *Petites Écoles*, schools dedicated to fostering academic excellence through innovative pedagogical methods. Its pupils included the famous playwright Jean Racine. At the heart of major controversies in France for decades, Port-Royal was regularly persecuted and the cloister itself was ultimately burned to the ground in 1711, at the behest of Louis XIV. Its exceptional legacy, however, lived on and has relevance today.

The most celebrated of its members is without a doubt Blaise Pascal (1623–62). A brilliant and precocious mind, he discovered two new fields of research in mathematics when he was still in his twenties. Following a mystical experience, however, he turned to God and philosophy, moving to Port-Royal, where he immediately took on the defence of Antoine Arnauld, a Jansenist who was facing eviction from the Sorbonne and perhaps even imprisonment for his religious positions. The result was Pascal's *Provinciales*, a series of letters written to the head of the Jesuit order. Their instant and spectacular success may be attributed to their popular appeal. Vitriolic and brimming with irony, the *Provinciales* belong to the polemical epistolary genre. Privileged from the very beginning by Christianity with Paul's correspondence, letters became heavily codified during the Middle Ages under the weight of the church. The genre was revived with the rise of humanism, only to culminate with the *Provinciales*. Pascal's letters are cogent, mordant, and simply a pleasure to read, representing as such a clear break from the type of long, arid essays that was too often characteristic of the period. Such is the incisiveness and originality of Pascal's style that the *Provinciales* are seen by many as the catalyst



PENSÉES
DE
M. PASCAL
SUR LA RELIGION,
& sur quelques autres sujets.
NOUVELLE EDITION,
Augmentée de plusieurs Pensées, de sa Vie, & de quelques Discours.

A PARIS,
Chez GUILLAUME DESPREZ, Imprimeur & Libraire ordinaire du Roi, rue Saint-Jacques, à Saint Prosper, & aux Trois Vertus.

M. DCCXXXIV.
Avec Approbation & Privilege du Roi.

AVERTISSEMENT.

QUIL Y A
DES DEMONSTRATIONS
D'UNE AUTRE SORTE
ET AUSSI CERTAINES
QUE CELLES
DE LA GEOMETRIE

of French Classicism (Molière, Corneille, Racine, etc.) and the inspiration behind other polemicists such as Voltaire.

Pascal's driving ambition, however, remained his *Apology of the Christian Religion*, the intended title of what is today known as *Les Pensées*, which was placed on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1789. It is an unfinished opus, and early editions of the text not only deliberately left out a number of important fragments but they also made the mistake of presuming that Pascal had bequeathed them at random. It was not before the middle of the nineteenth century that commentators began to suspect an order behind the various notes and that the book's argument could in fact be substantially reconstituted. As a result, recent editions are far more coherent and exhaustive than the work in the Mullock collection. Still, even in this eighteenth-century volume, one is quickly struck by the profound and lucid assessment of the human condition depicted by Pascal, revealing the *Pensées* as one of the most seminal studies of modernity alongside the writings of Baruch Spinoza, Immanuel Kant, and René Descartes.

Mullock also had a copy of Pierre Nicole's *Continuation des essais de morale: Contenant des reflexions morales sur les Epitres et Evangiles* (The Hague, 1700) and volume 3 of the eighth edition of *Essais de morale: Contenus en divers traitez sur plusieurs devoirs importans* (The Hague, 1700). Nicole (1625–95) was a close friend of Pascal and one of the most important pillars of Port-Royal. Erudite, he wrote on many subjects including theology, aesthetics, and logic. Prompted by the bishop and theologian Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet and in line with his strict rationalism, Nicole also wrote a virulent criticism of mysticism. Nicole is perhaps best remembered, however, for having authored a series of essays on morality, eventually collected together under the title *Essais de morale*. The popular appeal and success of these treatises are corroborated by the fact that they were republished in four volumes from 1687 to 1688, as *Continuation des essais de morale*, which included studies on liturgical texts. The Mullock collection contains the second of these volumes.

Joël Madore

Dictionnaire des Philosophes (Paris, 1998).
Encyclopédie de la philosophie (Paris, 1995) (originally *Enciclopedia Garzanti di filosofia*, ed. Gianni Vattimo).

2 Writers of the Enlightenment

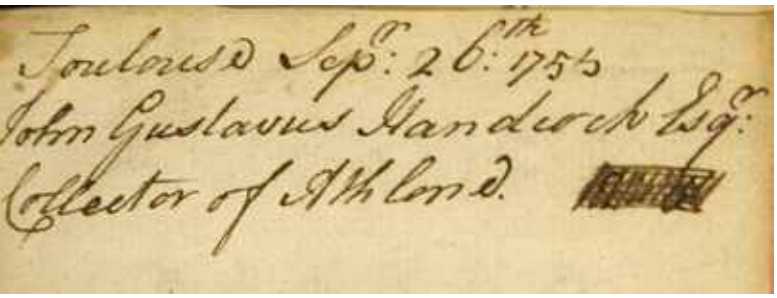
Pierre Bayle, *Dictionaire historique et critique*, vols. 1–3 (Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1702). 255 x 380 mm

Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, vol. 1 (Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1754). 103 x 170 mm
Illustrations: inscription of John Gustavus Handcock, collector of Athlone, on front flyleaf (*below*), armorial bookplate on front pastedown (*overleaf*)

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emilius and Sophia: or, A New System of Education*, vols. 1 and 4 (Dublin: J. Potts and D. Chamberlaine, 1779). 110 x 176 mm
Illustrations: vol. 4 title page, frontispiece (*opposite*), vol. 1 frontispiece (*overleaf*)

The Enlightenment was a period of intellectual, scientific, and cultural flourishing, roughly spanning the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and culminating with the French Revolution in 1789. Characterized by a marked belief in progress and a staunch defence of the powers of reason over superstition, it witnessed the spectacular emergence of individual autonomy and social equality, namely through its virulent critique of ecclesiastical and royal authority. It represents nothing less than Europe's access to modernity, and, alongside Scotland and Germany, France was particularly instrumental in sparking this movement.

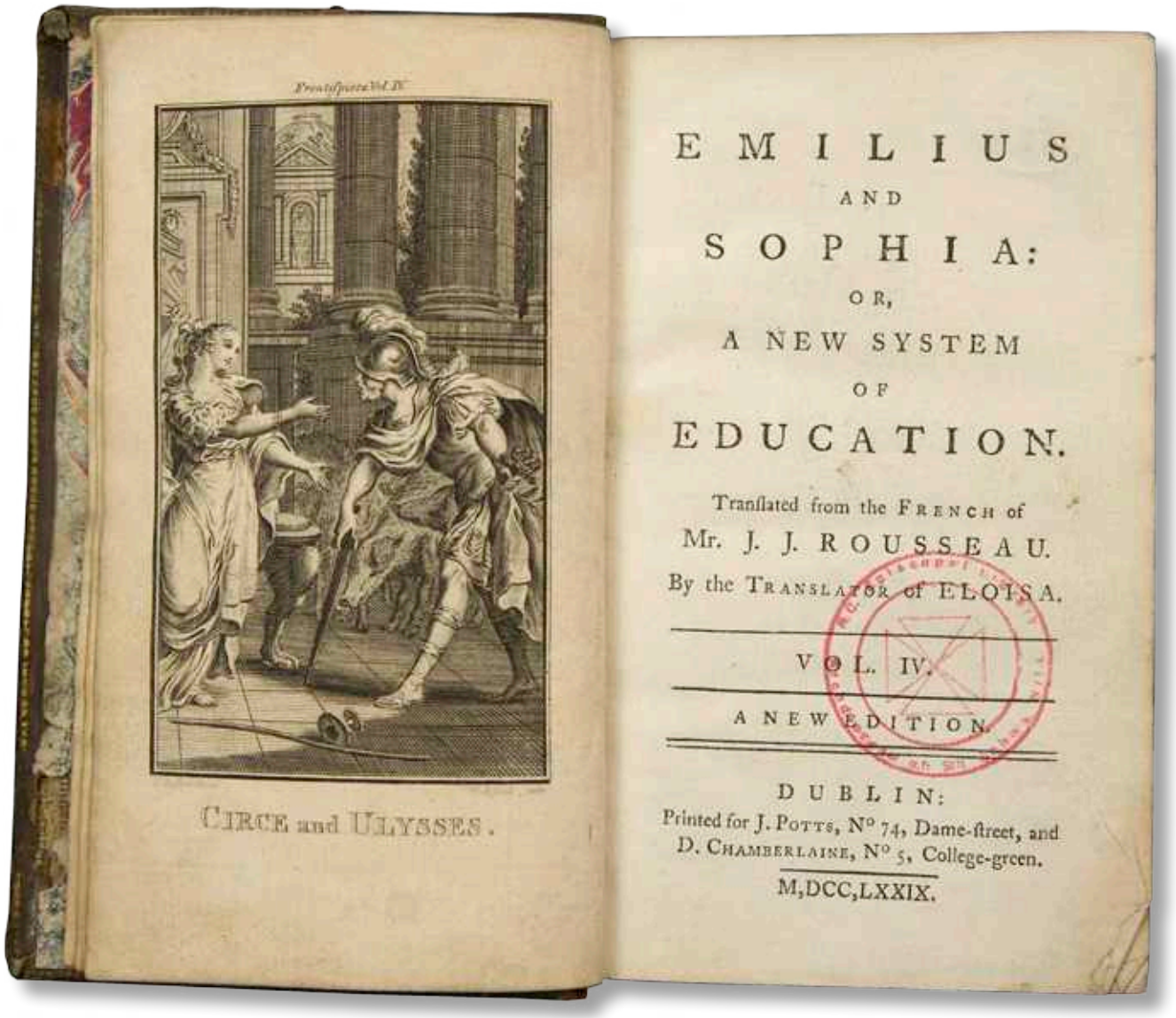
Despite his not enjoying the notoriety of some of his contemporaries, Pierre Bayle's contribution to Enlightenment thinking remains central. Converting to Catholicism after his sojourn at Toulouse with the Jesuits, Bayle (1647–1706) returned to his Calvinist faith in 1670. After Protestant universities closed in France in 1681, he moved to Rotterdam (Netherlands), where he wrote and published his *Dictionaire*. Mullock obtained a copy of this volume, with his superiors' permission, between 1825 and 1830, and so before his ordination. It had been originally published in two volumes, though later augmented to three, which is the edition in the collection. Bayle's magnum opus contains some of the most rationalistic positions circulating during the Enlightenment, to the extent it became a reference work for deists and atheists in the eighteenth century. Dictionaries are specifically modern works, replacing the hierarchized vision of the world typical of medieval society with the systematic attempt to classify knowledge, namely by listing *alphabetically* the main figures of philosophy. Bayle's *Dictionaire* is the second in its genre, meant to correct the mistakes of and supplement Louis Moréri's *Grand dictionnaire historique* (1674). However, it distinguishes itself by its clear efforts to separate religion from morality, claiming that moral duties are universal and framed by the exercise of reason rather than guided by tradition or revelation. In the aftermath of the devastating French Wars of Religion (1562–98), the *Dictionaire* proposes a message of tolerance and open-mindedness, reminding its readers that pagans could be as virtuous as Christians could be corrupt.



More caustic is Montesquieu's (1689–1755) epistolary novel, *Lettres persanes*, published anonymously in 1721. Scathing and mordant, it caricatures to the point of ridicule the absolutism of Louis XIV (by that time deceased), the *Régence* (i.e., the period between Louis XIV's death and the majority of Louis XV), and

Catholicism in general. A renowned magistrate and trained in law, Montesquieu also explores the nature of power, laying the groundwork for his masterpiece, *De l'esprit des lois* (The spirit of the laws). In doing so, *Lettres persanes* often appears to engage with the *Leviathan* (1651), Thomas Hobbes's seminal work on statecraft. Against the latter's thesis of a basic antagonism between individuals as constitutive of civil society, Montesquieu defends humanity's natural sociability and warns against the English philosopher's absolutism. It is quite remarkable that this book, most likely purchased in Ireland in the 1830s after Mullock's ordination, should find itself in the hands of a nineteenth-century Roman Catholic bishop, let alone be made available to the seminarians at St. Bonaventure's College.

Just as notable in the Mullock collection is an English translation of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's groundbreaking volume on education, *Emilius and Sophia*. Yet again, here is an author who nurtures deep reservations—if not downright hostility—toward Catholicism. It would not be an overstatement to see in Rousseau one of the central pillars of the Enlightenment. In addition to his contributions on politics, ethics, pedagogy, and aesthetics, he also collaborated with Denis Diderot and Condillac on the *Encyclopédie*, successor of the aforementioned Bayle's


Frontispiece Vol. IV.

CIRCE and ULYSSES.

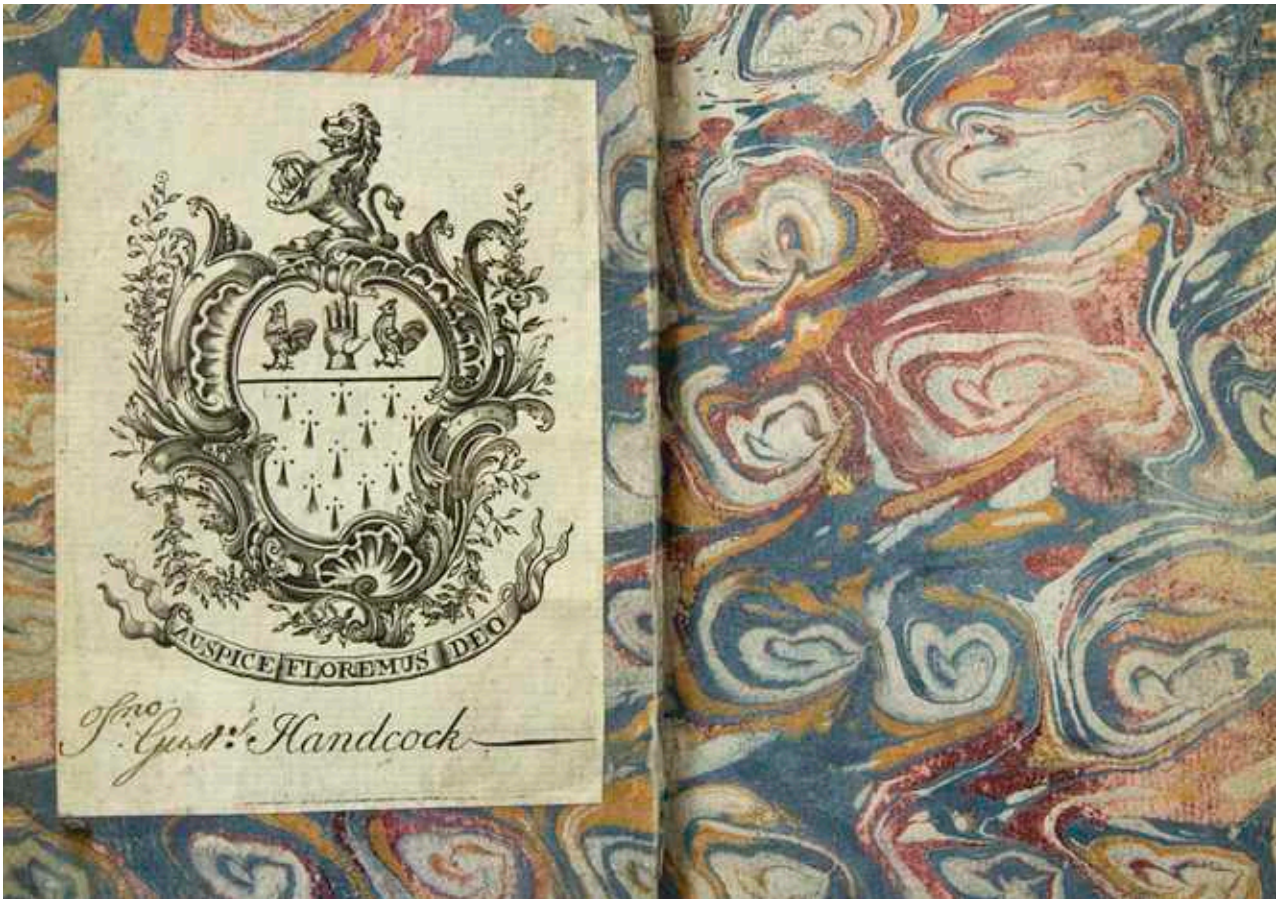
EMILIUS
AND
SOPHIA:
OR,
A NEW SYSTEM
OF
EDUCATION.

Translated from the FRENCH of
Mr. J. J. ROUSSEAU.
By the TRANSLATOR of ELOISA.

VOL. IV.

A NEW EDITION.

DUBLIN:
Printed for J. POTTS, N° 74, Dame-ſtreet, and
D. CHAMBERLAINE, N° 5, College-green.
M,DCC,LXXIX.



Dictionaire and often considered the defining work of the French Enlightenment. *Emilius and Sophia*, published in 1762, along with Rousseau's other major work, *Du contrat social*, unleashed a violent reaction from crown and church, the latter immediately placing the two books on the Index of Prohibited Books. *Emilius and Sophia* is a pedagogical treatise investigating the duties specific to human beings. It makes the case for an unmediated process of learning whereby the tutor does not teach anything per se but acts as an observer who sets the stage for the student to discover the world by himself or herself. It can be placed within the context of a modernity that begins to take notice of the distinct reality of childhood. As such, it examines the perilous passage from innocence to maturity, looking to provide the child with the necessary tools to develop his or her freedom and reason to his or her full potentiality. With its implicit attack on previous pedagogical models that merely asked the student to reproduce existing orders and instead emphasize innovation, *Emilius and Sophia* is progressive in its outlook. Mullock purchased this volume after his ordination in 1830, and, with his King James Bible, it is one of only two books in his collection to have received papal permission.

Joël Madore

Walter Rex, *Essays on Pierre Bayle and Religious Controversy* (The Hague, 1965).

Todd Ryan, *Pierre Bayle's Cartesian Metaphysics: Rediscovering Early Modern Philosophy* (New York, 2009).

Frontiſpiece. Vol. I.

J. J. ROUSSEAU.

P. H. Sculp.

3 The French Revolution

Alphonse de Lamartine, *History of the Girondists; or, Personal Memoirs of the Patriots of the French Revolution*, vols. 1–3 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1849). 155 x 233 mm
Illustrations: vol. 1 frontispiece, spine (*below*), title page (*opposite*)

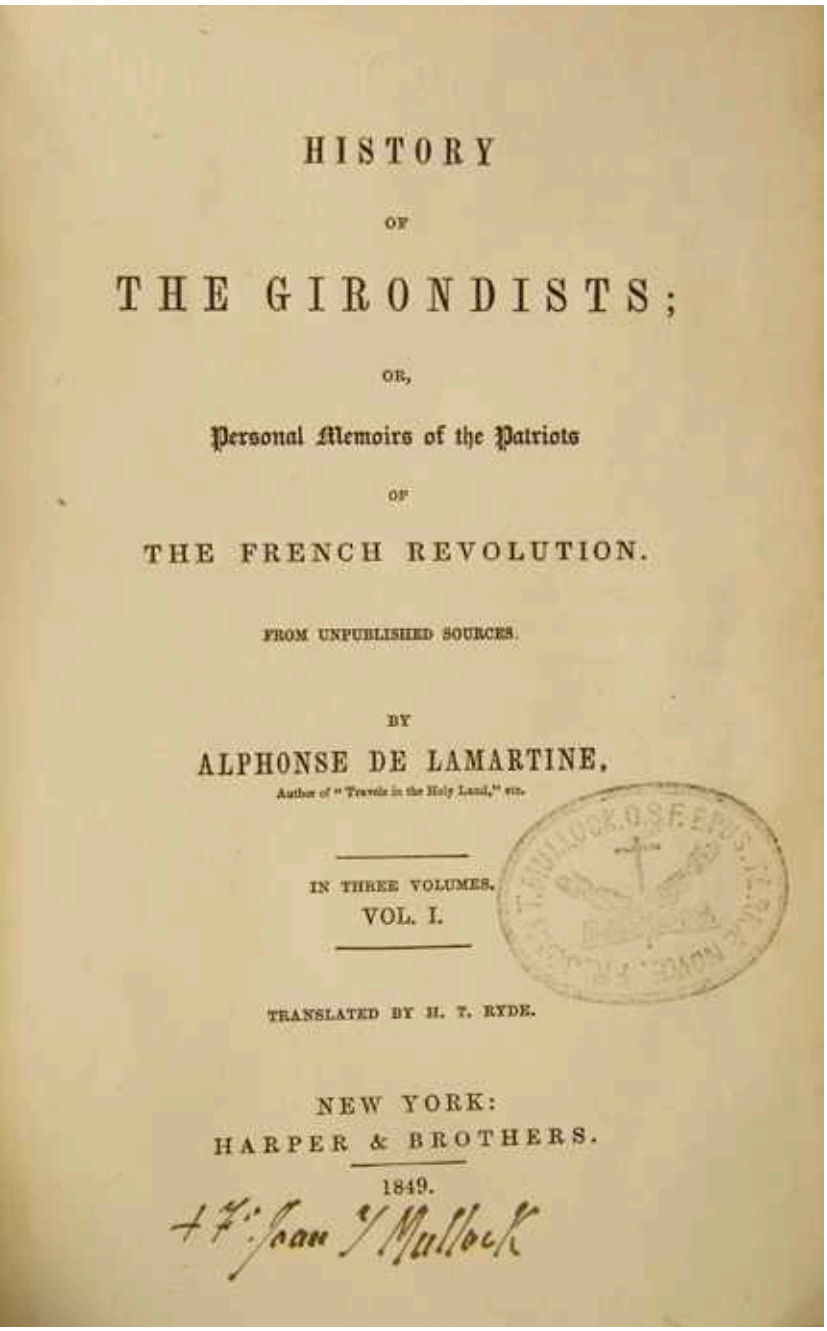
Marie Joseph Louis Adolphe Thiers, *The History of the French Revolution,* trans. Frederick Shoberl, vols. 1 and 3 (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1847). 140 x 203 mm
Illustration: spines (*below*)

"Is this a revolt?—No, majesty, this is a revolution!" With these words, the Duke of La Rochefoucauld is said to have answered a bewildered Louis XVI, as both watched the growing agitation in Paris, on July 14, 1789. Europe and America had been the scene of many violent uprisings against the yoke of absolutism for some years already—a century and a half in the case of England!—but, for a number of reasons, the French Revolution seemed to epitomize the struggle against the abuses of aristocratic privilege. Provoked by famine, blatant poverty, and arbitrary oppression, it rang the death knell of the old order and heralded a new age of individual freedom and social equality.

The church's role during the French Revolution has often been misconstrued due to a somewhat jaded anti-clericalism. Yet as one of the three orders convoked for the General-Estates of May 1789, alongside nobility and the third estate (or the "commoners"), the clergy was predominantly composed of parish priests upset by the misery of the population and so in favour of drastically improved fiscal equality. Although seriously concerned with the repeated attacks on religion and tradition, a majority of clergymen continued to support the third estate, including when the latter proclaimed itself *Assemblée nationale* in June of the same year, in a famous move toward increased political recognition on the advice of Emmanuel Sieyès, himself an abbot. The French Revolution placed the church in a rather precarious position: if it often supported the disintegration of oppressive political hierarchy, it began to realize this same impetus also threatened its very existence as an institution. Did a similar tension equally haunt Bishop Mullock? He was, after all, a man of the cloth

actively committed to social justice in the hope—often disappointed—of reducing the striking inequalities that afflicted Newfoundland in the nineteenth century.

This might explain Mullock's obvious interest in the event, as confirmed by a collection of books on the French Revolution. The first is Adolphe Thiers's *The History of the French Revolution*, which Mullock obtained after his consecration as bishop. Journalist, reformist, and one of the most important political figures in France during the mid-nineteenth century, Thiers (1797–1877) became the first president of the Third Republic in 1871, following the collapse of the Paris Commune. Accessible and relying on first-hand testimonies, *The History of the French Revolution* includes ten volumes written between 1823 and 1827, although only the first four are in the Mullock collection. It was the standard work on the French Revolution of Mullock's time, so much so that, by 1848, it had been republished a staggering twenty times. Hailed by liberals and attacked by conservatives, it is the product of a mind as dedicated to his country as it was to truth.


HISTORY

OF

THE GIRONDISTS;

OR,

Personal Memoirs of the Patriots

OF

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

FROM UNPUBLISHED SOURCES.

BY

ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE,

Author of "Travels in the Holy Land," etc.

IN THREE VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

TRANSLATED BY H. T. RYDE.

NEW YORK:
HARPER & BROTHERS.
1849.

+ Fr. Joan. T. Mullock

The *History of the Girondists*, by Alphonse de Lamartine (1790–1869), is the second of these series. As a poet, Lamartine remains one of the most significant figures of French Romanticism. Interestingly, his father was an officer in Louis XVI's army, and he defended his king—sword in hand—to the very end. His son, however, remained a Republican at heart, and the *History* is not only a rehabilitation of the Revolution he claimed had now been conflated with the events of the Terror but it is also a political project meant to revive the democratic ideals of 1789. Published in eight volumes in 1847, it enjoyed tremendous success and inflamed the public by staging the actors of the Revolution—including the moderate Girondists—in such dramatic and compelling fashion that many claim it sparked the popular revolts of 1848, in France. Like many other authors in the Mullock collection, Lamartine is both an advocate of reason *and* an apologist of religion: the *History* reflects his efforts to celebrate the one without losing the other. Both historical series were bought when Mullock was already bishop of Newfoundland.

Joël Madore

J. P. T. Bury and R. P. Tombs, *Thiers 1797–1877: A Political Life* (London, 1986).

François Furet, *Penser la Révolution française, Paris* (1978; Paris, 1983).

Henri Guillemin, *Lamartine* (1940; Paris, 1987).

4 Reaction to the French Revolution

Louis Gabriel Ambroise de Bonald, *Œuvres complètes de M. de Bonald*, vol. 1 (Paris: Migne, 1864). 195 x 280 mm

Joseph de Maistre, *Œuvres du Comte J. de Maistre* (Paris: Migne, 1841). 190 x 283 mm

Louis Marie Prudhomme, *Histoire générale et impartiale des erreurs, des fautes et des crimes commis pendant la Révolution française*, vols. 1–4 (Paris: n.p., 1797). 125 x 194 mm
Illustration: frontispiece, title page (*opposite*)

For all its glare, the Enlightenment also had its shadows, and if the French Revolution let shine the promise of modernity, it also revealed its darker perils. Following the royal family's ill-advised and failed escape in June 1791, public opinion quickly radicalized against the crown, and all hopes of a possible compromise between factions, that is, a constitutional monarchy, were lost. Louis XVI was eventually guillotined on January 21, 1793, and the new republic was straightaway forced to declare war on Britain, Spain, and Holland. Faced with this external threat, it turned its eyes to internal "traitors" capable of undermining its war efforts. Elected republican leaders, or the Convention, ordered the immediate and brutal suppression of any pockets of resistance found in the country, including the western region of the Vendée, where repression was decreed to be *sans merci* (merciless). When on June 10, 1794, the Revolutionary Tribunal instituted by the Convention adopted the Law of 22 Prairial, which effectively reduced trials to a mere formality, the brutality intensified into the *Grande Terreur*. The Revolution now turned on its own children: Georges Danton, Jacques Hébert, Maximilien Robespierre, the Girondists—all were slaughtered, and across France a reign of arbitrary, inexorable terror was imposed. The sheer violence of these executions and the systematic manner in which they were conducted are a reminder that they were not only fuelled by military goals but also by ideological convictions. Earlier hopes began to fade as concerns arose: What if dogmatic religion had been replaced by a scientism just as intransigent? What if the triumph of reason brought with it the defeat of institutions that continued to be of value for society and individuals alike? Reactionary thought is precisely what looks to resist the steamrolling impetus of modernity and examine what is being lost in its wake. Inherently conservative and critical, it has produced some of the most trenchant, compelling prose ever written in French.

This is particularly the case of Joseph de Maistre (1753–1821), whose works Mullock ordered from Migne's Atelier Catholique. With a certain sense of detached irony, the author observed that the course of events during the French Revolution consistently eluded its authors. From beginning to end, it had been neither controlled nor guided by anyone involved. This stood as a lesson for human beings: reason is not vested with a creative power, the capacity to create society. Not only did this confirm that they were first and foremost creatures, it also reminded them that they were not pure essence hovering above earth and land. They did not produce the community; rather, they were its product. To this extent, the promise of temporal salvation offered by the French Revolution was fallacious and misleading, the re-enactment of the original sin, which was a sin of pride.

In a similar vein, Louis Gabriel Ambroise de Bonald (1754-1840) also argued that people are deluded if they think that society is an artifice, a contract tacitly accepted by rational individuals. What is more, he continued, republican and democratic freedom generates the most insidious form of servitude. Since the

very possibility of hierarchy had been dismantled by the Revolution, one was forced to obey his equal, that is, one whose command could be neither authoritative nor legitimate to anyone else. As such, popular sovereignty was random and groundless, compared to that of rulers chosen by divine decree who are rightful by nature. Reactionary thinking did not always propose cogent answers to problems they considered to have arisen from the French Revolution. Their diagnosis of modernity, however, remained sharp and insightful: the human will may be capable of much, but it is not all-powerful. In light of the totalitarian horrors of the twentieth century, where ideology convinced people they could entirely renovate societies and individuals through human initiative alone, this warning remains of continued relevance today. The works of both de Bonald and de Maistre were obtained by Mullock during his bishopric in St. John's amidst his own political trials and failures of the 1860s.

Joël Madore

5 Niccolò Machiavelli and His Critics

Stephanus Junius, *Vindiciae contra tyrannos: sive De principis in populum, populique in principem legitima potestate* (n.p.: 1580). 112 x 164 mm

Niccolò Machiavelli, *Nicolai Machiavelli Florentini, De officio viri principis* (Montisbelgardi: n.p., 1599). 112 x 164 mm
Illustration: title page (*opposite above*)

Juan Márquez, *El governador christiano dedvcido de las vidas de Moyse, y Iosue, principes del pueblo de Dios* (Salamanca: Francisco de Cea Tesa, 1612). 194 x 285 mm
Illustrations: Mullock's inscription on front flyleaf (*below*), title page (*opposite below*), armorial bookplate of Richard Lord Viscount Molesworth (*opposite right*)

The Florentine statesman and scholar Niccolò Machiavelli's *Il principe* (The prince) was originally published in Italian in 1513 while the writer was in exile in Saint Andrea, Italy. The Latin version, *De officio viri principis*, in the Mullock collection appeared in 1599 and is bound together with the Huguenot Stephanus Junius's political tract on tyranny, *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* (1580). Mullock also had copies of Machiavelli's complete works published in Italian. Since its publication, the reading public has been both fascinated and horrified by Machiavelli's *The Prince*. Some praise it, arguing that its realist approach to politics was well ahead of its time. Others condemn it as a justification for the politically powerful to prey on the weak or as a rationalization for immoral and unchristian comportment. Given the latter view, it is not surprising that *The Prince* spent time on the Index of Prohibited Books. Even today, as a result of its contents, Machiavelli's name is synonymous with a cold-hearted *realpolitik* style of politics or behaviour where the means, no matter how cruel or inhuman, can be justified simply by citing certain ends. Indeed, to be accused of being "Machiavellian" is generally not a compliment.

By contrast, there is widespread agreement that the significance of *The Prince* has been immense. For scholars of the history of ideas, *The Prince* represents a fundamental leap in the evolution of Western political thought away from the medieval tradition (which was dominated by such figures as Thomas Aquinas) toward the familiar modern, contemporary world of political science. For scholars of politics and political practitioners, *The Prince* outlines a unique and fascinating theory of statecraft which turns on the effective accumulation and use of power (broadly understood as including manipulation, violence, and everything in between). For Machiavelli, the goal of successful statecraft should always be political stability and the continued survival of the state. Both principles have remained important to the study and practice of politics.

Mullock purchased his copy of Machiavelli's *The Prince* after his 1830 ordination. In 1838 he also acquired one of many refutations of Machiavelli produced in Europe, *El governador christiano* (The Christian governor) (1612), by the Spanish theologian Juan Márquez (1565–1621). This book is but one example of the many refutations of Machiavelli produced in Europe after the publication of *The Prince*. Just as Machiavelli had, Márquez intended his book to be a practical guide


NICOLAI
MACHIAVELLI FLO-
RENTINI, DE OF-
ficio Viri Prin-
cipis.
Vnà
M SCRIPTIS MA-
ello Contrarijs, de Principum Vi-
rum Poteſtate, Officioq; con-
tra Tyrannos.
NIA DE NOVO EMEN-
data, aucta, correctaque.
Montisbelgardi.
M D XCIX.

for rulers. However, unlike *The Prince*, which connects statecraft with the successful use of power, *El governador christiano* links statecraft to Christian ethics. Rather than condemning Machiavelli's political theory, Márquez proposed that moral theology should address Machiavelli's ideas, and he promoted the value of an alternative biblical reason of state.

Dimitrios Panagos

Erica Benner, *Machiavelli's Ethics* (Princeton, 2009).

Harald E. Braun, "The Bible, Reason of State, and the Royal Conscience: Juan Márquez's *El governador christiano*," *Renaissance Studies* 23 (2009): 552–67.

Maurizio Viroli, *Founders of Modern Political and Social Thought* (Oxford, 1998).


EL GOVERNADOR
CHRISTIANO
DEDVCIDO DE LAS VIDAS DE
MOYSEN, Y IOSVE, PRINCIPES DEL
PVEBLO DE DIOS.
POR EL MAESTRO F. IOAN MARQVEZ,
de la Orden de San Augustin, Catheдratico de Vísperas de
Theologia de la Vniuersidad de Salamanca.
DIRIGIDO A DON GOMEZ SVAREZ DE
Figueroa y Cordoua, Duque de Feria, Marques de Villalua,
Señor de las casas de Saluatierra, y Comendador
de Segura de la sierra de la Orden
de Sant-Iago.
CON QVATRO TABLAS MVY COPIOSAS
La primera de los Capitulos: la segunda de las Questiones:
la tercera de las cosas notables: y la quarta de
los lugares de Escritura.
AVE MARIA
CON PRIVILEGIO DE CASTILLA, Y ARAGON.
En Salamanca por FRANCISCO DE CEA TESA.
Año M. DC. X II.

6 Hugo Grotius and the Beginning of International Law

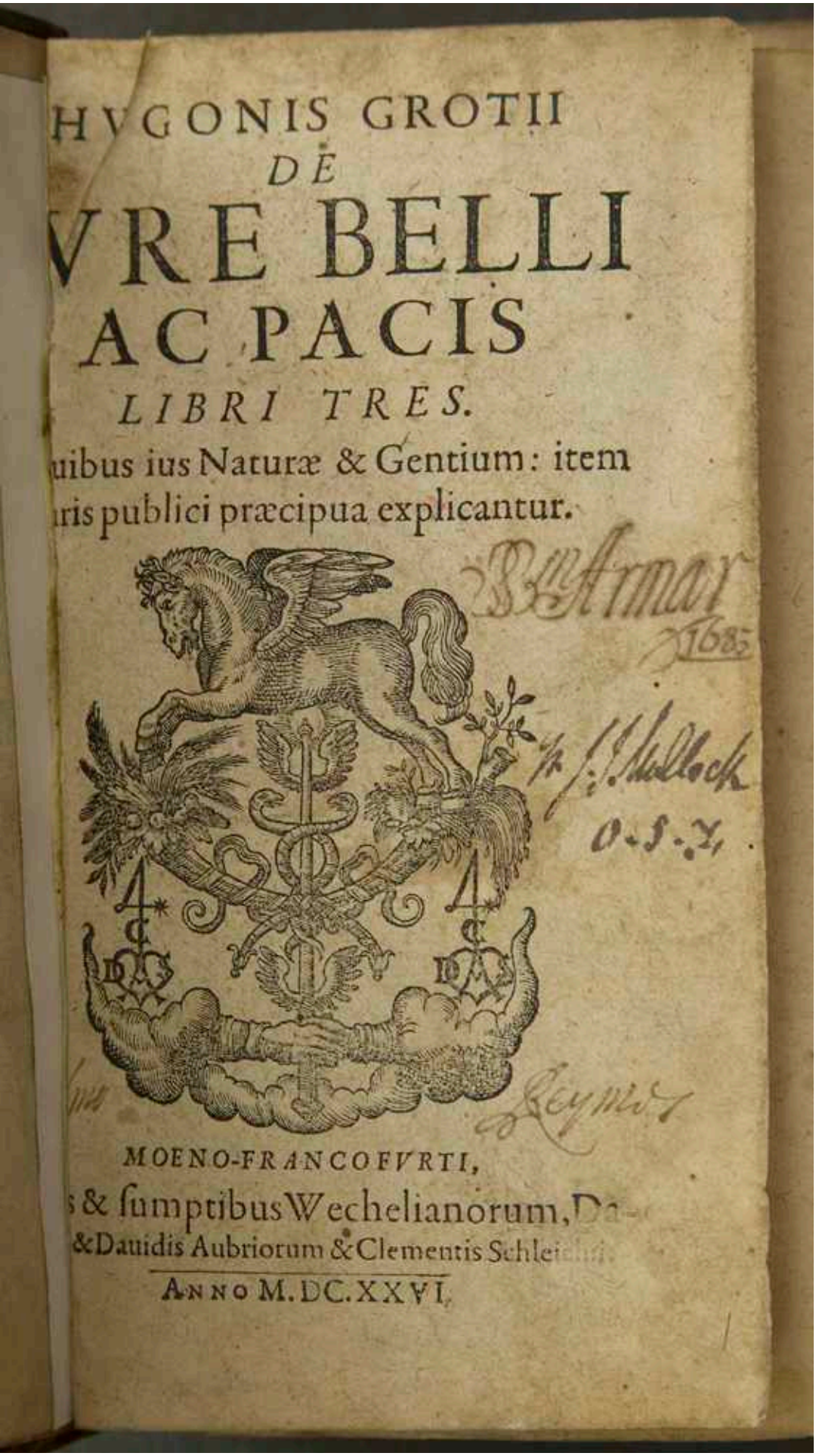
Hugo Grotius, *De jvre belli ac pacis libri tres* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Daniel and David Aubrius and Clement Sleich, 1626). 112 x 181 mm
Illustration: title page (*opposite*)

If the political career of Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) had been a success then he might well have never written his masterpiece *De jure belli ac pacis* (On the law of war and peace). A child prodigy, he had published his first book at age fourteen. Grotius was both a scholar and, also from a young age, the holder of key political offices in his home Province of Holland (a part of the United Provinces of the Netherlands). His political downfall came in 1619 when his faction was brought down in a coup. Sentenced to life imprisonment, Grotius escaped and fled to the France of Louis XIII. He spent much of the rest of his life in Paris, first as a pensioner of Louis, and then from 1635 as Swedish ambassador to France. It was during this latter part of his life that he wrote many of his most famous works, including *De jure belli ac pacis*.

First published in Paris in 1625, *De jure belli ac pacis* was originally composed in Latin, and included in its earlier editions a dedication to Grotius's patron Louis XIII. Grotius had started to write the book during his incarceration, but the bulk of the manuscript was written in France at the start of his exile between 1622 and 1624. The edition of 1626 in Mullock's library was published in Frankfurt-am-Main and is largely a reprint of the original Paris printing of the previous year. This was, however, an unauthorized reprint of the original which was presented at the Frankfurt Book Fair in 1625. So, in modern parlance, this copy of *De jure belli ac pacis* in the Mullock collection is pirated.

In the work itself Grotius grapples with the contemporary seventeenth-century problems of finding a legal basis for the exercise and constraint of war. This is in a time when warfare had been seen to be increasingly destructive and often fought for capricious reasons. Using his knowledge of jurisprudence, theology, and ancient sources, Grotius sought to find a legal basis for both constraining and justifying war that was rooted in natural law. This approach, Grotius thought, would create a law of war that would be independent of local customary and religious differences. This tallied with his own theological concerns about the need to reunite a disunited Christendom. Despite the extent to which the text is a product of its epoch—dealing with contemporary problems using the scholastic and theological conventions of the time—it would come to be seen as one of the seminal works in the development of international law. The title of father of international law would also be bestowed on its author.

