

ARCHBISHOP MANNING.

ON

"CÆSARISM AND ULTRAMONTANISM."

In one sense the conflict of the Church and the world is always the same. The enmity of the world is one, and the truth is one; nevertheless, the forms of that enmity are endless and always changing. In one point the warfare of the world against the Church is always the same. It always uses the same weapons, but the motives and aims of those that use them vary. The weapons have been, are, and always will be the civil power. For the first three centuries the Jews and the heretical sects excited the suspicions, fears and hatred of the Roman Empire against the Church. In the Middle Ages the ambition or despotism of Christian princes wielded the civil power against the Church. Now, for the last three hundred years, and especially in this century, it is a world departing from Christianity which used the civil power for the oppression of the Church. In one word, the antagonist of the Church has always been Cæsarism, or the supremacy of the civil over the spiritual.

Cæsarism is to be found in all ages and countries, but the Cæsarism of the nineteenth century has a character of its own. The first manifestation of Cæsarism in history may be seen in the imperial despotisms of Rome after the suppression of the republic, and in the Roman Emperors who have stamped it with their name. In essence it has the absolute dominion of man over man—the power of life and death, including supreme power over liberty and goods, and extending to the whole life of man, political and religious, social and domestic. It may be summed up in a few words: "*Divus Cæsar, Imperator et Summus Pontifex.*" There is nothing in the public or private life of man that escapes from the sweeping jurisdiction of this universal sovereignty. The sovereignty of Cæsarism is absolute and dependent on no conditions; it is also exclusive, because it does not tolerate any jurisdiction above and within its own. It does not recognize any laws except of its own making.

Its essence is the claim to absolute and exclusive sovereignty. It by necessity excludes God, His sovereignty, and His laws. The sole formation of law is the human will, individual or collective. Cæsar finds the law in himself, and creates right and wrong,