



ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF OUR MOST HOLY LORD LEO XIII., BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE POPE, CONCERNING THE CHRISTIAN CONSTITUTION OF STATES.

TO ALL THE PATRIARCHS, PRIMATEs, ARCHBISHOPS, AND BISHOPS OF THE CATHOLIC WORLD, IN THE GRACE AND COMMUNION OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE, LEO P.P. XIII.

Venerable Brethren, Health and Apostolic Benediction. CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK.

God, then, has divided the charge of the human race between two powers, viz., the ecclesiastical and the civil, THE ONE BEING SET OVER DIVINE, AND THE OTHER OVER HUMAN THINGS. Each is the greatest in its own kind: each has certain limits within which it is restricted, and those limits defined by the nature and proximate cause of each: so that there is, as we may say, a world marked off as a field for the proper action of each. But forasmuch as each has dominion over the same subjects, since it is the same thing, though in different ways, still one and the same, might pertain to the right and the tribunal of both, therefore God, Who foresees all things, and Who has established both powers, must needs have arranged the course of each in right relation to one another, and in due order. For the powers that are ordained by God (Rom. xiii., 1). And if this were not so, causes of rivalries and dangerous disputes would be constantly arising; and man would often have to stop in anxiety and doubt, like a traveller with two roads before him, not knowing what he ought to do, with two powers commanding contradictory things; authority, however, he cannot refuse without neglect of duty. But it would be most repugnant to think of the wisdom and goodness of God, Who even in physical things, though they are of a far lower order, has yet so attempted and combined together the forces and causes of nature in an orderly manner and with a sort of wonderful harmony, that none of them is a hindrance to the rest, and all of them most fitly and aptly combine for the great end of the universe. So there must needs be a certain orderly connection between these two powers, which may not unfrequently be compared to the union which soul and body are united in man. What the nature of that union is, and what its extent, cannot otherwise be determined than, as We have said, by having regard to the nature of each power, and by taking account of the relative excellence and nobility of their ends; for one of them has for its proximate and chief aim the care of the goods of this world, the other the attainment of the goods of heaven that are eternal. Whatever, therefore, in human affairs is in any manner sacred; whatever pertains to the salvation of souls or the worship of God, whether it be so in its own nature, or on the other hand, is held to be so for the sake of the end to which it is referred, all this is in the power and subject of the free disposition of the Church; but all other things which are embraced in the civil and political order, are rightly subject to the civil authority, since Jesus Christ has commanded that

true good and the education of the children. In the domain of political and civil affairs the laws aim at the common good, and are not guided by the deceptive wishes and judgments of the multitude, but by truth and justice. The authority of the rulers puts on a certain garb of sanctity greater than what pertains to man, and is restrained from declining from justice, and passing over just limits in the exercise of power. The obedience of citizens has honor and dignity as companions, because it is not the servitude of men to men, but OBEDIENCE TO THE WILL OF GOD EXERCISING HIS SOVEREIGNTY BY MEANS OF MEN.