Grotius's work has not been without its critics. Immanuel Kant, for example, included him in his list of "sorry comforters," who in trying to mitigate the worst excesses of war still managed to justify the existence of violent conflict. Yet, for many mid-twentieth-century experts on international relations, Grotius's legal approach offered a middle way between the excesses of a *realpolitik* based solely on power and radical attempts to overhaul the institutions of international affairs through international organizations. Grotius was seen as the champion of an approach to international order that, while recognizing the existence of conflicting sovereign states, placed this conflict within legal limits.


HVGONIS GROTII
DE
VRE BELLI
AC PACIS
LIBRI TRES.
uibus ius Naturæ & Gentium: item
ris publici præcipua explicantur.
MOENO-FRANCOFVRTI,
s & sumptibus Wechelianorum, Da-
& Dauidis Aubriorum & Clementis Schlei
ANNO M.DC.XXVI.

It is not clear why Bishop Mullock owned a copy of this book, which he seems to have acquired as a student. Grotius was an authority on Protestant theological questions, although *De jure belli ac pacis* is not considered to be a theological text, despite its references to sacred sources. Mullock's interest in church history and Protestant "heresies" may be the link here. Eight of Grotius's books (but not this one) had been banned by the Catholic church and were placed on the Index of Prohibited Books at different times. Furthermore, Grotius's Arminianism is often regarded as an influence on the development of Methodism, which Mullock was particularly interested in. Grotius's interest in the unity of Christendom, and his attempt to develop a jurisprudence independent of sectarian divides, might also have been a draw for Mullock.

Lucian M. Ashworth

Hedley Bull, Benedict Kingsbury, and Adam Roberts, eds., *Hugo Grotius and International Relations* (Oxford, 1990).

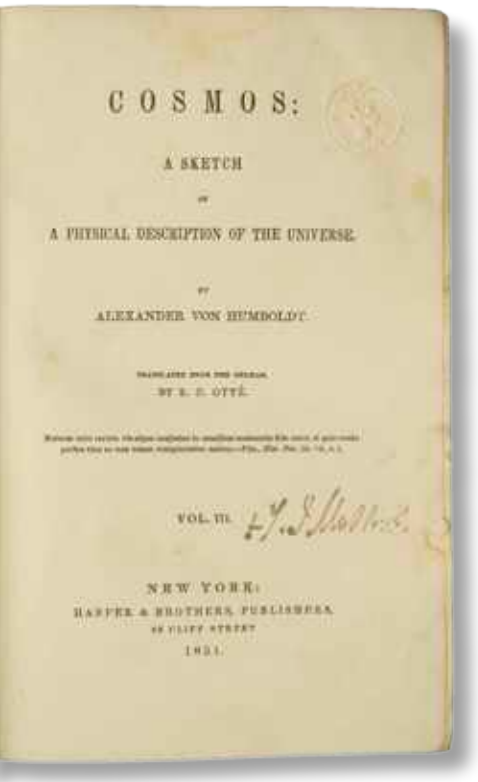
Richard Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford, 1999).

7 Alexander von Humboldt's *Cosmos* and Natural Philosophy

Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe*, trans. E. C. Otté, vol. 1 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850). 134 x 200 mm
Illustration: frontispiece (*opposite*)

Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe*, trans. E. C. Otté, vol. 3 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851). 130 x 200 mm
Illustrations: title page (*below*), Mullock's telescope (*opposite*)

Among nineteenth-century literati, Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) possessed a considerable international reputation as one of the world's greatest naturalists, geographers, and explorers. Humboldt arose to scientific and scholarly prominence early in life with works on botany and mineralogy. This gained him the recognition of other European luminaries, notably Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich Schiller, and Louis-Antoine de Bougainville. Between 1799 and 1804, Humboldt travelled extensively through South America, Cuba, Mexico, and the United States. In the decade after his return to Europe, Humboldt published some 30 volumes that synthesized his notes, specimens, and measurements collected during his voyage into a cohesive account of the Americas. These volumes won Humboldt acclaim among reading publics as well as among scientists and scholars.


COSMOS:

A SKETCH

OF

A PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE UNIVERSE.

BY

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL

BY E. C. OTTÉ.

VOL. III.

NEW YORK:

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS,

82 CLIFF STREET

1851.

Humboldt's most ambitious undertaking was the work *Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe* (1845–62) written toward the end of his life. The project was conceived as an assemblage of all the then-available knowledge of the earth and the heavens. To ensure that *Cosmos* reflected the most current science, Humboldt solicited information from scientists and experts around the world on the myriad of topics to be covered. Astronomy, paleontology, climatology, meteorology, geology, and botany, as well as poetic descriptions of nature and the history of the physical sciences, found a place in *Cosmos*. The essential insight was that cosmic order emerged entirely from local landscapes. Humboldt sought to show how meticulous observation, surveying and averaging over ever-greater geographies, would reveal the constant and unchanging laws of nature obscured by local differences and particularities.

Reading publics as well as other scientists appear to have found Humboldt's ideas deeply compelling. The first volume of *Cosmos* was published in German in 1845. It was an immediate success, selling over 20,000 copies in just a few months. Its English translation sold more than 40,000 copies within four years. Indeed, the mania for *Cosmos* among English readers was so great that there was not just a single translation but three, one of which is in the Mullock collection, the translation by Elise C. Otté, the Danish linguist and historian, first published in Britain in 1848 and issued later in the United States.

Given the tremendous popularity of Humboldt's *Cosmos*, there is little wonder that it was acquired by

Mullock. What is striking, however, is that *Cosmos* is an anomaly insofar as it seems to be one of very few scientific works in Mullock's quite large collection of books. Notable for their absence are other widely read and influential scientific works. Absent is Newton's *Opticks* (1704–18) which helped shape almost all eighteenth-century thought from natural philosophy to political economy. (Mullock may have acquired, but did not sign, one of Newton's several works in theology and biblical exegesis.) Also not in the collection is Carlos Linnaeus's *Systema Naturae* (1735–68), which was canonical for all practitioners of natural history, including Humboldt. Nor is there a copy of Antoine Lavoisier's *Elementary Treatise on Chemistry* (1789), which deeply influenced Humboldt for its startling redefinition of the chemical element and its introduction of a new system of chemical nomenclature. Indeed, if Mullock had been much interested in natural history, Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830–33), Robert Chambers's *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (1844), or Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) would be more likely found in the collection. (Mullock may have collected one of Thomas H. Huxley's many defences of Darwin.)

If Mullock collected *Cosmos* for a reason other than its popularity, then it might be this: In his lectures and book collection, Mullock shows a sustained concern with how Newfoundlanders, fish, and fishing are tied into larger global patterns of trade and migration. This arguably indicates a natural historical concern with showing how local regions, with their own distinctive character, are situated in larger global geological, geographic, and biological patterns. This approach to natural history was pioneered by Georges-Louise Leclerc (1707–88, later Comte de Buffon) in his *Natural History, General and Particular* (1749–88). There are two copies of this text among the books that may have been collected by Mullock but not signed by him. As in Humboldt's *Cosmos*, Buffon's natural history emphasized how geological formation, the distribution of biological species over geographic space, and the morphology of species all could be explained by physical causes. It seems quite unlikely that Mullock espoused the physicalism of either Humboldt or Buffon, given the manifest metaphysical and theological emphasis of his book collection. Perhaps then what Mullock took from the few volumes of natural history he possessed was a Humboldtian impetus to carefully explore local particularities and then to situate them within larger geographic empires.

Jay Foster

Douglas Botting, *Humboldt and the Cosmos* (New York, 1973).

Gerard Helferich, *Humboldt's* Cosmos (New York, 2005).

Andrea Wulf, *The Invention of Nature: Alexander von Humboldt's New World* (New York, 2016).

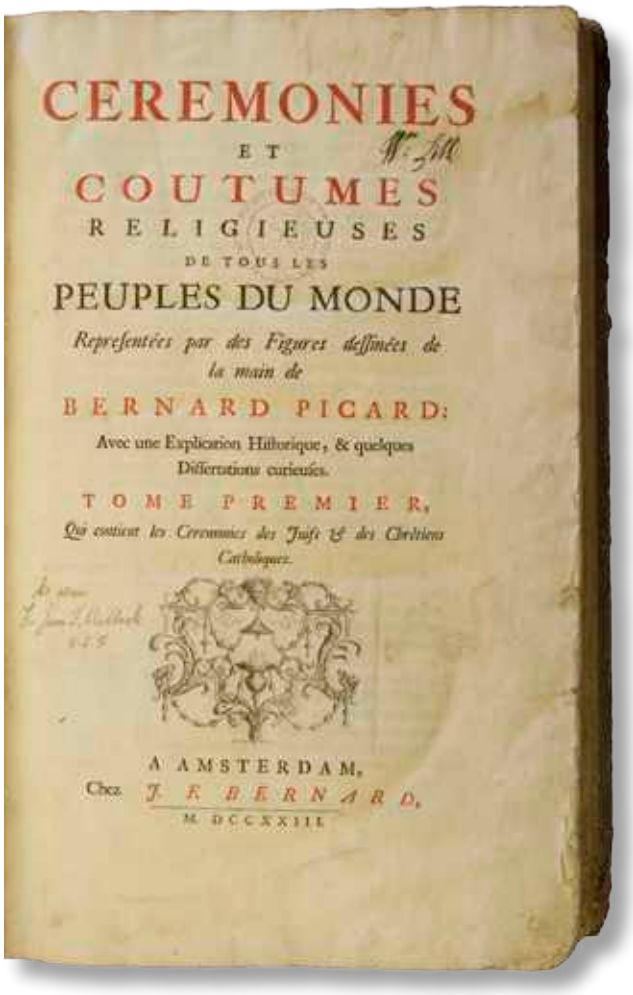
8 Bernard Picart and the Religions of the World

Bernard Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (Amsterdam: Jean-Frederic Bernard, 1723). 259 x 405 mm
Illustrations: title page (*below*), engraving on page 120 (*opposite*)

Between 1825 and 1830, when Mullock was a student of philosophy and theology in Spain and Italy, he acquired a beautifully engraved volume entitled *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (Religious ceremonies and customs of all the peoples of the world). Published in Amsterdam in 1723 by Jean-Frederic Bernard (1683–1744) and Bernard Picart (1673–1733 [spelled as Picard in the original edition]), it had been placed on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1738 for its critical approach to Roman Catholicism. The book was ambitious in both its breadth and its intent, and it remains a remarkable call for religious tolerance.

The original work consists of seven volumes containing detailed descriptions and depictions of a global range of religious practices. While the Mullock collection includes only the first volume, which focuses on Judaism and Catholicism, the other six discuss the Greek Orthodox church, Protestantism, Islam, Confucianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and various indigenous religions of North and South American peoples. By presenting each religious system as equivalent, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* was one of the first works of the early Enlightenment to demonstrate that diverse religious beliefs and practices could be considered as equally valid.

The book's publisher and author, Jean-Frederic Bernard, and its well-known engraver, Bernard Picart, were French Calvinists who had sought refuge in the Dutch Republic after French king Louis XIV refused to protect Protestants in 1685. Their experiences of religious persecution in France led them to promote the radical idea that all religions are equally worthy of both respect and criticism and that people throughout


CEREMONIES
ET
COUTUMES
RELIGIEUSES
DE TOUS LES
PEUPLES DU MONDE
Representées par des Figures dessinées de la main de
BERNARD PICARD:
Avec une Explication Hiſtorique, & quelques Diſſertations curieuſes.
TOME PREMIER,
Qui contient les Ceremonies des Juifs & des Chrétiens Catholiques.
A AMSTERDAM,
Chez J. F. BERNARD,
M. DCC. XXIII.

the world display universal tendencies in their sacred practices and beliefs.

In an attempt to avoid the widespread ethnocentrism of contemporary Europe and a deep-rooted disdain for other religions, Bernard and Picart tried to present objective, balanced, and accurate descriptions of diverse religious customs in both the text and the engravings of the book. Bernard was meticulous in surveying the most up-to-date and respected sources for his writing, and he relied as much as possible on indigenous and first-hand accounts. An early proponent of the ethnographic approach, he argued that Europeans could not judge other religions without better understanding their practioners' languages and being able to read their books. Similarly, Picart based his detailed engravings on extensive personal experience when possible, and endeavoured to depict religious practices from the point of view of the participants. He spent considerable time establishing relationships with the Jewish community in Amsterdam, and, after four years, was finally allowed to participate in their religious ceremonies. His engraving of a Sephardic (Portuguese) Jewish family gathered for a Passover Seder illustrates his ability to sensitively and authentically portray sacred customs, and his engravings remain as some of the best sources of information about Dutch Jewish life in the eighteenth century.

Written in an era of widespread anti-Semitism and religious upheaval, and when most European works depicted non-Christian customs as simply deviant, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* was a stunning contribution to religious tolerance. The book enjoyed remarkable success, and by the time Mullock acquired his volume in the 1820s, it had been translated into Dutch, English, and German, had sold over 6,000 copies, and had been widely reprinted, pirated, and plagiarized. English versions of Bernard and Picart's volume continued to be published in various forms as late as 1841.

Mullock's decision to add *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* to his collection illustrates an appreciation for critical understandings of religion and an openness to the merits of beliefs and practices other than his own. This intellectual independence is also reflected in the collection's French-language *Le Koran* and Thomas Clarke's *History of Intolerance; with Observations on the Unreasonableness and Injustice of Persecution, and on the Equity and Wisdom of Unrestricted Religious Liberty* (Waterford, 1819), which Mullock acquired in 1860.

Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses remains a reminder of the value of both respect and critical thinking in efforts today to achieve increased religious tolerance and mutual human understanding.

Andrea Procter

Lynn Hunt, Margaret C. Jacob, and Wijnand Mijnhardt, *The Book That Changed Europe: Picart and Bernard's* Religious Ceremonies of the World (Cambridge, 2010).

Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford, 2001).

Jonathan Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man, 1670–1752* (Oxford, 2006).

9 Johannes Buxtorf and Christian Hebraism

Johannes Buxtorf, *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum: complectens omnes voces tam primas quam derivatas, quæ in Sacris Bibliis, Hebræâ, & ex parte Chaldæâ linguâ scriptis extant* (London: Jacobus Junius and Moses Bell, 1646). 114 x 170 mm
Illustration: spines (*below*)

Johannes Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica* (Basel: Ludovicus König, 1641). 96 x 158 mm
Illustration: title page, page 25 (*opposite*)

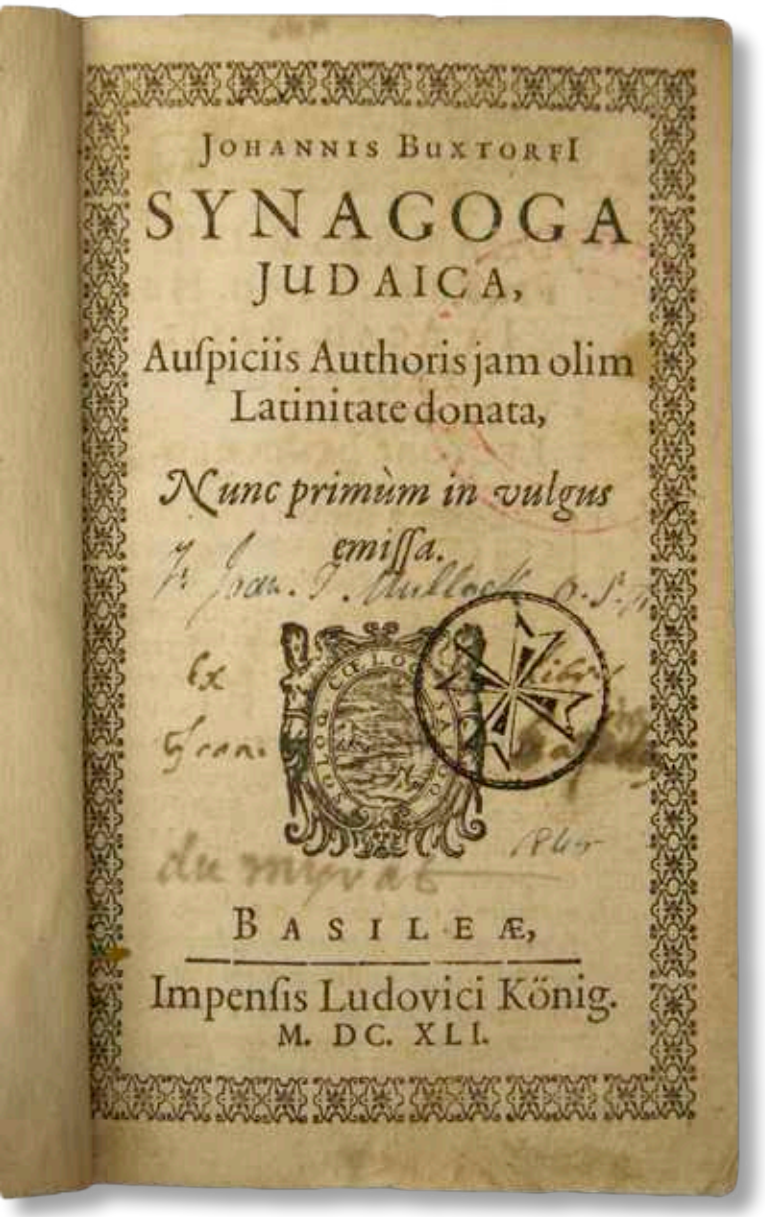
As well as the wide selection of Bibles and language aids in the Mullock collection, there are also a number of Hebrew reference works, some of which date from the seventeenth century. Of particular interest are two volumes by Johannes Buxtorf the elder (1564–1629), *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* (1646 [1607]), a Hebrew and Chaldean lexicon, and *Synagoga Judaica* (1641 [1603, in German under the title *Juden Schule*]), which contains detailed descriptions about Jewish religious beliefs, prayers, ceremonies, and religious practices (not about the synagogue as such). Buxtorf was an early Christian Hebraist, that is, someone who, as a Christian, had an interest in Jews and Jewish literature. In many ways, Buxtorf was responsible for establishing Hebraic and Jewish studies as a recognized discipline in many universities and schools. It made Jewish learning possible without assistance from the Jews who were, at this time, publicly shunned and ostracized. In fact, in 1619 Buxtorf was heavily fined (his fine was higher than his yearly salary as a university professor) and reprimanded for attending the circumcision of the son of one of his printer friends, Abraham Braunschweig. Many of Buxtorf's books were used well into the nineteenth century after the emergence of biblical studies as an academic discipline.

The *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* is a valuable tool for understanding the origin and development of the Hebrew language. Buxtorf used many rabbinic sources in determining the meaning of the various Hebraic roots and explicated their meanings further when they concerned Christian theological concepts. The *Lexicon* proved invaluable for scholars, and many of the Christian Hebraists of the seventeenth century such as Joseph Justus Scaliger and John Lightfoot recommended it. It enjoyed an excellent reputation well into the nineteenth century and remained a standard in the field until it was finally superseded by Wilhelm Gesenius and others who promoted the use of cognate Semitic languages to deal with linguistic problems.

Of special interest, too, is Buxtorf's *Synagoga Judaica*, which is the first extended account of Jewish religious beliefs and practices written by a non-Jew for a Christian audience. In it Buxtorf gives a detailed account of Jewish

rituals relating to birth, circumcision, marriage, death, and feasts like Succoth and Passover. While Buxtorf's explicit intention was to dissuade Christians from adopting the Jewish faith, his meticulous scholarship into the theological significance of almost every Jewish practice indicates that, beneath a polemical exterior, there lies a scholar with deep respect for Judaism. It became the standard work on Judaism for well over 100 years and shaped Christian ethnographic research on the Jews well into the nineteenth century. His underlying theology of Judaism was common to Protestants and Catholics alike.

Buxtorf entered into a controversy with Louis Cappel over the accuracy of the Hebrew vowel points. Buxtorf argued that the vowels points ensured the transmission and correct readings and vocalizations of the Hebrew Bible. If the vowel points were added later, as Cappel and others suggested, the Bible (or at least the vocalization of the words) was the work of a human intellect rather than a divine one, and thus the authority of the Bible as the Word of God would potentially be undermined. This is a position that no Protestant could take lightly.


JOHANNIS BUXTORFI
SYNAGOGA
JUDAICA,
Auſpiciis Authoris jam olim
Latinitate donata,
Nunc primùm in vulgus
emiſſa.
BASILEÆ,
Impenſis Ludovici König.
M. DC. XLI.

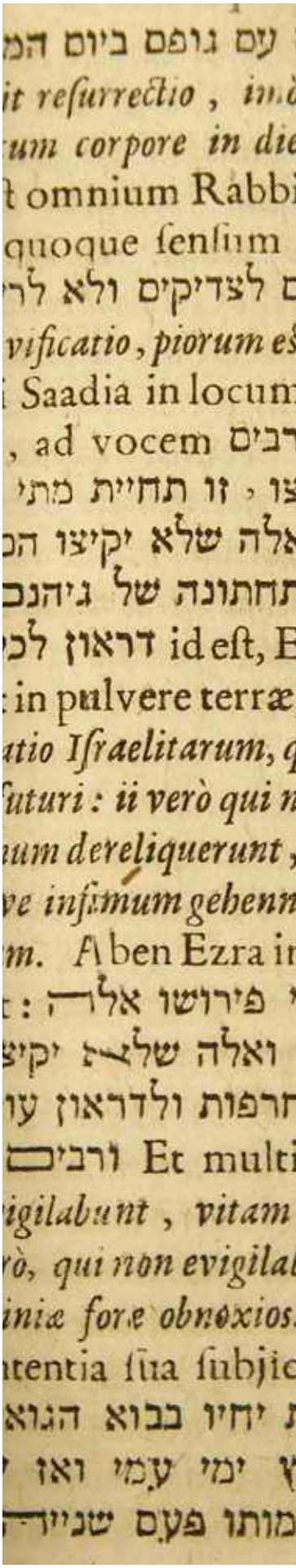
In conclusion, it seems that Mullock possessed and studied Bibles in their original languages, that he used a variety of lexical and philological aids to understand the original biblical languages, and that he was interested not only in ethnographical research on the Jews but also in the controversy surrounding the use of Hebrew vowel points. This was a controversy that, in some respects, struck at the core of what it meant to be a Protestant and what it meant to be a Catholic, even in nineteenth-century Newfoundland.

Kim Ian Parker

Stephen Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden, 1996).

William McKane, *Selected Christian Hebraists* (Cambridge, 2005).

Adam Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 2005).



10 Mullock's Bibles

Franciscus Haraeus, ed., *Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ editionis* (Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1630). 230 x 342 mm

The Holy Bible, *Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated out of the Original Tongues: and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised by His Majesty's Special Command* (Cambridge: J. Smith, for the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1828). 115 x 187 mm

***Novum Testamentum Graecum* (N.p., [1571]). 103 x 163 mm**

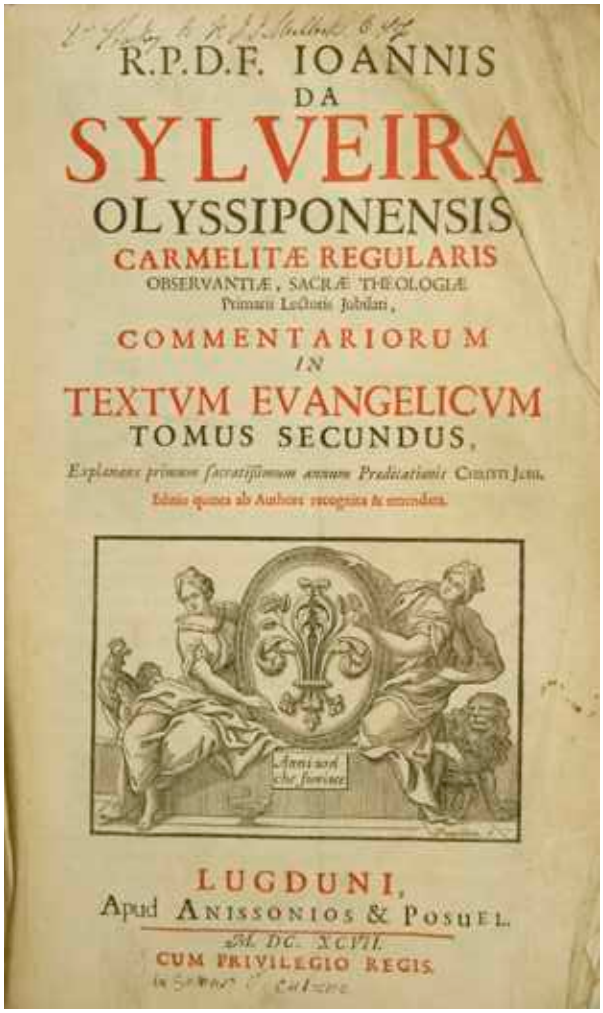
Joannis Sylveira, *Commentariorum in textum evangelicum*, vol. 2 (Lyon: Anissonios & Posuel, 1698).
Illustrations: front cover, title page (*opposite*)

The academic study of the Bible began in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and was conducted by Catholic humanists such as Desiderius Erasmus who wanted to establish a more reliable critical edition of the text. After the Reformation in the sixteenth century, however, the study of Hebrew and Greek became a particular concern for Protestants who, responding to the Reformers' rallying cry of *sola scriptura* (salvation by Scripture alone), wanted to read the biblical texts in their original languages. Since the Council of Trent (1545–63) restricted all unauthorized translations of the Bible, Catholics were often slower to respond to the advances made in Hebraic and Greek study over the next two centuries. It is significant, however, that Bishop Mullock took the academic study of the Bible very seriously.

The Mullock collection contains a number of Bibles as well as some rather sophisticated Bible study tools. While there are no Hebrew Bibles extant in the Mullock collection, it is very likely that he possessed a number of these as there are several Hebrew reference books in the collection. There are four Greek New Testaments, and an Italian one that Mullock no doubt acquired when he was in Rome (1829–30) as it is signed "Fr Giovanni T. Mullock." One of the Greek New Testaments is a very small late-sixteenth-century edition which could easily be carried (or hidden) in a waistcoat pocket and probably used for devotional purposes. The library also has an excellent copy of the Vulgate printed in 1630, which Mullock probably purchased on his travels in Europe. The Vulgate is Jerome's famous translation produced between 385 and 405 and was the official Bible of the Catholic church.

One Bible, however, stands out among the rest, not for its antiquarian interest but for its translation: an 1828 version of the King James Bible, the official Bible for the Church of England. Mullock's inscription on the title page reads: "*ad usum P. Joannis T. Mullock OSF cum licentia Pii VIII P.M.*" (for the use of Father John T. Mullock with the permission of Pius VIII, P[ontifex] M[aximus]). This would also date the acquisition of the Bible between March 31, 1829, and November 30, 1830, the dates of Pius VIII's papacy, when Mullock was studying in Rome. The inscription is all the more extraordinary considering Pius VIII's views on translations of the Bible that were not officially sanctioned by the church. In his papal encyclical *Traditi humiliti*, issued on May 24, 1829, Pius VIII warned: "We must also be wary of those who publish the Bible with new interpretations contrary to the Church's laws. They skillfully distort the meaning by their own interpretation. They print the Bibles in the vernacular and, absorbing an incredible expense, offer them free even to the uneducated. Furthermore, the Bibles are rarely without perverse little inserts to insure that the reader imbibes their lethal poison instead of the saving water of salvation."

But what are the differences between Catholic and Protestant Bibles? While both have the same number of



books in the New Testament (27), the Vulgate contains 46 Old Testament books whereas the King James Version contains 39. The seven books left out of the Protestant Bible (Tobit, Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, and I and II Maccabees) are sometimes included in a section called the "Apocrypha" (a Greek word meaning "hidden"). In the Vulgate, there are also some additions to Daniel and Esther that can actually change the interpretation of these books. The differences between the Bibles are probably due to the fact that Jerome translated his Old Testament using the canon of the Greek-speaking Jewish community at Alexandria, whereas the Protestants (largely under the influence of Luther) based their translations on the canon of the Aramaic-speaking Jews in Palestine. The Palestinian/Protestant canon is the same as the Jewish one, except for the order and the arrangement of the biblical books.

Kim Ian Parker

Julio Trebolle Barrera, *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible: An Introduction to the History of the Bible* (Leiden, 1998).

John Barton, *The Spirit and the Letter: Studies in the Biblical Canon* (London, 1997).

Lee Martin McDonald, *The Biblical Canon: Its Origins, Transmission, and Authority* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2013).

11 Desiderius Erasmus's Biblical Commentaries

John Chrysostom, *Enarrationes, partim antehac, partim nunc primum traductæ & editæ, in Diui Pauli epistolas* (Basel: Johann Herwagen, 1536). 220 x 300 mm

John Chrysostom, *Opera Divi Ioannis Chrysostomi* (Basel: Johann Herwagen, 1539). 255 x 384 mm
Illustration: title page (*opposite above*)

Desiderius Erasmus, *In Evangelivm Marci paraphrasis* (Strasbourg: Johann Knoblouch, 1524). 105 x 160 mm
Illustrations: front cover, title page (*overleaf*)

Desiderius Erasmus, *In Acta Apostolorum paraphrasis* (Cologne: Eucharius Cervicornus, 1524). 105 x 160 mm
Illustration: title page (*opposite below*)

The oldest surviving books in the Mullock collection are all associated with the Dutch scholar and theologian Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), the leading Christian humanist of early sixteenth-century Europe. Although a Catholic reformer who remained faithful to the church during the Reformation, Erasmus was often attacked in his lifetime for his overt criticism of the practices of the church, his adversaries even accusing him of preparing the way for the Reformation and "laying the egg that Luther hatched." His mixed reputation among Catholics (and Protestants) is well illustrated by the fact that, following the Counter-Reformational Council of Trent, Pope Paul IV placed Erasmus among the heretics on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1559. This general condemnation of Erasmus's works was later mollified in the revised index of 1564, and further elaborated in the Antwerp *Index expurgatorius* (1571), which recommended the expurgation of his works, but, except for some titles, left them available to the Catholic public. Erasmus's precarious reception among Catholics persisted throughout the centuries. Although in *The History of Heresies*, Alphonsus de Liguori calls him, in Bishop Mullock's translation, an "unsound Catholic, but not a heretic" (1. 292), Erasmus is still treated in the section on the heresies of the Protestant reformer Martin Luther. Nevertheless, Liguori confesses that Erasmus was highly esteemed by several popes. The nineteenth-century Catholic interpretations of Erasmus, still moulded by the categories of Reformation and Counter-Reformation, reflected this divided opinion: on the one hand, Erasmus's theology and criticism were seen as threatening to the dogmatic tradition and Catholic institutions; on the other hand, Erasmus was regarded as a reformer of the church and of religious life (despite his occasional doctrinal misconceptions). In light of this view, it is all the more interesting that Mullock's Erasmian collection, a remarkable example of early print history, constitutes officially less sound and in some cases outright questionable works.

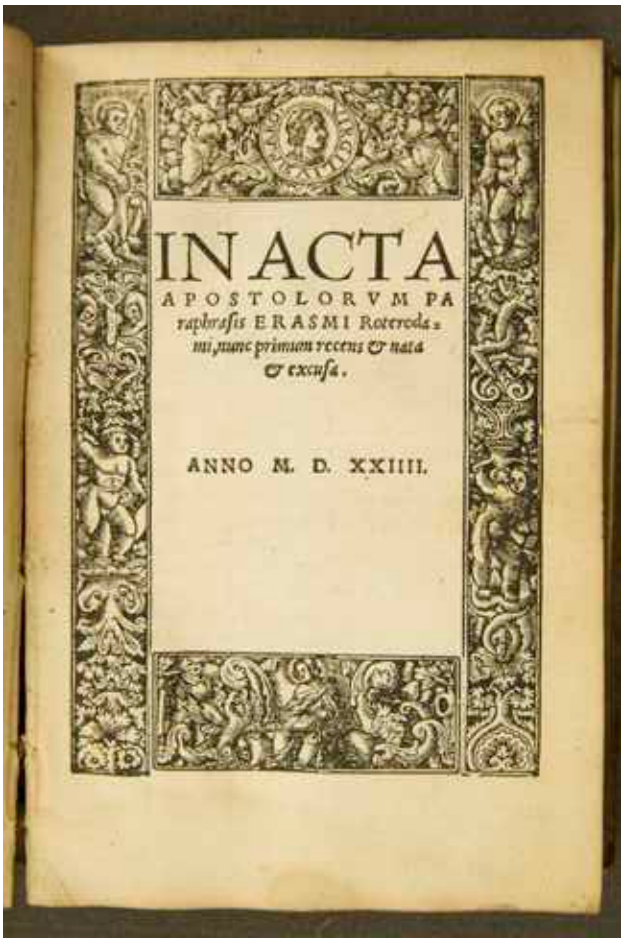
As a student, Mullock acquired a collegiate volume of Erasmus's *In Evangelivum Marci paraphrasis* (Paraphrases on the Gospel of Mark) and *In Acta Apostolorvm paraphrasis* (Paraphrases on the Acts of the Apostles), encased in its original sixteenth-century binding. Mullock's copy of *In Evangelivum Marci* is an early (and rare) reprint, published by Johann Knoblouch in Strasbourg in the same year (1524) as the first edition was produced by Erasmus's printer Johann Froben in Basel. Similarly, *In Acta Apostolorvm*, another rare imprint, appeared anonymously shortly after its first publication in the print shop of Eucharius Cervicornus in Cologne in 1524. Erasmus intended the series of *Paraphrasis* as a layman's guide to the Scriptures, an eloquent expression of his *philosophia Christi* and his pastoral mission formulated in his other works. Its first English translation exemplifies the rapid appropriation of Erasmus's writings for political and religious ends in the sixteenth century. During Edward VI's reign in 1547, the court-sponsored English *Paraphrases* was ordered to be placed in every parish church throughout England

along with the official vernacular Bible and *Book of Homilies*, an epitome of the reformed doctrines of the Church of England. It may have been Mullock's interest in the history of the English Reformation (which he articulated in the translator's preface of *The History of Heresies*) that prompted him to acquire a copy of the *Paraphrasis*, an instrumental text for reformers in their vision of the religious transformation of England.

Mullock's continued interest in Erasmus is attested by two copies of the early church father John Chrysostom's works. As an ordained priest in Europe, Mullock purchased Chrysostom's commentaries on the letters of Paul and a collection of homilies that formed part of Chrysostom's collected works (*Opera omnia*). They were published within a few years of their first appearance by the Basel printer Johann Herwagen in 1536 and 1539, respectively. Chrysostom exerted considerable influence on Erasmus's theological development, especially with respect to the issues of will, justification, and grace (hotly debated by Catholics and Protestants) that shaped rather controversially Erasmus's paraphrases of Paul's letters to the Romans. Although Herwagen credits Erasmus as the editor of Chrysostom's works, most of the commentaries in Mullock's copies were in fact composed by Protestant writers, primarily by the German reformer Wolfgang Mauslein (or Musculus), whose devout hymns are still sung in reformed churches and elsewhere, most notably in the adaptation of Johann Sebastian Bach's cantatas.

Ágnes Juhász-Ormsby

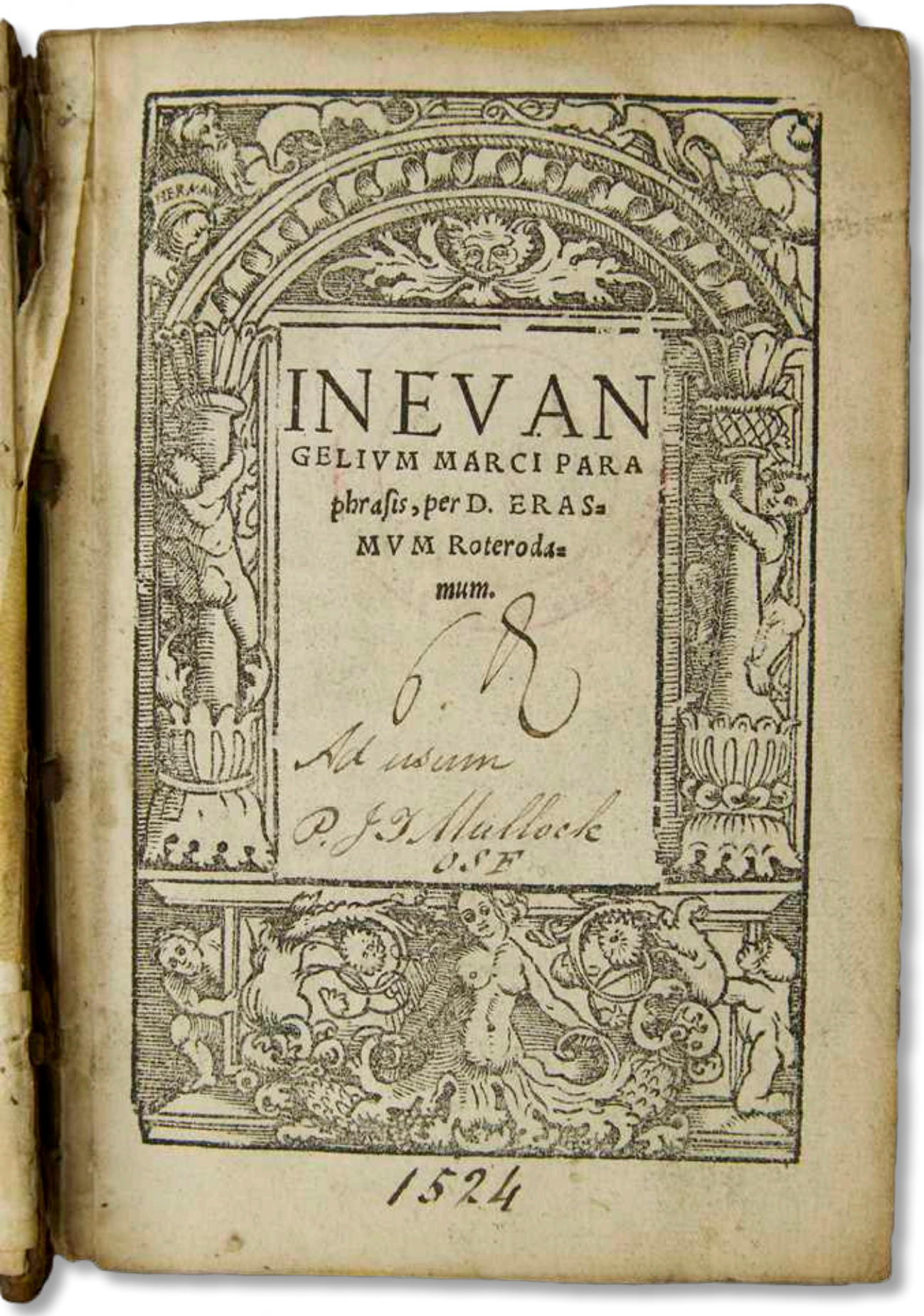

OPERA
D. IOANNIS CHRYSO-
STOMI ARCHIEPISCOPI CONSTAN
Nil ardens fatis.
BASILEAE, EX OFFICINA HERVAGIANA,
MENSE FEBRUARIO, AN.
M. D. XXXIX.
CVM GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO
Caesareæ Maiestatis.


IN ACTA
APOSTOLORVM PA
raphrasis ERASMI Roterodā
mi, nunc primum recens & nata
& excusa.
ANNO M. D. XXIIII.

Greta Grace Kroeker, *Erasmus in the Footsteps of Paul: A Pauline Theologian* (Toronto, 2011).

John C. Olin, *Six Essays on Erasmus and a Translation of Erasmus' Letter to Carondelet, 1523* (New York, 1979).

Hilmar M. Pabel and Mark Vessey, *Holy Scripture Speaks: The Production and Reception of Erasmus' Paraphrases on the New Testament* (Toronto, 2002).


