

PAPAL INDEPENDENCE.

The Pope Cannot Be Subject to Temporal Princes.

BY JUDGE EDMUND F. DUNNE.

The following is addressed to the Catholics of the United States:

Ever since the Vicar of Christ was appointed to govern the Church of God, the utter impossibility of his becoming the personal subject of any earthly prince or power has been sufficiently evident.

In the words of our own Brownson:

"The Pope never was the subject of any temporal prince, and never can be. He represents Him who is King of kings and Lord of lords. He is above all earthly monarchs by the law of Christ. The status of Prince belongs to him by right of his office as Vicar of Christ, for by that office he is declared independent and clothed with plenary authority to govern all men and nations in all things relating to salvation." (Collected Works, vol. xii., p. 456)

He may be a prisoner, he cannot be a subject. More than a hundred times his independence has been temporarily suppressed, only to reappear again with a more emphatic recognition of the necessity of its continued existence. This miraculously continued re-appearance would of itself reasonably show that Papal Independence is a part of the Divine order of things, and that there can never be any permanent peace for the world while this Divine order is disturbed. But we are not left to reason alone to know this: Speaking of it in his allocution of May 24, 1884, Leo XIII declared:

"This principality has a sacred character which is peculiar to it and shared with no other state, because upon it depends the security and stability of the Apostolic See in the exercise of its sublime and important functions."

NOT A PERSONAL RIGHT.

This right of the Head of the Church to be politically independent is not a mere personal right of the particular Pontiff claiming it; it is a right of the Universal Church and of each individual member of it, in whatever country it may happen to be. This principle was recognized even by Prince Bismarck in his address to the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, April 22, 1887, in these words:

"As representative of the Government I must place myself at an independent point of view and I must recognize that the Papacy is not an Italian institution, but a universal one; and, because it is universal, it is also for German Catholics a German institution."

And because it is universal it is for Catholics of all nations one of their own institutions. So, also, every question inseparably connected with it is a question in which they are directly interested and upon which they must take such action as their duty requires. When the Head of the Church declares to them that he finds the continuance of this divinely established independence absolutely necessary for the proper discharge of his functions as ruler of the Church, they are not justified in entertaining a different opinion; they are bound to defer to his superior judgment and teaching authority. When he calls upon them to labor in a perfectly legitimate manner for the restoration of that independence, they are not justified in disregarding his requests. That this independence is necessary was declared by Pius IX. in his encyclical of June 18, 1859, in these words:

We openly affirm that the civil principality is necessary to the Holy See in order that it may exert, without any obstacle, its sacred power for the good of religion.

It was also announced in the "Declaratio Episcoporum," June 8, 1862, in these words:

We recognize that the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See is necessary, and that it has been established by the manifest design of Divine Providence; we do not hesitate to declare that in the present state of human affairs that temporal sovereignty is absolutely essential to the welfare of the Church and the free direction of souls.

Leo XIII. has been no less positive in his declarations and no less urgent in his requests. In his letter to Cardinal Rampolla on the subject, June 15,

1887, after showing that he was bound, even by his oath of office, to insist upon the restoration of Papal Independence, and declaring that he certainly would not fail in his duty, he reminds us of ours in these words:

The whole Catholic world, very jealous of the independence of its head, will never rest until justice has been done to his most righteous demands.

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The urgent and repeated demands of Leo XIII. at last aroused the Catholics of the world to the necessity of some definite practical action, and a call was issued for an International Conference to consider the matter.

A preliminary meeting was held in Brussels in 1892, followed, by the conference of Liege, April 5 and 6, 1893, which was attended by distinguished representatives of the Catholic people of the principal nations of the world.

The Secretary of the Conference was Count Waldbot de Bassenheim, now residing at St. Andre les Bruges, Belgium. After due deliberation, the Conference issued a manifesto, directed to the world at large, asserting the necessity of the restoration of the Temporal Power, and giving a number of reasons and arguments therefore. The manifesto was summarized in the following five propositions:

1. Justice and right demand the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See.

2. That sovereignty is indispensable to the independence of the Holy See in the government of the Church.

3. The temporal sovereignty of the Pope is the safeguard of the liberty of conscience for Catholics throughout the whole world.