And this being recognized and admitted, it is understood that it is a matter of justice that the dignity of rulers should be respected, that the public authority should be constantly and faithfully obeyed, that no act of sedition should be committed, and that the civil order of the State should be kept intact. In the same way mutual charity and kindness and liberality are seen to be virtues. The man who is at once a citizen and a Christian is no longer the victim of contending parties and incompatible obligations; and, finally, those very abundant good things with which the Christian religion of its own accord fills up even the mortal life of men, are acquired for the community and civil society, so that it appears to be said with the fullest truth: "The state of the commonwealth depends on the religion with which God is worshipped, and between the one and the other there is a close relation." (Sacer. Imp., ad Greg. XIII., c. 1. Episcopus metrop., ad Cyrillum Alexandr., c. 2. Episcopus metrop., ad Greg. XIII., c. 1. Admirably, as he is accustomed, did Augustine in many places dilate on the power of those good things, but especially when he addresses the Catholic Church in these words: "Thou treatest boys as boys, youths with strength, old men calmly, according as not only the age of the body, but also of the mind of each. Women thou subjectest to their husbands in chaste and faithful obedience, not for the satisfaction of lust, but for the propagation of offspring, and participation in the affairs of the family. Thou settest husbands over their spouses, not that they may trifle with the weaker sex, but in accordance with the laws of true affection. Thou subjectest sons to their parents in a kind of free servitude, and settest parents over their sons in a benign rule. . . . Thou joinest together, not merely in society, but in a kind of fraternity, citizens with citizens, peoples with peoples, and in fact the whole race of men by a remembrance of their parentage. Thou teachest kings to look for the interests of their peoples. Thou admonishest peoples to submit themselves to their kings. With all care thou teachest to whom honor is due, to whom affection, to whom reverence, to whom fear, to whom consolation, to whom discipline, to whom reproach, to whom punishment, showing how all of these are not suitable to all, but yet to all affection is due, and wrong to none." (De Moribus Eccl., c. xxi., n. 63.) And in another place, speaking in blame of certain political pseudo-philosophers, he observes: "The law of the State, the doctrine of Christ is hurtful to the State, should produce an army of soldiers such as the doctrine of Christ has commanded them to be, such governors of provinces, such husbands, such wives, such parents, such sons, such masters, such slaves, such kings, such judges, such payers and collectors of taxes, such who would have them. And then let them dare to say that such a state of things is hurtful to the State. Nay, rather they could not hesitate to confess that it is a great salvation to the State if there is due obedience to this doctrine." (Epist. cxxxviii., ad Marcianum, cap. ii., 15.)

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE GOSPEL GOVERNED STATES;

then it was that that power and divine virtue of Christian wisdom had penetrated into the laws, institutions, and manners of peoples—indeed into all the ranks and relations of the State; when the religion instituted by Jesus Christ, firmly established in that degree of dignity which was befitting, flourished everywhere, in the favour of rulers and under the due protection of the State; when the priest, school and the government were united by concord and a friendly interchange of offices. And the State composed of that fashion produced, in the opinion of all, more excellent fruits, the memory of which still flourishes, and will flourish, attested by innumerable monuments which can neither be destroyed nor obscured by any art of the adversary. If Christian wisdom subdued barbarous peoples, and transferred them from a savage to a civilized state, from superstition to the truth; if she victoriously repelled the invasions of the Mohammedans; if civilization retained the chief power, and accustomed herself to afford others a teacher and mistress in everything that adorned humanity; if she had granted to the peoples trust and manifold liberty; if she has most wisely established many institutions for the solace of wretchedness, beyond controversy is it very greatly due to religion under whose auspices such great undertakings were commenced, and with whose aid they were perfected. Truly the same excellent state of things would have continued if the agreement of the two powers had continued, and greater things might rightfully have been expected, if there had been obedience to the authority, the sway, the counsels of the Church, characterised by greater faithfulness and perseverance, for that is to be regarded as a perpetual law which Ivo of Chartres wrote to Pope Paschal II.: "When the kingdom and the priesthood are agreed between themselves, the world is well ruled, the Church flourishes and bears fruit. But when they are at variance, not only does what is little not increase, but even what is great falls into miserable decay" (Ep. cxxxvii.). But that dreadful and deplorable law for revolution which was aroused in the sixteenth century, after the Christian religion had been thrown into confusion, by a certain natural course proceeded to philosophy, and from philosophy pervaded all ranks of the community. As it were, from the spring came those more recent propositions of unbridled liberty which obviously were first thought out and then openly proclaimed in

THE TERRIBLE DISTURBANCES IN THE PRESENT CENTURY;