INEVAN
GELIVM MARCI PARA
phraſis, per D. ERAS=
MVM Roterodа=
mum.
Ad usum
P. J. Mullock
O.S.F
1524

12 The Church Fathers: Augustine

Augustine, *Opvscvla insigniora adversvs Pelagianos et eorvm reliqvias*, vol. 1 (Louvain: Bernard Masius, 1647). 166 x 215 mm
Illustrations: title page (*opposite above*), spine (*below*)

Augustine, *Divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi Meditationes* (Venice: Nicolaus Pezzana, 1731). 62 x 123 mm
Illustration: title page (*opposite below*)

Augustine, *St. Augustine's Confessions: or, Praises of God in Ten Books* (Dublin: Richard Cross, 1770). 90 x 135 mm

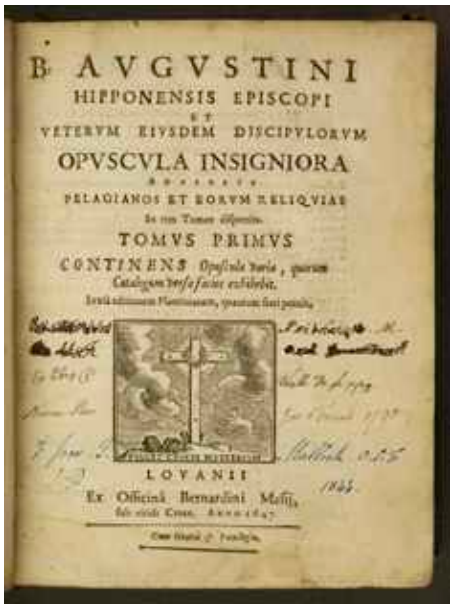
The Mullock collection contains three works by Augustine (354–430 C.E.), one of the great doctors of the church, whose enormous influence on the history of Western theology cannot be overestimated. "What is more august than Augustine?" asks the editor in the preface to volume 1 of a 1647 Latin collection of Augustine's "anti-Pelagian" works (*Opvscvla insigniora adversvs Pelagianos et eorvm reliqvias*) in the collection. This volume, the first of three, contains several of Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings, which address the Pelagian controversy over theological positions concerning the meanings of human freedom and divine grace, the transmission of sins, and the function of infant baptism, among others. Only the first volume is in the collection. While one might expect to find Augustine represented in the library of a Catholic bishop or anyone interested in Western theology and philosophy, this volume in particular might have found its way there as a result of Mullock's translation of Ligouri's *The History of Heresies*, of which Mullock wrote, "there is no Heresy which cannot be refuted from it" (vii). The fifth chapter of the *The History of Heresies* contains an article devoted to the "Heresy of Pelagius," which, appropriately, given his prominent role during the controversy, abounds with references to Augustine. Mullock's inscription appears on the title page among those of the book's previous owners, indicating that he obtained this volume of Augustine's works in 1844, three years before the publication of his translation of Ligouri's *The History of Heresies*.

In the collection, as one might expect, is an edition of Augustine's *Confessions*, which, along with his *De Trinitate* and *De civitate Dei*, comprise the Doctor of Grace's major and most famous works. An instant classic since the time of its completion in 401 C.E., the *Confessions* has ever since enjoyed a widespread and enthusiastic readership. In short, it is a masterpiece of theology, philosophy, and literature, in addition to being one of the earliest examples in Western literature of autobiography and deep, personal, psychological reflection. This 1770 edition,

translated into English from Latin, contains only the first ten, and more explicitly autobiographical, of the thirteen books of the text. The eleventh, on time and eternity, and the books on creation and the author's interpretation of the beginning of Genesis are omitted; the anonymous translator's preface provides the reason: "Because the Contents of them are for the most Part so hard and obscure, that they would be of small Edification to those for whose Benefit this Translation is chiefly designed" (A2v). It is not known when Mullock acquired this work. No further information can be gleaned from the book's inscription, which contains only the name of its owner: Fr. J. T. Mullock. OSF.

Finally, the collection also contains a little volume entited *Meditationes, soliloquia et manuale* (Meditations, soliloquies, and manual), containing, in addition to the Augustinian writings, meditative selections of Saints Anselm and Bernard of Clairvaux. The "Augustianian" works contained within the volume, however, were not written by Augustine at all, but were composed and circulated under the aegis of his name. Despite the pseudonymous authorship, the work nevertheless mimics Augustine's style and thought in meticulous detail—an impressive accomplishment in its own right. The apocryphal texts, collected together as Augustine's *Meditationes*, were widely popular and saw many printings in Latin and various vernacular languages since the mid-sixteenth century. The volume contains short devotions and meditations organized around themes, wherein the meditator speaks to himself or herself and to God in the manner of a soliloquy (a term coined by Augustine), which one observes perfected and mastered in Augustine's *Confessions*. Befitting its purpose, the book itself is small and meant to be carried on one's person. According to the inscription, Mullock obtained the book in Dublin in 1845, during his tenure as guardian of the Franciscan convent of Adam and Eve, before being sent to St. John's, Newfoundland.

Seamus O'Neill


B. AVGVSTINI
HIPPONENSIS EPISCOPI
ET
VETERVM EIVSDEM DISCIPVLORVM
OPVSCVLA INSIGNIORA
PELAGIANOS ET EORVM RELIQVIAS
TOMVS PRIMVS
CONTINENS
LOVANII
Ex Officinâ Bernardini Masii,


DIVI AVRELII
AVGVSTINI
Hippon. Episcopi
MEDITATIONES
Soliloquia et Manuale
B. ANSELMI
D. BERNARDI
VENETIIS, MDCCXXXI
Apud Nicolaum Pezzana
Fr. Joan. T. Mullock S.T.L
Ord. S. Francisci
Dublin. 1845

Allan D. Fitzgerald, *Augustine through the Ages* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1999).
Julia D. Staykova, "Pseudo-Augustine and Religious Controversy in Early Modern England," in *Augustine beyond the Book: Intermediality, Transmediality and Reception*, ed. Karla Pollman and Meredith J. Gill (Leiden, 2012).

13 The Bollandist Enterprise

Jean Bolland et al., *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur vel a Catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur. Februarii*, vol. 1 (Venice: Sebastian Coleti, Johannes Baptist, and Albrizzi Hieron, 1734). 260 x 390 mm
Illustration: frontispiece (*opposite*)

The *Acta Sanctorum* is a multi-volume critical edition in folio volumes of the "lives" and "acts" of the Christian saints, based on an examination of the manuscripts, and arranged in order of the calendar year. The idea for such a collective work was that of Heribert Rosweyde (1569–1623), a Belgian Jesuit, but he did not live to see any of the published volumes. Under the guidance of Jean Bolland (1596–1665), another Belgian Jesuit, and his successors, the work continued. They founded a society in Brussels (la Société des Bollandistes), which between 1643 and 1794 published the volumes for January through October 14 (the last three by former Jesuits). The Belgian Jesuit order was suppressed in 1773, but the work was resumed by the Société des Bollandistes in 1837. The collection was not finished, but by 1925 editing had reached November 10; the *Propylaeum* ("introduction") to the saints of December was published in 1940. Since 1822 the Société des Bollandistes has also published a quarterly journal, *Analecta Bollandiana*, devoted to the study of saints and the publication of unpublished documents associated with the lives of saints.

There are three "versions" of the *Acta Sanctorum*: the original series, published in Antwerp between 1643 and 1940; a Venetian edition consisting of the first 50 volumes, published between 1734 and 1770; and a Parisian edition, published in 60 volumes between 1863 and 1867, with a general index in 1875. The Société des Bollandistes continues work on the collective edition. The Mullock collection contains the Venetian edition.

The *Acta Sanctorum* is especially valuable because of its inclusiveness and the scope of its entries. The editors attempted to include all surviving lives of the saints, with the result that many of the more important or more widely venerated saints often have multiple lives by multiple authors. Although the lives are almost entirely in Latin, they form an indispensable basis for studying the lives of the saints and assessing their historical and religious importance for Western Christianity.

Mullock appears to have purchased this edition in 1850, judging from the presence of his signature and date on the title page of volume 1.

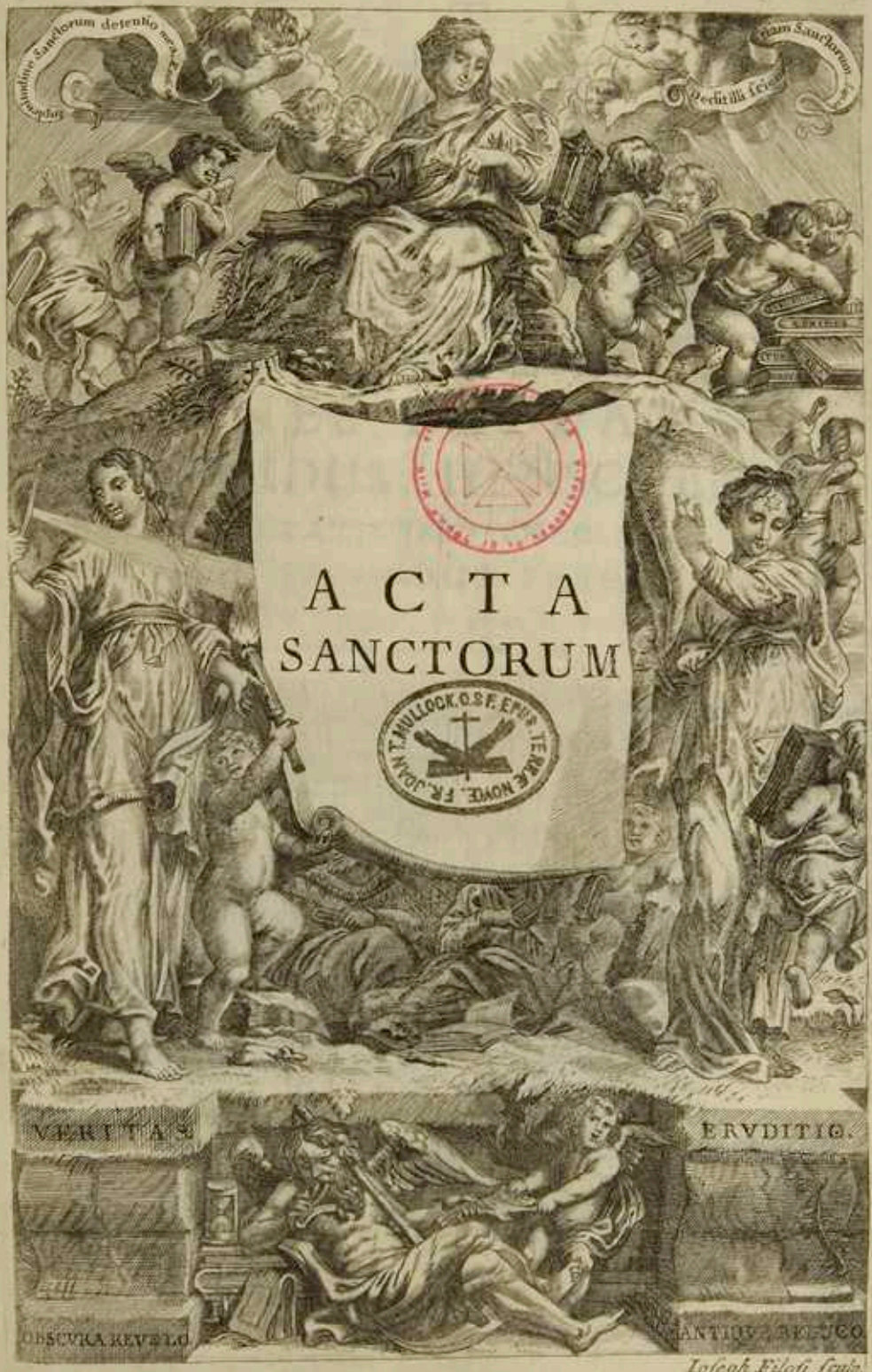
Mullock used the folio volumes of *Acta Sanctorum* as a sort of archive, pasting many of his pastoral letters and local newspaper articles into the various volumes, forming a repository of personal and public documents.

William Schipper

Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Work of the Bollandists through Three Centuries, 1615–1915* (Princeton, 1922).

Robert Godding, Bernard Joassart, and Xavier Lequeux, eds., *De Rosweyde aux Acta Sanctorum. La recherche hagiographique des Bollandistes à travers quatre siècles. Actes du Colloque international (Bruxelles, 5 octobre 2007)* (Brussels, 2009).

M. D. Knowles, "Great Historical Enterprises: I. The Bollandists," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1958): 147–66.


ACTA
SANCTORUM
VERITAS
ERVDITIO.
OBSCVRA REVELO
ANTIQVA RECOCO
Ioseph Filosi scalp.

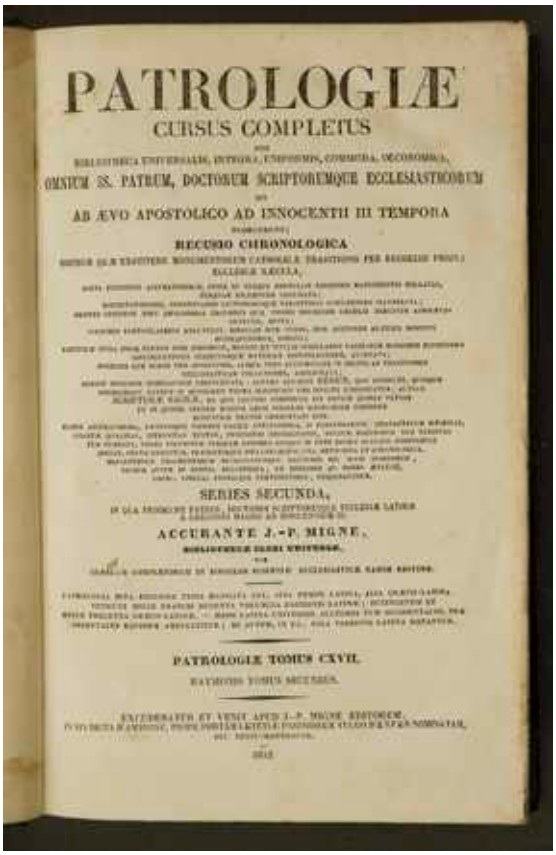
14 A Complete Course in Theology: Jacques-Paul Migne

Jacques-Paul Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series tertia*, vol. 1 (Paris: Jacques-Paul Migne, 1845).
190 x 280 mm
Illustrations: front cover, title page (*opposite*)

Jacques-Paul Migne was born in Saint-Flour, Cantal (about 400 kilometres south of Paris), and studied for the priesthood in Orléans. In 1833 he came to Paris, with the permission of the bishop of Orléans (Jean Brumeaux de Beauregard), after Migne had refused to bless the procession held on the Feast of Corpus Christi in 1831 because the revolutionary tricolours were on display in the procession. In Paris he quickly became involved in newspaper publishing, founding *L'Univers religieux* in 1833, a periodical with strong ultramontane (a movement that placed a strong emphasis on the power of the papacy) leanings. In 1836 he founded a publishing house, the Imprimerie Catholique (later known as the Atelier Catholique), in Petit-Montrouge, in the southern suburbs of Paris. There he began to publish volumes in a grandiose publication plan of what he called the *Bibliothèque universelle du clergé*, consisting of a number of series of multi-volume works which he sold largely to bishops and priests. Most of these series continue to be of interest to historians of nineteenth-century religion and politics in France. Two of them continue to be the primary source of texts of the medieval Greek and Latin patristic and ecclesiastical writers. Between 1836 and 1868 Migne published nearly 1,000 volumes in total. These series include the following, which are still preserved in the Basilica Museum as part of the Mullock collection, with the exception of the *Patrologia Latina*, the *Patrologia Graeca*, and the *Theologiae* series, which were transferred to Memorial University's Queen Elizabeth II Library in 1965:

1. *Encyclopédie théologique*, Première Série (52 volumes, 1844–45)
2. *Encyclopédie théologique*, Deuxième Série (53 volumes, 1845)
3. *Encyclopédie théologique*, Troisième Série (66 volumes, 1845–46)
4. *Nouvelle encyclopédie théologique* (52 volumes, 1851–55)
5. *Collection intégrale et universelle des Orateurs Sacrés* (99 volumes, 1844–66)
6. *Scripturae sacrae cursus completus* (28 volumes, 1839–43)
7. *Theologiae cursus completus* (28 volumes, 1839–45)
8. *Démonstrations evangéliques* (20 volumes, 1843–53)
9. *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina* (221 volumes, 1844–55)
10. *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeco-Latina* (166 volumes, 1857–66)
11. *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca* (104 volumes in 85 parts, 1856–67)

Migne believed fully in the power of the printing press, and until a fire destroyed his printing factory in 1868, his publishing house was the largest privately owned publisher in France, using steam-driven presses (then the latest technology in printing) and employing hundreds of workers. He sold the books on subscription, offering discounts on prepaid subscriptions and further discounts if someone contracted to purchase additional copies of the series he made available. The patrology series (*Patrologia Latina* in Latin, *Patrologia Graeca* in Greek, and *Patrologia Graeco-Latina* in Greek with facing-page translations into Latin) was originally devised by Dom



Jean-Baptiste Pitra (1812–89). However, Pitra's contribution is almost exclusively anonymous, except for a single entry in one of the index volume of the Latin series (PL 218, col. 338). Pitra edited the first two volumes of the Latin series (the works of Tertullian), provided notes for some of the others, and searched indefatigably for manuscripts of patristic texts; but the majority of the texts were taken from seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century editions, many of them provided by Dom Prosper Guéranger, abbot of the Benedictine abbey Solesmes. Migne rarely if ever paid royalties, as a result of which he was frequently in trouble with the authorities for plagiarism of editions still under copyright.

Although most of the series he published have long since been superseded (at least as reliable sources of information), the Latin and Greek collections of the church fathers are often still the primary or only editions available in accessible editions, despite the fact that these editions have often been criticized for being hastily put together, printed on cheap paper, and sometimes published without permission. But despite these criticisms, both the Greek and Latin series continue to be useful to scholars, and because of Migne's policy of suppressing nearly all references to his many collaborators, both series continue to be known collectively as "Migne." They have been described as the collection of editions that made medieval studies possible. Modern students of the Middle Ages often depend on translations, but serious scholars of the period still consult these series regularly. To someone like Mullock this kind of reference work would have represented a treasure trove of such texts and formed a cornerstone of the library he envisioned. It must have been especially useful for the seminarians of St. Bonaventure's College.

Mullock owned the entire set of the Latin series (the title page of each volume carries his signature or one of his Episcopal stamps), bound in uniform dark blue bindings (as supplied by Migne), and the first 105 volumes of the Greco-Latin series, representing the first series of Greek fathers (from St. Barnabas [died 61 C.E.] to Photios [810–91]); some of these volumes additionally have notes in his handwriting.

William Schipper

R. Howard Bloch, *God's Plagiarist* (Chicago, 1994).
Charles Chauvin, *L'Abbé Migne et ses collaborateurs* (Paris, 2010).
Garnier Frères, *Catalogue général des ouvrages édités par l'abbé Migne* (Paris, 1885).

15 Mullock and Alphonsus de Liguori

Alphonso María de Ligorio, *Dissertazioni teologiche-morali appartenenti alla vita eterna* (Bassano del Grappa: Remondini, 1781). 95 x 166 mm

Alphonso María de Ligorio, *Istoria dell' eresie colle loro confutazioni*, 2nd ed., vols. 2 and 3 (Bassano del Grappa: Remondini, 1791). 97 x 164 mm
Illustrations: bindings, title page (*opposite*)

Alphonso María de Ligorio, *Istoria dell' eresei colle loro confutazioni*, 3rd ed., vol. 1 (Bassano del Grappa: Remondini, 1822). 102 x 166 mm

Alphonso María de Ligorio, *Theologia moralis Beati A.-M. de Ligorio*, vol. 1 (Paris: Gaume Fratres, 1834). 114 x 188 mm

"There are few saints, the study of whose lives would be more productive or of more utility to us than that of St. Alphonsus," wrote Bishop Mullock in 1846 in the preface to his *The Life of St. Alphonsus M. Liguori*. Alphonsus de Liguori (1696–1787), the founder of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (the Redemptorists) and bishop of the diocese of Sant'Agata de' Goti (1762–75), was beatified in 1816, canonized in 1839, and proclaimed a Doctor of the Church in 1871. He was also a renowned lawyer, preacher, writer, artist, musician, poet, and theologian. Liguori's published works amount to some 111 volumes. Credited with being the first bishop to write in the vernacular (modern Italian), he is the only author whose works exist in more editions than those of William Shakespeare. Of his many devotional works, *A Way to Converse Continually with God as a Friend*, *The Practice of the Love of Jesus Christ*, *The Way of the Cross*, and *Visits to the Blessed Sacrament and to Mary* continue to be widely used in the Roman Catholic tradition.

Ligouri's scholarly works, several of which remain in print, have shaped generations of theologians. His greatest contribution may have been his *Theologia moralis* (Moral theology). First published in 1748, this work has been continuously in print. It shaped a pastoral approach to ethical issues and decision-making by positing a middle ground between the strict rigorism of the Jansenist approach (in matters of moral choice the stricter course should be taken) and laxism (in matters of moral choice the easier course should be taken). This approach is sometimes referred to as equiprobabilism (or a system of principles designed to guide the conscience of one in doubt whether he or she is free from or bound by a given civil or religious law).

Ligouri, who had a great devotion to the Blessed Virgin, wrote a number of Marian texts, most notably *The Glories of Mary*. Primarily pastoral in nature, his Marian writings rediscovered, re-stated, and defended the Mariology of Augustine, Ambrose, and other early church writers, and offered an intellectual defence of Mariology in the midst of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. This renewed Marian theology contributed to the 1854 proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

Mullock was one of the first scholars to introduce Liguori's works to an English-speaking audience. In 1846, he wrote the first biography of Liguori in English. In 1847, he translated Liguori's *The History of Heresies and Their Refutation* and may also have translated other works.

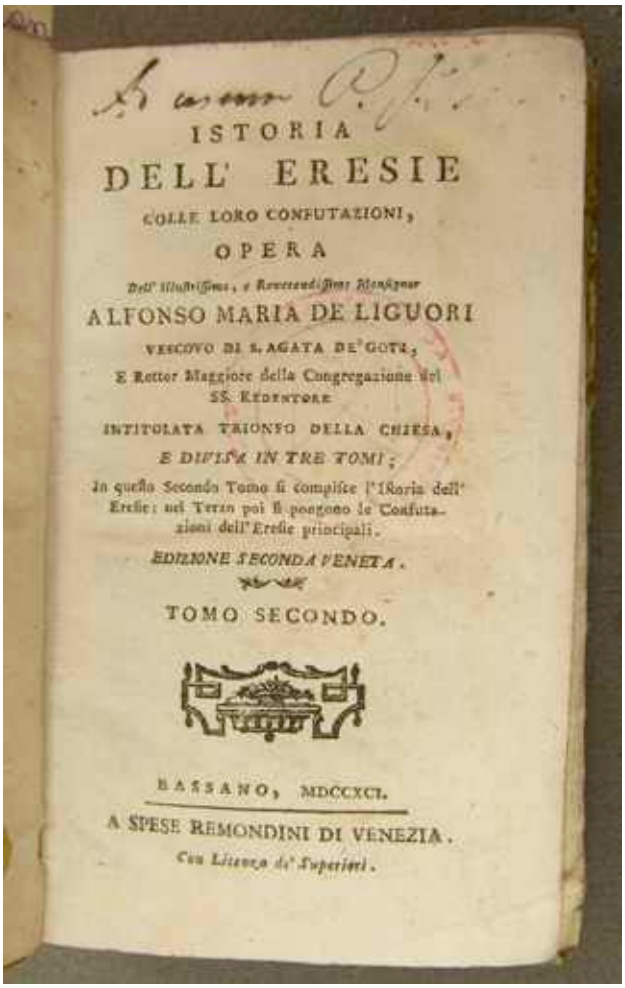
Why was Mullock so fascinated by Liguori? One clue might be found in the fact that the canonization hearings for Liguori took place while Mullock was living in Rome. In Liguori, Mullock found what he believed to be a model for a modern bishop. In his preface to *The Life of St. Alphonsus M. Liguori*, Mullock stated, "In the life of St. Alphonsus Liguori ... we have a man, I may say, of our own time, living within the influence of the ideas that rule our own age, mixed up with all the occurrences

that checquer our daily existence. His days were spent in discharging the same duties as millions of his contemporaries; and he was a saint only because in the discharge of those duties, he sought above all, the glory of God and the salvation of souls."

The Mullock collection's eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions of the works of Liguori include *Dissertazioni teologiche-morali appartenenti alla vita eterna*, likely purchased by Mullock in Rome around the time of the canonization hearings. The collection also includes three volumes of *Istoria dell' eresei colle loro confutazioni*. Mullock purchased volumes 2 and 3 of the 1791 edition in Rome in 1832. He seems to have found it impossible to acquire the whole set at that time, so he bought a later edition of volume 1 (1822) in Ireland. The collection also includes different sets of the *Theologia moralis*, including Gaume Fratres's 1834 Parisian edition. Among the unsigned books in the collection are other spiritual, pastoral, and devotional works by Liguori in Italian, English, and French, possibly acquired by Mullock after his move to Newfoundland. Mullock seemingly wanted to make available a complete set of Liguori's works not only for himself but also for his seminarians.

Mullock expressed his attraction to Liguori and his works in his translator's preface to *The History of Heresies*: "St. Alphonsus never sought for ornament; a clear, lucid statement of facts is what he aimed at; there is nothing inflated in his writings. He wrote for the people, and that is the principal reason, I imagine, why not only his Devotional Works, but his Historical and Theological Writings, also, have been in such request."

Anne Walsh



Frederick Jones, *Alphonsus de Liguori: Saint of Bourbon Naples 1696–1787: Founder of the Redemptorists* (Liguori, MS, 1998).

Frederick Jones, *Alphonsus de Liguori: Selected Writings* (Mahwah, NJ, 1999).

16 Mullock and Protestantism

Robert Southey, Charles C. Southey, Daniel Curry, Alexander Knox, and Samuel T. Coleridge, *The Life of Wesley: And Rise and Progress of Methodism*, vols. 1 and 2 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1847). 133 x 203 mm
Illustration: spines (*below*)

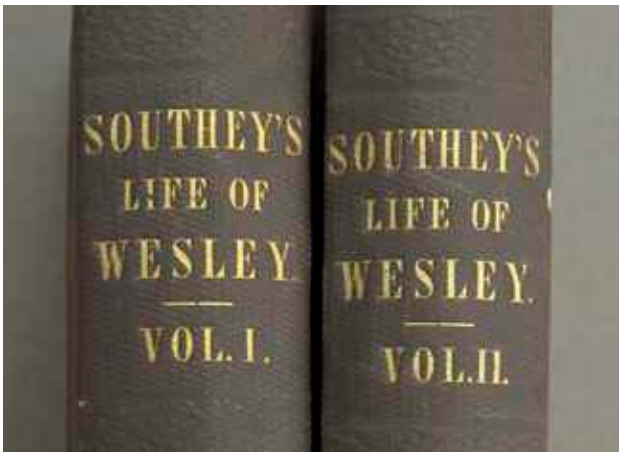
J. Sturges, *Letters to a Prebendary: Being an Answer to* Reflections on Popery (London: Eusebius Andrews, 1822). 148 x 228 mm
Illustrations: frontispiece, title page (*opposite*)

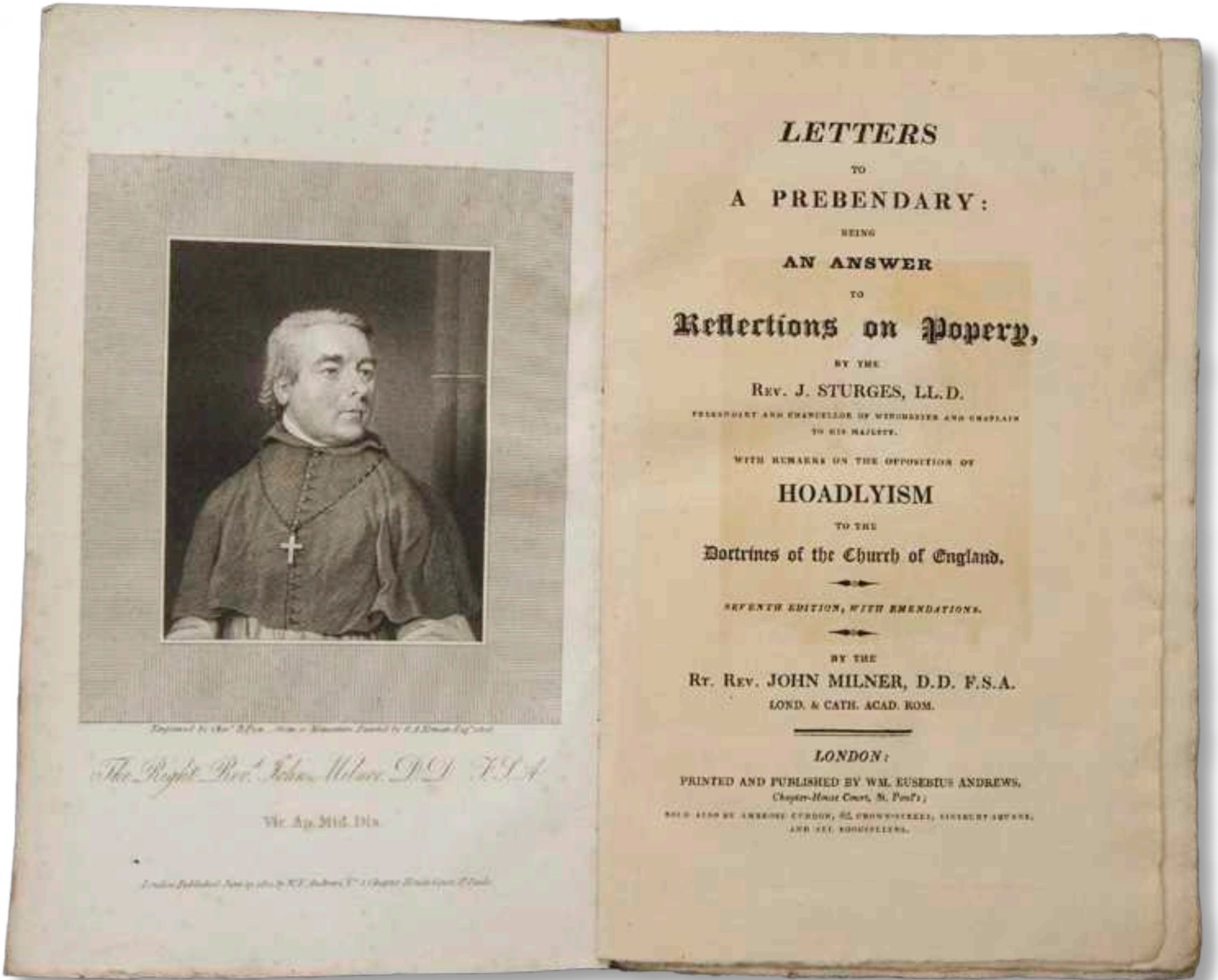
Bishop Mullock's 1847 translation of Alphonsus de Liguori's *The History of Heresies* is the first known translation of this work into English. In Italian, as in English, it is a monumental work, addressing and refuting heresies in every century from the first to the eighteenth. Mullock translated Liguori's three-volume work into two volumes and extended its scope by adding a chapter on the developments which had transpired in the 60 years since Liguori's death.

A survey of Mullock's supplementary chapter reveals that he not only sought to bring Liguori's work up-to-date but also to correct Liguori's perceptions and academic judgments on the topic of the Reformation in England. For his supplementary chapter, Mullock referenced works in English and French published between 1681 and 1861 in places as diverse as Derby, Dublin, London, New York, Paris, Philadelphia, and Waterford. Thirteen of these titles remain within the Mullock collection.

Mullock addressed the effects of the Reformation in England and particular challenges to Roman Catholicism arising from the Church of England, especially those to papal supremacy and Anglican claims about Apostolic Succession. To craft his correction and extension of the source text of Liguori's *The History of Heresies*, he most likely consulted Francis Patrick Kenrick's *The Primacy of the Apostolic See Vindicated* (1845); Peter Richard Kenrick's *The Validity of Anglican Ordinations and Anglican Claims to Apostolical Succession Examined*, 2nd ed. (1848); Louïs Maimbourg's *Histoire du Lutheranisme* (1681); J. Sturges's *Letters to a Prebendary: Being an Answer to* Reflections on Popery (1843); and William Wake's *Exposition du catechisme de l'Eglise Anglicane, où sont expliquez les principes de la religion Chrétienne. Avec un formulaire de Prières, pour le matin & pour le soir, a l'usage des familles* (1722).

Mullock included two references which addressed the effect of the Reformation in Ireland and, in particular, its effect on Roman Catholic clergy. The Mullock collection contains Patrick F. Moran and Oliver Plunket's *Memoirs of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of All Ireland: Who Suffered Death for the Catholic Faith in the Year 1681* (1861) and J. K. L.'s *A Reply by J. K. L. to the Late Charge of the Most Rev. Doctor Magee, Protestant Archbishop of*





Dublin, Submitted, Most Respectfully, to Those to Whom the Above Charge Was Addressed (1827). Oliver Plunket would not be beatified until 1920, and canonized in 1975, yet Mullock considered his story illustrative of the Irish Catholic church.

In addition to the challenges posed by the Church of England, Mullock was also concerned with the development of Methodism. He dealt with this movement, later a Christian denomination, in his supplementary chapter, drawing upon Joseph Benson's *An Apology for the People Called Methodists; Containing a Concise Account of Their Origin and Progress, Doctrine, Discipline and Designs* (1801) and volume 1 of Robert Southey, Charles C. Southey, Daniel Curry, Alexander Knox, and Samuel T. Coleridge's *The Life of Wesley: And Rise and Progress of Methodism* (1847).

Anne Walsh

Alister E. McGrath, *Christianity: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA, 2006).

17 James Ware and the History of the Church in Ireland

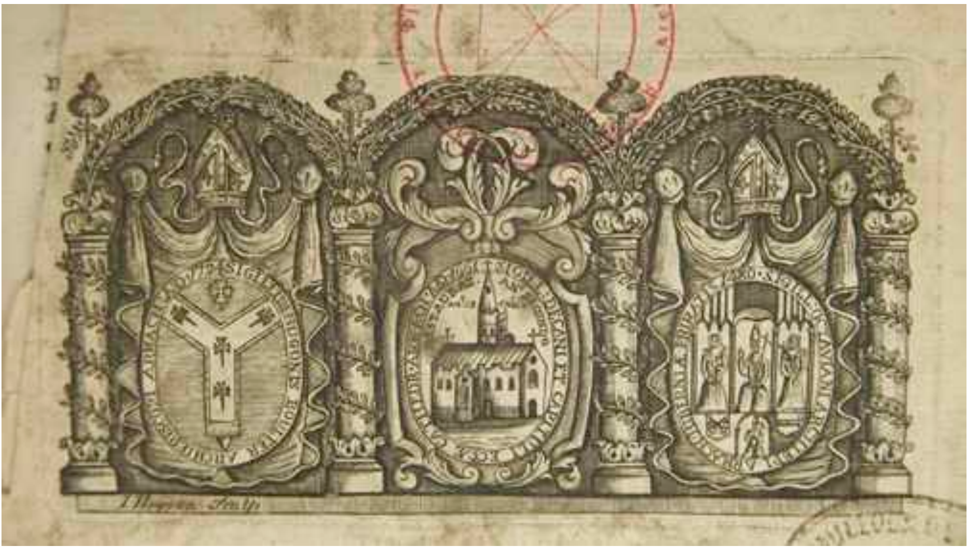
James Ware, *History of the Bishops of the Kingdom of Ireland*, vol. 1 (Dublin: E. Jones, 1739). 197 x 313 mm
Illustrations: headpiece on opening page, front flyleaf with Mullock's inscription, spine (*opposite*)

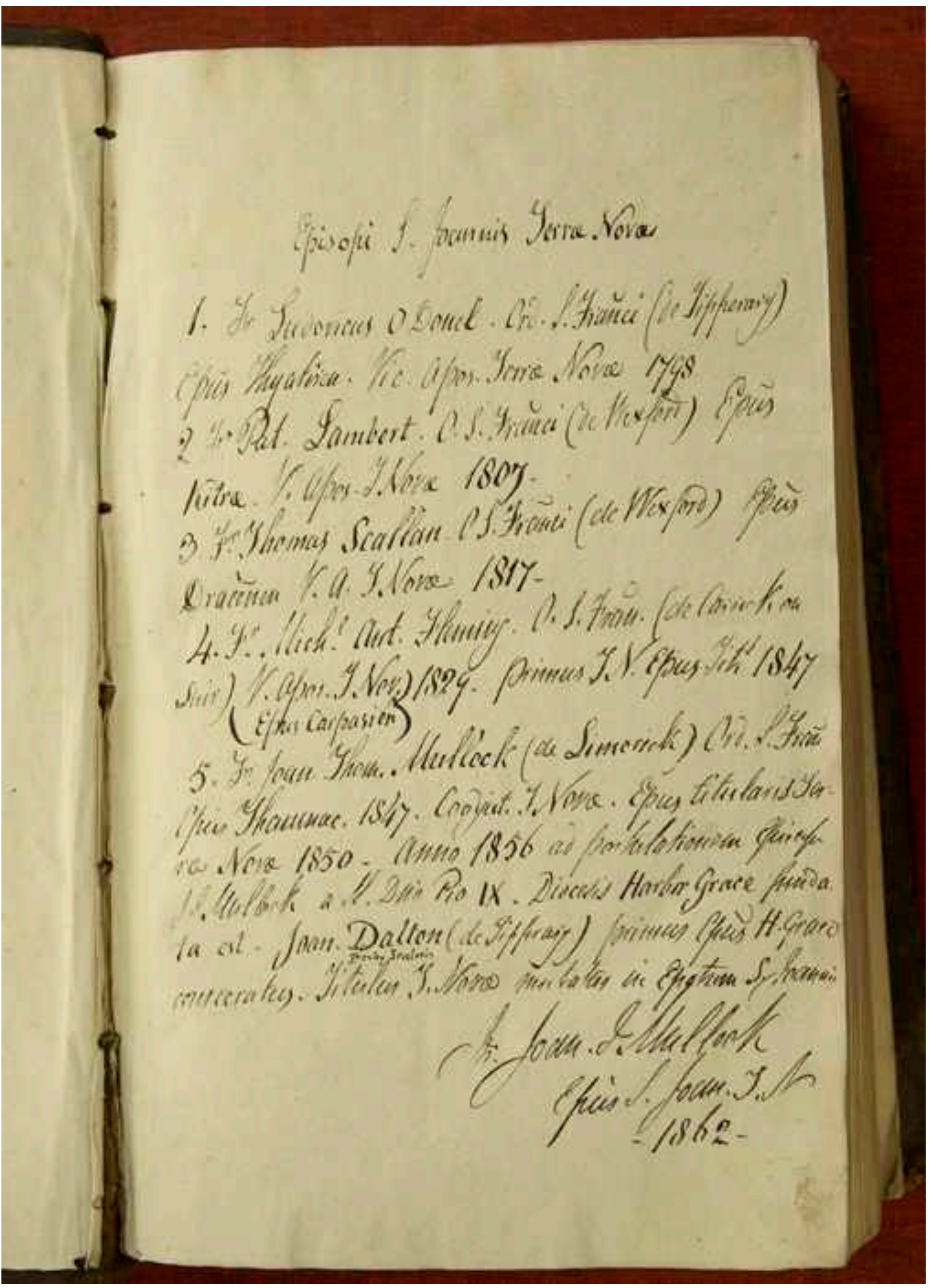
Sir James Ware (1594–1666) was the leading Irish historian and antiquarian of his time besides being auditor-general and member of parliament for the University of Dublin. Having graduated from the recently founded Trinity College, Dublin, Ware dedicated himself to collecting manuscripts and original documents relating to Irish history. In the course of 40 years, he published a number of substantial historical works all concerned with the promotion of Ireland's rich heritage. For a person of his time, he was remarkably unprejudiced and was the friend and collaborator of Catholic scholars. He was the first to publish the Elizabethan accounts of Ireland by Edmund Campion and Meredith Hanmer, and the Elizabethan poet Edmund Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland* (1633). He also compiled a biographical register of Irish writers. His comprehensive history of Ireland, *De Hibernia et antiquitatibus eius disquisitiones*, which provides a detailed account of Irish families, names, customs, natural phenomena, and Irish fighting styles, appeared in London in 1654.

Ware's history of Irish bishops, *De praesulibus Hiberniae commentarius* (1665), was translated into English by the historian Walter Harris (1688–1761), who was inspired by his second wife, Elizabeth Ware, great-granddaughter of Sir James, to make Ware's Latin historical works accessible in English. Mullock owned the first edition of *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland*. His copy of volume 1, *The History of the Bishops of That Kingdom*, was part one of a three-volume set (only two were published). Harris not only translated Ware's work but he also edited and expanded it from 200 to 650 pages, adding an account of the history of Protestant bishops until 1739. Harris's enlarged version of the history of the dioceses of Ireland, grouped under their respective archdioceses, begins with the archdiocese of Armagh, the premier Irish see. The first page of each archdiocese bears a fine etching descriptive of the see, and, under the heading, a description of its coat of arms. The text proper begins with a large, finely etched, dropped capital, also related to the diocese. At the end there is an elaborate index of the dioceses and the important events connected with them.

