

the Hohenstaufens, the Capets, the Plantagenets ever professed themselves dutiful sons of the Church; they had no thought of denying any of her dogmas. And yet they were laboring utterly to destroy her teaching authority. By their scandalous simony, they filled ecclesiastical benefices with unworthy men ready to obey a prince's beck and nod, ready to teach anything he desired—men whose disedifying lives were calculated to extinguish all piety in the people. By their defiance of Papal censures, they deprived the Church of the power to reform the many disorders to which their simony gave rise. By their assumed control over Pontifical elections, their assumed right to raise and depose those Pontiffs whom it pleased them, by their support of pretenders who disputed with the true popes the homage of the faithful, they undermined belief in Apostolic Succession and in the infallibility of the Holy See, and by their frequent prohibitions of communication between bishops and the Pope, they prepared the way for the great breach of religious unity and the establishment of national churches. And all these things they did because of the universal application they gave to the principle, *quod principi placuit legis habuit vigorem*. The corollary of this principle, itself the second great principle of Caesarism, they did not dare to draw. Not Frederick Hohenstaufen, nor Henry Plantagenet, nor Philip of Valois ever proclaimed *cujus est regio ejus est religio*. But their not doing so merely proves that their faith was stronger than their logic.

Their successors were less scrupulous. "The Reformers would have accomplished little or nothing," says Dr. Brownson, "if politics had not come to their aid. Luther would have bellowed in vain had he not been backed by the powerful Elector of Saxony, and immediately aided by the Landgrave Philip; Zwingle and Calvin would have accomplished nothing in Switzerland, if they had not secured the aid of the secular arm and followed its wishes; the powerful Huguenot party in France was more of a political than of a religious party, and it dwindled into insignificance as soon as it lost the support of the great lords. . . . In Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, the Reform was purely the act of the civil power; in the United Provinces it was embraced as the

principle of revolt or of national independence; in England it was the work, confessedly, of the secular government, and was carried out by court and parliament against the wishes of the majority of the nation." While the revolt was yet only beginning, while there was still hope that religious and political unity might be restored to Germany, this hope was rendered vain by the alliance entered into between Catholic France and Protestant Sweden. France remained Catholic indeed, but the spirit of nationalism fostered by the greatest of her kings, the tendency to political idolatry which has been the bane of all nations, took deep root, and before long bore fruit in the French Revolution. The French are reputed the most inexorable logicians in the world, and their actions in '89 certainly merit them the title. While England and Germany stop short at the declaration of their absolute independence of the Vicar of Christ, France declares its absolute independence of Christ himself. Henry VIII's Parliament solemnly denies that any foreign potentate hath any jurisdiction within the realm of England; the National Convention solemnly denies the existence of God. Rome is entered by the armies of the Directory, and declared a Republic. And as Pius VI. lies dying in captivity at Valence, the world triumphantly exclaims that the Church is at an end.

Ten years later, however, the Church was still in existence, and another Pius in captivity was calmly refusing the conqueror of Europe the right of revising its Constitution. "What does the Pope mean," said Napoleon, "by the threat of excommunicating me? Does he think the world has gone back a thousand years? Does he suppose the arms will fall from the hands of my soldiers?" Listen to the comment of Sir Archibald Alison, the Protestant historian of Europe: "Within two years after these remarkable words were written, the Pope did excommunicate him, in return for the confiscation of his whole dominions, and in less than four years more, the arms did fall from the hands of his soldiers; and hosts apparently invincible, which he had collected were dispersed and ruined by the blasts of winter." And Alison adds: "There is something in these marvellous coincidences beyond the operations of chance, and