and thence come the principles and foundation of the new law, which was unknown before, and is out of harmony, not only with Christian, but in more than one respect, with nature law. Of those principles the chief is that one which proclaims that all men, as by birth and nature they are alike, so in very deed in their actions of life are they equal, and each is so master of himself that in no way does he come under the authority of another; that it is for him freely to think on whatever subject he likes, to act as he pleases; that no one else has a right of ruling over others. In a society founded upon these principles, government is only the will of the people, which as it is under the power of itself alone, so it is alone its own proper sovereign. Moreover, it chooses to whom it may entrust itself, but in such a way that transfers, not so much the right, as the function of the government which is to be exercised in its name. God is passed over, or as if He cared nothing for human society, or as if men, whether as individuals or in society, owed nothing to God, or as if there could be any government of which the whole cause and power and authority did not reside in God Himself. In which way, as is seen, a State is nothing else but a multitude, as the mistress and governor of itself. And since the people is said to contain in itself the fountain of all rights and of all power, it will follow that the State deems itself bound by no kind of duty towards God; that no religion should be publicly professed; nor ought there to be any inquiry which of many is alone true; nor ought one to be preferred to the rest; nor ought one to be specially favoured, but to each alike equal rights ought to be assigned, with the sole end that the social order incurs no injury from them. It is a part of this theory that all questions concerning religion are to be referred to private judgment; that to every one it is allowed to follow which he prefers, or none at all, if he approves of none. Hence these consequences naturally arise; the judgment of each conscience is free, and in fact the position of the Church is given. For when the conduct of affairs is in accordance with the doctrines of this kind, to the Catholic name is assigned an equal position with, or even an inferior position to that of alien societies in the State;

NO REGARD IS PAID TO ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS;

and the Church which, by the command and mandate of Jesus Christ, ought to teach all nations, finds itself forbidden in any way to interfere in the instruction of the people. Concerning those things which are of mixed jurisdiction, the rulers of the civil power lay down the law at their own pleasure, and the most sacred laws of the Church. Wherefore they bring under their own jurisdiction the marriages of Christians, deciding even concerning the marriage bond, concerning the unity, and the stability of marriage. They take possession of the goods of the clergy, they hold property, they deny that the Church has any right, and they act with regard to the Church that both the nature and the rights of a perfect society being removed, they clearly hold it to be like the other associations which the State contains, and on that account, if she possesses any legitimate means of acting, she is said to possess that of consenting, and in fact she is said to be in the State. But if in the State the Church retains her own right, with the approval of the civil laws, and any agreement is publicly made between the two powers, in the beginning they cry out that the interests of the Church must be severed from those of the State, and they do this with the intent that they may in any way act against the Church, and they do this with impunity, and to have the final decision over everything, all obstacles have been removed. But when the Church cannot bear that patiently, nor indeed is able to desert its greatest and most sacred duties, and above all, requires that faith be wholly and entirely observed with it, and the civil power, of which the result is commonly that the one who is the weaker yields to the stronger in human resources. So it is the custom and the wish in this state of public affairs, which is now affected by many, either to expel the Church altogether, or to keep it bound and restricted to the narrow limits of a public measure, as framed with this design. Laws, the administration of states, the teaching of youth unaccompanied by religion, the spoliation and destruction of religious orders.

THE OVERTURNING OF THE CIVIL PRINCIPALITY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFFS;

all have regard to this end; to emasculate Christian institutes, to narrow the liberty of the Catholic Church, and to diminish her other rights. Natural reason itself convinces us that such opinions about the ruling of a State are very widely removed from the truth. Nature herself bears witness that all power of whatever kind ultimately emanates from God, that greatest and most august fountain. Popular rule, however, which without any regard to God is said to be naturally in the multitude, though it may excellently avail to supply the fires of many blameworthy and excitements of many forms of covetousness, yet rests on no probable reason, nor can have sufficient strength to ensure public security and the quiet permanence of order. Verily things have come to the auspices of these doctrines have come to such a pass that may sanction this as a law in civil jurisprudence, to wit, that sedition may rightly be raised. For the idea prevails that princes are really nothing but delegates to express the popular will; and so necessarily all things become alike, are changeable, at the popular nod, and a certain fear of public disturbance is forever hanging over our heads. But to think with regard to religion, that there is no difference between unlike and contrary forces, clearly will have this issue—unwillingness to test any theory in theory and practice. And this, if

indeed it differs from atheism in name, is in fact the same thing. Men who really believe in the existence of God, if they are to be consistent and not ridiculous, will of necessity understand that the different methods of divine worship involving dissimilarity and conflict, even on the most important points, cannot be all equally probable, equally good, and equally accepted by God. And thus that faculty of thinking whatever you like, and expressing whatever you like to think in writing, WITHOUT ANY THOUGHT OF MODERATION, is not of its own nature, indeed, a good in which human society may rightly rejoice, but on the contrary a fount and origin of many ills.