On the opening page of his copy, Mullock listed in Latin all his predecessors as bishops of St. John's, starting from Louis O'Donel, the first vicar apostolic of Newfoundland (1798). Mullock must have found Ware's account particularly useful for his own scholarly endeavour to compose a history of the church in Newfoundland. As attested by his notebook, preserved in the Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's, Mullock followed Ware's research methods of collecting original documents and consulting extant sources and archival materials concerning the history of his own Irish see in the New World.

J. B. Darcy, CFC

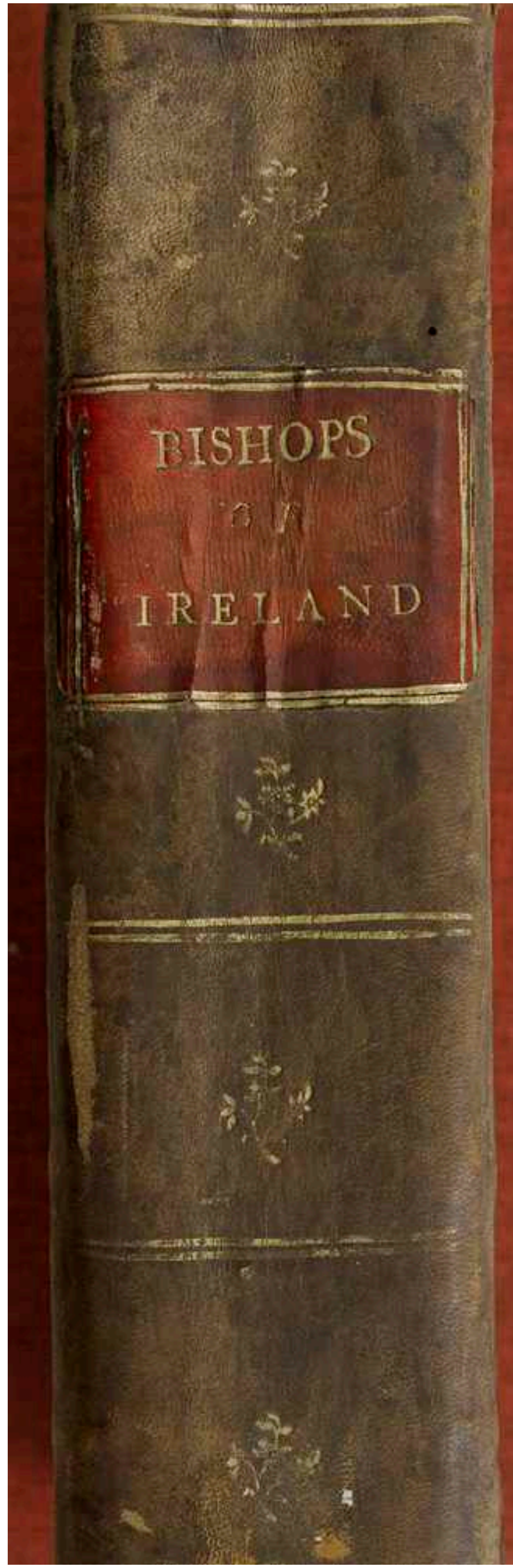




Episcopi S. Joannis Terræ Novæ

1. Fr Ludovicus O'Donel. Ord. S. Franci (de Tipperary) Epus Thyatiren. Vic. Apos. Terræ Novæ 1798
2 Fr Pat. Lambert. O. S. Franci (de Wexford) Epus Chytræ V. Apos. T. Novæ 1807.
3 Fr Thomas Scallan O. S. Franci (de Wexford) Epus Drasinen V. A. T. Novæ 1817.
4. Fr. Michl. Ant. Fleming. O. S. Fran. (de Carrick on Suir) V. Apos. T. Nov. 1829. Primus T. N. Epus Jul 1847 (Epus Carpasien)
5. Fr Joan. Thom. Mullock (de Limerick) Ord. S. Fran. Epus Thaumac. 1847. Coadjut. T. Novæ. Epus titularis Terræ Novæ 1850. Anno 1856 ad postulationem Episcopi J. T. Mullock a SS. Dno Pio IX. Diocesis Harbor Grace fundata est. Joan. Dalton (de Tipperary) primus Epus H. Grace consecratus. Titulus T. Novæ mutatus in Epatum S. Joannis

Fr Joan. T. Mullock
Epus S. Joan. T. N.
1862



18 John England and the Irish American Church

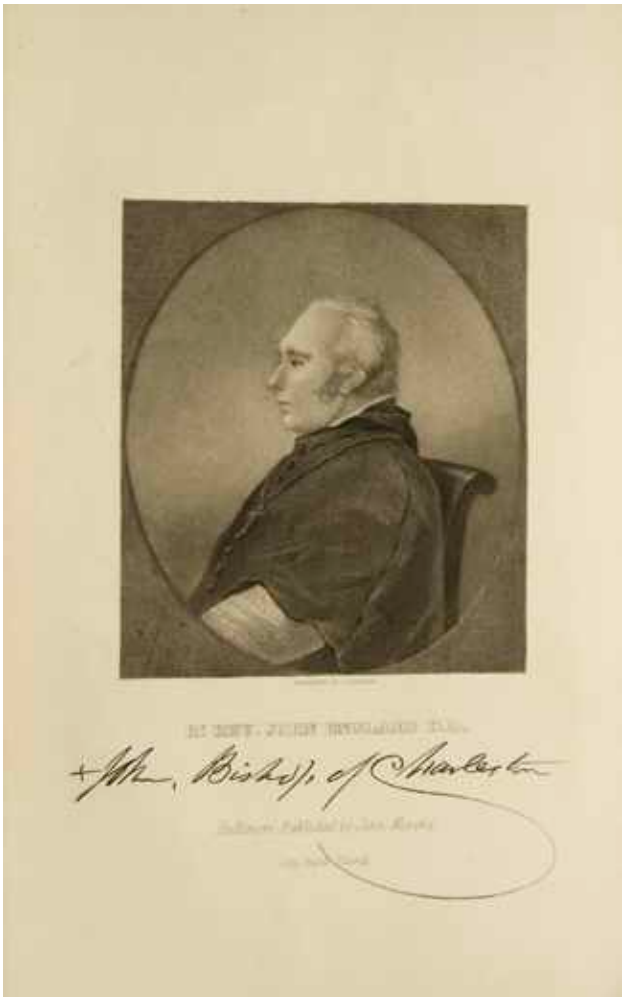
John England, *The Works of the Right Rev. John England, First Bishop of Charleston*, vols. 1–5 (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1849). 160 x 235 mm
Illustration: vol. 1 frontispiece (*opposite above*)

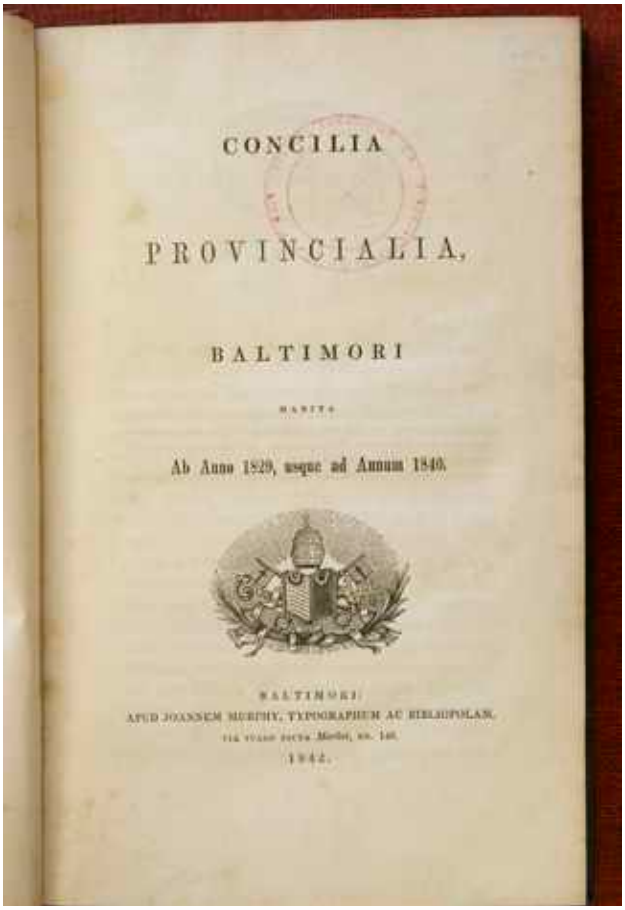
***Concilia provincialia Baltimori habita ab anno 1829, usque ad annum 1840* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1842). 148 x 232 mm**
Illustration: title page (*opposite below*)

Francis Patrick Kenrick, *The Primacy of the Apostolic See Vindicated* (Philadelphia: M. Fithian, 1845). 140 x 220 mm

As attested by his extant book collection, Bishop Mullock closely followed the career of his fellow Irish bishops in the United States. He acquired the collected works of arguably one of the most radical and charismatic figures of early nineteenth-century American religious politics, John England (1786–1842), who, in many ways, served as a model for Mullock's religious, social, and educational reforms. Similar to children from prosperous Irish families, England was first educated at Cork Protestant School and then at the Catholic St. Patrick's College in Carlow. He was ordained at an early age, in 1808. He rapidly became involved in political controversy, as an ardent supporter of the nascent Catholic Emancipation in Ireland. His use of mass gatherings as a means of political agitation was later famously implemented by the Irish patriot Daniel O'Connell. To promote religious liberties and the separation of church and state, England founded the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, which he continued to edit until his elevation to the bishopric of Charleston in South Carolina in 1820, a sparsely populated and particularly challenging see. Although there was a sharp increase in the Catholic population due to large numbers of Irish and German immigrants in the 1830s, the Roman Catholic church was generally regarded as an absolutist and un-American institution in the period.

In 1826, England, the first Catholic priest to deliver a speech before the Congress of the United States, set out to challenge this widespread view and argued for the compatibility of republicanism and Catholicism. He advocated religious tolerance and the rights of other religious minorities (including Jews), and he opened a school for free black children, which he was later forced to close under pressure from municipal authorities. Although in his private letters he detested slavery, he maintained publicly a more ambivalent approach to abolition, excusing the practice of domestic slavery. He was greatly concerned with education and the formation of the laity, championing classical education, science, and literature. He attempted to found a book society in every congregation, an effort which was embraced, on his initiation, by the Third Provincial Council of Catholic bishops in Baltimore in 1837. He established a college and seminary in 1825 and from 1822 he edited the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, the first American Catholic newspaper. After England's death, his successor, Dr. Ignatius Reynolds, collected his writings in the present five-volume set. Following an introductory sketch of the life of Bishop England, some 350 pages are devoted to a controversy with the Spanish theologian and Anglican convert J. Blanco White regarding the truth of the church. The remainder of the volume is devoted mainly to a lengthy defence of the doctrine of the Eucharist.





Mullock acquired volume 1 for his personal use after he became bishop of St. John's. England might have been a highly relevant model for Mullock not only because of his controversial writings or his educational reforms but also because of the leading role he played in the hibernicization of the American Catholic church. As a result of England's and his chief ally Francis Patrick Kenrick's (archbishop of Baltimore) untiring efforts, the Irish began to dominate most Episcopal appointments in the United States after 1835. Mullock must have been interested in this process because he purchased a volume by Kenrick. *The Primacy of the Apostolic See Vindicated* Mullock acquired as bishop of Thaumacene between 1847 and 1850. He also owned a copy of the records of the Baltimore provincial councils (convened on England's and Kenrick's instigation) from 1829 onwards (*Concilia provincialia Baltimori habita*), which he received from William Walsh, archbishop of Halifax. Interestingly, England's and Kenrick's most dedicated supporter in Rome was the rector of St. Isidore's, Paul Cullen (later archbishop of Armagh, then Dublin, and Primate of Ireland). Like Mullock, they all shared the same Irish Roman orientation and the same vision perpetuated with local variations by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (or Propaganda Fide).

J. B. Darcy, CFC

Colin Barr, "The Irish College, Rome, and the Appointment of Irish Bishops to the United States, 1830–1851," in *The Irish College, Rome, and Its World*, ed. Dáire Keogh and Albert McDonnell (Dublin, 2008), 102–15.

R. Frank Saunders, Jr. and George A. Rogers, "Bishop John England of Charleston: Catholic Spokesman and Southern Intellectual, 1820–1842," *Journal of the Early Republic* 13 (1993): 301–22.

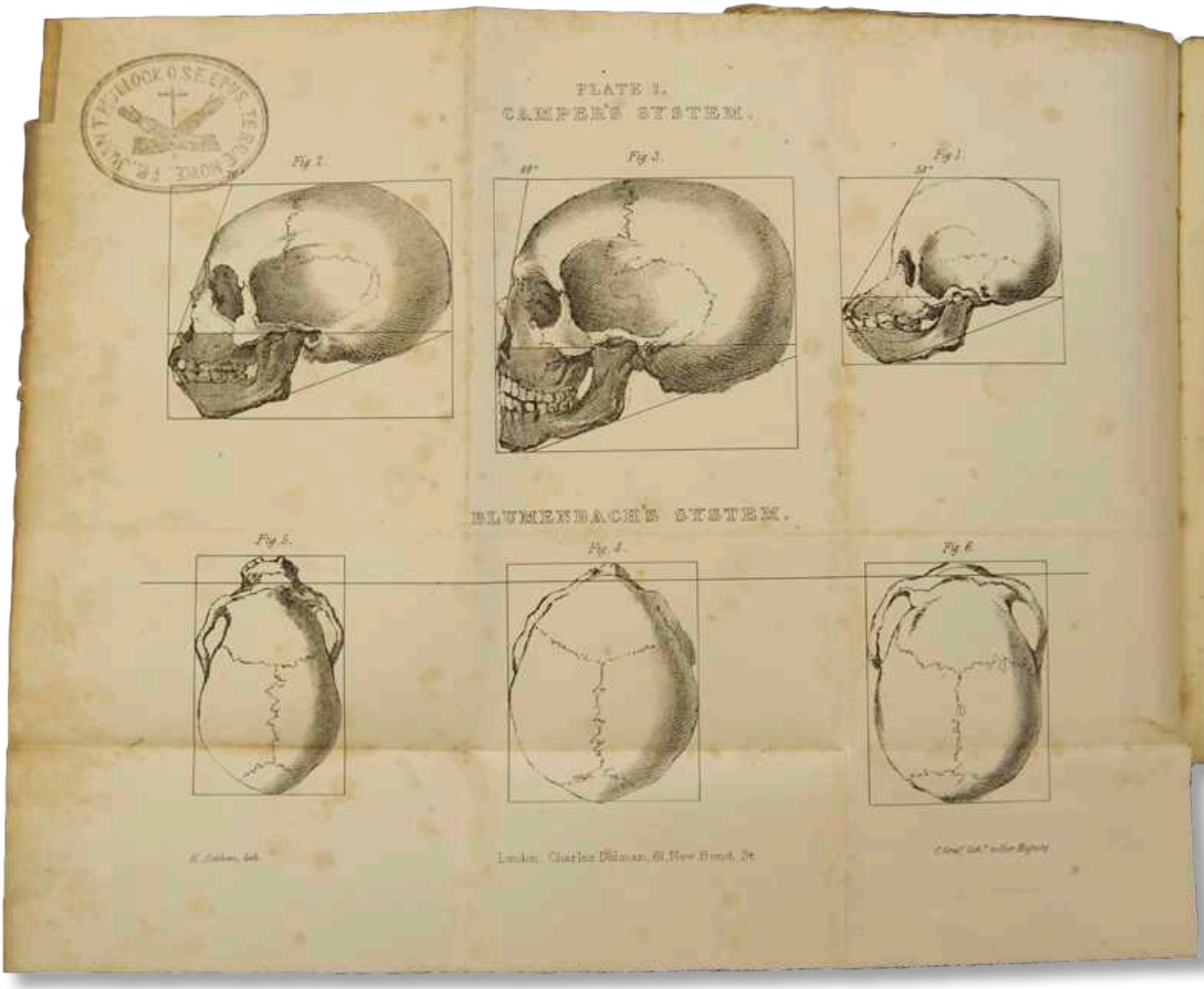
19 Nicholas Wiseman and the English Catholic Church

Nicholas Wiseman, *Twelve Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion*, 3rd ed., vol. 1 (London: Charles Dolman, 1849). 113 x 180 mm
Illustration: Plate 1 tipped in between pages 162 and 163 (*opposite*)

Bishop Mullock was not only associated with a network of Irish bishops in North America and Australia; his Roman connections also extended to English bishops educated in the eternal city, most notably to the first archbishop of the restored Catholic hierarchy in England, Nicholas Wiseman (1802–65). Born in Seville to an Irish merchant family, Wiseman studied first at St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, in Ireland and then at the English College in Rome, which had reopened in 1818 after a twenty-year closure due to the French Revolution. Having received his doctorate in divinity in 1824, he became priest in 1825. With the encouragement of his superiors, Wiseman specialized in oriental studies, publishing his first major work on the history of Syriac manuscripts of the Old Testament (*Horae Syriacae*) in 1827. He became a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, corresponding with the most celebrated Orientalists of his time. Subsequently, Wiseman was appointed to the rectorship of the English College in 1828 and remained in this position until 1840. As rector Wiseman was the official representative of the English hierarchy in Rome and, as such, he welcomed many of the leading Englishmen of the age. During this period, he also became increasingly familiar with the problems of the Catholic church in England.

As part of his duties as special preacher for English visitors, Wiseman gave *Twelve Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion* (1836). According to the "Advertisement" to the volume, Wiseman upheld his conviction: "The more [Wiseman] has watched the progress of every science here treated of, the more he has found reason for conviction, that religion has nothing to fear from the legitimate advance of human learning." These lectures greatly added to his reputation. The volume in the Mullock collection is the first of a two-volume set. It contains six lengthy lectures which clearly reveal the broad range of Wiseman's knowledge: the development of languages (chapter 1), comparison of languages (chapter 2), development of the human race (chapters 3 and 4), relation of natural sciences and scripture (chapter 5), and relation of geology and scripture (chapter 6). As Mullock was studying in St. Isidore's in 1829 and 1830, it is highly probable that he heard some of Wiseman's lectures in Rome.

Wiseman returned to England in 1840 where he was elevated to the episcopate and appointed president of Oscott College near Birmingham. He attracted many associates of the Oxford Movement, including John Henry Newman, who like other members advocated the reintroduction of older Christian practices into the Church of England. On his part, Wiseman exhorted Catholics to gain a deeper understanding of Anglicans. In fact, it was Wiseman who confirmed the convert Newman in the Oscott chapel in 1845. In the following years, Wiseman played a pivotal role in the restoration of Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales. In 1850, he was elevated by the pope to the see of Westminster, becoming the first cardinal-archbishop of the restored English Catholic church. It is in this crucial period that Mullock met Wiseman. According to his diary, Mullock heard Wiseman preach



at St. George's in London on the Feast of the Epiphany (January 6), while he himself "said Mass that day at the Oratory." Two days later he dined with Wiseman and met many distinguished converts of the Oxford Movement. It may have been on this occasion that Mullock acquired the third edition of Wiseman's *Twelve Lectures*, which had been published a year earlier in 1849.

J. B. Darcy, CFC

Brian Fothergill, *Nicholas Wiseman* (London, 1963).
Richard J. Schiefen, *Nicholas Wiseman and the Transformation of English Catholicism* (Shepherdstown, WV, 1984).

20 Mullock and John Henry Newman

John Henry Newman, *Discourses on University Education: Addressed to the Catholics of Dublin* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1852). 148 x 230 mm
Illustrations: front cover, title page (*opposite*)

MS. Letter from John H. Newman to John T. Mullock, June 29, 1858 (Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's, Mullock fonds, 104/1/32).
Illustration: letter (*overleaf*)

The Mullock collection contains John Henry Newman's *Discourses on University Education: Addressed to the Catholics of Dublin*, which consists of several addresses. On the title page the owner is identified as "Fr Joan. T Mullock. O. S. Franci / Epus S. Joan. T N / 1857." It is bound together with J. J. McCarthy, *Suggestions on the Arrangement and Characteristics of Parish Churches* (Dublin, 1851).

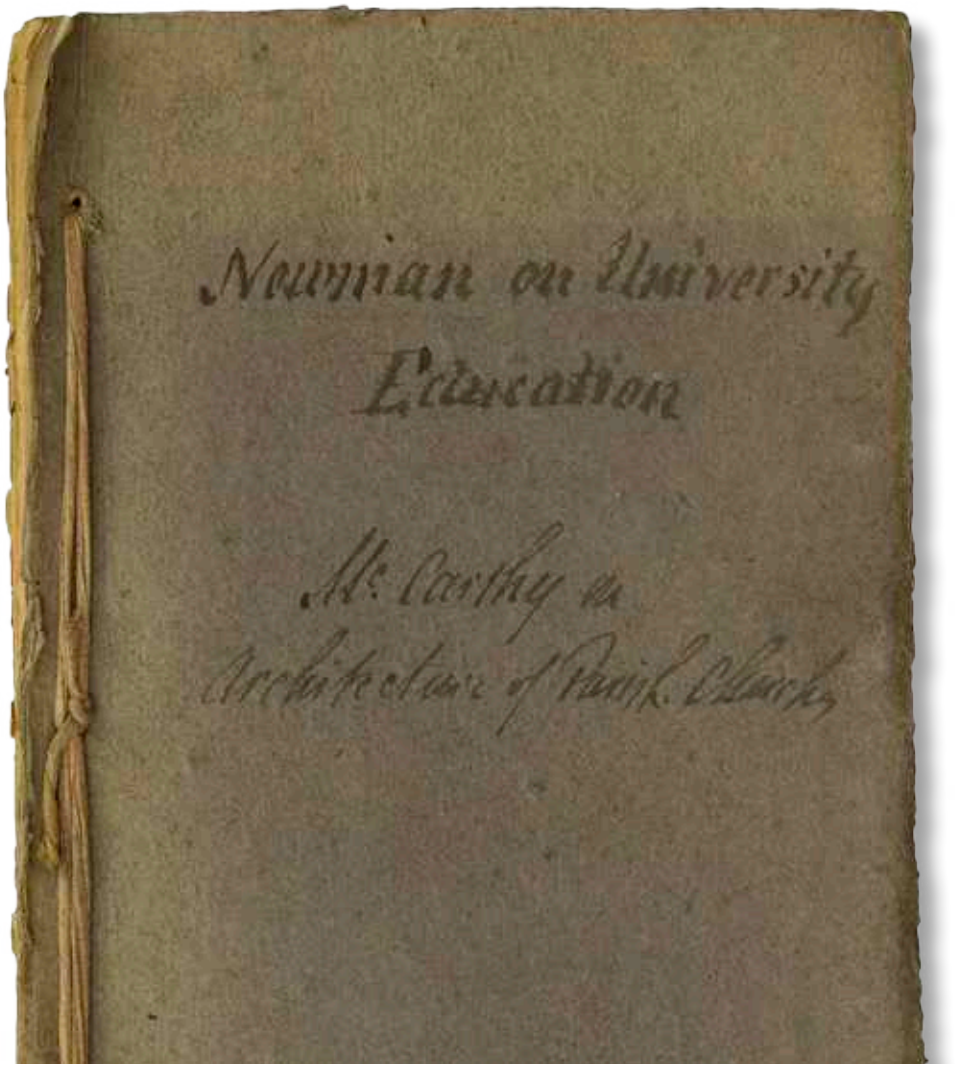
Discourses on University Education by the Roman Catholic convert and future cardinal, who had been a leader in the Anglican Oxford Movement, is a direct outcome of Newman's involvement in the establishment of the Catholic University of Ireland, whose first rector he became. Newman had been asked by Archbishop Paul Cullen of Armagh (previously rector of St. Isidore's in Rome) to advise the Irish episcopate on the organization and staffing of a Catholic university and, if he had the time, to deliver "a few lectures on education" (Ker, 376). Newman gave five lectures in May and June of 1852 before large public audiences in Dublin. In the same year, augmented by five additional written discourses and an appendix and preface, these lectures were published by James Duffy in Dublin. (The publication date is 1852, but the work came off the presses in February 1853.) Newman gathered these materials together with other lectures and publications on education and science that had been issued in the later 1850s into his famous *The Idea of a University*, which was published under the title *The Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated: I. In Nine Discourses Addressed to the Catholics of Dublin; II. In Occasional Lectures and Essays Addressed to the Members of the Catholic University* in London in 1873.

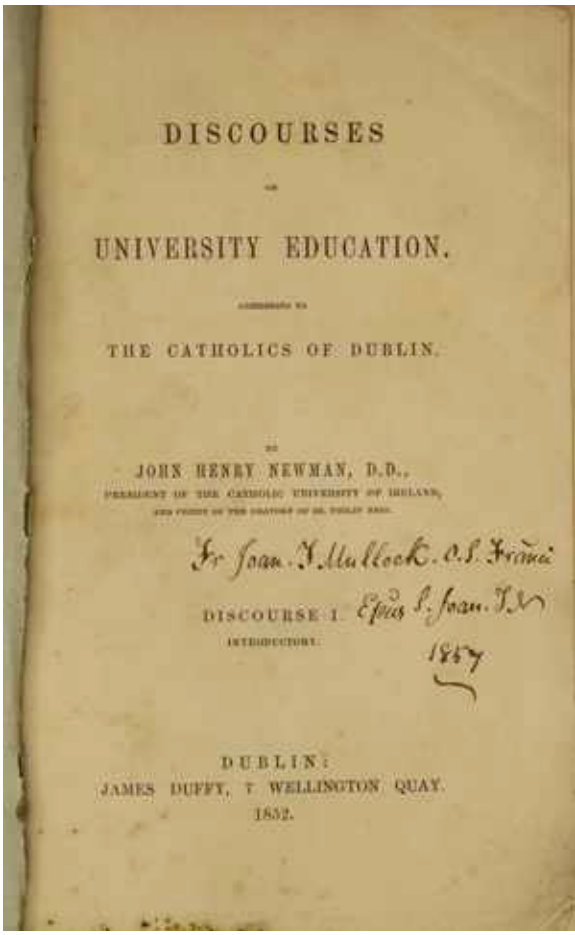
Newman's *Discourses on University Education* in the Mullock collection represents a spirited defence of the need for a Catholic university. Rejecting with Archbishop Cullen so-called mixed institutions, he advocated what also Pope Pius IX and the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith had wanted, a Catholic university for the Irish and the English-speaking Roman Catholics. Education in such a university would be different from the "godless education" available in the so-called Queen's Colleges or in Dublin's Trinity College, which was under Protestant dominance. Newman incorporated his familiarity with the Oxford system into the plans for this Catholic university and its liberal education, with the difference that the teachers and students of the envisioned institution would be Roman Catholics. In such a comprehensive university, Newman argued, theology had its legitimate place in the curriculum and could be excluded only at the risk of impoverishing the pantheon of sciences. Colin Barr summarizes the heart of Newman's Dublin discourses: "that knowledge is a whole from which no piece can be excluded without fatally weakening what remained, and that theology is indispensable to a university education" (84). But the university Newman envisioned was more than a mere seminary or a research institute.

Knowledge cultivated in a community of teachers and learners included the capacity to gain insight and form mature judgments, so that students would be equipped through education for their various roles in life. They were steadied in this endeavour by being rooted in a faith community. It was believed that such an expansive view of a liberal university education would create an intellect that "takes a connected view of old and new, past and present, far and near, and which has an insight into the influence of all these one on another; without which there is no whole, and no centre. It possesses the knowledge, not only of things, but also of their mutual and true relations; knowledge, not merely considered as acquirement, but as philosophy" (*Discourses*, 214).

While Newman argued his case for Catholic higher education in Ireland, Bishop Mullock also envisioned in a February 22, 1857, Pastoral Letter, a Catholic educational institution that would provide a solid secondary and even post-secondary education for the island's Roman Catholics. The bishop considered education as "the most important of all subjects in a social, a national, and a religious point of view; as not only our happiness here, but our eternal welfare hereafter, depends on the education we receive." Mullock thought that "only under the guidance of the Catholic Church ... true education can be found" and that, from its beginnings, the Catholic church "has always been the teacher and civilizer of the world."

Mullock recounts in this letter his efforts in St. John's of having begun "in the old Episcopal Residence a School and Seminary where ... children may be prepared by a solid, a refined, and a Catholic Education for any situation in life." He had in mind a wide curriculum that prepared young Catholics in commerce and science as well as the liberal arts




DISCOURSES

ON

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

ADDRESSED TO

THE CATHOLICS OF DUBLIN.

BY

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D.D.,

PRESIDENT OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND,

AND PRIEST OF THE ORATORY OF ST. PHILIP NERI.

Fr Joan. J. Mullock. O.S. Franci

DISCOURSE I. Epus S. Joan. J.M.

INTRODUCTORY. 1857

DUBLIN:

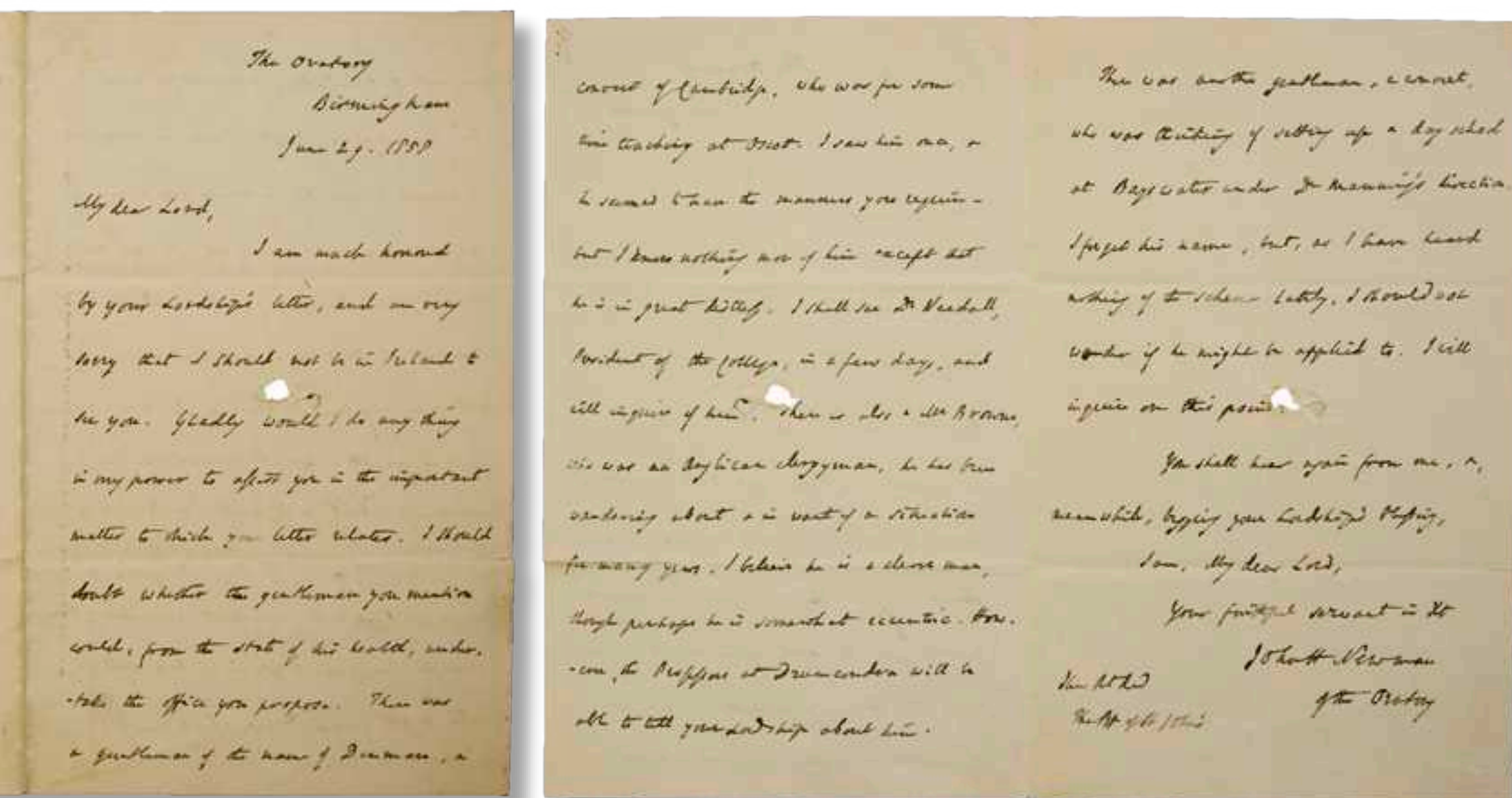
JAMES DUFFY, 7 WELLINGTON QUAY.

1852.

"for any profession they may wish to adopt." This school would be a college and seminary in which also teachers and 40 boarders as well as 300 day scholars could be accommodated. Mullock had hopes that the college might "be enlarged, if necessary, even to the dimensions of a University." Such an undertaking would require "the best professors we can procure, the most improved scientific apparatus, the most select works for the library, everything in fact that can promote education ..." Like in Ireland, so also in Newfoundland, Pope Pius IX, Mullock reported to the faithful, had taken a special interest in this project and granted a plenary indulgence to all contributors to it.

To encourage continued support of the diocesan St. Bonaventure's College, Mullock reminded island Catholics of the Irish University, Dublin, to which they had contributed in the past; and he was full of hope that with the dawn of higher education also "a new era is now dawning on the country; wealth, commerce and population are increasing." A similar optimism is also expressed a few years later in Mullock's *Two Lectures on Newfoundland*, in which he is certain of Newfoundland's auspicious future, where the combined effects of religion, education and industry produce "future prosperity" and "a great people" (60). Mullock's Victorian progressivism found expression also in his interest and involvement in laying the transatlantic cable as well as establishing steamship connections with the United States.

In order to obtain for St. Bonaventure's College "the best professors we can procure," Bishop Mullock approached John Henry Newman in England, with whom he may have become acquainted already during fundraising for the Catholic University of Ireland. Just as Archbishop Cullen had in connection with the Catholic University of Ireland, so also Mullock wrote a letter to Newman to obtain his advice on the staffing


The Oratory
Birmingham
June 29. 1858

My dear Lord,

I am much honored by your Lordship's letter, and am very sorry that I should not be in Ireland to see you. Gladly would I do any thing in my power to assist you in the important matter to which your letter relates. I should doubt whether the gentleman you mention could, from the state of his health, undertake the office you propose. There was a gentleman of the name of Drummond, a convert of Cambridge, who was for some time teaching at Oscott. I saw him once, and he seemed to have the manners you require — but I know nothing more of him except that he is in great distress. I shall see Dr Weedall, President of the College, in a few days, and will inquire of him. There is also a Mr Brown, who was an Anglican clergyman, he has been wandering about and in want of a situation for many years. I believe he is a clever man, though perhaps he is somewhat eccentric. However, the Professor at Drumcondra will be able to tell your Lordship about him.

There was another gentleman, a convert, who was thinking of setting up a day school at Bayswater under Dr Manning's direction. I forget his name, but, as I have heard nothing of the scheme lately, I should not wonder if he might be applied to. I will inquire on this point.

You shall hear again from me, and, meanwhile, begging your Lordship's blessing,

I am, My dear Lord,
Your faithful servant in Xt
John H Newman
of the Oratory

The Rt Revd
The Bp of St John's

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June 29, 1858

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I am, My dear Lord,
Your faithful servant in Xt

John H Newman
of the Oratory

The Rt. Revd
The Bp of St John's

of St. Bonaventure's College. The letter of Mullock to Newman is no longer extant, but Newman's answer to the bishop was preserved in the Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. John's, with whose permission it is published here. The efforts of Newman to help Mullock obtain staff for the college appear to have had some success. According to Brother Joseph B. Darcy, the historian of St. Bonaventure's College, the unnamed "convert who was thinking of setting up a day school at Bayswater under Dr. Manning's direction" was William Cowper Maclaurin, the former Anglican dean of Moray and Ross in Scotland, who had retired from the Southwark Diocese in England. The somewhat disciplinarian schoolmaster became professor of classics at St. Bonaventure's College. Only a few days after Newman had penned his letter, Mullock visited him at the Birmingham Oratory in the company of Bishop William Bernard Ullathorne of Birmingham. It is not known what Mullock and Newman discussed, but Newman likely reiterated the content of what he had written in the letter.

Hans J. Rollmann

Colin Barr, *Paul Cullen, John Henry Newman and the Catholic University of Ireland, 1845–1865* (Notre Dame, IN, 2003).

J. B. Darcy, *Noble to Our View: The Saga of St. Bonaventure's College, St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada: The First 150 Years, 1856–2006* (St. John's, 2007).

Charles Stephen Dessain, ed., *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman, vol. 18: New Beginning in England, April 1857 to December 1859* (London and Edinburgh, 1968).

Ian Ker, *John Henry Newman: A Biography* (Oxford and New York, 1988).

Shane Leslie, *Henry Edward Manning: His Life and Labours* (London, 1921).

21 Greek-Latin Dictionaries

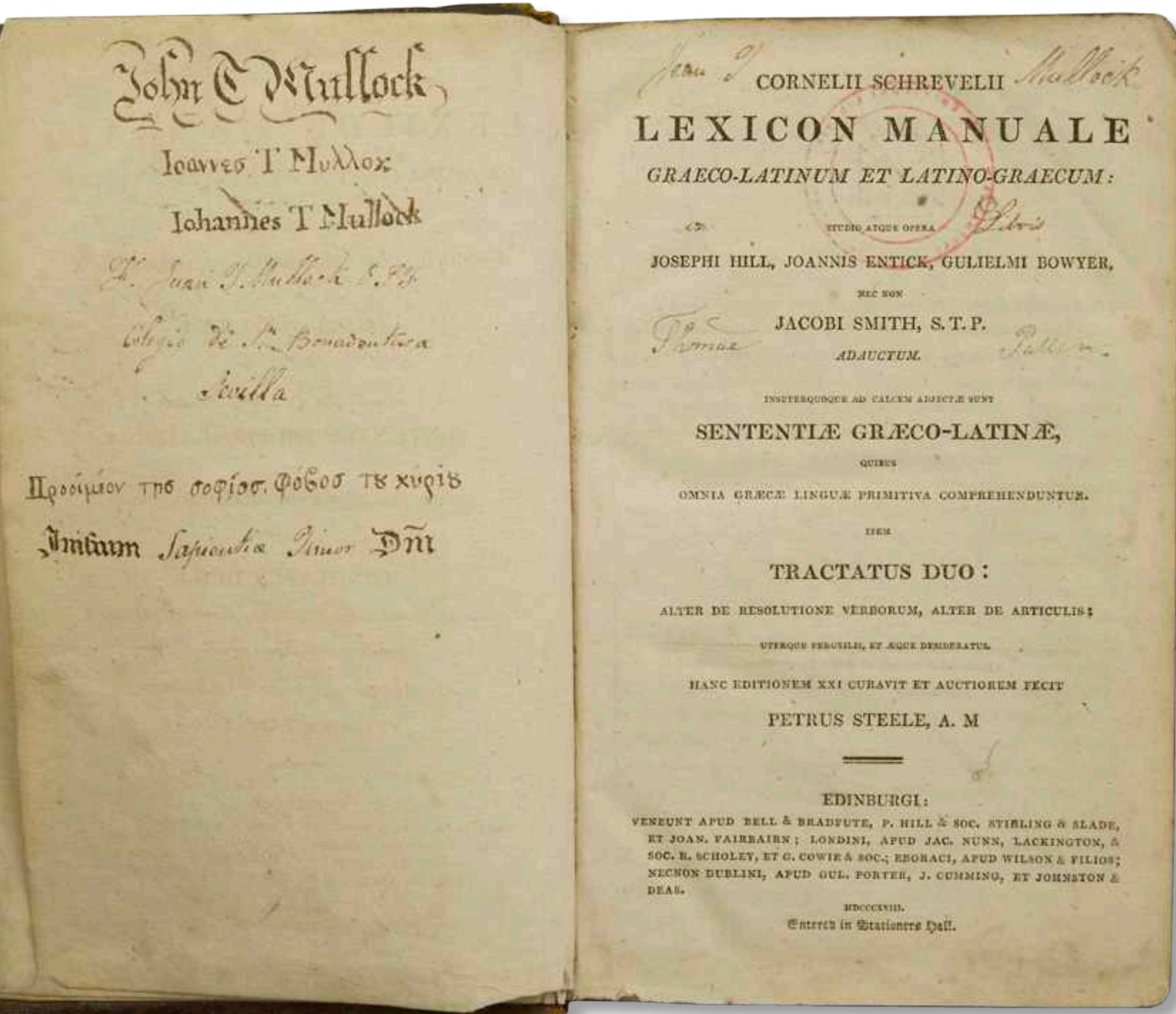
Joseph Hill, John Entick, and William Bowyer, *Cornelii Schrevelii Lexicon manuale Graeco-Latinum et Latino-Graecum* (Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute, 1818). 140 x 217 mm
Illustrations: Mullock's inscription on front flyleaf, title page (*opposite*)

Cornelii Schrevelii Lexicon manuale Graeco-Latinum et Latino-Graecum is a Greek-Latin/Latin-Greek lexicon published in Edinburgh in 1818 but was based on earlier lexica going back to the seventeenth century. The Mullock collection attests to a strong interest in the Greek and Roman classics. Mullock would also have wished to know ancient Greek in order to be able to read the Greek New Testament. Since the Renaissance, competence in both Latin and ancient Greek was considered the mark of an educated person. While students of ancient Greek today use dictionaries that give definitions in their own mother tongue, it was not uncommon in earlier centuries to provide Latin definitions for words in ancient Greek, usually considered the more difficult of the two languages. Bilingual facility would also have been encouraged in schooling of the time, which probably included exercises in prose composition. This lexicon would have allowed students to attempt to translate a Greek passage into Latin or vice versa.