4. The authority of the Holy See, strengthened by its independence and continually better recognized and heeded by the nations, will contribute in the most efficacious manner to the maintenance of peace, the reconciliation of peoples and social classes, and the progress of civilization.

5. The greatness and dignity of Italy are not threatened, but would rather be assured by the independence of the Holy See, a "divine institution to which it is bound by special designs of God."—(Words of Leo XIII.)

It was then determined that some systematic effort be made to convince the world of the justice of these declarations and the necessity of bringing them to practical realization. It was determined that Catholics in each country should endeavor to enlighten themselves and their fellow-citizens on the subject, and that to that end there be a national committee in each country to consider the matter, and direct and assist such action. It was understood that the first work of the committee should be to cause the preparation and distribution of articles giving all needed information on the subject. These articles will be welcomed not only by Catholic journals in this country, by the secular press as well, for Americans delight in reading a good argument on either side of any great question, and these articles will be from the very best pens of Catholic culture. We propose to convince the intelligence of the world, "nolens volens," and to convert it, if it shall please God.

It was foreseen that these articles might be interchanged between the different committees for translation and circulation in the different countries to the great advantage of all, whereupon the secretary of the Conference consented to supervise that work. Committees were formed for the different nations represented at the Conference. The secretary was authorized to invite the concurrence of other nations and has requested me to assist in organizing a committee for this country.

THE PRESENT CALL.

I, therefore, publish this "call," and beg that all in sympathy with the movement, and who are willing to take an active part in the work proposed (each in such a way as may be in his or her power) will communicate with me at as early a date as possible, fully and freely expressing their views in the matter, and particularly as to the following points. Whether the organization should be by province, diocese and parish, or by State, county and precinct; whether the National Committee should be composed of one member from each State with a small executive committee at or near some central place, or simply of a small number without regard to representation, whether I should wait for each State to organize and elect its member

of the National Committee, or, out of recommendations made in response to this call, appoint at once members for such States as respond and let each of such members organize his own State, others to follow, also, by what name the organization should be known, together with any other suggestions they may deem proper.

If it be asked what effect it is supposed any work of ours can possibly have on the final result, it may be answered that our efforts of themselves may have no effect whatever on the final result; but, if properly made, they cannot fail to have a great effect upon ourselves. Duty properly performed is never without its fitting reward. If, however, we consider the opposition this movement has already met with in other countries from its opponents there, we may conclude that they at least regard it as not without importance.

A WORK OF FAITH.

The Holy Father calls upon us to do all in our power to aid in securing our right—the right to have a free and proper administration of our Church affairs. We know that Divine Providence can do all things; but, in the language of Mgr. Schroeder, "We know, also, that Providence does not dispense us from doing what in us lies to further its designs; that it requires the co-operation of men and that it permits the most cruel trials to the Church, precisely in order to stimulate and fortify our zeal in the work of faith." (American Catholics and the Roman Question, p. 87.)

It is a work of faith to labor for the good of the Church. To work for God's Church is to work for God. We are invited to show our zeal. Let us not be afraid of consequent commotion or comment. Remember the words of that gallant and courageous Catholic, St. Ignatius: "He who fears the world will never do great things for God, for nothing worthy of God can happen but the world will be in commotion."

Peace is sweet, blessed peace! Let us hope for it, pray for it, work for it; but let it be peace with liberty, "peace with honor!"

I further suggest that all Catholic papers approving of the movement and desirous of aiding in it may very beneficially do so by giving this notice a place in their columns, together with such editorial comments as they may deem appropriate.

On March 2nd, the anniversary of the birthday of the Holy Father, I will begin collecting the suggestions and very soon thereafter will report the conclusions arrived at concerning them.

Please address all replies and comments to Edmund F. Dunne, Jacksonville, Fla.—*Catholic Mirror*.

CHURCH AND STATE.