Liberty, in so far as it is a virtue perfecting man, should be occupied with that which is true and that which is good; but the foundation of that which is true and that which is good cannot be changed at the pleasure of man, but remains ever the same, nor indeed is it less unchangeable than nature herself. If the mind assent to false opinions, if the will choose for itself evil, and apply itself thereto, neither attains its perfection, but both fall from their natural dignity, and both lapse by degrees into corruption. Whatever things, therefore, are contrary to virtue and truth, these things it is not right to place in the light before the eyes of men, far less to defend by the favour and tutelage of the laws. A well spent life is the only path to that heaven whither we all direct our steps; and on this account the State departs from the law and custom of nature if it allow the licence of opinions and of deeds to run riot to such a degree as to lead minds astray with impunity from the truth, and hearts from the practices of virtue.

BUT TO EXCLUDE THE CHURCH WHICH GOD HIMSELF HAS CONSTITUTED FROM THE BUSINESS OF LIFE, FROM THE LAWS, FROM THE TEACHING OF YOUTH, FROM DOMESTIC SOCIETY, IS A GREAT AND PERNICIOUS ERROR.

A well regulated State cannot be when religion is taken away; more than needs be, perhaps, is now known of what sort of a thing it is itself, and whether tend to the philosophy of life and morals which men call civil. The Church of Christ is the true teacher of virtue and guardian of morals; it is that which keeps principles in safety, from which duties are derived, and by proposing most efficacious reasons for an honest life, it bids us not only fly from wicked deeds, but rule the motions of the mind which are contrary to reason when it is not intended to reduce them to action. But to wish the Church in the discharge of its offices to be subject to the civil power is a great rashness, a great injustice. If this were done order would be disturbed, since things natural would thus be put before those which are above nature; the multitude of the poor, whose common life, if there be nothing to hinder it, the Church would make complete, either disappears or at all events is considerably diminished, and besides a way is opened to enmities and conflicts—how great the evil which they bring upon each order of government the event has too frequently shown.

Such doctrines are not approved by human reason, and are of the greatest gravity as regards civil discipline, the Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors—well understanding what the apostolic office required of them—by no means suffered to go forth without condemnation. Thus Gregory XVI., by Encyclical Letter beginning Mirare nos, of August 10th, 1832, in Latin doctrine which was already being preached, namely, that in divine worship no choice should be made; and that it was right for individuals to judge of religion according to their personal preferences; that each man's conscience was to himself his sole sufficient guide, and that it was lawful to pronounce that whoever each man might think, and so make a revolution in the State. Concerning the reasons for the separation of Church and State, the same Pontiff speaks thus: "Nor can we hope happier results either for religion or the government, from the wishes of those who are eagerly desirous that the Church should be separated from the State, and the mutual good understanding of the sovereign secular power and the sacerdotal authority be broken up. It is evident that these lovers of most shameful liberty dread that concord which has always been fortunate and wholesome, both for sacred and civil interests." To the like effect Pius IX., as opportunity offered, cited many opinions which had begun to be of great strength, and afterwards ordered them to be collected together in order that in so great a conflux of errors Catholics might have something which, without stumbling, they might follow.

FROM THESE DECISIONS OF THE POPES IT IS CLEARLY TO BE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE ORIGIN OF PUBLIC POWER IS TO BE SOUGHT FROM GOD HIMSELF.

And from the multitude; that the free play for sedition is repugnant to reason; that it is a crime for private individuals and a crime for States to observe nowhere the duties of religion, or to treat in the same way different kinds of religion; that the uncontrolled right of thinking and publicly proclaiming one's thoughts is not inherent in the rights of citizens, nor in any sense to be placed among those things which are worthy of favor or patronage. Similarly it ought to be understood that the Church is a society, not less than the State itself, perfect in kind and right, and that those who exercise sovereignty ought not to act so as to compel the Church to become subservient or inferior to themselves, or suffer her to be less free to transact her own affairs, or detractught from the other rights which have been conferred upon her by Jesus Christ. But in matters, however, of complex jurisdiction, it is in the highest degree in accordance with nature and also with the counsel of God—not that one power should succede from the other, still less come into conflict, but that that harmony and concord should be preserved which is most akin to the foundations of both societies. These, then, are the things taught by the Catholic Church concerning the constitution and government of the State. Concerning these sayings and decrees, if a man will only judge dispassionately, no form of Government is, per se, condemned so long as it has nothing repugnant to