The lexicon is an expanded version of a popular Greek-Latin lexicon by the Dutch physician and scholar Cornelis Schrevel (1608–64). It was augmented in 1663 by the English scholar and clergyman Joseph Hill (1625–1707), an interesting figure who refused to accept the Act of Uniformity of 1662, which demanded conformity to certain prescribed forms of prayers and rites of the Church of England, and subsequently spent time abroad in the Netherlands before returning to England under Charles II. The lexicon then underwent further revision at the hands of the eighteenth-century English schoolmaster and scholar John Entick (1703–73), another provocative character who, among other things, fiercely attacked the government in a weekly newspaper column. This led to the seizure of his private papers under a general warrant in 1762; Entick then sued the authorities for illegal seizure, and won damages. The printer William Bowyer (1699–1777), who was known for his edition of the Greek New Testament, also helped edit the lexicon. Often scholarly tools such as this lexicon represent the accumulated labour of multiple scholars over several generations.

Mullock inscribed his copy of the lexicon with his name, his Franciscan order, the college where he was studying—St. Bonaventure's in Seville, Spain—and his home city of Limerick, Ireland. The book is also inscribed with the name of a previous owner, Thomas Patten of Great Georges Street, Dublin, and the date, 1823. Mullock presumably bought or otherwise received this book from Thomas Patten either in Ireland or at St. Bonaventure's College in Seville. The young Mullock appears to have amused himself with bilingual jottings on one of the blank pages near the beginning of the book: he wrote his name in English, in Greek, and in Latin. He also translated the phrase "the beginning of wisdom is fear of god" into both ancient Greek and Latin.

Luke Roman


John T Mullock
Iohannes T Mullock
CORNELII SCHREVELII
LEXICON MANUALE
GRAECO-LATINUM ET LATINO-GRAECUM:
STUDIO ATQUE OPERA
JOSEPHI HILL, JOANNIS ENTICK, GULIELMI BOWYER,
NEC NON
JACOBI SMITH, S.T.P.
ADAUCTUM.
SENTENTIÆ GRÆCO-LATINÆ,
QUIBUS
OMNIA GRÆCÆ LINGUÆ PRIMITIVA COMPREHENDUNTUR.
ITEM
TRACTATUS DUO:
ALTER DE RESOLUTIONE VERBORUM, ALTER DE ARTICULIS:
HANC EDITIONEM XXI CURAVIT ET AUCTIOREM FECIT
PETRUS STEELE, A. M
EDINBURGI:
VENEUNT APUD BELL & BRADFUTE, P. HILL & SOC. STIRLING & SLADE, ET JOAN. FAIRBAIRN; LONDINI, APUD JAC. NUNN, LACKINGTON, & SOC. R. SCHOLEY, ET G. COWIE & SOC.; EBORACI, APUD WILSON & FILIOS; NECNON DUBLINI, APUD GUL. PORTER, J. CUMMING, ET JOHNSTON & DEAS.
MDCCCXVIII.
Entered in Stationers Hall.

22 Hebrew Research Tools

Paul-Louis-Bernard-David Drach, *Catholicum lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti libros* (Paris: Migne, 1848). 194 x 280 mm
Illustrations: front cover, spine (*opposite*)

François Masclef, *Grammatica Hebraica a punctis aliisque inventis Massorethicis libera* (Paris: Jacobus Collomeat, 1716). 102 x 170 mm

John Parkhurst, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon, without Points* (London: William Baynes and Son, and H. S. Baynes, 1823). 168 x 264 mm

John Parkhurst, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon, without Points* (London: James Duncan, 1828). 143 x 233 mm

Edward P. Slaughter, *Grammatica Hebraica: brevi et nova methodo concinnata. Qua cito facile solide linguae sanctae rudimenta addisci possunt* (Rome: Crispinus Puccinelli, 1823). 124 x 180 mm
Illustration: title page (*below*)

As well as having a large collection of Bibles, Bishop Mullock possessed a number of language tools that would have been of great assistance in his research. The Mullock collection contains four Hebrew lexicons and four Hebrew grammars, indicating his interest in reading and translating portions of the Old Testament. Judging from his inscription "Rome" in his copy of Edward Slaughter's *Grammatica Hebraica* (first published in Latin in 1699; Mullock had the 1823 edition), Mullock would have acquired this book as a 22-year-old student at St. Isidore's. Slaughter's grammar is a primer, suitable for someone who wants to learn the language very quickly. Interestingly enough, Mullock signs his name in Hebrew characters on the back page of the book as "m-u-l-l-o-ch." The fact that he makes three spelling mistakes here (by the placing of a doubling *daghesh* in one of the *lameds* making three "l"s, ignoring the placement of the silent *shewa* under the first *lamed*, and not writing the correct final form of the letter *kaph*) indicates that he was just starting to learn the language. Nevertheless, he was interested enough in the language as a young student to make the attempt to sign his name in Hebrew.


GRAMMATICA
HEBRAICA
BREVI ET NOVA METHODO CONCINNATA
QUA CITO FACILE SOLIDE
LINGUAE SANCTAE
RUDIMENTA
ADDISCI POSSUNT.
AUCTORE
R. P. EDWARDO SLAUGHTER
SOCIETATIS JESU
ROMÆ MDCCCXXIII.
EXCUDEBAT CRISPINUS PUCCINELLI.
SUPERIORUM PERMISSU.

Other language aids are also not without interest. Mullock acquired a first edition of François Masclef's *Grammatica Hebraica* (a Hebrew grammar liberated from the pointing invented by the Masoretes, 1716), while he was at Adam and Eve's in Dublin. Masclef (1663–1726) was a Catholic priest who devised a new method of studying Hebrew using an unpointed script (i.e., a script without the vowel markings), advancing the work of Louis Cappel (1585–1658). Cappel determined that the vowels in the Hebrew script were added by scribes called the Masoretes as late as 600 C.E., and were not original to the Hebrew

language. This issue was quite controversial for the time and embroiled a number of scholars in the dispute, especially between Cappel and Johannes Buxtorf the elder (1564–1629) and Johannes Buxtorf the younger (1599–1664). Mullock also had a copy of John Parkhurst's *A Hebrew and English Lexicon, without Points* (1823) to which was affixed an unpointed Hebrew grammar. Additionally, he had a fourth grammar without points, published anonymously by James Duncan in London in 1828. The latter volume has Mullock's signature with the date of 1833, and contains a polemical preface concerning the pernicious effects of studying Hebrew using the vocalization developed by the Masoretes. It would seem, then, that Mullock not only studied Hebrew but he was also aware of philological disputes while he was a priest in Ireland only a few years after his first forays into Hebrew.

It appears, too, that Mullock pursued his language study and research while he was a bishop in Newfoundland. He had a copy of Paul Drach's edition of Wilhelm Gesenius's Hebrew and Chaldean lexicon, published by Jacques-Paul Migne in Paris in 1848. Since Mullock signs the book "Terre Nova," he would have had it specially sent over to him sometime after he arrived in St. John's in 1848, which underlies his continuing interest in studying Hebrew. This work in particular was at the cutting edge of Hebraic scholarship as it marks the first time that comparative Semitic philology was used to determine the meanings of words. Gesenius is known as the father of Hebrew lexicography, and English editions of Gesenius's lexicon such as Brown, Driver, and Briggs's *Hebrew and English Lexicon* (1906) remain a standard in the field. Interestingly enough, on the title page of Drach's edition Mullock writes the Hebrew word "*h-l-k*" (a word which means "to walk" or "to go") without vowels. One wonders why Mullock would have chosen to write this in the book, especially as his annotations are so infrequent, but it does give evidence of a more sophisticated ability to write and read Hebrew. The fact that he wrote the word without vowels suggests what side of the theological fence he probably stood: he may have believed, like the anonymous writer of the 1828 grammar, that the Masoretes had corrupted the Bible by adding vowels to the consonantal text. In any event, it is certain that Mullock was interested in keeping up-to-date with the latest works in Hebrew philology while he was in St. John's.

Kim Ian Parker

Ellis R. Brotzman, *Old Testament Textual Criticism: A Practical Introduction* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2012).

Michael C. Legaspi, *The Death of Scripture and the Rise of Biblical Studies* (Oxford, 2010).

Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible; Translation, Scholarship, and Culture* (Princeton and Oxford, 2005).

23 Greek Classics: Homer's Works

Homer, *Homeri qvae exstant omnia Ilias, Odyssea, Batrachomyomachia, Hymni, Poëmatia aliquot* (Basel: Sebastian Henric Petri, 1606). 242 x 379 mm
Illustrations: back cover (*below*), title page (*opposite*)

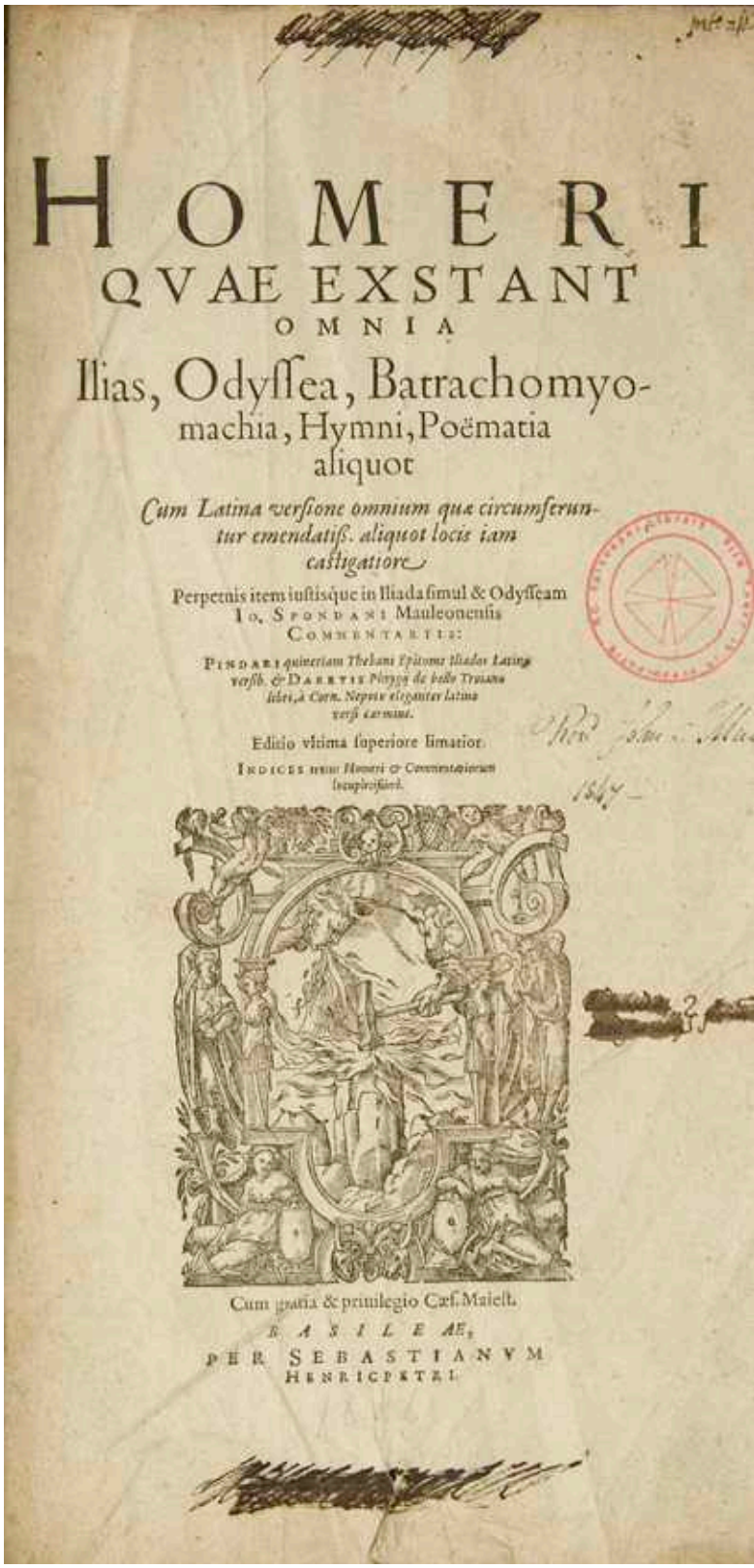
This edition of the complete works of Homer in the Mullock collection includes the ancient Greek poet's two epic poems, the *Ilias* (Iliad) and the *Odyssea* (Odyssey), as well as other works which were ascribed to Homer in the past but which modern scholars no longer accept as genuinely Homeric. These latter works include the mock-epic *Batrachomyomachia* (Battle of the frogs and the mice), the *Hymni* (Homeric hymns) (poems in honour of ancient Greek gods composed in different time periods), and other shorter works such as collections of epigrams, *Poëmatia*. Homer was often judged to be the greatest poet to have ever lived as well as a font of ethical wisdom, and, for that reason, his works were considered an essential item in the library of any educated person. His *Ilias* tells the story of the war between the Greeks and the Trojans, while his *Odyssea* tells the story of the Greek hero Odysseus's difficult return to his home island of Ithaca after the conclusion of the war. This edition also includes a full Latin translation of Homer's works, which would have been useful to an educated reader who, as was common in Bishop Mullock's day, could read Latin with reasonable fluency, but who found ancient Greek more challenging.

It was also common to include learned commentary beneath the text in order to enrich the understanding of the work and aid the student: the commentary of this edition (first published in 1583) is that of Jean de Sponde of Mauléon (1557–95), a poet and scholar

from the Basque region of France who was connected with the court of Henry IV of Navarre and who came from a Protestant background but later converted to Catholicism. The frontispiece advertises that the book additionally contains the summary of the *Ilias* in Latin verse produced by "Pindar the Theban," as well as the *Trojan War* by "Dares the Phrygian"; the latter was supposedly translated into Latin by the first-century B.C.E. Roman author Cornelius Nepos. Both of these works, however, should be seen as fictions or playful forgeries. Dares the Phrygian is the name of a Trojan priest mentioned in Homer's *Ilias*. This fictional work, surely *not* translated by Cornelius Nepos but composed by an unknown author in the fifth century C.E., is thus purported to be an eyewitness, pro-Trojan account of the Trojan War. There was an ancient Greek poet from Thebes named Pindar, but the real Pindar certainly did not write a summary of the *Ilias*, much less in Latin verse. In both cases, the work is ascribed to a well-known author or unimpeachable eyewitness in order to increase its authority and/or romantic appeal. Such epitomes had been popular since the Middle Ages and would have been considered useful supplements to the Homeric narrative.

The edition of Homer's works in the Mullock collection was printed by Sebastian Henric Petri (1546–1627), who along with his father, Henric Petri (1508–79), ran a printing house in Basel. The edition contains a 1606 dedicatory letter from the commentator Jean de Sponde to Henry IV of Navarre as well as a 1583 dedicatory letter from the same to Henry III. Mullock obtained his copy of Homer while he was touring in Italy in 1847 and awaiting consecration as bishop.

Luke Roman


HOMERI
QVAE EXSTANT
OMNIA
Ilias, Odyssea, Batrachomyo-
machia, Hymni, Poëmatia
aliquot
Cum Latina versione omnium quæ circumferun-
tur emendatiss. aliquot locis iam
castigatiore
Perpetuis item iustisque in Iliada simul & Odysseam
Io. Spondani Mauleonensis
Commentariis:
Pindari quinetiam Thebani Epitome Iliados Latinis
versib. & Daretis Phrygis de bello Trojano
libri, à Corn. Nepote eleganter latino
versu carmine.
Editio vltima superiore limatior.
Indices item Homeri & Commentariorum
locupletissimi.
Cum gratia & privilegio Cæs. Maiest.
BASILEAE,
PER SEBASTIANVM
HENRICPETRI.

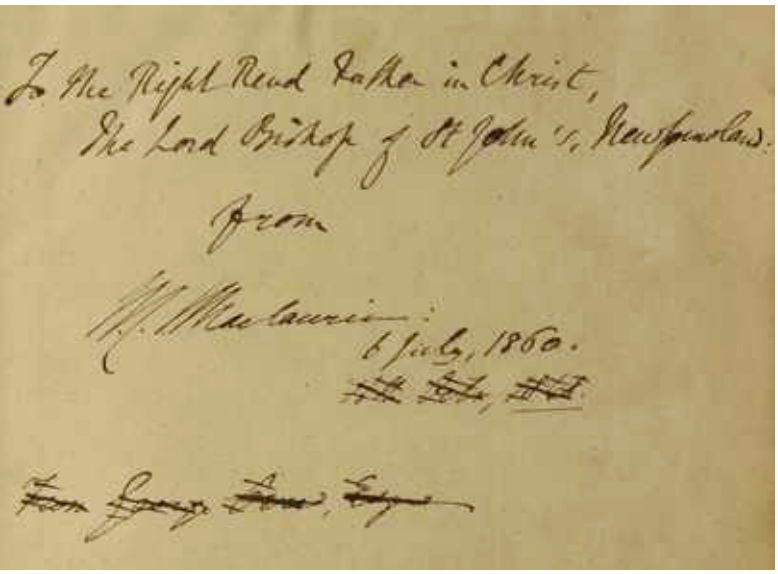
"Homer," in *The Classical Tradition*, ed. Anthony Grafton, Glenn W. Most, and Salvatore Settis (Cambridge, 2010).

24 Latin Classics: Horace and Persius

Horace, *Q. Horatius Flaccus, ex recensione & cum notis atque emendationibus Richardi Bentleii* (Amsterdam: Rudolph and Gerard Wetstein, 1713). 200 x 260 mm
Illustrations: William Cowper Maclaurin's inscription on title page (*below*), front cover, spine (*opposite*), title page, frontispiece (*overleaf*)

Persius, *The Satires of Persius, Translated into English Verse: With Some Occasional Notes; and the Original Text Corrected* (Dublin: William McKenzie, 1787). 110 x 180 mm

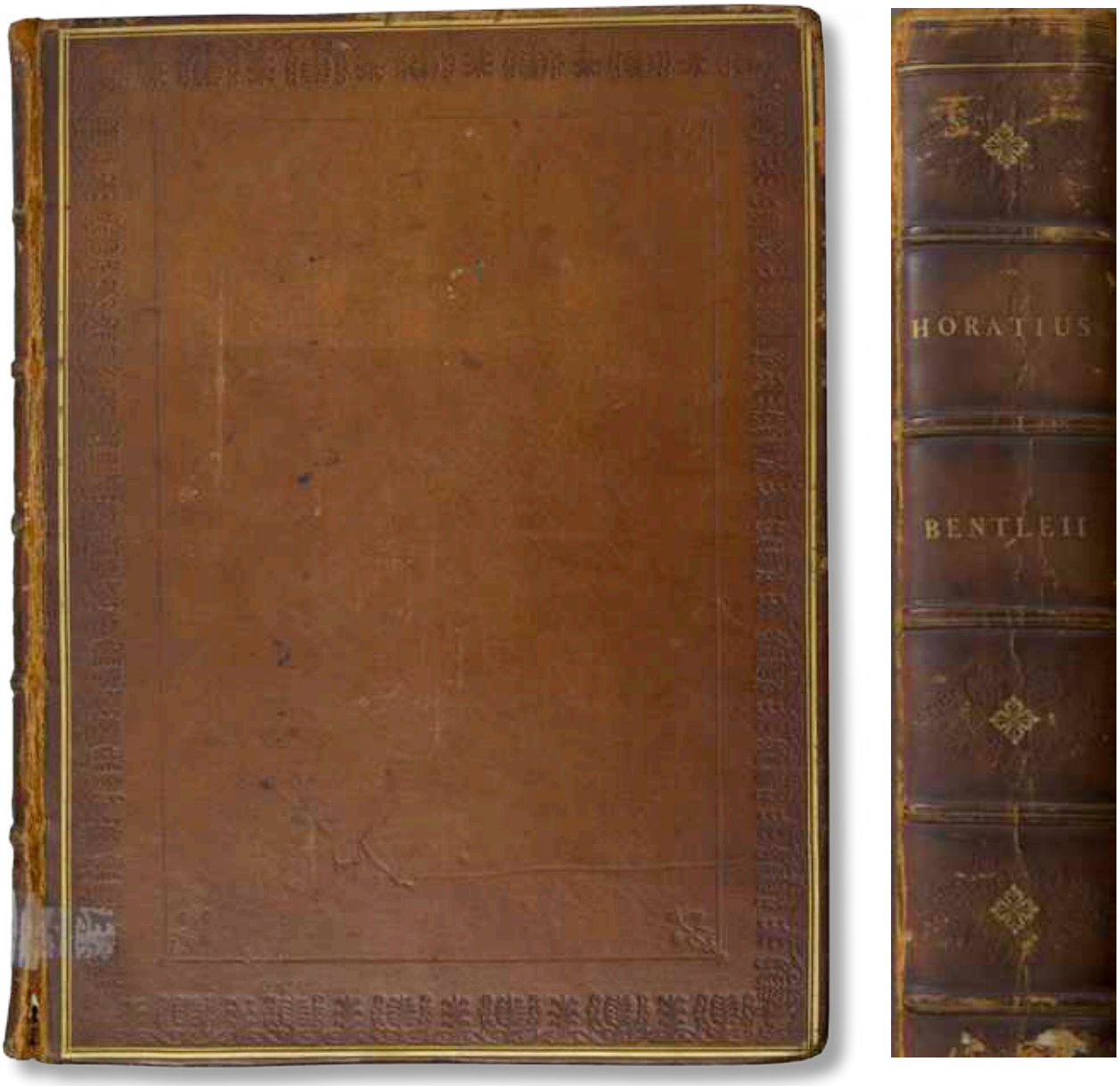
One of the prize editions from the eighteenth century is Richard Bentley's edition of Horace. Apart from being the foremost classical scholar of his age and a controversial editor, Bentley was master of Trinity College, Cambridge. This Latin text of *Q. Horatius Flaccus* in the Mullock collection was first printed in Cambridge in 1711. Recognition on the Continent came with the printing of "Editio Altera" in Amsterdam "Apud ROD. & GERH.WETSTENIOS HFF." in 1713. The Dutch edition was said to have been even better than the English one. The title page was printed in red and black with an exotic ornament featuring a circular medallion flanked by two sphinxes and two putti, one plucking a harp, the other blowing a trumpet. That the 1713 frontispiece matches the one in the first edition suggests co-operation between the Cambridge and Amsterdam publishers.



The copy in the Mullock collection is in quarto, bound in calfskin with gold inlay. Gold lettering appears on the spine, which has five raised bands, the bottom panel of which reads: "AMST. 1713." The scuffed leather on the binding suggests that the volume was not just for show. Stronger evidence for this appears at the bottom of page 95 where a translation of the Latin verse on the page above (Carminum Lib. I. XXXVIII, "Ad Puerum") has been pencilled in:

Persian entertainments, my boy, I hate:
Garland lime-skin-bound are to me displeasing
Cease to follow where the rose in places
Late is delaying
More than simple myrtle those need not toil—for
Keen to please me: neither on thee attendant
Myrtle's awkward, neither on me who drink em-
-bowed by vine-leaves.

Fittingly, Mullock received his copy of Horace from William Cowper Maclaurin in 1860 after the latter became professor of classics at St. Bonaventure's College. Maclaurin, an Anglican convert and former dean of Moray and Ross in Scotland, was recommended to the position at Mullock's educational foundation by John Henry Newman.



Another classical selection in the Mullock collection turns out to be three separate texts of a first-century Roman writer bound together. The first is an anonymous English translation of *The Satires of Persius*, a "fourth" edition printed in Dublin by William McKenzie of Dame Street in 1787. The name of a previous owner, "Jo^{s} Story," is dated April 26, 1803. A red stamp appears over the title, and Mullock signed his name below. "Joseph Story my book" appears in a large hand vertically through the text on the opening of "Mr Bayle's Life of Persius." The second text was done by the same printer as the first in the same year, but has been completely reset. These *Satires* were translated by Thomas Sheridan, friend of Jonathan Swift and father of the famous playwright Richard Brinsley Sheridan. The third and final text bound in this volume is in Latin, edited by John Bond: *Auli Persii Flacci satyræ sex*. Yet another title page bears the name of the same Dublin printer: William McKenzie.

Donald W. Nichol

AMSTELAEDAMI EX OFFICINA WETSTENIANA.

Q. HORATIUS FLACCUS,

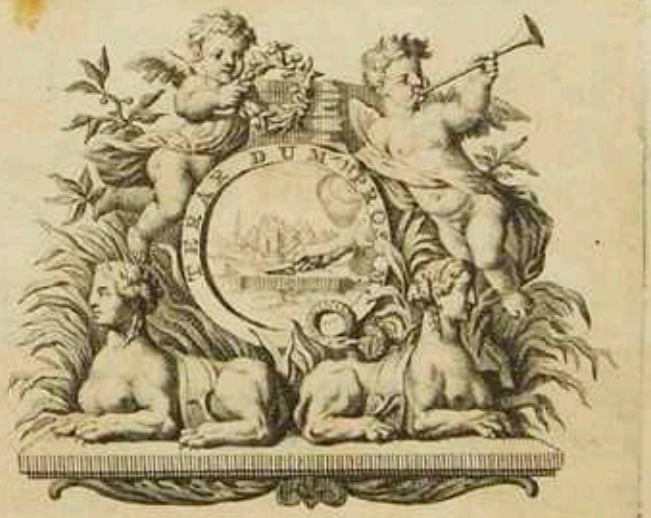
Ex RECENSIONE & cum NOTIS

ATQUE

EMENDATIONIBUS

RICHARDI BENTLEII.

EDITIO ALTERA.



AMSTELAEDAMI,

Apud ROD. & GERH. WETSTENIOS HFF.

M. D. CCXIII.

25 Erasmus and Classical Studies

Publius Afer Terentius, *Pvb. Terentii Comœdiæ sex: ex Daniel Heinsii recensione* (Amsterdam: Jan Janssonius, 1626). 57 x 107 mm
Illustration: title page (*opposite*)

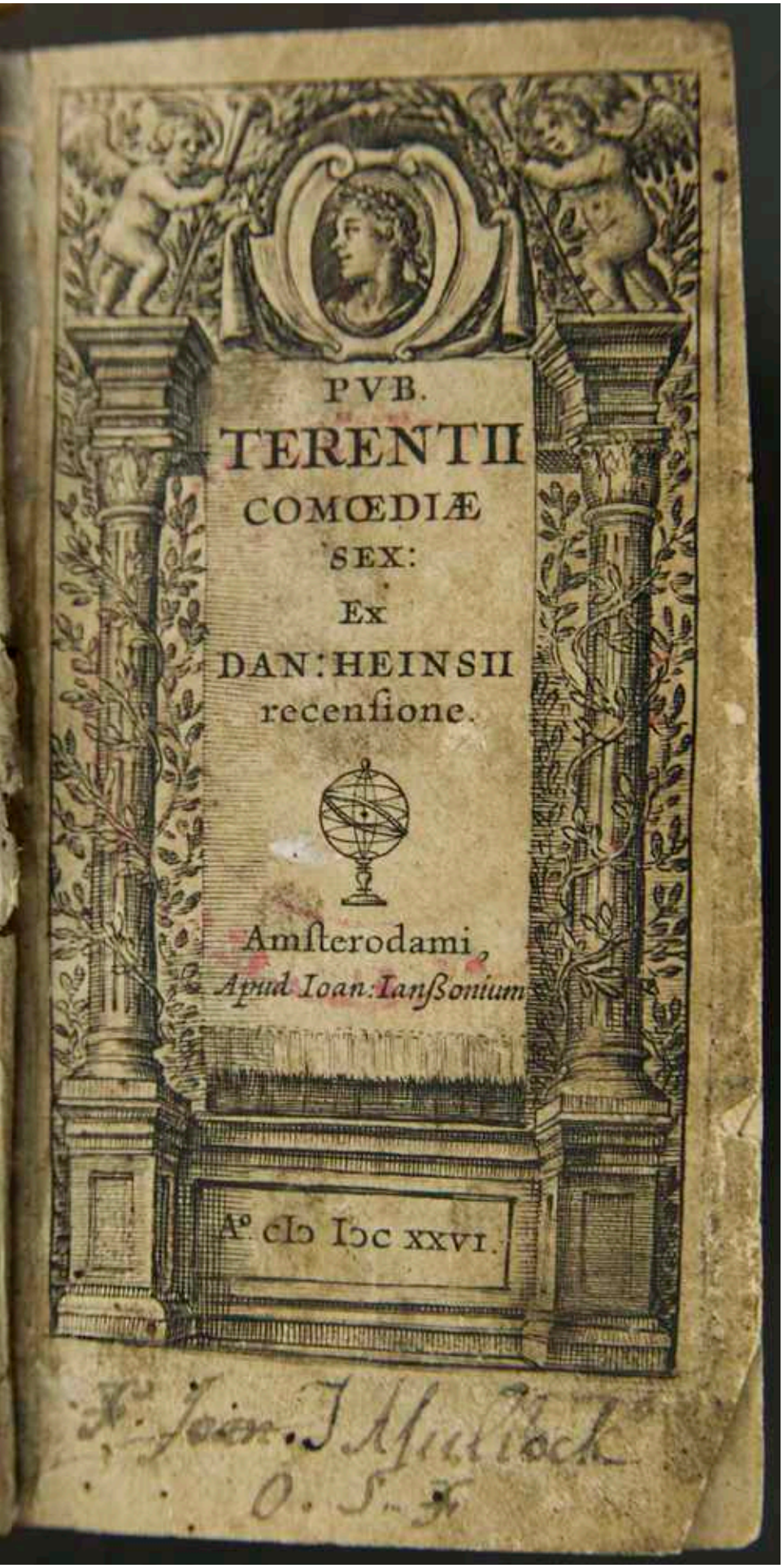
Desiderius Erasmus, *Desiderius Erasmi Rotterdamensis, Colloquia familiaria* (Amsterdam: Jan Janssonius, [1621]). 57 x 107 mm

Desiderius Erasmus, *Encomium Moriæ, sive Declamatio in laudem stultitiæ; De ratione studii* (Leiden: Andries Clouck, 1624). 57 x 107 mm
Illustration: colophon with Mullock's inscription (*below*)

Apart from the copies of the *Paraphrases* and Chrysostom's works which (even for nineteenth-century Catholics) could have been regarded as useful tools for biblical studies, Bishop Mullock also obtained a more controversial collection of Erasmus's works bound together with the classical playwright Terence's comedies. Mullock signed this collegiate volume on the title page as a student on the Continent and later above the colophon as bishop of Newfoundland in 1852. The miniature edition, a format that became popular not only for Bibles but also for school texts from the seventeenth century onwards, contains a group of educational titles: an incomplete copy of Terence's comedies (*Pvb. Terentii comœdiae sex*) edited by the famous classical scholar and theologian of the Dutch Reformed church Daniel Heinsius; and Erasmus's *Colloquia familiaria*, *Encomium Moriæ*, and *De ratione studii*. Along with Terence's comedies, Erasmus's *Colloquia* (Colloquies) and *Encomium* (Praise of Folly) were commonly used in early modern schools for Latin language practice, while Erasmus's educational treatise, *De ratione studii* (On the method of study), offered an introduction to the method of study advocated by humanist schoolmasters.

Although Erasmus's *Colloquia*, a collection of witty dialogues, quickly became a bestseller and was incorporated in the curriculum of sixteenth-century schools, its satirical tone and criticism of external religious practices soon invited censure. It was banned by the Tridentine papal indexes (1559, 1564), a verdict sustained by the extended list issued by Pope Clement VIII in 1596. It remained prohibited until the end of the nineteenth century. In *The History of Heresies*, Alphonsus de Liguori reaffirmed its unsuitability as a school text, claiming that it contained "many things that lead the ignorant to impiety" (292). In fact, most of the common objections to Erasmus were derived from the sardonic dialogues of the *Colloquia*, as Liguori's list, quoted from Erasmus's ardent opponent, the Italian Albert Pico, Prince of Capri, attests. According to Pico, Erasmus "called the Invocation of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints idolatry; condemned Monasteries, and ridiculed the Religious, calling them actors and cheats, condemned their vows and rules; was opposed to the Celibacy of the Clergy, and turned into mockery Papal Indulgences, relics of Saints, feasts and fasts, auricular Confession; asserts that by Faith alone man is justified, and even throws a doubt on the authority of the Scripture and Councils" (292).

Encomium, Erasmus's most well-known—indeed notorious—work, was condemned along with *Colloquia* for its irreverent jibes. In his own defence, Erasmus claimed that *Encomium* outlined the same ideas of Christian life he described in his *Enchiridion* (The education of a Christian prince) but in the form of a joke. In *Encomium*, however, Folly's initial amusement at the unreasonableness of humankind



quickly turns into a biting ridicule of the victims of folly found in every segment of society, including the religious orders and the clergy. Although after its first publication (1519), *Encomium* was widely celebrated by, among others, the English humanist Thomas More (later a Catholic martyr) and Erasmus's patron Pope Leo X, by the end of the sixteenth century it was permitted to be included in the collected works of Erasmus only in Protestant publications in the Netherlands, England, and Switzerland. It is not surprising, therefore, that Mullock's copies of the complete *Colloquia* and *Encomium* originated from Dutch printing houses. Notwithstanding the official Catholic reservations, Mullock's book-collecting habits suggest that he was closer to the position represented by Erasmus's nineteenth-century biographer, Charles Butler. A graduate of the English College in Douai in France, Butler voiced, in his *Life of Erasmus* (1825), a moderate Catholic approach that transcended the unrelenting scrutiny of papal indexes: "All lovers of learning must ever wish to find Erasmus in the right; and, when he is not quite in the right, to find him very excusable" (153–54).

Ágnes Juhász-Ormsby

Charles Butler, *The Life of Erasmus: With Historical Remarks on the State of Literature between the Tenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (London, 1825).

Desiderius Erasmus, *Colloquies. Collected Works of Erasmus*, vols. 39–40, trans. and annot. by Craig R. Thomson (Toronto, 1997).

Bruce Mansfield, *Man on His Own: Interpretations of Erasmus c. 1750–1920* (Toronto, 1992).

26 The Spanish Golden Age: Cervantes and Quevedo

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Novelas exemplares de Miguèl de Cervantes Saavedra* (The Hague: J. Neaulme, 1739). 103 x 156 mm
Illustration: engraving on page 208 (*below*)

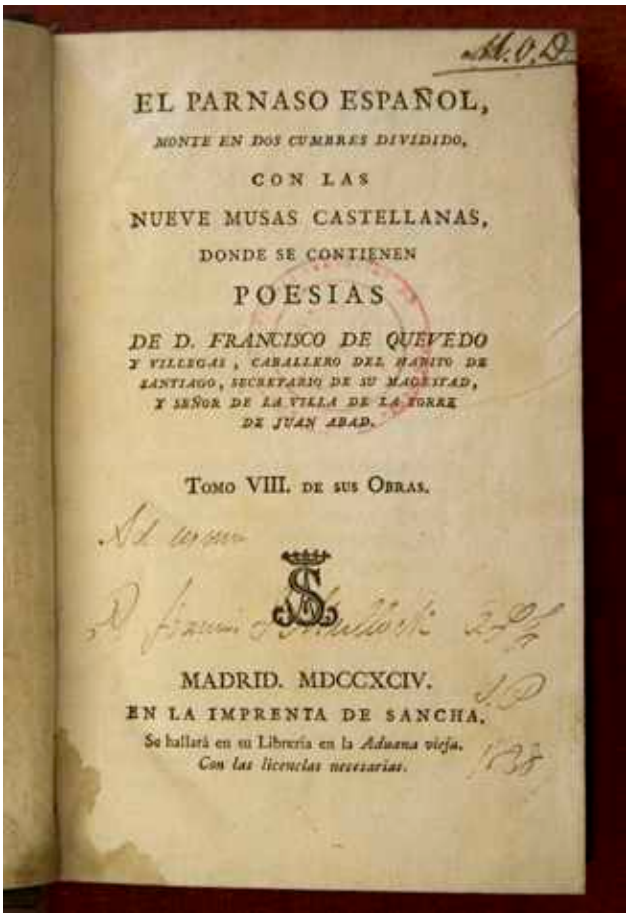
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Novelas exemplares de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Valencia: Salvador Fauli, 1797). 111 x 178 mm

Miguel de Cervantes, *The History and Adventures of the Renowned Don Quixote*, trans. by Tobias G. Smollett (London: William Strahan, 1770). 110 x 175 mm

Francisco de Quevedo, *El Parnaso español, monte en dos cumbers dividido, con las nueve Musas Castellanas, donde se contienen Poesias de D. Francisco de Quevedo* (Madrid: De Sancha, 1794). 126 x 194 mm
Illustrations: front cover, title page (*opposite*)

Only a few books remain from Bishop Mullock's extensive collection of Spanish books which he started to gather during his studies in Seville, Spain. These include two prominent writers: Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616) and Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y Santibáñez Villegas (1580–1645). Mullock acquired a copy of the second part (*Parte secunda*) of Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, but due to the lack of a title page, it is hard to identify the exact edition; it was most likely printed between 1615 and 1617. Mullock acquired a copy of the fourth edition of Tobias G. Smollett's (1721–71) English translation, dated 1770 and printed in London. It was published for William Strahan, one of Smollett's partners who owned shares in the English editions of *Don Quixote*. Strahan (1715–85) placed his name first on the long list of printers. Smollett's first English version of Cervantes's masterpiece was published in London in 1755. Smollett, a doctor by profession, was not the first to attempt to fully translate Cervantes's novel, yet his translation is one of the most influential among English readers. Mary Wagoner's list of Smollett's work (1984) includes more than 30 editions. One of Smollett's latest versions was re-edited in 1986 by Carlos Fuentes, the well-known Mexican writer, who declared it the "authentic vernacular version."

While in Spain Mullock also obtained two copies of Cervantes's *Novelas exemplares* (Exemplary novels), written between 1590 and 1612. The first edition was printed in Madrid in the well-known publishing house of Juan de la Cuesta. These *novellas* of Italian inspiration gather a mixed series of twelve idealistic and realistic tales, which include, among other stories, *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, *El Licenciado Vidriera* (The lawyer of glass), *La Española Inglesa* (The Spanish English lady), and *La gitanilla* (The



EL PARNASO ESPAÑOL,

MONTE EN DOS CUMBRES DIVIDIDO,

CON LAS

NUEVE MUSAS CASTELLANAS,

DONDE SE CONTIENEN

POESIAS

DE D. FRANCISCO DE QUEVEDO

Y VILLEGAS, CABALLERO DEL HABITO DE SANTIAGO, SECRETARIO DE SU MAGESTAD, Y SEÑOR DE LA VILLA DE LA TORRE DE JUAN ABAD.

TOMO VIII. DE SUS OBRAS.

MADRID. MDCCXCIV.

EN LA IMPRENTA DE SANCHA.

