

cession on this point would therefore be impossible. The fact alone would bring about an absolute and universal agreement. I see therefore, with regret, that eminent men—patriots who have rendered great service to the country, and to whom the honourable M. Audinot has alluded—attribute the necessary choice which we have made of our natural capital to futile or trivial motives. This choice has been determined by history, and by all the elements of the civilization of a people. What is the history of Rome but the history of a capital—more than that, of a capital of the world. It will become now that of a great nation.

"I appeal to the patriotism of all Italians. Let our unanimity make manifest to Europe the necessity which these facts impose upon us. I avow that personally I perhaps prefer the simple and plain streets of my native city to the ancient and modern monuments of the Eternal City. But my resolution is taken, like that of my countrymen; like that—and I speak now as the representative of Turin—of the noble city which is resigned to that sacrifice which the country demands of it.

"We must go to Rome, but without trenching upon the independence of the Pope, without bringing the Church under the domination of the State. If—though I believe that to be impossible—France found herself powerless to oppose our entry into Rome, we would not, in order to effect that entry, use violence towards her. Let us not imitate Austria in the ingratitude avowed with a deplorable courage by the lips of one of her statesmen. This sort of courage she has always displayed. At the Congress of Paris, no power was so hostile to Russia, so obstinately opposed to peace, as Austria, which had been saved by her but a few years before. As for us, bound as we are to Russia by a friendship which a passing cloud obscured, I hope only for a moment, let us show by our conduct towards France that we do not resemble the power which we have fought against with the aid of the French armies.

"When, in 1859, we asked for the support of France, the Emperor did not dissemble to himself the difficulties of the situation in which this war would place him with respect to the Court of Rome. We cannot, after having accepted the boon aggravate the embarrassment in which it may involve the benefactor.

"If we succeed in convincing Catholics that the re-union of Rome with the rest of Italy cannot place the church in a position of dependence the question will have made a great step towards solution. Many conscientious people think, indeed, that if the parliament were in Rome and the King at the Quirinal, the Pope would lose much of his independence, and would be nothing more than the grand almoner or chaplain to the King.

"If these fears were well founded, I should not hesitate to say that this reunion would be fatal, not only to catholicism, but to Italy. No greater calamity can befall a people than the concentration in the hands of the government of spiritual and temporal power. When these powers are united liberty disappears; the rule of caliphs prevails. It will never be so in Italy."

Arguing the question, Count Cavour denied that the Pope was at present independent, inasmuch as his government was not based upon the people, who were in constant agitation and desired the right of speaking by a free press. It was said that the temporal power was necessary for catholic society. Were human sacrifices still necessary to make the gods propitious? Was it in the name of Him who gave His life for the world—the sacrifice of a nation should be demand-

ed for his representative? But it was said the Pope might grant reforms. This could not be, for he could not consistently make his spiritual power subservient to the temporal. At the Congress of Paris the Count declared the absolute necessity of the separation of the two powers, spiritual and temporal. The example of Turkey showed that the union of the two powers rendered the failure of government inevitable. By taking away the temporal power they would really give to the Pope the independence he desired.—

"It is precisely the separation of the powers which will give it to him. When the church is once emancipated from all connexion with the temporal authority, and separated from the State by distinctly marked limits, the liberty of the Holy See will no longer have to suffer from the shackles imposed upon it by concordats and the prerogatives of the civil power, which the temporal power of the Court of Rome has alone rendered necessary up to the present time. I believe that every sincere Catholic desires above all things such an enfranchisement. The only difficulty is to discover by what guarantees this liberty of the church will be assured.

"We will give it ample guarantees, we will inscribe the principle of the reciprocal independence of the church and of the State in the fundamental statute of the kingdom, and we will ensure by all possible means its complete realization.

"But the surest guarantee is the thoroughly catholic character of the Italian people. Italy has often made great efforts in the form of ecclesiastical discipline, but she has never raised her hand against the religion with which it is connected. The country of Arnold of Berescia, of Dante, of Savonarola, of Sarpi, of Glonnone, has ever, like them, sought only the reform of the church. that ardent desire has always been accompanied by the firm determination that the church, purified, should subsist and become more free. That freedom will be better ensured by the love of 26,000,000 of citizens than by a few mercenaries.