Catholic doctrine, and is able, if wisely and justly managed, to preserve the State in the best condition. For it is, per se, to be condemned whether the people have a greater or less share in the government; for at certain times and with the guarantee of certain laws, such participation may appertain, not only to the usefulness, but even to the duty of the citizens. Moreover, there is no just cause that any one should condemn the gentleness, or be inimical to that liberty which is natural and legitimate. In truth, the Church judges it not lawful that the various kinds of Divine worship should have the same right as the true religion, still it does not therefore condemn those governments of States, who, for the sake of acquiring some great good, or preventing some great ill, patiently bear with manners and customs so that each kind of religion has its place in the State. Indeed the Church is won't diligently to take heed that no one be compelled against his will to embrace the Catholic Faith, for as Augustine wisely observes: "Credere non potest homo nisi volens" (Tract xxvii., in Joan., n. 2).

FOR A SIMILAR REASON THE CHURCH CANNOT APPROVE OF THAT LIBERTY WHICH GENERATES A CONTEMPT OF THE MOST SACRED LAWS OF GOD,

and puts away the obedience due to legitimate power. For this is licence rather than liberty, and is most correctly called by Augustine "libertas perditionis" (Ep. ad Donatistas, li., n. 9); by the Apostle, "libertas in perditionem" (1 Peter ii., 16), indeed, since it is contrary to reason, it is a true servitude for "Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin" (John viii., 34). On the other hand that liberty is natural and to be sought, which, if it be considered in relation to the individual, suffers not men to be the slaves of error and evil desires, whatever they may be; if in relation to the State, it provides wisdom over the citizens, serves the faculty of augmenting public advantages, and defends the public interest from alien rule, this blameless liberty worthy of man the Church approves, above all, and has never ceased striving and contending to keep firm and whole among the people. In very truth, whatever liberty in the State is for the most part for the common safety; whatever have been usefully instituted against the licence of princes, consulting all the interests of the people; whatever forbid the governing authority to invade into municipal or domestic affairs; whatever avail to preserve the dignity and the character of man, in preserving the equality of rights in individual citizens, of all these things the monuments of former ages witness the Catholic Church to have always been either the author, the promoter, or the guardian. Ever therefore consistent with herself, if on the one hand she rejects immoderate liberty, which both in the case of individuals and peoples results in licence or in servitude; on the other she willingly and with pleasure embraces those happier circumstances which the age brings; if they truly contain the prosperity of this life, which is as it were a stage in the journey to that other which is to endure everlastingly. Therefore what they say that the Church is jealous of, the more modern political systems find anything new, and whatever the disposition of these times has brought forth, is an insane and contemptible canny. The madness of opinion it indeed repudiates; it reproves the wicked plans of sedition, and especially that habit of mind in which the beginnings of a voluntary departing from God are visible; but since

EVERY TRUE THING MUST NECESSARILY PROCEED FROM GOD,

whatever of truth is by search attained, the Church acknowledges as a certain token of the Divine mind. And since there is in the world nothing which can take away belief in the doctrines divinely handed down and many things which confirm this, and since every finding of truth may impel man to the knowledge or praise of God Himself, therefore whatever may happen to extend the range of knowledge, the Church will always willingly and joyfully accept; and she will, as is her wont in the case of other departments of knowledge, studiously encourage and promote those also which are concerned with the investigation of nature. In which studies, if the mind finds anything new, the Church is not in opposition; she fights not against the search after more things for the grace and convenience of life—nay, a very foe to inertness and sloth, she earnestly wishes that the talents of men should, by being cultivated and exercised, bear still richer fruits; she affords incitements to every sort of art and craft, and by her own virtue directing by her own perfection all the pursuits of those things to virtue and salvation, she strives to prevent man from turning aside his intelligence and industry from God and heavenly things.