Se hallará en su Librería en la *Aduana vieja*.
Con las licencias necesarias.

little gypsy girl). This particular volume in the Mullock collection of the *Novelas exemplares* is, according to the title page, a new corrected text published with the required licence and approbation in Valencia in 1797 in the publishing house of Salvador Fauli (or Pauli). It was dedicated to Don Pedro Fernández de Castro de Lémos, de Andrade y de Villalba (1576–1622), vice-president of the Council of the Indies and viceroy of Naples. The second copy of Cervantes's *Novelas exemplares* in the Mullock collection was printed in The Hague in the publishing house of J. Neaulme in 1739 and dedicated by its editor, Pedro de Pineda, a teacher of Spanish and resident of London, to the Countess of Westmorland. Both volumes in the collection are decorated with twelve copper plates.

An eighteenth-century imprint of the famed poet Quevedo also survives in the Mullock collection. According to the inscription on the title page, Mullock acquired it in 1838 in Ireland. The first texts of Quevedo's poetry appeared in 1605 in his anthology *Primera parte de las flores de poetas ilustres de España*. Most of his poems, however, were included in his *Parnaso español* (Spanish Parnassus) and his *Tres musas castellanas últimas castellanas* (The last three Castilian muses) published posthumously in 1648. These two works include 875 poems, mostly of a satirical nature divided into nine categories. This particular edition was printed in Madrid by the well-known publishing house of De Sancha in 1794. This edition is part 8 of Quevedo's complete works in the De Sancha authoritative edition. It is of some interest since its editor included a number of prohibited poems which were deemed offensive. This anthology was included in the inquisitorial indexes of 1707 and 1790; it includes the required licence and approval from the censors.

Messod Salama

27 Spanish and Italian Drama

Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Tercera parte de comedias del celebre poeta español, Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Madrid: Francisco Sanz, 1687). 150 x 210 mm
Illustrations: title page (*below*), frontispiece, spine (*opposite*)

Giovanni Battista Guarini, *Il pastor fido, tragicomedia pastorale del Signor Cavalier Battista Guarini* (Amsterdam: Stamperia del S. D. Elsevier, 1678). 60 x 102 mm
Illustration: title page (*opposite above*)

Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Annei Senecae Cordubensis Tragoediae septem* (Paris: Hieronymum de Marnef, 1563). 81 x 121 mm

The collection of dramatic works in the Mullock collection is varied and sizeable enough to be quite noteworthy. In addition to the works of two classical Latin dramatists, Terence (Leiden, 1626) and Seneca (Paris, 1563), the collection includes theatre from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century and in all of the languages in which Mullock was fluent: Italian, French, Spanish, and English. Terence, who was born in Carthage, North Africa, in 195 B.C.E., was brought to Rome as a slave but was later freed as a result of his intellectual qualities. He became a celebrated comic dramatist in his day and his plays had a profound influence on both medieval and Renaissance literary culture, owing to the quality of his language, which was considered a pure form of Latin. The religious in monasteries and convents learned Latin by copying, memorizing, and performing Terence's plays. Even today, the impact of Terence is lasting. Many well-known proverbs, such as "Moderation in all things" and "Where there's life, there's hope," come from his plays. Terence had an important influence on later dramatic writers, including the French dramatist Molière.

If Terence is one of the greatest comic Latin dramatists (after Plautus), Seneca is the greatest Roman tragedian. Seneca, born in 4 B.C.E., was raised in Rome, where he was tutor and later advisor to the emperor Nero. The Mullock collection contains a 1563 edition of Seneca's tragedies, printed in Paris. It contains all ten tragedies attributed to Seneca (two of which have now been repudiated), including *Oedipus* and *Medea*, two of his better-known works. Seneca was crucial in the development of tragic drama in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, particularly in France and England, influencing playwrights such as William Shakespeare and Jean Racine, as well as Catholic and Protestant playwrights of the sixteenth century who adapted biblical stories for the stage.

Mullock's evidently strong interest in theatre is further shown in his book collection by a lovely pocket-sized edition of *Il pastor fido* (The faithful shepherd), printed in Amsterdam in 1678. *Il pastor fido* is a pastoral tragicomedy by Giovanni Battista Guarini (1538–1612), first published in Venice in 1590. Guarini was a poet and professor of literature and *Il pastor fido* is his best-known work and also one of the most popular plays in the seventeenth century. The story of two pairs of star-crossed lovers in mythical Arcadia, it inspired the 1712 opera of the same name by George Frideric Handel.

The Golden Age of Spanish drama is represented in the Mullock collection by a 1687 edition of Pedro Calderón de la Barca's comedies. This volume bears an inscription by Mullock "Dublin, 1846," indicating

that he purchased this volume while he was guardian of Adam and Eve's. Calderón (1600–1681) is known as one of Spain's foremost dramatists, and quite a prolific one. He began writing plays at a very young age and most of his early plays were secular in nature and are appreciated for their complex dramatic structure. Calderón spent most of his life as a court dramatist, writing works that have become synonymous with the court theatre of seventeenth-century Spain. Even when he became a priest in later life and turned toward religious themes in his plays, he remained in the inner circle of King Philip IV, and upon the king's request, wrote a total of almost 80 *autos sacramentales*, morality plays in the medieval tradition. These *autos* were meant to be performed outdoors to celebrate the mysteries of the Eucharist on Corpus Christi day.

Anne G. Graham

28 The Plays of William Shakespeare

William Shakespeare, *Bell's Edition of Shakespeare's Plays, as They Are Now Performed at the Theatres Royal in London* ..., vol. 4 (London: John Bell, 1774). 112 x 176 mm
Illustrations: frontispiece, title page (*opposite*)

William Shakespeare, *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, vol. 4 (Dublin: Leathley, 1766). 102 x 172 mm

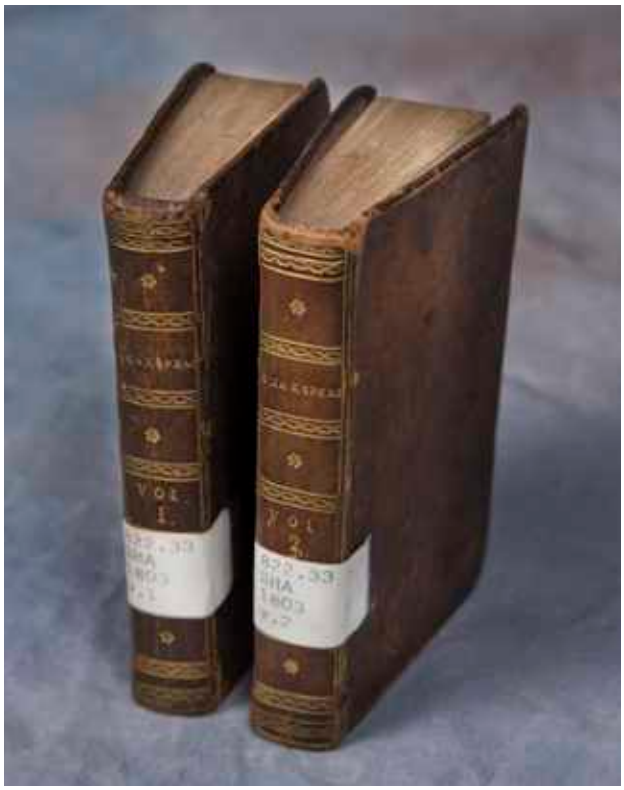
William Shakespeare, *The Plays of Shakespeare in Miniature*, vols. 1 and 3 (London: Sharpe, 1803). 68 x 112 mm
Illustration: spines (*below*)

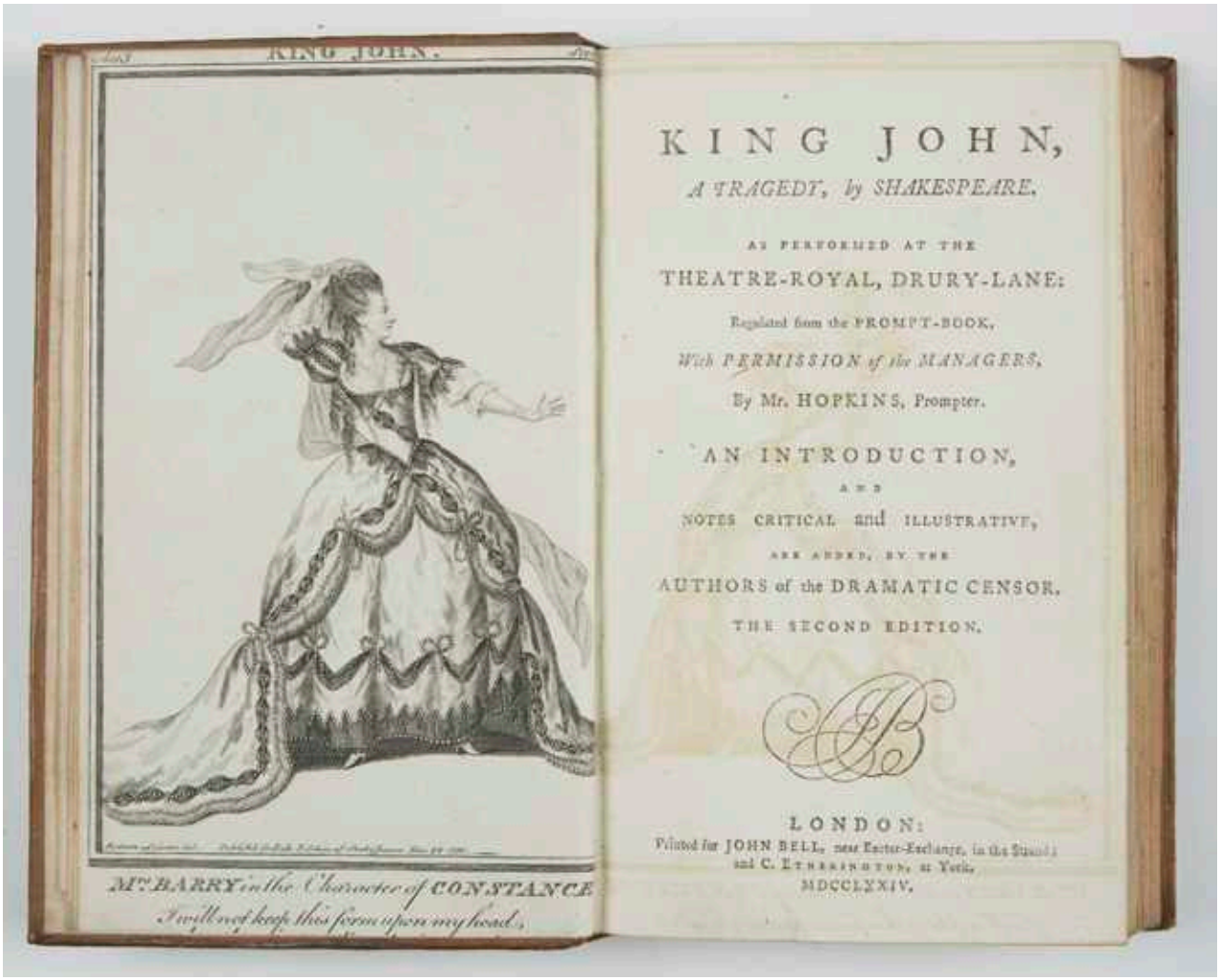
William Shakespeare, *Shakspear's Dramatic Works: With a Life of the Author, and a Selection of Notes, Critical, Historical, and Explanatory*, vol. 6 (London: J. F. Dove, 1830). 145 x 233 mm

Not many plays from the early modern period turn up in the Mullock collection. The main exception: he had a fair assortment of Shakespeare's works.

The earliest Shakespeare is a broken set in duodecimo of the 1766 Dublin edition (vols. 4 through 9 out of a total of 10). According to the label on the front endpaper, this could be borrowed for five days from the Catholic Institute Library, "For every Day after a Fine of One Penny." This was published by A. Leathley, C. Wynne, P. Wilson, and six other booksellers. The title page is signed by Dan. Stewart of Hertford College Oxon. Book labels commend this as Samuel Johnson's edition, first published in 1765, which incorporates annotations from earlier editors: Alexander Pope (1725), Lewis Theobald (1734/5), William Warburton (1747), and others. Volume 4 begins with *The Comedy of Errors*; volume 9 ends with *Troilus and Cressida*. An early reader transcribed a line on the rear endpaper from page 395 uttered by Pandarus in *Troilus and Cressida*: "That's Hector's [!], that, that, look you that" (I.ii.199). Dublin Shakespeares generally followed the release of London editions. This was the fourth Irish edition of Shakespeare's works following George Grierson's 1725 reprint of Pope's Shakespeare, John Smith's 1739 reprint of Theobald's edition, and the 1747 reprint of Warburton's edition of the *Plays*, printed for R. Owen, J. Leathley, and seven others.

A broken set of the first "acting edition" of *Shakespeare's Plays, as They Are Now Performed at the Theatres Royal in London* ... survives in the Mullock collection (vols. 3, 4, and 9). Published by the enterprising John Bell in 1774, it was dedicated to David Garrick, who had spearheaded the first Shakespeare festival in Stratford five years earlier. Opening with ornate letterpress title pages, this popular edition offered few annotations, but was spiced up with numerous illustrations (some engraved by Charles Grignion the younger) of actors performing





their parts, for example, Mr. Smith in duelling mode as Richard III and Mrs. Barry in the character of Constance in *King John*. Bell's edition omitted lines from plays that had been cut for performances and allowed Francis Gentleman, author of *The Dramatic Censor* (1770), who furnished the introduction, to remove "glaring indecencies." It also perpetuated Nahum Tate's adaptation of *King Lear* which ended happily ever after with Lear and Cordelia remarkably alive.

Mullock had a quaint miniature duodecimo Shakespeare set dated 1803, at least two-thirds of which remain: volumes 1 through 4, 7, and 9. Printed in London by C. Whittingham of Dean Street in Soho, "Sharpe's Edition" was published by John Sharpe, opposite York House, Piccadilly, and H. D. Symonds of Paternoster Row. The frontispiece offers up a medallion portrait of an elderly looking bard looking left. Starting with *The Tempest*, this edition has been pared down to the bare essentials apart from a glossary at the end of the last volume. These tiny volumes would have been ideal for reading in Bannerman Park.

Mullock also had *Shakspear's* [!] *Dramatic Works*, edited by the Rev. W. Harness, printed and sold in London by J. F. Dove in 1830 (missing vols. 3 and 4 out of 8). This has a good reproduction of Martin Droeshout's 1623 frontispiece portrait. The spines to volumes 1 and 8 have been reinforced by green and brown tape. Mullock also had a one-volume *Plays of William Shakspeare*, edited by Samuel Maunder, published in London by L. A. Lewis in 1853.

Donald W. Nichol

Fiona Ritchie and Peter Sabor, eds., *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2012).

29 French Neo-classical Drama

Thomas Corneille, *Œuvres de T. Corneille*, vol. 7 (Paris: Nyon, 1758). 86 x 143 mm

Molière, *Œuvres de Molière*, vols. 3–4 (Amsterdam and Leipzig: Arkste'e & Merkus, 1750). 81 x 140 mm
Illustrations: frontipiece of *Le malade imaginaire*, spines (*opposite right*)

Voltaire, *Chefs-d'œuvre dramatiques de Voltaire*, vol. 3 (Paris: Frères Mame, 1808). 105 x 160 mm
Illustration: title page (*opposite left*)

The Mullock collection contains several works of French drama from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including two volumes from the complete works of Molière (1622–73) in an illustrated edition printed in Amsterdam, a gift from Father Charles Browne. Browne inscribed volume 4 at Adam and Eve's in Dublin in 1838. Mullock was at the convent from 1832 to 1836; then he was in Cork for a time before returning there in 1843. Molière was one of the three major French playwrights of the seventeenth century; the other two were Jean Racine and Pierre Corneille. While Racine and Corneille primarily wrote tragedies, Molière wrote social comedies that drew attention to different forms of hypocrisy. Some of Molière's works were censored in his day and his name was found on the Index of Prohibited Books. However, his plays are still read and performed today. *Tartuffe*, Molière's play on religious hypocrisy, was adapted to nineteenth-century Newfoundland by Andy Jones in 2014.

The French dramatic works in the Mullock collection also include volume 7 of the complete works of Thomas Corneille (1625–1709), the younger and lesser-known dramatist of the two Corneille brothers. This book, also a gift from Father Browne, contains a re-writing in verse of Molière's prose-play *Dom Juan ou le Festin de Pierre* along with three original plays. Among the unsigned books in the Mullock collection there is also a 1711 edition of Thomas Corneille's plays and two 1709 editions of his brother's (Pierre's) dramas. There is also a collection of Thomas and Pierre's plays with extensive commentary published in 1848, probably acquired by Mullock for use at St. Bonaventure's College.

Volume 3 of Voltaire's dramatic works is also part of the Mullock collection. Voltaire (1694–1778), primarily known as a philosopher of the Enlightenment period, was a staunch defender of freedom of expression, freedom of religion, and religious tolerance, and he was at times very critical of the Catholic church. Many of his plays address the same topics as his philosophical writings—along with *The Age of Lewis XIV* (London, 1752) and volume 7 of *The Works of M. de Voltaire* (Dublin, 1772) religious fanaticism was treated, for example, in *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le Prophète*. He also composed a comedy-ballet, *La Princesse de Navarre*, to celebrate the wedding of the Infanta of Spain, to Louis, the Dauphin, son of Louis XV and heir to the throne, the music for which was written by Jean-Philippe Rameau, the pre-eminent French composer of the day. Voltaire was the most celebrated French playwright of the eighteenth century, even though his plays are mostly forgotten today. The inclusion of this volume of Voltaire's plays in the Mullock collection attests perhaps to the importance accorded by Mullock to the dramatic form.

The Mullock collection also contains a volume of the seventeenth-century playwright and novelist Cyrano de Bergerac's *Diverse Works*, which includes a series of letters, plus a comedy, *Le pédant joué*, an

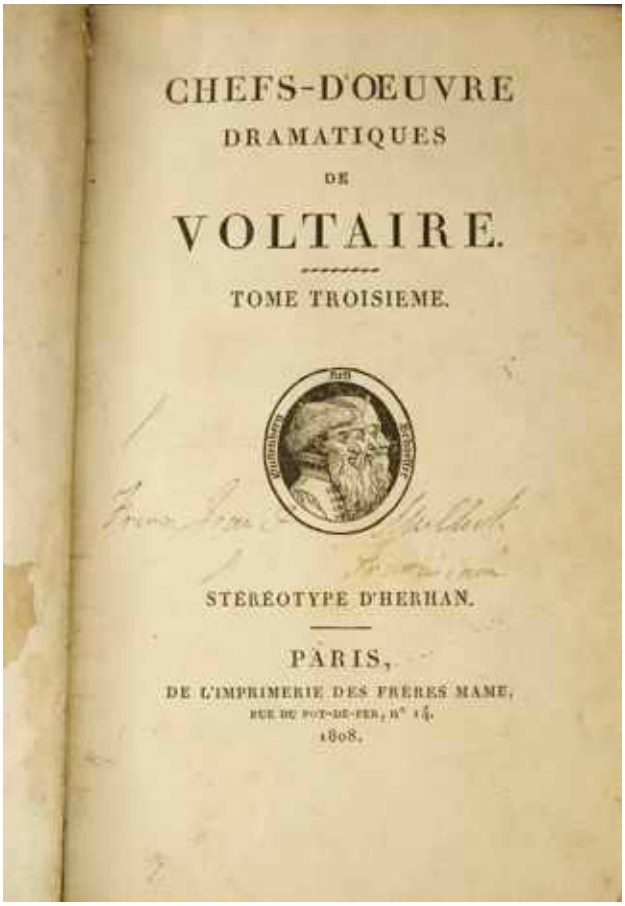
adaptation of a Lope de Vega play. De Bergerac (1619–55) was an audacious baroque writer with imaginative and libertine ideas. Today, de Bergerac is better known for the play *Cyrano de Bergerac* written about him by Edmond Rostand in 1897, decades after Mullock's death.

Anne G. Graham

Eric Dodson-Robinson, *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Senecan Tragedy* (Leiden, 2016).

William D. Howarth, *French Theatre in the Neo-classical Era, 1550–1789* (Cambridge, 2009).

David Wiles and Christine Dymkowski, *The Cambridge Companion to Theatre History* (Cambridge, 2013).


CHEFS-D'ŒUVRE
DRAMATIQUES
DE
VOLTAIRE.
TOME TROISIEME.
STEREOTYPE D'HERHAN.
PARIS,
DE L'IMPRIMERIE DES FRÈRES MAME,
1808.

30 Eighteenth-Century English Poetry

George Buchanan, *Georgii Buchanani Scoti Poëmata, quae extant* (Amsterdam: Hendrik Wetstein, 1687). 73 x 125 mm
Illustration: title page (*opposite above*)

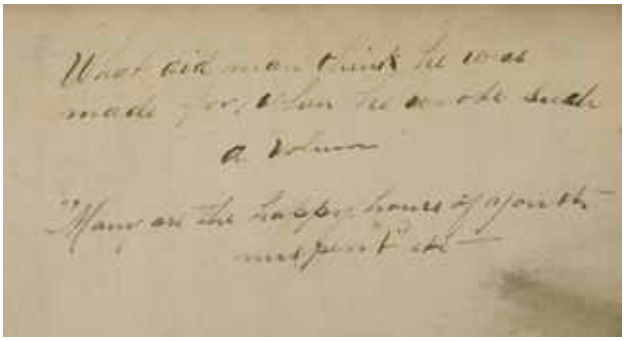
James Thomson, *The Poetical Works of James Thomson, Esq. with His Last Corrections and Additions*, vols. 1 and 2 (London: J. Thomson, 1768). 105 x 170 mm
Illustration: vol. 2 inscription on front flyleaf (*below*)

Alexander Pope, *The Works of Alexander Pope*, vol. 2 (Dublin: G. Faulkner, 1740). 105 x 170 mm

Alexander Pope, *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq. Containing His Imitations and Moral Essays*, vols. 2–6 and 8 (Edinburgh: Martin & Wotherspoon, 1770). 90 x 146 mm
Illustration: spines (*below*)

R. Dodsley, *Trifles* (London: n.p., 1745). 127 x 200 mm
Illustration: ornament on title page (*opposite below*)

The Mullock collection contains an assortment of sixteenth-century neo-Latin and eighteenth-century English poetry. One early exponent was George Buchanan (1506–82), who tutored a son of James V and Mary Queen of Scots, James VI. A one-time prisoner of the Inquisition, he later supported the deposition of Mary as well as the Protestant Reformation in Scotland, so Buchanan would not have been high on a Roman Catholic bishop's reading list. However, he translated *Medea* and *Alcestis*, both plays by Euripides, which are included in Mullock's volume of *Georgii Buchanani Scoti poëmata*. This volume features an engraved title page with an Amsterdam imprint "Apud HENRICUM WETSTENIOS, 1687," presumably the forebear of the printer of Mullock's copy of Richard Bentley's edition of Horace. Mullock's oval library stamp is evenly applied around a medallion portrait of Buchanan in the lap of a muse. The name of Paul Benson, apparently an earlier owner, is written at the top of the biographical introduction.



Mullock had an odd volume of Alexander Pope's *Epistles and Satires*, volume 2, reprinted in Dublin by George Faulkner, A. Bradley, and T. Moore in 1740. Published within Pope's lifetime, it contained his *Essay on Man*, which had originally appeared in four epistles seven years earlier. Mullock also had a broken set of a 1770 edition of Pope's *Works*: six out of eight volumes. Missing are volumes 1 (containing masterpieces like "An Essay on Criticism" and "The Rape of the Lock") and 7 (containing the latter part of the poet's letters). Pope's works were massively popular throughout the eighteenth century. Within ten years of his death in 1744, more than 100,000 volumes of his works were printed; 1770 alone saw seven editions: three from Dublin, three from London, and this one, in duodecimo, published by Martin & Wotherspoon of Edinburgh. The title page to the missing first Pope volume reads: "with his last Corrections, Additions, and Improvements. Together with all his Notes." What is missing from the title page is the name of William Warburton, Pope's designated literary executor and editor. To have named him, no doubt, would have invited

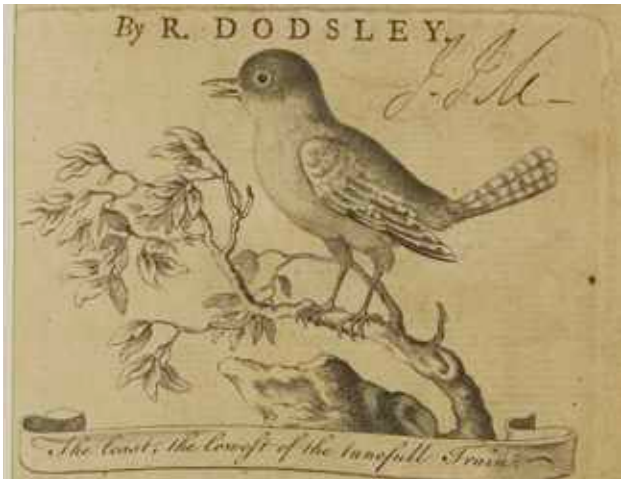
trouble. While sometimes illicit, Edinburgh editions were prized for their textual accuracy and they generally cost less than their bona fide London counterparts.

Mullock had a two-volume set of James Thomson (1700–1748). This edition is dated 1768, an important year in the history of this work and in the history of publishing, when Thomson's *Seasons* was at the centre of an important copyright case. The case of Millar v. Taylor was argued in the court of King's Bench in London. The bookseller who had acquired the copyright to *Seasons*, Andrew Millar, like Thompson, was born in Scotland, but had moved to London to make his fortune. According to the term-limit of the Copyright Act of 1710, Thomson's *Seasons* should have become public domain by 1762 at the latest—fourteen years after Thomson's death. Millar discovered that Robert Taylor, a printer-bookseller in Berwick on Tweed at the border between England and Scotland, had published an edition of Thomson's *Seasons* for local consumption. The judge, Lord Mansfield, found for Millar, giving perpetual monopoly legal standing.

Mullock's copy bears the imprint "printed for J. Thomson," suggesting that the author was self-publishing. Unfortunately Thomson had been dead for twenty years. In other words, Mullock had acquired a pirated edition, although "pirated" is a debatable designation: what may have been illegal one year was not necessarily so in another. The second volume has a note on the front endpaper. The title page bears three stamps, one of which almost obscures the date of publication, and the name of William Digby. On the rear endpaper is written in ink: "What did man think he was | made for, when he wrote such | a volume. | 'Many are the happy hours of a youth mis[s]pent' etc."

The Mullock collection also contains a copy of *Trifles* (1745), a collection of works by Pope's protégé, publisher and poet Robert Dodsley.

Donald W. Nichol

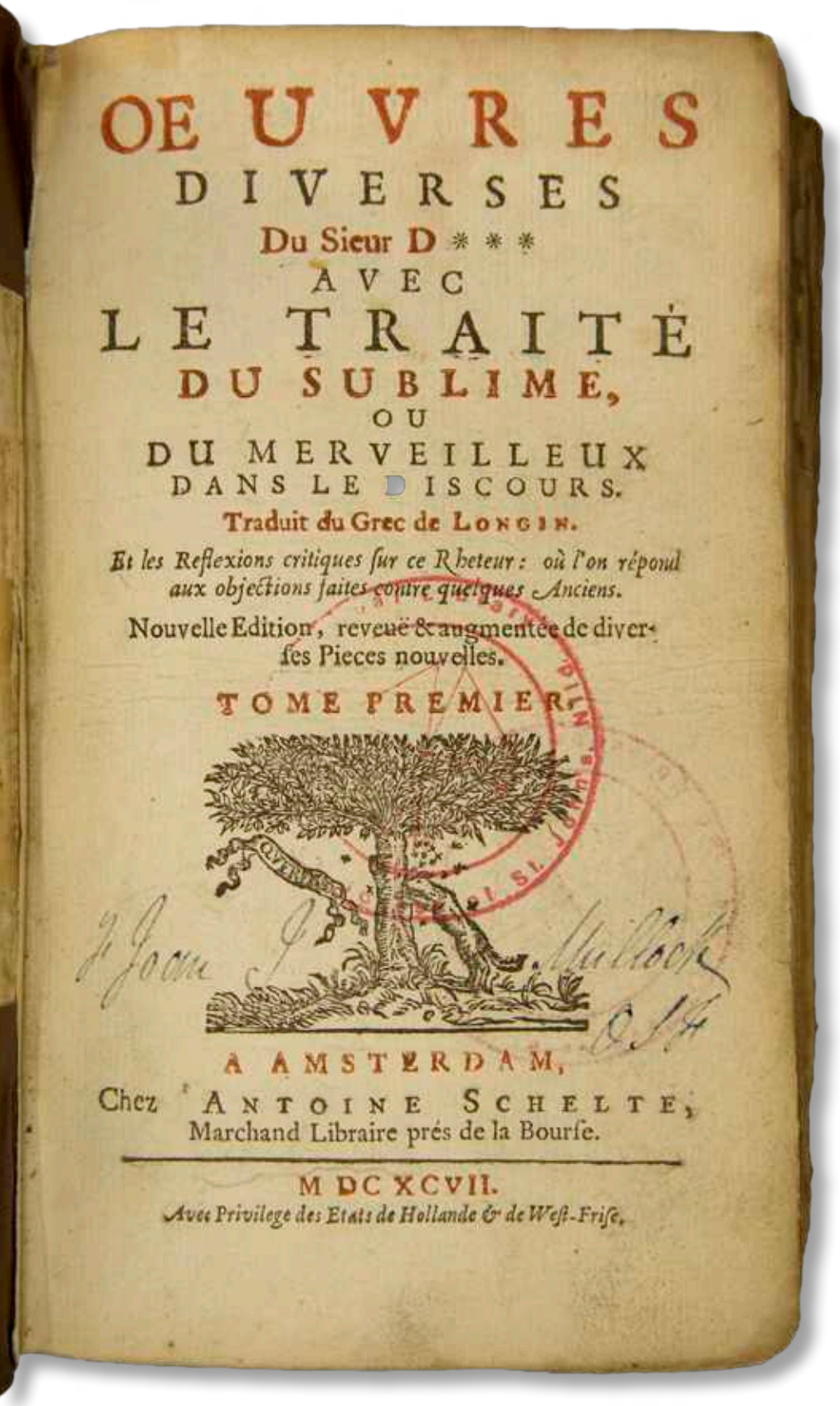


Donald W. Nichol, ed., *Anniversary Essays on Alexander Pope's* The Rape of the Lock (Toronto, 2016).

31 Eighteenth-Century French Literary Criticism

Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, *Œuvres diverses du sieur D^xxx [Despréaux] avec le traité du sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Antoine Schelte, 1697). 100 x 164 mm
Illustrations: title page (*opposite*), frontispiece (*below*)

The Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns was an early skirmish in the long contest between authority and observation that came with the invention of the scientific method and which culminated with the legitimization of the notion of *progress*. Nicolas Boileau (1636–1711), also known as Despréaux, championed the Ancients. His *Art poétique* (The art of poetry) and his translation of *Le traité du sublime* (Treatise on the sublime) (attributed to the Greek writer Longinus, 1st century C.E.) solidified his reputation as defender of traditional forms and classical rhetoric. Gustave Lanson (1857–1934), the father of French literary history, said Boileau's literary doctrine was the one that best suited the French mind. A student of the classics, Boileau revered Latin masters such as Horace, Juvenal, and Martial and used their work as models for his satires. After the satires, Boileau adopted the more personal form of the epistle, but his work continued its polemical stance and its aggressively ironic commentary on his time and his peers. Though he was adulated in his lifetime, by Mullock's day Boileau's star had already begun to fade and his name no longer appeared next to those of the greats of his generation: Racine, La Fontaine, La Fayette, and Molière. This book, which was more than 100 years old when Mullock acquired it, brings together in one binding the two volumes of Boileau's *Œuvres diverses* (Collected works). It includes the mock-heroic *Le lutrin* (The lectern), which mobilizes a vast array of rhetorical devices to recount a



OEUVRES
DIVERSES
Du Sieur D * * *
AVEC
LE TRAITÉ
DU SUBLIME,
OU
DU MERVEILLEUX
DANS LE DISCOURS.
Traduit du Grec de LONGIN.
Et les Reflexions critiques sur ce Rheteur : où l'on répond aux objections faites contre quelques Anciens.
Nouvelle Edition, reveuë & augmentée de diverses Pieces nouvelles.
TOME PREMIER.
A AMSTERDAM,
Chez ANTOINE SCHELTE,
Marchand Libraire prés de la Bourse.
M DC XCVII.
Avec Privilege des Etats de Hollande & de West-Frise.

frivolous dispute between a prelate and a cantor over the placement of a piece of furniture, and concludes with Boileau's occasional verses in French and Latin. The book shows signs of sustained use and is in fragile condition. A few pages have been removed and *L'art de précher / à un Abbé* (The art of preaching / to an abbot) by Pierre de Villiers inserted between pages 192 and 193 of the first volume. This section and canto 3 of *Art poétique* bear most of the book's marginal markings (mostly in pencil), which may have been made by Mullock or a previous owner. Most of the second volume is devoted to the translation of Longinus's text and to commentary on it. Boileau exerted great influence on eighteenth-century English literary criticism, particularly on Alexander Pope, in whose works Mullock was particularly interested. Mullock most likely purchased this volume before his ordination in 1830.

Magessa O'Reilly

Robert Corum, "Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636–1711)," *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, 268: 44–53.

Paul Joret, *Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux: Révolutionnaire et conformiste* (Paris, 1989).

Gordon Pocock, *Boileau and the Nature of Neo-classicism* (Cambridge, 1980).

32 Pierre Bayle's *Dictionaire historique et critique*

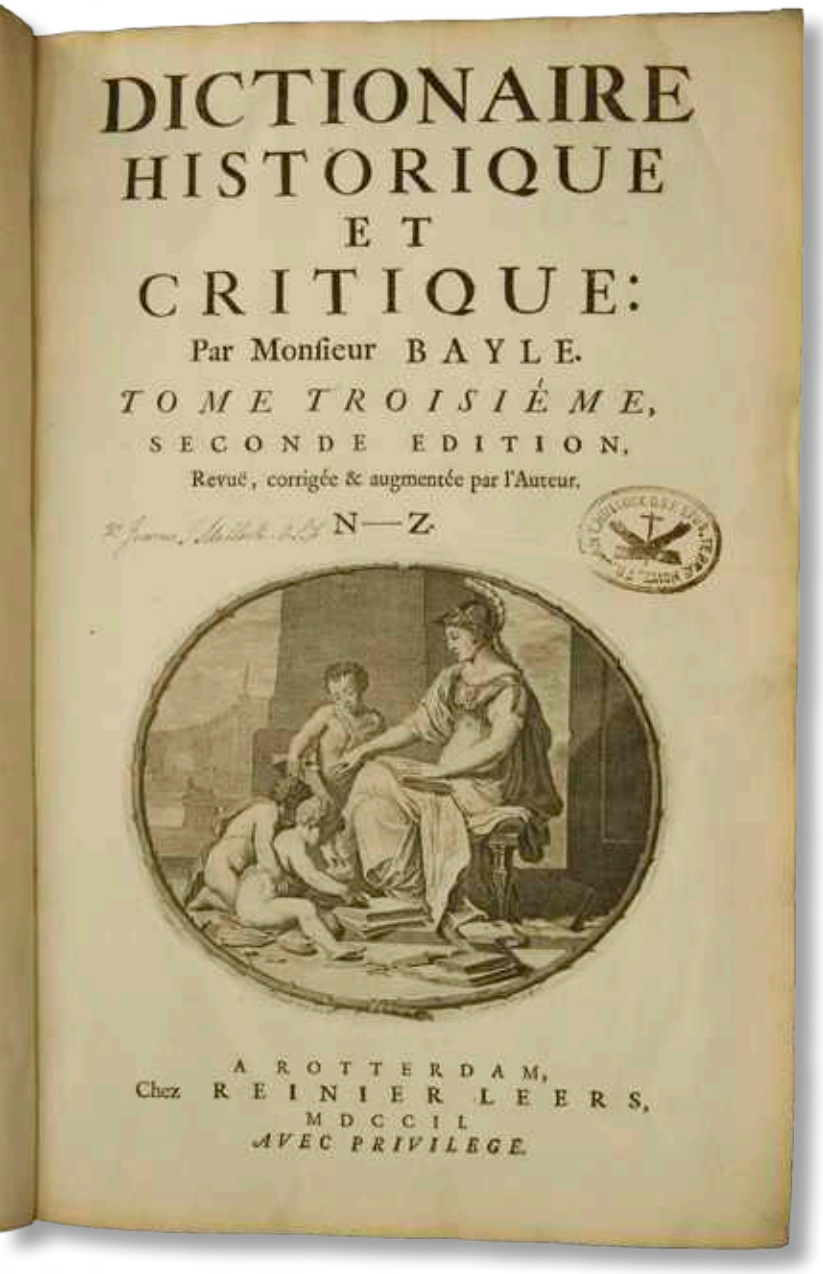
Charles Ancillon, *Mémoires concernant les vies et les ouvrages de plusieurs modernes célèbres dans la république des lettres* (Amsterdam: Rudolph and Gerard Wetstein, 1709). 110 x 163 mm

Pierre Bayle, *Dictionaire historique et critique*, vols. 1–3 (Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1702). 255 x 380 mm
Illustrations: vol. 3 title page (*opposite*), spines (*below*)

Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) was a Calvinist thinker. Briefly a convert to Catholicism, he began and ended his life as a member of the reformed church. Bayle's project in writing his *Dictionaire historique et critique* was to correct the mistakes found in the dictionaries and reference materials already available. For Bayle, no mistake is too small to be corrected and thorough verification can only serve the common good. His method of comparison and fact checking reveals divergences among authorities, relativizes knowledge, and leads to a defence of diversity and tolerance. He sought as much to calm the excessive fervour of Calvinists like Pierre Jurieu as the exaggerated claims of Catholics like Louis Moreri. Through a series of essays and preliminary publications, Bayle benefitted from the comments and suggestions of many collaborators and happily corrected himself in subsequent editions. Mullock's copy of volume 1 (A–D), for instance, contains two articles on King David, one integrated in the alphabetical sequence and a second, longer, article appended at the end of the volume. Bayle's dictionary demonstrates erudition of rare scope and his use of notes, references, multiple typefaces, and quotations in several languages becomes more complex with each edition and was probably not surpassed until the age of digital retrieval systems. The dictionary offers articles on a wide variety of contemporary, biblical, and mythological personages. In his dedication to separate legend from fact, Bayle was among the first to apply the historical method to biblical scholarship. His article on King David is irreverent, his life of Eve provocative, and his entry on the Prophet Mohammed was plagiarized at length by Voltaire himself. The *Dictionaire* found its way into the libraries of clerics of all stripes; such was the breadth of its erudition and the wealth of references it contained that all were sure to find arguments and facts to support their points of view.

Mullock's copy is the second edition (1702) in three volumes. Besides the worn limp binding, which is detaching from the pasteboard, the volumes are in good condition. Each volume bears Mullock's name inscribed on the title page or first page (volume 2 has no title page).

Bayle's *Dictionaire historique et critique* states that David Ancillon (1617–92) was born in Metz, France. Though he received his early education from Jesuits, Ancillon remained true to the reformed church and went on to study theology in Geneva. He fled to Frankfurt upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and after a stint at the French church in Hessen (Germany), returned to Frankfurt, and then went on to Berlin, where he died. Throughout his life he was known and respected by clergymen of both theological persuasions for his knowledge, eloquence, and virtue. As Bayle includes Ancillon in his *Dictionaire*, so Ancillon mentions Bayle's *Dictionaire* in his preface. Ancillon enumerates several existing catalogues and dictionaries of notable persons already in existence but notes that there are always names that have been left out. His project is to offer personal reminiscences of so-far-uncatalogued notables. Though Ancillon is from a Calvinist family, his *Mémoires concernant les vies et les ouvrages de plusieurs modernes célèbres dans la république des lettres* (Reminiscences concerning the lives and works of several famous moderns in the republic of letters) includes writers and clergymen of both the Catholic and Calvinist persuasions. None of the notables he catalogues are household names today.


DICTIONAIRE
HISTORIQUE
ET
CRITIQUE:
Par Monsieur BAYLE.
TOME TROISIÉME,
SECONDE EDITION,
Revuë, corrigée & augmentée par l'Auteur.
N—Z.
A ROTTERDAM,
Chez REINIER LEERS,
MDCCII.
AVEC PRIVILEGE.