"It is said, 'These hopes are fallacious, all your proposals and negotiations are repulsed.' I shall not enter into any detail upon this delicate point. I admit that up to this time none of our efforts have succeeded; but I also declare that heretofore we have never explained our intentions openly and fully, as we explain them now. We may, therefore, still cherish some hope.

"History shows us that Rome, invaded by the Spaniards of Charles V., saw the Pope some time afterwards crown Charles V., and ally himself with him. Why may we not see the same change wrought upon Pius IX., at the present day?

"But if the Pope should repulse us, as he has hitherto done, we shall not cease to remain faithful to the same principles. Arrived at Rome, we shall proclaim the separation of the church from the State, and the liberty of the church. When this has been done, and consecrated, by the representatives of the nation, and when the veritable tendencies of Italians and their sympathy for the religion of their fathers have been made evident in the face of Europe, the great majority of catholics will approve, and will cause to fall upon the right head the responsibility of the struggle into which the Court of Rome would have sought to enter with the nation.

"At the risk of being deemed Utopian, I avow my belief that when these principles have been proclaimed and consecrated by you, the soul of Pius IX. opening itself up to the generous sentiments which earned for him such hearty approval some years ago, will stimulate him to seek to acquire the immortal glory of having

reconciled the Italian nation with the church, and religion with liberty."

Count Cavour supported the following resolution, proposed by Signor Buoncompagni, which was almost unanimously voted by the Chambers:—

"The Chamber having heard the declaration of the Ministry, and being confident that, after having ensured the dignity and independence of the Pope and the complete freedom of the Church, the principle of non-intervention will, in concert with France, be applied to Rome, and that Rome will be made the capital of Italy, passes the order of the day."

Several speakers of the left proposed the simple proclamation of Rome as the capital of Italy, and the calling upon Napoleon III to withdraw his troops. In the course of the debate Signor Chiaves spoke against the transfer of the capital of the kingdom of Italy to Rome. Count Cavour again spoke, maintained that it was urgent that Rome should be immediately declared the capital of Italy:—

"The transfer will (he said) take place in consequence of a law adopted by the Chambers, and without any disturbances. The time for it will be fixed by law. We offer to the spiritual power of the Pope all the guarantees for its liberty and moral force which a friendly government can ever give to the papacy. I hope that public opinion will very soon be disposed for the proclamation, and that France will agree with us in this matter"—*Guardian*.

At a late meeting of the Committee of the Anglo-Continental Society, it was resolved—"That it was highly desirable that the Church of England should send an English Bishop or Presbyter on a mission of brotherly love to the Church of Italy." We should rejoice to see this proposal carried into effect; we should doubly rejoice if such a commission could be given to a Bishop and to a Presbyter at the very next meeting of Convocation. It would not be difficult to lay the finger upon the eloquent bishop and learned canon who would be the fittest men for such an important and delicate task. Meantime, a step has been taken in the right direction. The Anglo-Continental Society has sent out an agent to prepare the way, it is hoped, for more formal and authorised action, and, meantime, to gather information to do all that he can towards helping on the internal reformation which is so greatly to be desired. We published the instructions which were to be given to him in the last number of the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, but we consider them sufficiently important to repeat them here. They are:—

*Negatively—*

1. To avoid transgressing the law of the land.
2. To abstain from any attempt at drawing individuals out of the Italian Church into separate communities.

*Positively—*

To encourage internal reformation in every way possible, and particularly—

1. By the judicious distribution of the Society's Italian publications, and Italian Prayer-books.
2. By explaining by word of mouth the limits of the legitimate jurisdiction and authority of the Bishop of Rome, especially with reference to the liberties of the Churches of North Italy and Sicily.
3. By enforcing on excited minds the necessity of ecclesiastical order;
4. By convincing men, both by argument and by the example of the English Church, of the possibility of a National Church reforming itself, and being, at once, Catholic and Protestant; Catholic, as maintaining the faith and discipline