BUT THESE THINGS ALTHOUGH FULL OF REASONABLENESS AND FORESIGHT, ARE NOT SO WELL APPROVED OF AT THIS TIME, WHEN STATES NOT ONLY REFUSE TO REFER TO THE LAWS OF CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, BUT ARE SEEN EVEN TO WISH TO DEPART EACH DAY FARTHER FROM THEM.

Nevertheless, because truth brought to light is wont of its own accord to spread widely, and by degrees to pervade the minds of men, We, therefore, moved by the consciousness of the greatest, the most holy, that is the Apostolic obligation, which we owe to all the nations in those things which are true, freely, as we ought, We do speak: not that We have no perception of the spirit of the times, or that We think the honest and useful improvements of our age are to be repudiated, but because We would wish the highways of public affairs to be safer from attacks, and their foundations more stable, and that without detriment to the true freedom of the peoples; for amongst men the mother and best guardian of liberty is truth: "The truth shall make you free" (John viii., 32).

Therefore at so critical a juncture of events Catholic men, if as it behoves them, they will listen to Us, will easily see what are their own and each other's duties in matters of opinion as well as of action. And in the formation of opinion, whatsoever things the Roman Pontiffs have handed down, each and every one it is necessary to hold in firm judgment well understood, and as often as occasion demands openly to declare. Now especially concerning those things which are called recently-acquired liberties, it is proper to stand by the judgment of the

APOSTOLIC SEE, AND FOR EACH ONE TO HOLD WHAT HE HERSELF HOLDS. TAKE CARE LEAST SUCH ONE BE DECEIVED BY THE HONEST OUTWARD APPEARANCE OF THESE THINGS;

and think of the beginnings from which they are sprung; and by what desires they are sustained and fed in divers places. It is now sufficiently known by experience of what things they are the causes in the State; how indiscriminately they bring forth fruit, of which good men and wise men should be rightly do report. If there should be in any place a State, either actual or hypothetical, that wantonly and tyrannically wages war upon the Christian name, and if have conferred upon it that character of which we have spoken, it is possible that this may be considered more tolerable; yet the principles upon which it rests are absolutely such that, of themselves they ought to be approved by no man.

Now action may be taken in private and domestic affairs, or in affairs public. In private life, indeed, the first duty is to conform one's life and manners to the precepts of the Gospel, and not to refuse if Christian virtue demands that something more difficult to bear than usual. Individuals also are bound to love the Church as their common mother; to keep her laws obediently; to give her the service of due honour, and to wish her rights respected, and to endeavour that she be fostered and beloved with like piety by those over whom they may exercise authority. It is also of great importance to the public welfare diligently and wisely to give attention to the duties of citizenship; in this regard most particularly with that concern which is righteous amongst Christians, to take pains and pass effective measures so that public provision be made for the instruction of youth in religion and true morality, for upon these things depends very much the welfare of every State. Besides, in general it is useful and honourable to stretch the attention of Catholic men beyond this narrower field, and to

EMBRACE EVERY BRANCH OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Generally, we say, because these Our precepts reach unto all the nations. But it may happen in some particular place, for the most urgent and just reasons, that it is by no means expedient to engage in public affairs, or to take an active part in political functions. But generally, as We have said, to wish to take no part in public affairs would be in that degree vicious, in which it brought to the common weal neither care, nor work; and on this account the more so, because the Catholic man are bound by the admonitions of the doctrine which they profess, to do what has to be done with integrity and with faith. If, on the contrary, they were idle, those whose opinions do not in truth give any great hope of safety, would easily get possession of the reins of government. This also would be attended with danger to the Christian name, because they would become most powerful who are badly disposed towards the Church; and those least powerful who are well disposed. Wherefore it is evident there is just cause for Catholics to undertake the conduct of public affairs; for they do not assume these responsibilities in order to approve of what is unlawful in the methods of government at this time; but in order that they may turn these very methods, as far as may be, to the unimpaired and true public good, holding this purpose in their minds, to infuse into all the veins of the commonwealth the wisdom and virtue of the Catholic religion—the most happy and best blood as it were. It was scarcely done otherwise in the first ages of the Church. For the manners and desires of the heathen were diverged as widely as possible from the manners and desires of the Gospel; for the

CHRISTIANS HAD TO SEPARATE THEMSELVES FROM THE UNLAWFUL IN THE MIDDLE OF SUPERSTITION, AND ALWAYS TRUE TO THEMSELVES MOST CHEERFULLY ENTER EVERY WALK IN LIFE WHICH WAS OPEN TO THEM.