Mullock's copy of Ancillon's *Mémoires* is a pocket-sized edition printed in Amsterdam in 1709. It is identified by Mullock's name written on the title page in flowing cursive and has slight water damage and a stained cover.

Magessa O'Reilly

Paul Dibon, ed., *Pierre Bayle: Le philosophe de Rotterdam* (Amsterdam, 1959).

Thomas M. Lennon, *Reading Bayle* (Toronto, 1999).

Julien Léonard, "David Ancillon, une figure méconnue de pasteur idéal pour les protestants du XVIIe siècle," *Chrétiens et sociétés* 13 (2006): 71–87.

33 Eighteenth-Century British Historians

Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vols. 1–4 (Halifax: William Milner, 1845). 155 x 238 mm
Illustrations: Mullock's inscription on opening page in vol. 2 (page 1) (*opposite right*), vol. 2 frontispiece (fold-out map) (*overleaf*)

William Robertson, *The Works of William Robertson, D.D.*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Peter Brown, 1829). 150 x 224 mm
Illustration: title page, frontispiece (*opposite left*)

Works from two of the finest historians of the eighteenth century—William Robertson (1721–93) and Edward Gibbon (1737–94)—are extant in the Mullock collection.

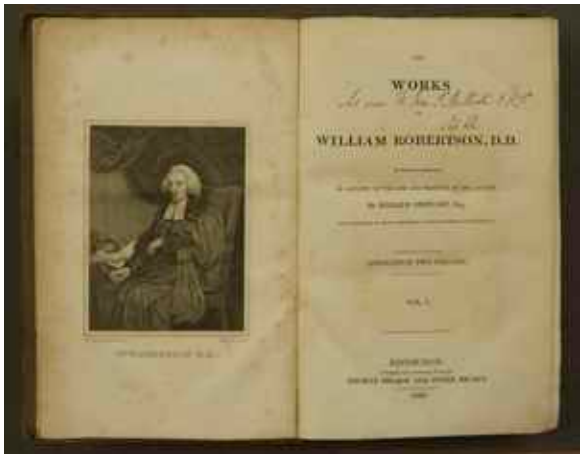
Bishop Mullock had Robertson's *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* (2nd ed., 4 vols. [London, 1772], as well as a 1777 Dublin edition of vol. 1), *The History of America* (London, 1783), and the first of two volumes of an 1829 Edinburgh reprint of *The Works of William Robertson, D.D.*, edited by Dugald Stewart (printed at the university press by Thomas Nelson and Peter Brown). Robertson was best known for *The History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI*, first published in 1759. Given the turbulent reign of Mary Queen of Scots (who ended up on a chopping block) and her son (who eventually succeeded Elizabeth I as James I of England), Robertson's *History* proved a great success, going through some thirteen editions within his lifetime. Robertson became principal of the University of Edinburgh and moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. One of Robertson's most animated fans was the great actor and theatre impresario, David Garrick. Garrick wrote an enthusiastic letter to the publisher declaring that Robertson's *History of Scotland* had made such an impact on him that he was compelled to read it aloud to his wife and guest over two sittings. The frontispiece, based on a portrait of Robertson by Sir Joshua Reynolds, was engraved by E. Mitchell.

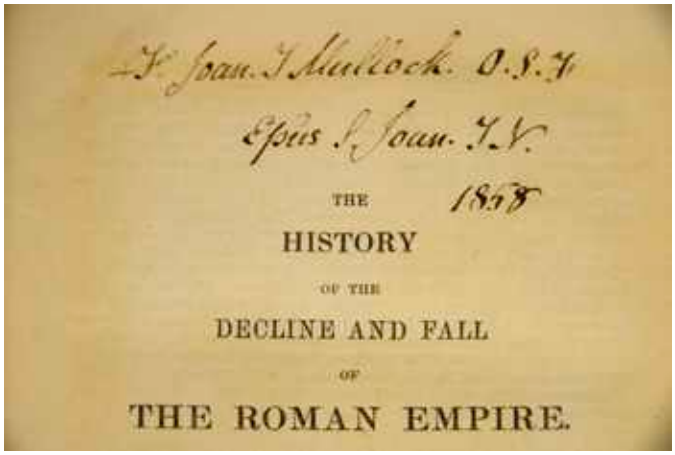
The other significant historical masterpiece in the Mullock collection is his four-volume set of Edward Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, originally published between 1776 and 1789. Mullock opted for a cloth-bound edition from 1845 printed and published by William Milner of Cheapside, Halifax, Yorkshire, who had a reputation for producing inexpensive books.

Mullock's customary signature and stamp appear on the title page. At the head of chapter 53 appears a carefully inscribed signature—"† Fr Joan. T. Mullock. O.S.F. | Epus S. Joan. T.N. | 1858." The short form of "Joan." for Joannis, the Latin for John, applies equally to his first name and the name of his town. T.N. for Terra Nova survives in businesses in Newfoundland to this day.

Gibbon attended Magdalen College Oxford at the age of fifteen and converted to Roman Catholicism in the following year. His father sent him off to Lausanne, Switzerland, where a Calvinist pastor persuaded him to return to Protestantism. While religion became more an object of study than a matter of faith for Gibbon, Rome nonetheless continued to hold him in her spell.

On his first and only visit to Rome during an extended Grand Tour, Gibbon experienced an epiphany. As he recorded in his *Autobiography*, it was on October 15, 1764, "as [he] sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the barefooted friars were singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to [his] mind." A dozen years later the first impression of the first volume of *Decline and Fall* sold out within a matter of days. At





first glance Gibbon's central thesis may not seem the stuff of bestsellers—that "the propagation of the Gospel, and the triumph of the Church are inseparably connected with the decline of the Roman monarchy."

The fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, which examined the early flourishing of Christianity, created considerable controversy. Church of England clergymen felt that Gibbon's history was too glib, that Gibbon was more inclined toward Roman paganism than Christian devotion. His dry, occasionally cynical tone, but solid, scholarly approach fit in well with the ideals of the Enlightenment that had taken root in Scotland and France. Robertson and two other powerhouses of the Scottish Enlightenment, David Hume and Adam Ferguson, applauded Gibbon's scholarship. Ferguson furnished an introduction to *Decline and Fall* in 1783. Hume, who died the year the first volume came out, warned its author of the clamour his work would create in England. Gibbon thought that the concept of the afterlife helped promote the spread of Christianity: "When the promise of eternal happiness was proposed to mankind on condition of adopting the faith and of observing the precepts of the Gospel, it is no wonder that so advantageous an offer should have been accepted by great numbers of every religion, of every rank and of every province in the Roman Empire." Using the language of commerce ("so advantageous an offer"), Gibbon suggested that Christianity thrived because its backers really knew how to sell the product. No small wonder pious readers were upset. Reactions to Gibbon varied considerably. One of the most memorable reader responses came from the duke of Gloucester, brother of George III, who on being presented with the second volume, said, "Another damned thick, square book! Always scribble, scribble, scribble, Eh! Mr. Gibbon?" A more serious response came from the Vatican, which placed this historical landmark on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1783.

Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* was *de rigueur* for anyone interested in history. For Mullock, Gibbon's history would have come in handy for background to his lecture "Rome, Past and Present" which he delivered in St. Dunstan's Cathedral, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, on Thursday, August 16, 1860. For a Roman Catholic bishop whose scholarly pursuits included a translation of Alphonsus de Liguori's *The History of Heresies*, Mullock may not have been overly shocked by Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*. He had another set of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, published in Boston in 1860, lacking the first of six volumes.

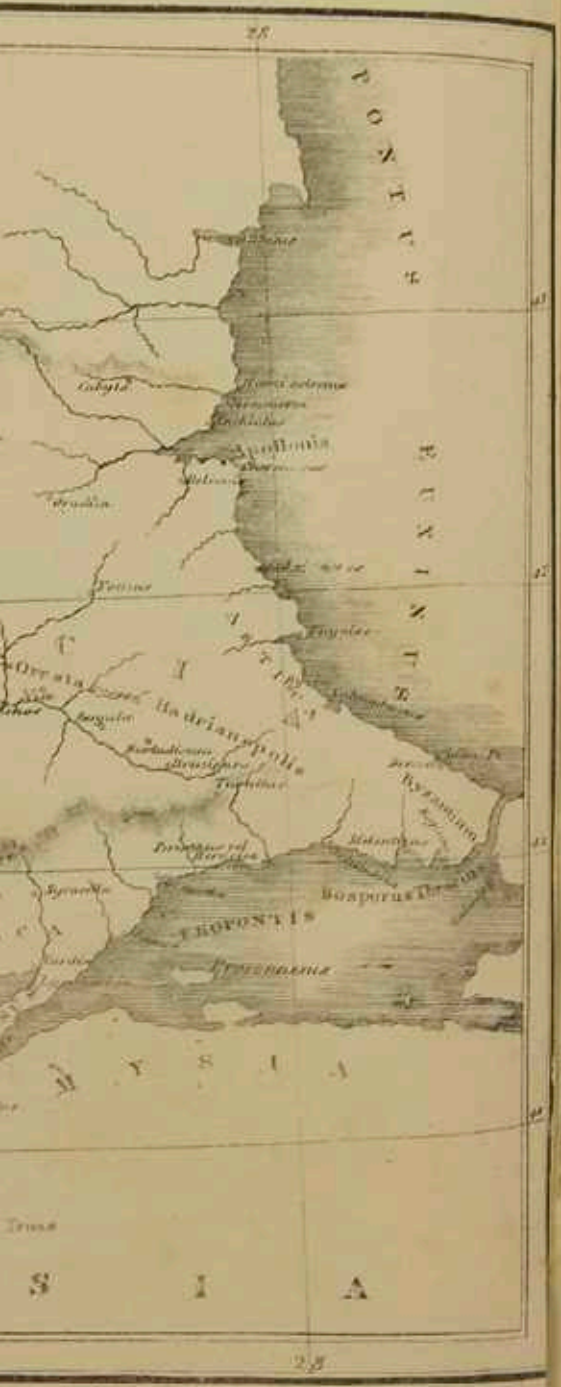
Donald W. Nichol

Rosamond McKitterick and Roland Quinault, eds., *Edward Gibbon and Empire* (Cambridge, 1997).

Richard B. Sher and Jeffrey Smitten, eds., *Works of William Robertson*, 12 vols. (New York, 1985).

David J. Wormersley, ed., *Edward Gibbon: Bicentenary Essays* (Oxford, 1997).


MACEDONIA
ET
THRACIA
Roman Miles
English Miles
M OE S I A
Scupi
Philippopolis
Stobi
Philippi
THESSALIA
M A R E
Alexandria



THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF

THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

BY

EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

—

VOL. II.

F. Joan T. Mullock. O.S.F.

HALIFAX:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM MILNER,
CHEAPSIDE.

MDCCCXLIV.

34 George Bancroft and the Rise of American Historiography

George Bancroft, *History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent*, vol. 1 (London: George Routledge and Co., 1854). 110 x 175 mm
Illustrations: front cover, bookbinder's stamp on rear pastedown, title page (*opposite*)

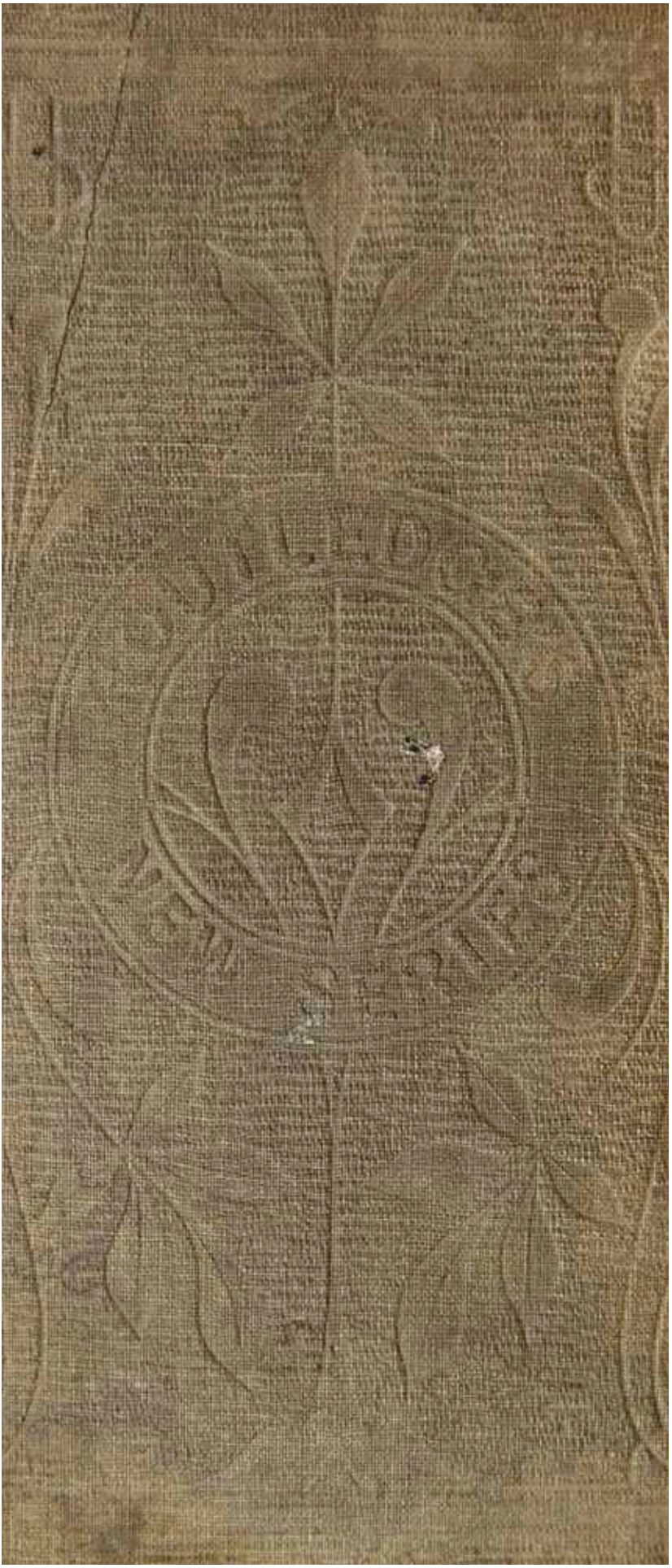
As Bishop Mullock's many interests included politics and history, it is not surprising to find volume 1 of George Bancroft's *History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent* (London, 1855), which he signed and dated in 1857. Bancroft was an immensely popular historian in nineteenth-century America. A Unitarian with a degree from Harvard, he travelled to Europe, where he learned the most up-to-date German historiographical practices. A man of tremendous intellect and patriotism, Bancroft believed in providence and progress and his account was comforting to many nineteenth-century American readers.

Bancroft was widely considered to be the first American historian to use primary sources to write a comprehensive history from the origins of European settlement to the United States of his day. His faith in progress was bolstered by his idea of Protestantism and his belief that the United States embodied the pinnacle of social and political structures. As *History of the United States* was primarily a political and military historical narrative, it contained only incidental references to Newfoundland. Bancroft had little to say about social or economic forces, so the northern colony that did not join in the American Revolution was of little importance.

Mullock's copy of Bancroft's *History* has a stamp of "J. J. Graham's London Bookstore, St. Johns, Newfoundland," which is the only indication of a book purchased in St. John's in his library. Little is known of the bookseller James Joseph Graham, who opened his London Bookstore in 1847. Another stamp on the rear pastedown denotes "Leighton Son and Hodge, Shoe Lane, London." Archibald Leighton had invented cloth binding, and his firm passed to his son Robert Leighton upon his death in 1841. Robert Leighton was also a pioneer in the book-binding business, inventing a method for using coloured inks in cloth bindings. His partner and cousin John Leighton was renowned for his creativity in designing book covers.

The first edition of this ten-volume work was published in Boston in 1834, and multiple editions were printed over subsequent decades. The edition in Mullock's library was first published in London in 1851 by Routledge, a firm started by George Routledge (1812–88) in 1843. It specialized in cheap reprints and was among the first to produce cheap editions of American authors unprotected by European copyright laws. Combining Leighton's innovative technique of cloth binding, which made book production far cheaper, and Routledge's policy of popularizing unprotected American writers, this edition of Bancroft's *History* is an interesting early example of the rapidly commercializing book trade in the nineteenth century.

Jeff A. Webb



HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES,

FROM THE

DISCOVERY OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.

BY GEORGE BANCROFT.

VOLUME I.

The Tenth Thousand.

LONDON:
GEORGE ROUTLEDGE AND CO., FARRINGDON STREET.
1854.

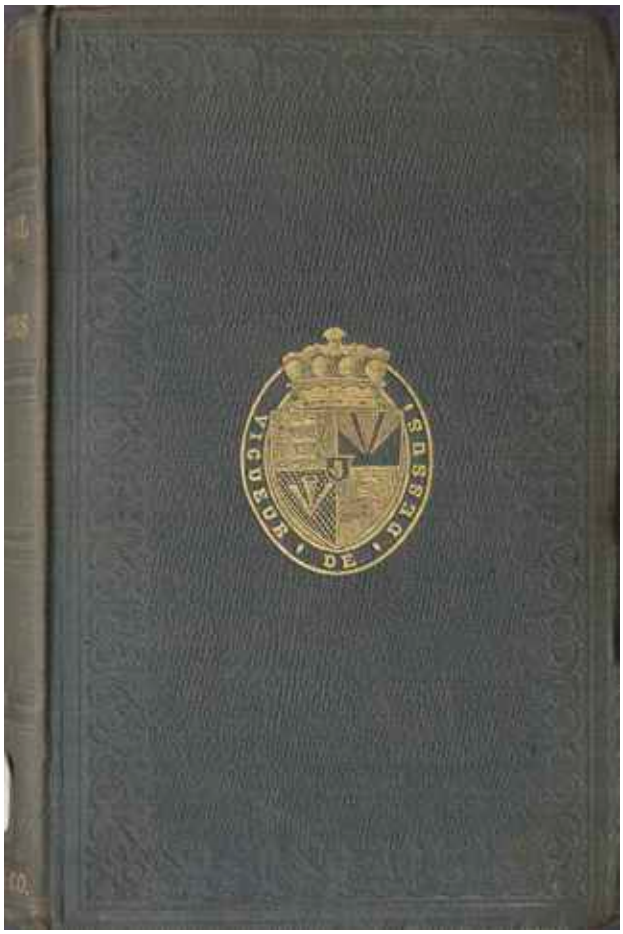
35 Mullock and Irish Politics: William Smith O'Brien

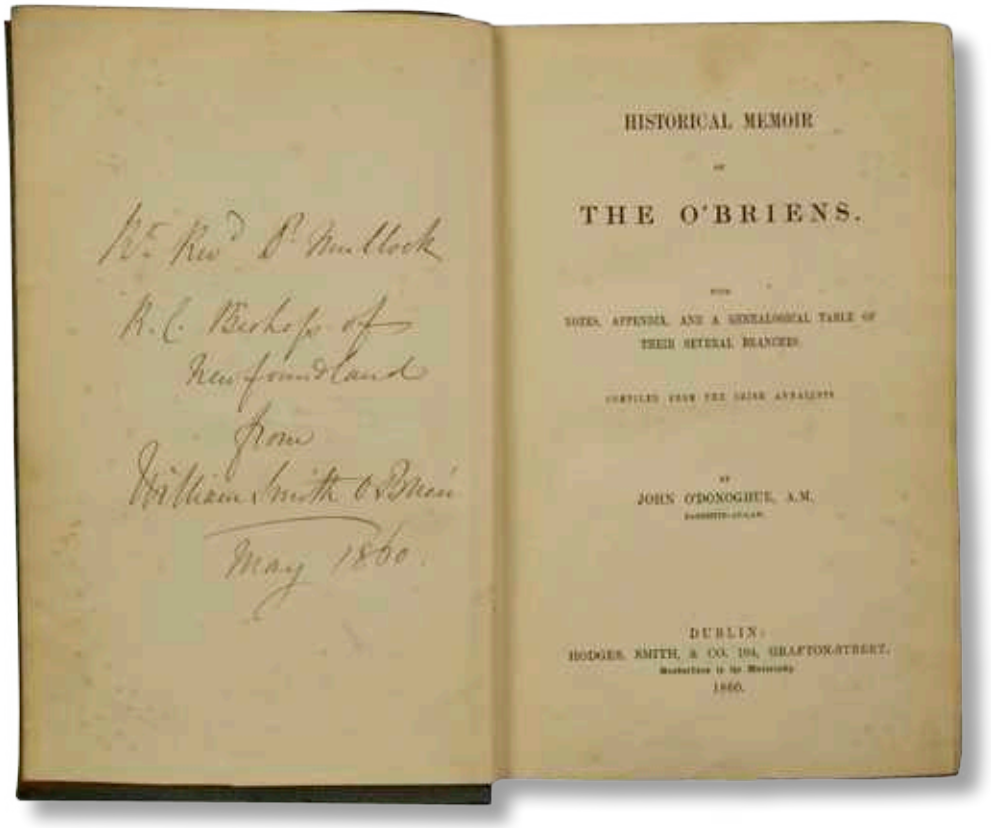
John O'Donoghue, *Historical Memoir of the O'Briens: With Notes, Appendix, and a Genealogical Table of Their Several Branches* (Dublin: Hodges, Smith, & Co., 1860).
155 x 233 mm
Illustrations: title page with William Smith O'Brien's inscription on opposite flyleaf (*opposite*), front cover (*below*)

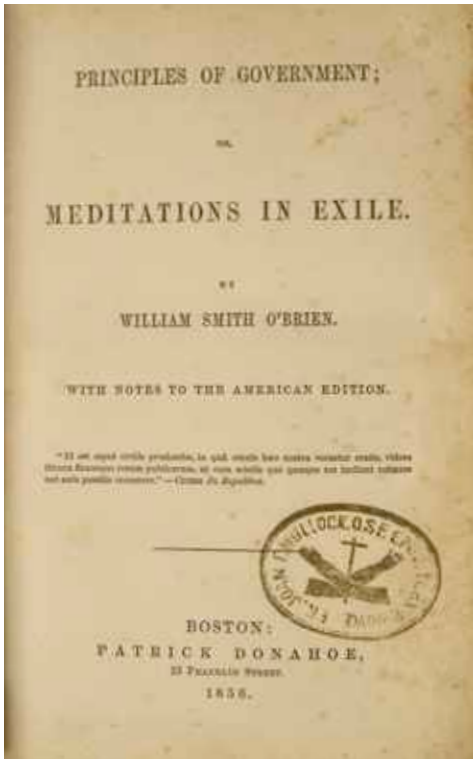
William Smith O'Brien, *Principles of Government; or, Meditations in Exile* (Boston: Patrick Donahoe, 1856).
130 x 192 mm
Illustration: title page (*opposite right*)

Politician, revolutionary, and cultural creator, William Smith O'Brien (1803–64), second son of Sir Edward O'Brien (4th Baronet) and Charlotte Smith, from whom he took his middle name, was educated at Harrow School and Trinity College, Cambridge University, and was admitted to the bar at Lincoln's Inn.

Raised at Cahirmoyle House, the estate of his mother's family, and by culture trained to be a country gentleman, O'Brien ran for and was elected to Parliament and served from 1828 to 1831 as Conservative member of parliament for Ennis, and in 1835 stood as an independent Whig member of Parliament for Limerick. Though at first a supporter of Irish union with Britain, he became a supporter of Daniel O'Connell's Catholic Emancipation movement, and in 1843 during O'Connell's imprisonment for seditious advocacy of the repeal of the Union of Ireland with Britain, O'Brien led the anti-union Repeal Association. By 1846, however, O'Brien and other members of the Young Ireland Movement, including Thomas Francis Meagher (whose St. John's-born father had been a merchant in the Irish Newfoundland trade and the first Roman Catholic mayor of Waterford in 400 years) parted ways with O'Connell, believing that his advocacy of non-violent protest no longer served Ireland's interests. In July of 1848, the Young Irelanders raised an unsuccessful rebellion of landlords and tenants against British rule in three Irish counties. At trial O'Brien was found guilty of high treason and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, but public petitions for clemency resulted in his sentence and those of his comrades being commuted to transportation for life to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania).







A great lover, collector, and advocate of the Irish language, prior to his detention O'Brien had presented Irish-language manuscripts to the Royal Irish Academy, and, after, he wrote from Van Diemen's Land encouraging his son to learn the language. After five years, O'Brien was released on condition that he never return to Ireland. He relocated to Brussels but in 1856 was given an unconditional pardon and returned to Ireland in July, contributing to the *Nation* newspaper.

In February 1859, en route via ship to America, O'Brien and his son stopped in St. John's for a brief visit. The St. John's paper *The Patriot* for February 21 reported that, while in port, "Mr. O'Brien was the guest of Rt. Rev. Dr. Mullock" at the Palace. The two exchanged political views and books, and later reports claimed that O'Brien informally addressed a large crowd from the steps of the cathedral. On his arrival on February 20 in New York, O'Brien was greeted by Meagher, whom he had not seen for eight years. "I could not take his hand without emotion," O'Brien wrote, "when I called to mind the many occasions upon which our homes, fears and suffering had been nearly identical." It was from New York that O'Brien sent Mullock his *Principles of Government* with an inscription dated May 23, 1859. A year later he sent Mullock a copy of his *Historical Memoir of the O'Briens*, which he signed May 1860.

John E. FitzGerald

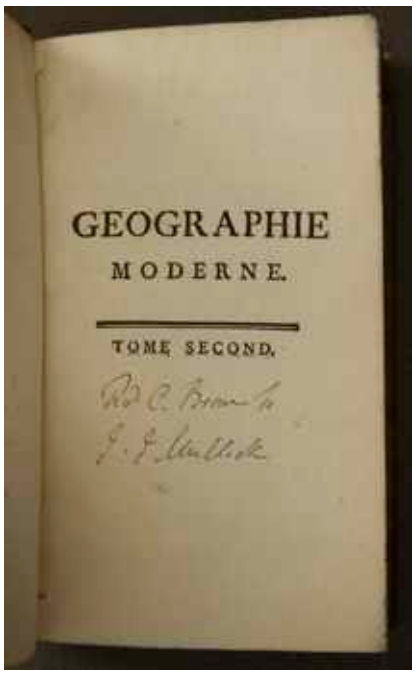
Maurice A. Devine and Michael J. O'Mara, *Notable Events in the History of Newfoundland* (St. John's, 1900).

Paul O'Neill, *The Oldest City: The Story of St. John's, Newfoundland* (St. John's, 2003).

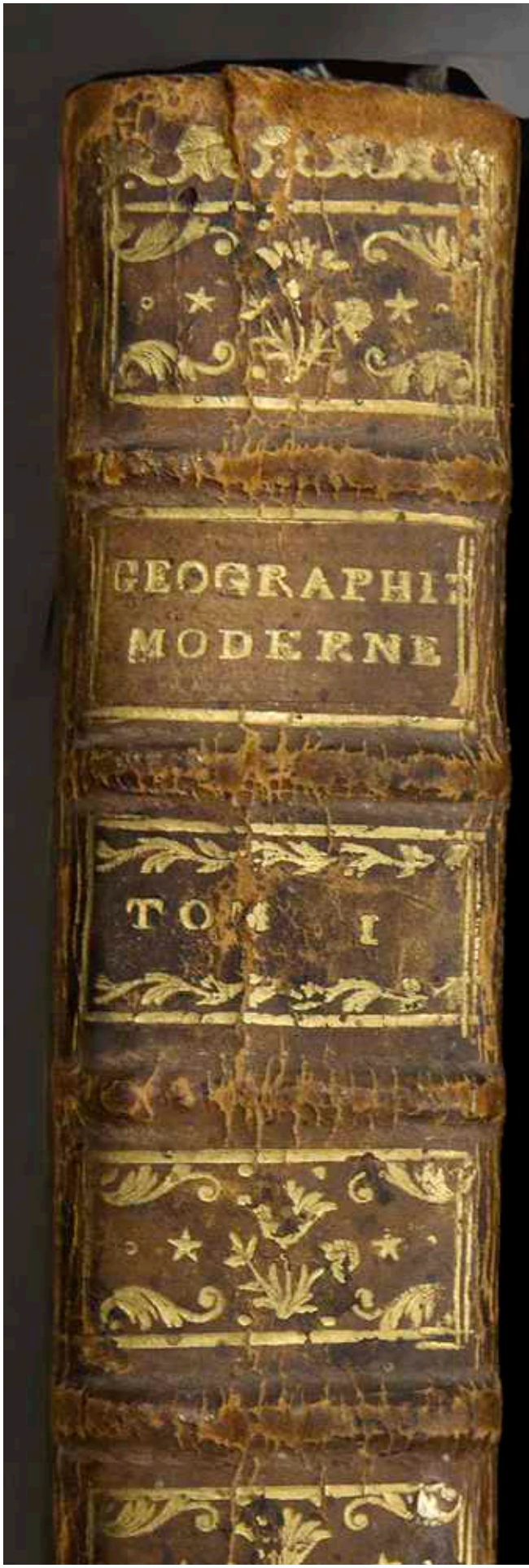
36 Nicolle de La Croix's *Géographie moderne*

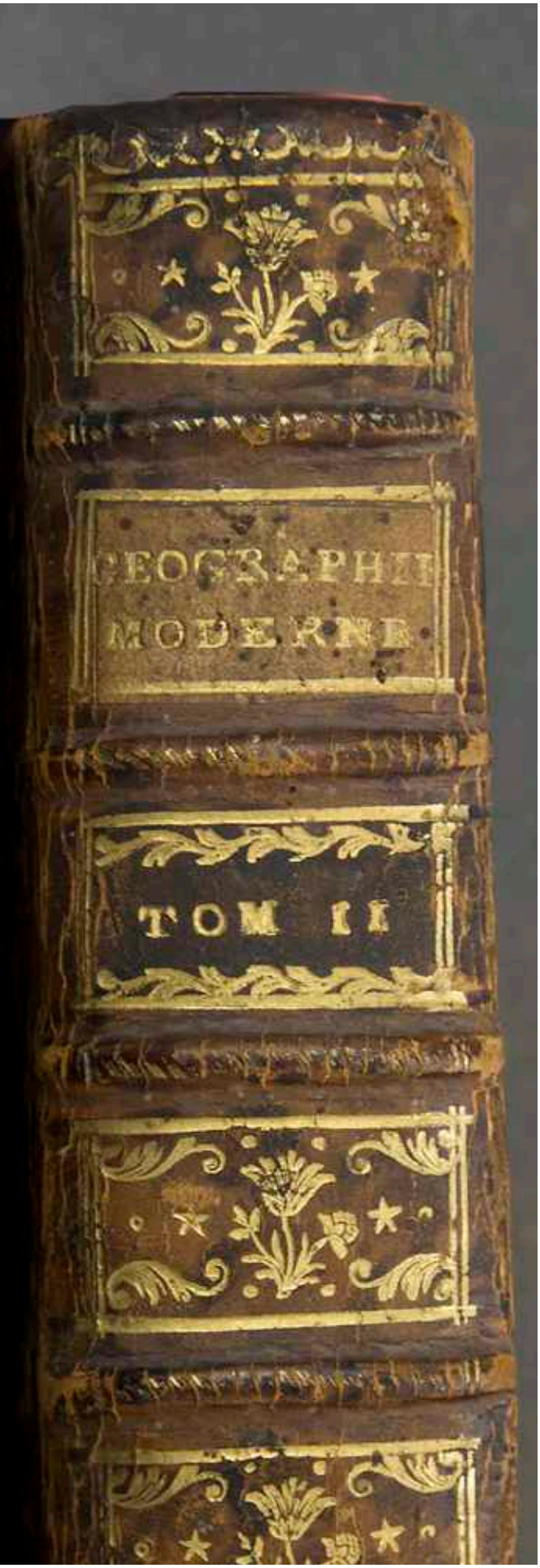
Nicolle de La Croix, *Géographie moderne, précédée d'un petit traité de la sphère et du globe*, vols. 1–2 (Paris: Jean-Thomas Herissant, 1762). 108 x 170 mm
Illustrations: title page (*below*), spines, decorative fore-edges (*opposite*)

Louis-Antoine Nicolle de La Croix (1704–60) was a Catholic abbot. His *Géographie moderne* is a gazetteer of the most up-to-date knowledge about the world's populations and their governments, languages, and religions. In his preface, de La Croix emphasizes his desire to stimulate interest in geography among young persons and highlights the features he included with this intent. The gazetteer is preceded by *Un petit traité de la sphère* (A treatise on the sphere), which presents the by-then-surpassed geocentric vision of the universe. The Catholic church would not yet embrace the heliocentric model of the solar system until 1822. *Un petit traité de la sphère*, then, is a brave attempt to appear scientific while maintaining the denial of astronomical observation. A lexicon of geographical terms follows, after which de La Croix presents the world, beginning with France and Europe before moving on to the other continents. European countries in particular are subdivided into their administrative regions; de La Croix gives a brief historical overview followed by a listing of notable features and major cities and ending with an inventory of possessions and colonies in the New World as well as in Africa and Asia. All in all, geography is seen as


GEOGRAPHIE
MODERNE.

TOME SECOND.





political and demographic rather than natural. In fact, *Géographie moderne* includes no maps and de La Croix suggests suitable atlases that the reader might consult. (Bishop Mullock had access, among other atlases, to the excellent detailed maps in the *British Cyclopedia*, published by Charles Partington [London, 1834].) After a continent-by-continent survey of the world's political jurisdictions, de La Croix includes sections on sacred geography and on ecclesiastical geography. The former is a survey of political entities in the Middle East from biblical times to the Crusades. The final section is a listing of the archbishoprics and bishoprics of the Roman Catholic world, a section that would have been a useful reference for Mullock. Immensely popular, *Géographie moderne* went through numerous editions and was occasionally pirated. It is a title still readily available in rare book auctions. Mullock's two-volume set has brightly marbled endpapers and edges, ribbon bookmarks, and calf binding. Both volumes are in very good condition and appear to have been barely used. Mullock received his volume of *Géographie moderne* from Father Charles Browne, who inscribed the book at Adam and Eve's in Dublin in 1838. At the same time, Browne also gave Mullock a French edition of the plays of Molière and Thomas Corneille.

Magessa O'Reilly

Adolf Grünbaum, "The Poverty of Theistic Cosmology" [2004], *Collected Works*, vol. 1 (New York, 2013), 151–200.
Stephen Hawking, *A Brief History of Time* (New York, 1988).
Wade Rowland, *Galileo's Mistake* (Toronto, 2001).

37 The Fleming-Mullock Breviary

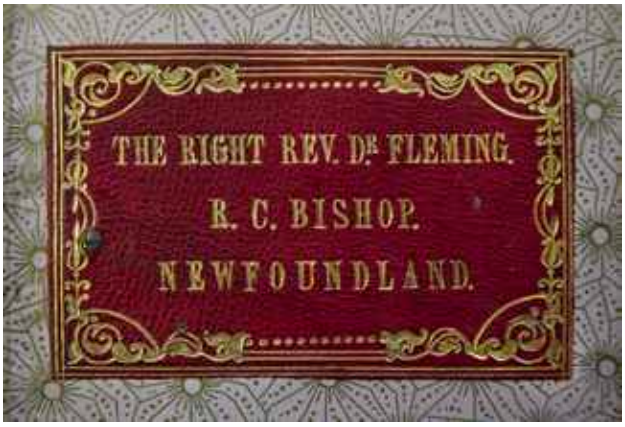
***Breviarium Romanum* (Mechelen: P. J. Hanicq, 1848).**
125 x 195 mm
Illustrations: bookplate of Bishop Fleming on front pastedown (*below*), title page (*opposite*), binding, Latin and English epitaph of Thomas Mullock by Enrico Carfagnini on rear flyleaf and pastedown (*overleaf*)

Mullock was consecrated bishop in the chapel at St. Isidore's, Rome, on December 27, 1847. Coadjutor with right of succession to Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming, he was consecrated titular bishop of Thaumacene (*in partibus infidelium*).

While Mullock was in Rome in early 1848, he purchased a "Perpetual Directory for Dr. Fleming" and recorded this purchase in his notebook. What Mullock terms a "Perpetual Directory" is known today as a "breviary," from the Latin *breviarium*. It is a book or number of books containing all the texts for the Liturgy of the Hours, sometimes referred to as the Divine Office or the Prayer of the Church: the psalms, readings from Scripture, writings from the early church fathers and mothers and the saints, prayers, and hymns. These would be prayed every day of the year, through the seasons of Advent, Christmas, Lent, Easter, and Ordinary Time, including feast days.

Psalters were used in monastic communities from the earliest times as an aid to communal prayer. St. Benedict developed a psalter for use in his community as early as 550 C.E. Traditionally, the Hours prayed in monastic communities, all of which are reflected in the Fleming-Mullock breviary, were the canonical hours of Lauds (morning prayer) offered at sunrise, Prime (first hour, usually 6:00 a.m.), Terce (third hour, or mid-morning), Sext (sixth hour, or midday), None (ninth hour, or mid-afternoon), Vespers (evening prayer) at sunset, and Compline (night prayer) before going to bed. The monks also arose to read and pray during the night. This Office of Matins (Readings) likewise had its divisions, into nocturnes, corresponding to the beginning of each of the "watches of the night" (Ps. 63:6), that is, 9 p.m., midnight, and 3 a.m. The basic structure of the Liturgy of the Hours has remained constant since the eleventh century.

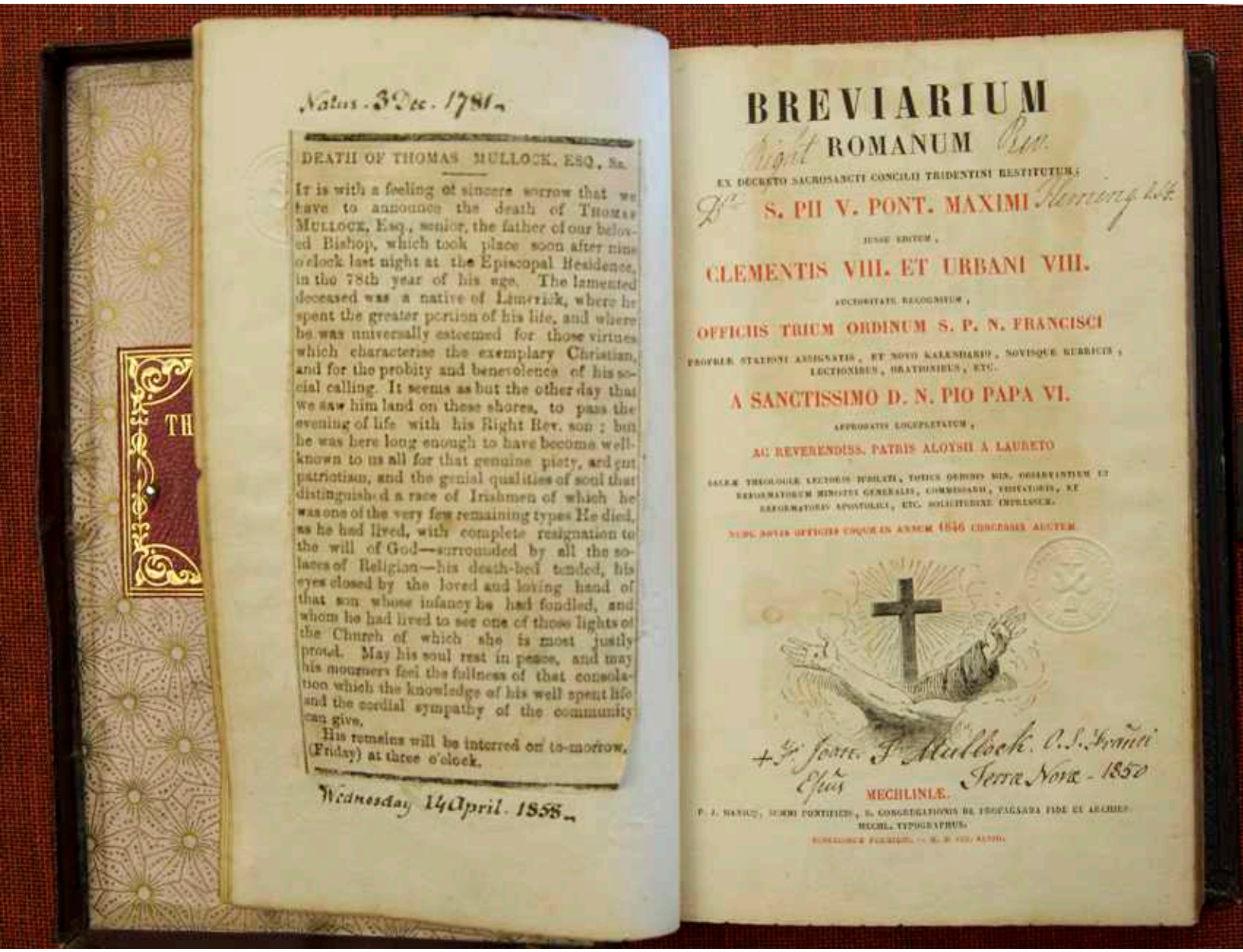
The beautifully preserved Fleming-Mullock breviary, published in Mechelen, Belgium, has a version of the Liturgy of the Hours developed for the Franciscan community, of which both Fleming and Mullock were members. The breviary consists of three volumes bound together in a red, gold-tooled leather binding, reinforced by metal corner pieces, and held together by a silver clasp. In the centre of the cover embossed in gold is the papal crest of Pius VI (pope from 1775 to 1799). Inside the binding, the volume opens up into three removable volumes, each for different seasons of



the church year. The breviary is thus made to be more portable.