LEO XIII. DOES NOT LOOK FOR THEIR UNION IN AMERICA.

Very Rev. Augustine F. Hewit, D.D., superior general of the Paulist Fathers, in the coming number of the Catholic World will answer certain critics of the late encyclical of Pope Leo XIII., with relation to the subject of church and state. Father Hewit will say, in part:

"It is to the equity and liberty established and sanctioned by our laws, which are contravened by those who seek to deprive Catholics of their full enjoyment, that the Pontiff ascribes in part the prosperity of the Catholic church in this republic: 'Moreover (a fact which it gives pleasure to acknowledge), thanks are due to the equity of the laws which obtain in America and to the custom of the well-ordered republic. For the church among you, unopposed by the constitution and government of the nation, fettered by no hostile legislation, protected against violence by the common laws and the impartiality of the tribunals, is free to live and act without hindrance.'"

"It is true that the Pope here enters a caveat, lest the conclusion should be drawn that our American status is the best desirable status of the church, and that the severance of church and state is universally lawful and expedient. We surmise that this caveat has been inserted, not as having a bearing on America, but in view of some other countries, to prevent would-be innovators on their order from applying the commendation given to the American system in view of the particular state of things in this republic to other nations where it is diverse. The mediæval ideal of a Christian nation and of Christen-

dom was that a society of Catholics should be a Catholic society. The people of the United States are not a society of Catholics, and, therefore, the nation cannot and ought not to be a Catholic society. Our status is the best and the only possible one for us, and we all, bishops, priests and laity, will loyally and faithfully concur with our fellow-citizens in keeping church and state separated as they now are. Loyalty to our American constitution does not require us to affirm that it is a model for Russia, Germany and every other nation to copy. Neither does our fidelity to the same constitution require us to condemn the mediæval ideal, in respect to the union between church and state, or to pass judgment on the laws regulating their mutual relations in Spain or Austria.

"We do not cherish any absurd wish that the United States or any single state should establish the Catholic religion. There is none so insane as to conspire and plot to bring about the realization of such an impossible scheme. It is true that the Pope says that the church would bring forth more abundant fruits if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authorities. Undoubtedly, if the whole people were to become Catholic, there would be a favor and a patronage extended to schools, asylums, charitable works, which would cause them to flourish more abundantly. The divine law in regard to marriage and divorce would be incorporated into the law of the land, and many moral and social evils would be corrected by the enlightened Catholic conscience of the people and their representatives. Such a state of religious unity and harmony we must, of course, regard as desirable; but it is only ideal, and there is no practical utility in speculations upon the happy effects it might produce.

"We have no doubt that it would be the greatest possible blessing to the nation, even in a temporal and worldly sense, if all or a majority of its citizens were to embrace the Catholic religion and live according to its precepts and rules. It is our duty and our right to strive for this end; but only by argument, persuasion, example and moral means.

"We may, perhaps, give a sense to the phrase, 'the favor of the laws and patronage of public authority,' which is perfectly consistent with the actual state of separation between church and state, and the practical conduct of our national, state and municipal authorities during the past century.

"Our greatest jurists have declared that this is a Christian country. The Sunday is recognized, and its observance protected by law. Thanksgiving and Fast day are proclaimed by authority. Chaplains are appointed in Legislatures, in the army and navy. Colleges, under the control of ecclesiastics, and institutions of charity have been liberally aided, and among these have been some institutions under the direction of Catholic authorities. There is nothing in this policy which is un-American. It would be contrary to the spirit and letter of our laws to favor one denomination above others. All should be treated impartially, not only those which are Christian, but the Jewish community as well. It is not aid given to any form of religion, as such, when patronage and favor are extended to works done for the general good of the community and the service of the state, by schools, orphanages, founding asylums, hospitals and industrial institutes for training boys and girls in useful occupations. It is un-American for the state to ally itself with the sect of the secularists, to the exclusion of all other sects, and to discriminate against religious societies, as co-workers in the cause of religion and morality. This is not the legitimate separation of state from church, but hostility of state against church.

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