

asserts, are schisms or heresies, even those in which the essential spiritual doctrines are identical with its own. These other Christian bodies are branded as sects and heresies, because they claim to have a knowledge of revealed truth obtained outside and independently of the Church of Rome. The Pope, the head of the Church of Rome, is asserted to be the Vicar of Christ and to hold his office as the spiritual successor of St. Peter, by the direct authority of the Most-High. He is *ex cathedra* an infallible arbiter in questions of faith and morals. He claims to be, as indeed he must claim, as a corollary of the infallibility doctrine, above all princes and states. Although in these later days the pretension to temporal supremacy has been only guardedly asserted, it has never been withdrawn, and indeed it could not be, with any consistency, so long as the doctrine of papal infallibility is held. In using the expression "temporal supremacy," we do not refer to the mere political and civil government of the portion of Italy known as the Papal States, but are using the expression in its very widest sense. In a comparatively recent encyclical the present Pope Leo XIII, declared that when the obedience of the Catholic to the state is in conflict with his obedience to the church, his first duty is to the church. How could it be otherwise? An infallible arbiter in faith and morals cannot restrict the application of his decisions or injunctions to mere abstract philosophical or theological problems. Faith and morals are interwoven with all the various practical transactions, political, commercial and personal, in which mankind are engaged. There is no different kind of morals for application in the realms of theology, from that which applies in the practical affairs of men's lives.

If, then, the Pope is an infallible arbiter in faith and morals he ought to wield a supreme authority in all human affairs. Free constitutional government is based on the theory that the state (that is the majority of the people) is the supreme authority within its own borders, and that the people composing that majority have sufficient intelligence to rule themselves. This theory of government, however, is in direct conflict with the pretensions and polity of the church of Rome, and is incompatible with the doctrine of papal infallibility. If the claims and doctrines of the Roman Catholic

church are valid and sound, the principles of democratic government are unsound. A loyal citizen of a democratic state can acknowledge no other nor higher authority in civil or political affairs than that of the state. A Roman Catholic must admit the superior claims of the pope or the church. He cannot therefore be a loyal citizen of a democracy. This is the conclusion which is inevitable as the result of deductive reasoning from the premises.

GENERAL DEDUCTIONS AS TO EFFECT OF CATHOLIC DOCTRINES, DEMONSTRATED BY HISTORY.

But we are not confined to abstract deduction. We can see in practical experience the results which would be indicated by the process of ratiocinative deduction, from the nature of the pretensions which the church of Rome asserts. History has shown that, in a state which contends for absolute freedom, the attitude and the policy of the Catholic church have always been a source of danger and apprehension. The history of England for several centuries shows this in almost every page. The policy of the church of Rome in England, as in every other European country, has been to throw its influence into the scale in behalf of despots, or would-be despots, in return for a promised acknowledgment of the church's pretensions on the part of the would-be despot. The interests of the masses have never been understood by, nor have they had any consideration at the hands of, the church of Rome. It is the traditional foe of democracy, of the enfranchisement of the masses, and of every movement calculated to improve the lot of the proletariat. It is true that, within very recent years, it has been the policy of the Pope and of some of the leaders of the hierarchy to make abstract and general protestations of sympathy with democracy, especially in the United States. But in view of the claims and doctrines of the church, such declarations may be accepted merely as an indication that the hierarchy appreciates the growing power and the coming dominance of democracy. The idea of a Roman Catholic democracy is a paradoxical absurdity. In an autonomous republican community in which the large majority of the peo-

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