On the inside of the front cover, a red leather frontispiece, tooled in gold, contains the words "THE RIGHT REV D^{R}. FLEMING. R. C. BISHOP. NEWFOUNDLAND," which indicate that it was intended as a gift to Bishop Fleming. The title page of the first volume has the signatures of both Fleming and Mullock, denoting that Mullock took possession of the breviary after Fleming's death in 1850. Immediately opposite, Mullock pasted in a newspaper obituary for Thomas Mullock, his late father. A turn of the page reveals a newspaper report of his funeral. On the rear flyleaf and pastedown of the same volume, Mullock pasted an epitaph of Thomas Mullock written in Latin and English by Enrico Carfagnini, president of St. Bonaventure's College, and on the preceding flyleaf a poem entitled "Emigrant's Cry" by Rev. Dr. Faber, a nostalgic lament of an Irish emigrant for a lost homeland. These inclusions attest to Mullock's regard for his father as well as his predecessor bishop, both of whom were Irish emigrants, with whose memories Mullock prayed every day.

Anne Walsh


Natus 30 Dec. 1781.

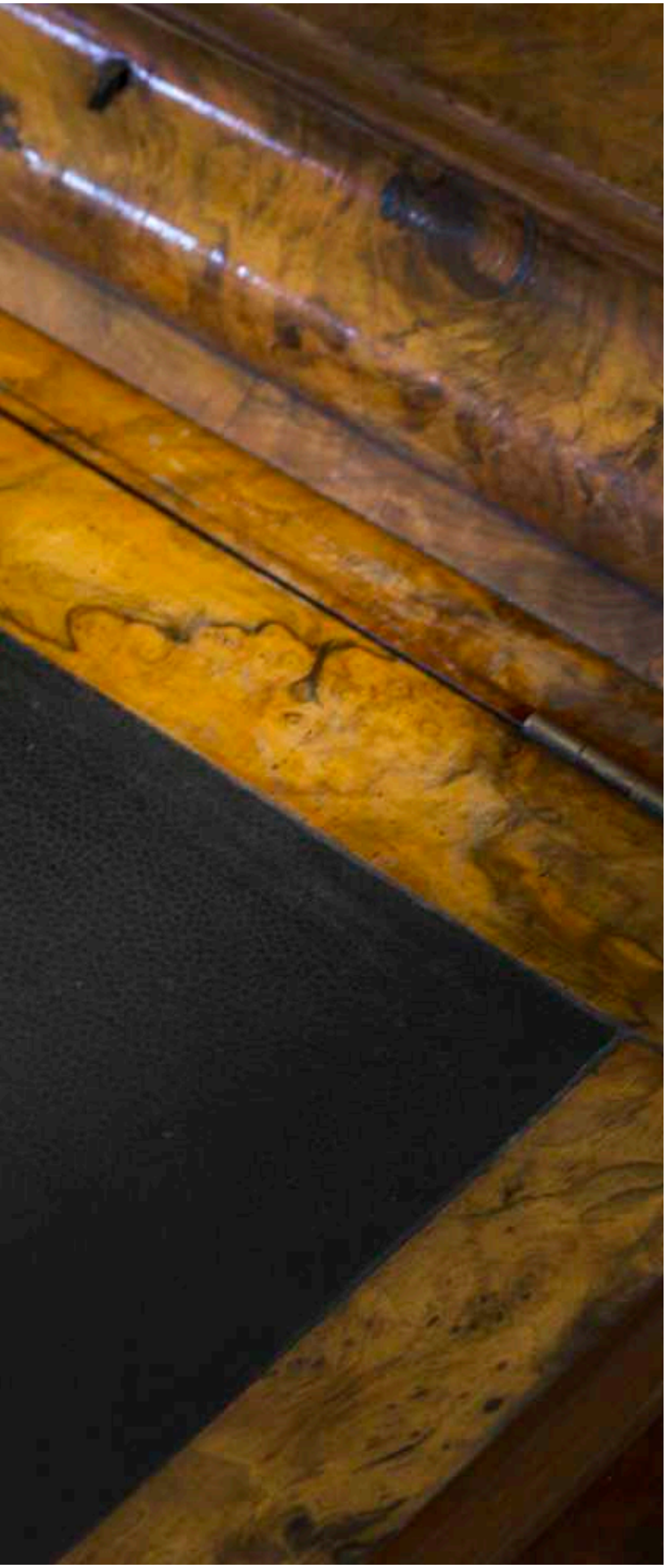
DEATH OF THOMAS MULLOCK, ESQ., Sr.

It is with a feeling of sincere sorrow that we have to announce the death of THOMAS MULLOCK, Esq., senior, the father of our beloved Bishop, which took place soon after nine o'clock last night at the Episcopal Residence, in the 78th year of his age. The lamented deceased was a native of Limerick, where he spent the greater portion of his life, and where he was universally esteemed for those virtues which characterise the exemplary Christian, and for the probity and benevolence of his social calling. It seems as but the other day that we saw him land on these shores, to pass the evening of life with his Right Rev. son; but he was here long enough to have become well-known to us all for that genuine piety, and out patriotism, and the genial qualities of soul that distinguished a race of Irishmen of which he was one of the very few remaining types He died, as he had lived, with complete resignation to the will of God—surrounded by all the solaces of Religion—his death-bed tended, his eyes closed by the loved and loving hand of that son whose infancy he had fondled, and whom he had lived to see one of those lights of the Church of which she is most justly proud. May his soul rest in peace, and may his mourners feel the fullness of that consolation which the knowledge of his well spent life and the cordial sympathy of the community can give.

His remains will be interred on to-morrow, (Friday) at three o'clock.

Wednesday 14 April. 1858.

BREVIARIUM
Right ROMANUM Rev.
EX DECRETO SACROSANCTI CONCILII TRIDENTINI RESTITUTUM;
S. PII V. PONT. MAXIMI
JUSSU EDITUM,
CLEMENTIS VIII. ET URBANI VIII.
AUCTORITATE RECOGNITUM;
OFFICIIS TRIUM ORDINUM S. P. N. FRANCISCI
PROPRIIS STATIONI ASSIGNATIS, ET NOVO KALENDARIO, NOVISQUE RUBRICIS; LECTIONIBUS, ORATIONIBUS, ETC.
A SANCTISSIMO D. N. PIO PAPA VI.
APPROBATIS LOCUPLETATUM,
AC REVERENDISS. PATRIS ALOYSII A LAURETO
SACRÆ THEOLOGIÆ LECTORIS PUBLICI, TOTIUS ORDINIS MIN. OBSERVANTIUM ET REFORMATORUM MINISTRI GENERALIS, COMMISSARII, VISITATORIS, ET REFORMATORIS APOSTOLICI, ETC. SOLICITUDINE IMPRESSUM.
NUNC NOVIS OFFICIIS USQUE IN ANNUM 1846 CONCESSIS AUCTUM.
MECHLINIÆ,
P. J. HANICQ, SUMMI PONTIFICIS, S. CONGREGATIONIS DE PROPAGANDA FIDE ET ARCHIEP. TYPOGRAPHUS.



The following Latin Epitaph has been composed by the Rev. H. Carfagnini—

Quieti et Memoriae

THOMÆ MULLOCK,

Patria Hibernus e domo Limericensi,
Virtute fidei, spei, charitatisque
abunde imbuti
quibus,
In vera Christi religione
etiam suo tempore
tot tantisque oppugnata erroribus
Profligata minis,
Constantiam admirabilem
Patientiam in adversis
Charitatem erga pauperes
et singularem
Erga sanctissimam Eucharistiam
Deiparam Virginem Divumque Patritium pietatem
cumulavit;
qui
Mitis, solers, jucundus, dapsilis
animae simplicitate
cordisque decore
Et cunctis condecoratus bonis
Eluxit.
Dumque aetate senex, innocentia puer,
Ornamentum societatis, carus omnibus,
Dilectus filiis
Felicissimos vivebat dies,
morbo Erysipelatis
In utroque femore correptus,
patientissime tolerato
Remediis omnibus frustra admotis,
In sinu Episcopi filii sui,
Tanti parentis decessum
Mœrentis,
Vere Catholicus Erigena
Animam placidissime Deo
reddidit,
Die XIV. Aprilis anno MDCCCLVIII.
Vixit annos. XXLVII. Menses IV. Dies XI.
Virtuti vixit, Deo vivet.

Requiem pro eo aternam a Deo rogate,
Fideles.

[TRANSLATION.]

In memory of

THOMAS MULLOCK, Esq.

Of the city of Limerick, Ireland;
who, richly endowed with the virtues of
Faith, Hope, and Divine love,
united to these
admirable constancy, patience in adversity,
Charity to the poor, a singular devotion
to the most Holy Eucharist
to the Blessed Virgin and St. Patrick,
in the true Religion of Christ
which in his earlier years was assailed
by so many different forms of error
and the object of so much persecution:
To great amiability and liberality,
he united much learning,
and shone forth
A bright example of every Christian virtue,
and when old in years was in innocence a child;
He spent a long, happy life, an ornament of society,
cherished by all friends, beloved by his children;
And having meekly and patiently endured
the sufferings of his last illness (Erysipelas)
under the most solicitous and affectionate care
of his dear son—a Prelate who deeply mourns
the loss of such a parent,
This true Irishman and Catholic
calmly resigned his soul into the hands of God
On the XIV day of April, 1858, aged 77 years, 4 months,
11 days.
He lived in virtue: He lives in God.

Pray for his eternal repose.

38 The 1861 Political Unrest

John T. Mullock, *A Sermon Preached by the Right Rev. Dr. Mullock, Bishop of St. John's, Newfoundland, in the Cathedral of St. John's, Friday, May 10th, 1861* (St. John's: Bernard Duffy, 1861). 133 x 213 mm
Illustration: title page (*opposite*)

Mullock pasted some of his pastoral letters into the inside covers and flyleaves of Jacques-Paul Migne's *Collection intégrale et universelle des orateurs sacrés du premier et de second ordre*, not because they related to the content of the book in any way but because it was large enough to hold the printed letters, ensuring their preservation. Pasted into volume 86 of *Collection intégrale* (published by J.-P. Migne in 1856) is the 15-page pamphlet *A Sermon Preached by the Right Rev. Dr. Mullock, Bishop of St. John's, Newfoundland, in the Cathedral of St. John's, on Friday, May 10th, 1861* that was prompted by the most controversial events in which Mullock had involved himself. With the active support of the Roman Catholic church, the Liberal party had dominated the legislature since the beginning of representative government in 1832. The Tories saw an opportunity to form a government when a rift developed between Mullock and Premier John Kent. Governor Alexander Bannerman, who had his own problems with Kent, dismissed the Liberals and asked the Tory Hugh Hoyles to form a government. The Church of England bishop Edward Feild publicly supported the Tories; Mullock repaired his relationship with the Liberals and urged Roman Catholics to listen to their priests and vote Liberal. Since the Tories lacked a majority in the House of Assembly, an election became necessary. For Bannerman, whose actions were constitutionally improper, a Tory victory would vindicate him. Such an outcome would, the Liberals felt, steal power from them.

Against this backdrop, the 1861 election was sharply contested. Bannerman used the threat of violence to delay election in the District of Harbour Grace, which would have returned two Liberals. In nearby District of Harbour Main, four Roman Catholic Liberals competed for the two seats in the House of Assembly the district merited. Two of these candidates were supported by the priests; the other two were independent Roman Catholics. Some Liberals, both Protestant and Roman Catholics, disliked clerical interference in politics, although Mullock felt it was his duty to instruct Catholics how to vote. Accompanied by two priests, voters from Salmon Cove walked to Cat's Cove to vote for the candidates favoured by the church, but were prevented from doing so by people of that community. Several men were wounded, and one, George Furey, was killed.

In the pamphlet containing Mullock's sermon on the subject of Furey's killing, the publisher's preface set out an account of the election and blamed the violence on the government and "the spirit of Orange ferocity." On the surface Mullock's sermon appealed for a cooling down of partisan anger. Mullock began by observing that, in Newfoundland, "Catholics and Protestants live together in the greatest harmony, and it is only in *print* we find anything … like disunion among them." But the sermon was consistent with his earlier comments that raised the spectre of a Protestant war against the Catholics. Raising the example of Jews who asked Pilate to kill Jesus, Mullock blamed the (Protestant) instigators of dissension

as much as those (Catholics) who killed Furey. The "vile press," by which he meant the anti-Catholic newspaper editors, had been promoting murder, and Mullock condemned those who carried knives and revolvers. This was a veiled reference to the Orange threat he had been warning of for months. He also implored Furey's friends not to take revenge but to wait for the court's determination. Mullock said that subjects had a duty to obey the law, just as the authorities had a duty to punish crime. To do otherwise, he warned the governor and the judges, was to encourage further crime.

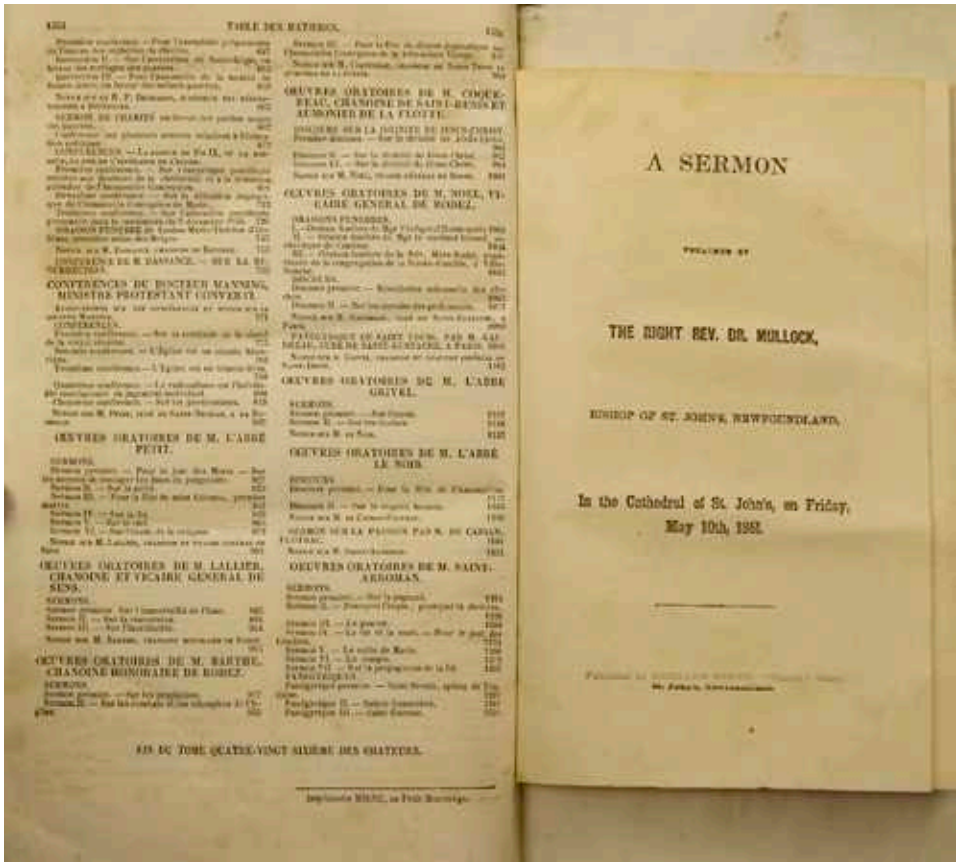


TABLE DES MATIÈRES.

OEUVRES ORATOIRES DE M. COQUEREAU, CHANOINE DE SAINT-DENIS ET AUMÔNIER DE LA FLOTTE.

OEUVRES ORATOIRES DE M. NOEL, VICAIRE GÉNÉRAL DE RODEZ.

OEUVRES ORATOIRES DE M. L'ABBÉ GRIVEL.

OEUVRES ORATOIRES DE M. L'ABBÉ PETIT.

OEUVRES ORATOIRES DE M. L'ABBÉ LE NOIR.

OEUVRES ORATOIRES DE M. LALLIER, CHANOINE ET VICAIRE GÉNÉRAL DE SENS.

OEUVRES ORATOIRES DE M. SAINT-ARROMAN.

OEUVRES ORATOIRES DE M. BARTHE, CHANOINE HONORAIRE DE RODEZ.

FIN DU TOME QUATRE-VINGT SIXIÈME DES ORATEURS.

A SERMON

THE RIGHT REV. DR. MULLOCK,

BISHOP OF ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND,

In the Cathedral of St. John's, on Friday, May 10th, 1861.

Mullock had encouraged the violence and belatedly tried to tamp it down after the killings. The violence ended that day, but resumed over the next few days; Bannerman restored order by using troops. Mullock pasted an editorial on these events into volume 4 of Jean Bolland et al.'s *Acta Sanctorum Maii collecta, digesta, illustrata* (Venice, 1740). Much later the governor released the men of Cat's Cove from prison, prompting Mullock to close the Cat's Cove church and deny the people of that community any sacraments for one year. He also pasted a copy of his "interdiction" into volume 82 of *Collection intégrale* published by J.-P. Migne in 1856.

Fearing retribution from voters in his district, the returning officer in Harbour Main had signed documents declaring all four candidates elected, but the government denied any of the Liberals from Harbour Main their seats until an investigation could be conducted. When the House met, supporters of the "Priest's Party's" men who had been denied seats rioted. A standoff with the garrison escalated into the troops firing upon the crowd, which resulted in three fatalities and many injuries. The rioting stopped only after Mullock rang the cathedral bells, the rioters assembled to hear him, and he asked for peace. To his critics,

After 1861 both Roman Catholic and Protestant clergymen lowered the level of their partisan rhetoric, ending the worst election-time violence of the nineteenth century. A process of sharing money and power among the denominations and the institution of the secret ballot ended open sectarian conflict. Mullock largely withdrew from politics for the remainder of his life. The events of that year's election had diminished the political power of the Roman Catholic and Church of England bishops.

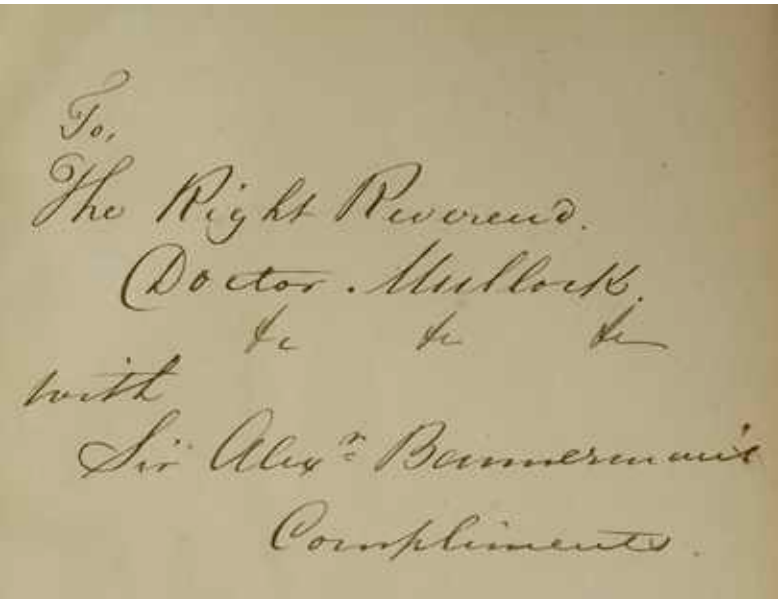
Jeff A. Webb

39 Mullock and Alexander Bannerman

Thomas C. Harvey, *Official Reports of the Out Islands of the Bahamas* (Nassau: T. Darling, J. M. Connor, Thomas Williams, 1858). 150 x 229 mm
Illustrations: Bannerman's inscription on front flyleaf (*below*), front cover, title page (*opposite*)

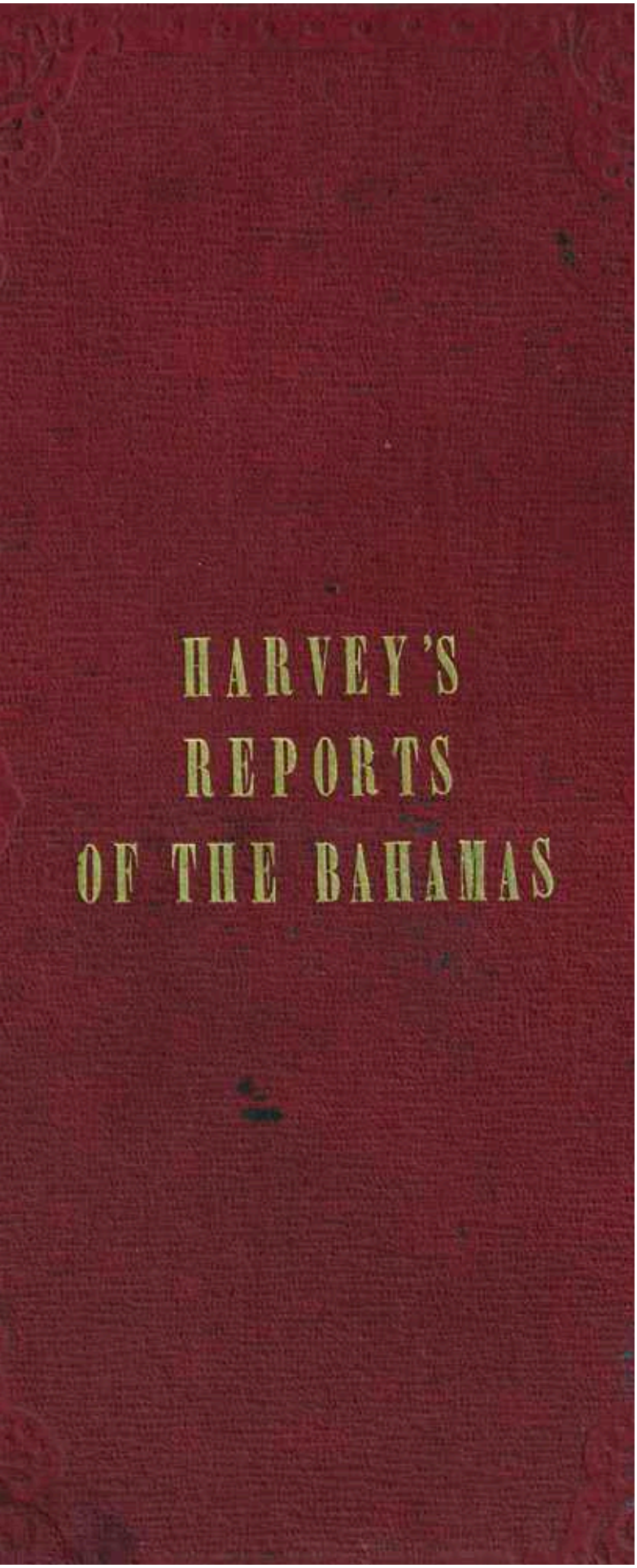
Thomas C. Harvey's *Official Reports of the Out Islands of the Bahamas* has an interesting provenance. Harvey had been assistant surveyor general to the Bahamas when Alexander Bannerman had been governor of that colony (between 1854 and 1857, when he was appointed governor of Newfoundland). Harvey's reports on the island, presented to Bannerman in 1856 and published in Nassau in 1858, describe infrastructure improvements that might be made on the islands, including investing in a steamship (which was an interest of Bishop Mullock's).

Bannerman's and Mullock's names are linked in Newfoundland history as advisories in the partisan and sectarian power struggles of the 1860s, making the governor's inscription to the bishop in this copy of Harvey's book a tantalizing hint of a friendly encounter. Conflict between the two men was likely; both Mullock and Bannerman had troubles with the legislature because of their confidence that they were right to lead the colony. Mullock had supported the Liberal party through pastoral letters and through allowing priests to campaign during elections, leading Tory Church of England critics to condemn his involvement. Mullock felt that he had as much right as any British subject living in Newfoundland to express his opinions on the development of the colony and a duty to tell Roman Catholics how to vote. Bannerman was a relative newcomer, and, in principle, as representative of the crown he was independent. In practice, however, he dismissed the Liberal government without legal grounds and acted in ways that favoured the Tory party in the resulting 1861 election.


To,
The Right Reverend
Doctor. Mullock.
&c &c &c
with
Sir Alex^r Bannerman's
Compliments.

Despite the religious bigotry in some of the press, and the harsh rhetoric during election campaigns, daily relations between Protestant and Roman Catholic Newfoundlanders were often friendly and co-operative. Harvey's *Official Reports of the Out Islands of the Bahamas* is an artifact that was once held in the hands of Bannerman and Mullock and a reminder that personal relationships were sometimes warmer than public conflict might indicate.

Jeff A. Webb



OFFICIAL REPORTS

OF THE

OUT ISLANDS OF THE BAHAMAS:

BY

THOS. CHAPMAN HARVEY, Esq.

Civil Engineer and Assistant Surveyor General to the Bahamas.

PUBLISHED BY

T. DARLING, J. M. CONNOR, THOMAS WILLIAMS,

Committee of the Inhabitants of Nassau.

1858.

40 Mullock and Confederation

Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces **(Quebec: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1865). 175 x 260 mm**
Illustrations: Mullock's letter page 383 (*below*), title page (*opposite*)

In 1860, Robert Hunter, George McLean Rose, and François Lemieux formed the printing and publishing firm of Hunter, Rose and Company, and in 1864 received a five-year contract as printer to the Province of Canada. In 1865 the Province's capital in Quebec City moved to Ottawa and, by 1866, the firm, which published the parliamentary debates of the Canadian legislature, had moved with it. According to Mullock's inscription on the title page, this copy of *Parliamentary Debates* was sent to him by the "Canadian Parliament." This was a period in which the United Provinces of Canada (now Ontario and Quebec) discussed a British North American union with the colonies of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Newfoundland was not essential to the success of this union, but the question of its joining the confederation became a political issue. The reading of a letter from Bishop Mullock (dated January 5, 1865) into the record by Solicitor General Hector-Louis Langevin may explain the presence of this volume of parliamentary debates in the Mullock collection. Mullock's letter, which had been published in a newspaper, argued that education could be a great boon to Newfoundlanders. Disagreeing with the view that Newfoundland children did not need education since they were destined for the fishing boat, Mullock indicated that confederation could open up opportunities for young people to pursue other careers.

and happiest country in the world.

I will now draw your attention to a short letter from the Roman Catholic Bishop of Newfoundland, which has not yet been read in the House, but which has just been published in the newspapers :—

St. John's, Jan. 5th, 1865.

My Dear Sir,—In reply to your communication of this date, I beg to state that I took no notes of the observations I made at the last examination of the youth of St. Bonaventure's College. I distinctly remember, however, that among other arguments I used to impress on parents and scholars the necessity of education, one was, that according to the tendency of the age, a union of all the British North American Provinces would take place, if not immediately, by the force of circumstances in a few years; and that such a union would have an extraordinary influence on the rising generation in Newfoundland. People were in the habit of saying that education of a high class was useless in this country, as the field was too limited. I repudiated that idea altogether. Newfoundlanders were not confined to this island, the British Empire and the States were open to them. Wherever the English language was spoken, there was an opening for an educated Newfoundlander. But independently of that, the Confederation of the Provinces would open up a home market for education and talent—a market increasing every year, and of which at present we can form no conception. The bar, for example, would be open to all; the Central Legislature would open up a great field for political ability; the highest offices of the law and the government would be open to Newfoundlanders as well as to Canadians or Nova Scotians; and I hope that they would be found perfectly qualified by education to take their places, side by side, with their fellow-confederates, and compete for the prizes the Confederation would hold out to them, on terms of perfect equality. I sincerely believe that they could do so, as, from my experience, I considered that the youth of this country have as fine talents,

Not timid about political campaigning, Mullock had argued for responsible government, which was granted in 1855, as a way of giving political power to Roman Catholics. He alternately advocated and condemned the Liberal government when its members did not serve what he saw as the best interests of the colony. After the violence of 1861, however, he withdrew from the hurly-burly of partisan politics. Despite his statement incidentally favouring confederation, his view of the issue expressed in other writings was ambiguous. Like many other Irish-born and Newfoundlanders of Irish ancestry, he was wary of joining a largely Protestant country, not the least because of the potential threat to a "Catholic education" about which he felt so passionate. The industrialist Charles Fox Bennett (1793–1883) campaigned against confederation, arguing that the colony needed economic development. Mullock shared Bennett's interest in progress; the bishop died, however, before the 1869 election that rejected confederation.

Jeff A. Webb

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE

CONFEDERATION

OF THE

BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES,

3rd Session, 8th Provincial Parliament of Canada.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE LEGISLATURE.

QUEBEC:

HUNTER, ROSE & CO., PARLIAMENTARY PRINTERS.

1865.

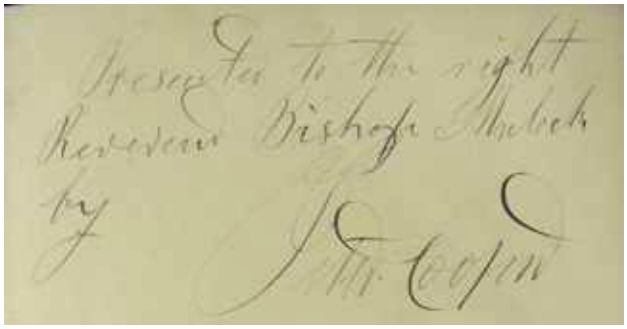
41 Mullock and the Transatlantic Cable

***Charter, Trust Deed, and By-Laws of the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art: With the Letter of Peter Cooper, Accompanying the Trust Deed* (New York: William C. Bryant & Co., 1859). 152 x 239 mm**
Illustrations: inscription of Peter Cooper (*below*), front cover, title page (*opposite left*)

Jacques-Paul Migne, *Troisième encyclopédie théologique*, vol. 55 (Paris: Jacques-Paul Migne, 1865).
Illustrations: telegrams dated July 27, 1866 (*opposite right*)

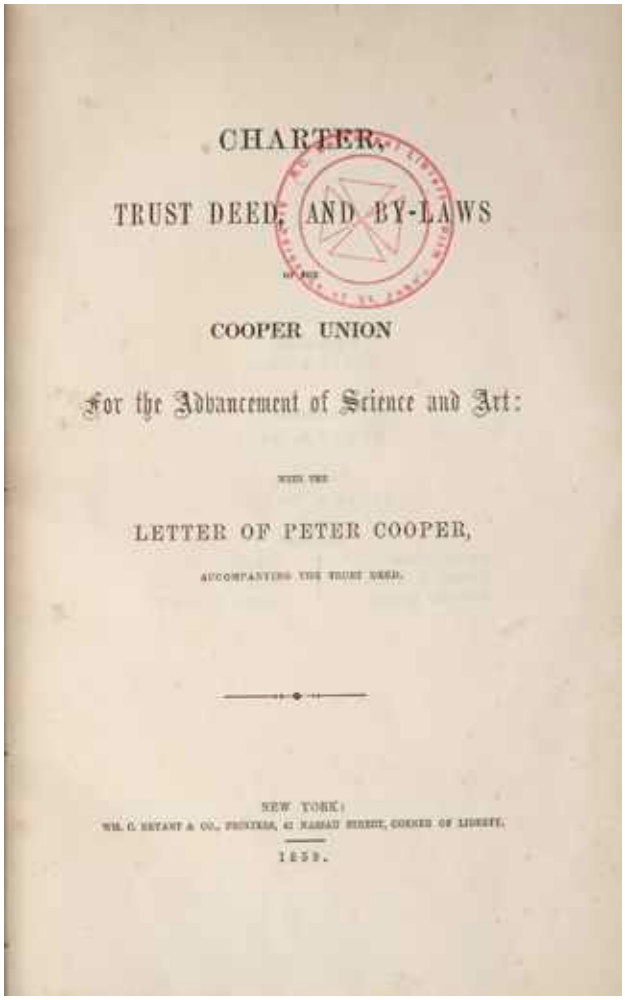
Charter, Trust Deed, and By-Laws of the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art: With the Letter of Peter Cooper, Accompanying the Trust Deed, a set of guidelines for the Cooper Union, was presented by Peter Cooper to Bishop Mullock. Mullock had an interest in progress in his adoptive homeland in general, and the colony's communications and transportation in particular. In 1850 Mullock had publicly expressed his desire for a transatlantic cable link between North America and Europe that would pass through Newfoundland, an idea that later commentators attributed to him. Only a few years later, in 1854, a group of investors formed the New York, Newfoundland and London Telegraph Company to lay transatlantic cable. American industrialist Peter Cooper became president of the company, which by 1866 had successfully established communications across the Atlantic. Cooper visited St. John's in connection with his business, and he dined with Mullock on several occasions during those visits.

In the same period that Cooper was building the telegraph line across the island of Newfoundland and the Cabot Strait and endeavouring to lay a cable across the Atlantic, he also founded the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art. This privately managed educational institution in New York was endowed by Cooper and offered free tuition to working-class students. It was "Christian" but non-sectarian, and exemplified his belief that science and education could resolve social and political problems. The two men may have discussed education as well as communications, since they also shared this interest. Unlike the Cooper Union, Mullock's foundation, St. Bonaventure's College, was intended primarily to educate the Catholic community in St. John's. However, both Mullock and Cooper were interested in the promotion of commercial and scientific education.



There are two other indications of Mullock's interest in the transatlantic telegraph cable in the bishop's book collection. Mullock pasted two telegrams dated July 27, 1866, the date of the successful completion of the cable, into Jacques-Paul Migne's *Troisième encyclopédie théologique*, volume 55 (Paris, 1865). The first announces the completion of the work—"Atlantic Cable a perfect success. Fleet arrived at H[eart's] Content 8 this morning. All well [Mcaulan?]—while the second reveals Mullock's personal connection to the project and to another of the founders of the New York, Newfoundland and London Electric Telegraph Company. It reads, "I know my good friend that you will rejoice at the Telegraphic connection of Newfoundland with Ireland very truly your friend Cyrus W Field."

Jeff A. Webb



CHARTER,

TRUST DEED, AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

COOPER UNION

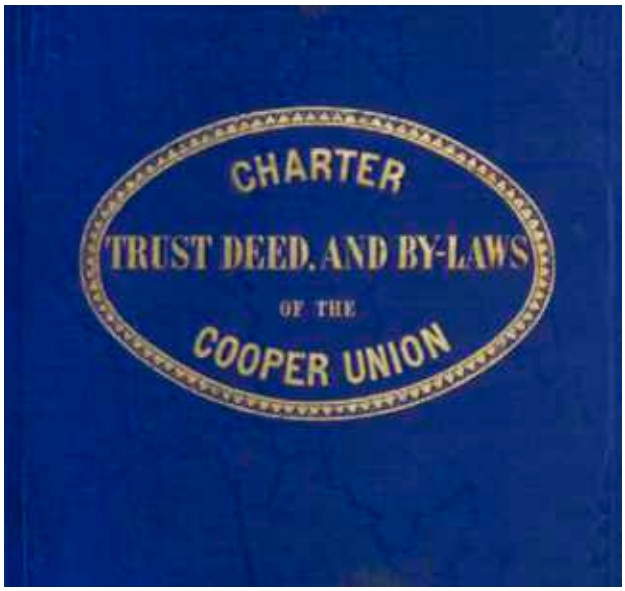
For the Advancement of Science and Art:

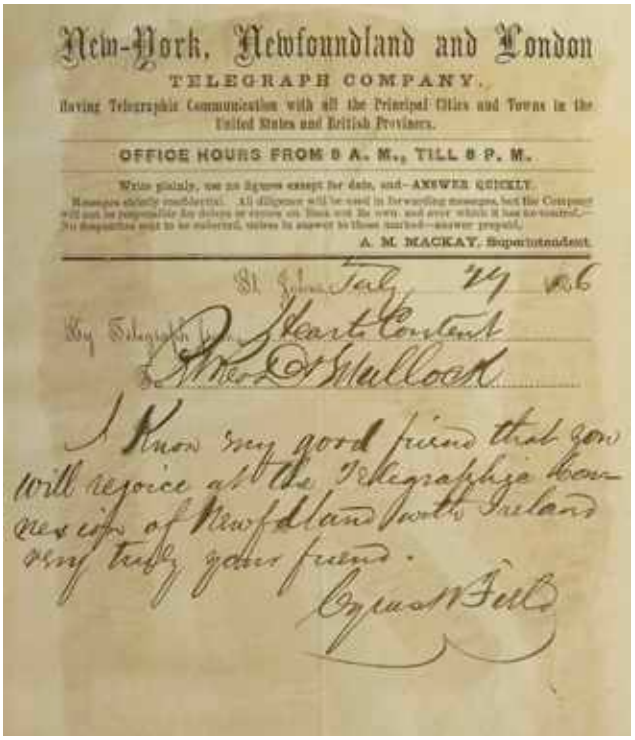
WITH THE

LETTER OF PETER COOPER,

ACCOMPANYING THE TRUST DEED.

NEW YORK:
WM. C. BRYANT & CO., PRINTERS, 41 NASSAU STREET, CORNER OF LIBERTY.
1859.





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A. M. MACKAY, Superintendent.

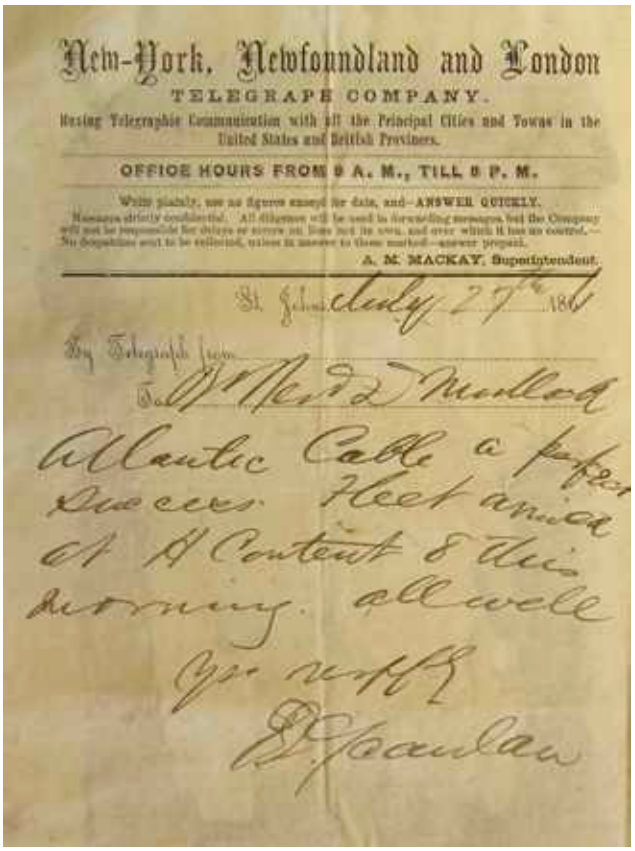
St. John's July 27 1866

By Telegraph from Heart's Content

To Mr. D. Mullock

I know my good friend that you will rejoice at the Telegraphic success of Newfoundland with Ireland very truly your friend.

Cyrus W. Field



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A. M. MACKAY, Superintendent.

St. John's July 27th 1866

By Telegraph from

To Mr. D. Mullock

Atlantic Cable a perfect success. Fleet arrived at H Content & this morning. all well

Yr. ever

D. Gourlay

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