Models of fidelity to their principles, obedient, where lawful, to the sovereign power, they established a wonderful splendor of holiness everywhere; they sought the advantage of their neighbor, and to all others the wisdom of Christ; bravely prepared to retire from public life, and even to die if they could not retain honor, nor the magistracy, nor the supreme command with unswerving virtue. For which reason Christian customs soon found their way, not only into private houses, but into the camps, into the senate, even into the imperial palace. "We are of yesterday and we fill your every thing, cities, islands, castles, municipalities, councils, the very camps, the rank and file of the army, the officerships, the palace, the senate, the forum." (Tertullian, Apol., n. 37), so that the Christian faith, when it was unlawful publicly to profess the Gospel, was not a child crying in its cradle, but growing up of wisdom and valiantly firm, was manifest in a great part of the State.

Now indeed in these days it is as well to renew these examples of our forefathers. For Catholics indeed, as many as are worthy of the name, before all things it is necessary to be, and to be willing to be, regarded as most loving sons of the Church; and whatsoever it is inconsistent with this good report, without hesitation to reject; to use popular institutions as far as honestly can be to the advantage of truth and justice; to labor that liberty of action shall not transgress the bounds ordained by the law of nature and of God; so to work that the whole of public life shall be transferred into that, as We have called it, a Christian image and likeness. The means to reach these ends can scarcely be laid down upon one uniform plan, since they must suit places and times very different from each other. Nevertheless, in the first place, let concord of wills be preserved, and a likeness of things to be done sought for. And each will be attained the best, if all shall consider the admonitions of the Apostolic See a law of conduct.

AND SHALL OBEY THE BISHOPS WHOM "THE SPIRIT OF GOD HAS PLACED TO RULE THE CHURCH OF GOD" (ACTS xx., 28).

The defence of the Catholic name, indeed of necessity demands that in the profession of doctrines which are handed down by the Church the opinion of all shall be one, and the most perfect care that no one connives in any degree at false opinions or resists with greater gentleness than truth will allow. Con-

cerning those things which are matters of opinion, it will be lawful, with attention and with a desire of investigating the truth, without injurious and mutual incriminations. For purpose, lest the agreement of minds broken by temerity of accusation, understand: that the integrity of Catholic profession can by no means be reconciled with opinions approving towards naturalism or rationalism, which the sum total is to uproot institutions altogether, and abolish the appreciation of man, Almighty God being pushed on one side. It is unlawful to follow one line of opinion in private and another in public, the authority of the Church as observed in private, and spurning public. For this would be to join to things honest and disgraceful, to make a man fight a battle with himself, when as the contrary he ought to be consistent with himself, and in any the least thing or manner, decline from Christian virtue. If inquiry is made about private matters, merely political, concerning the form of government, of civil regulation of one kind or another, concerning things of course there is room for agreement without harm. The piety therefore, is known on other count, and whose minds are receptive OF THE DECREES OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE.

justice will not allow accounts because they differ on these subjects. The governor, the injury are charged with the crimes of having violated the Catholic faith, or accepted, a thing we deplore doubly only. And let all hold this point absolutely who are wont to commit thoughts to writing, especially the editors of newspapers. In this contention the highest things, nothing is to be gained, because the great parties, but let all uniting together the common object of true religion and the State. If therefore have been discussions, it is right to iterate them in a certain voluntariness; if there has been any rash, anything injurious, to whom the wish is to let compensation be made by mutual charity, and especially in obedience to the Apostolic See, this way Catholics will obtain two most excellent: one that they will themselves help to the Church in serving and propagating Christian doctrine; the other that they will avoid the society of which the safety is gravely compromised by reason of doctrines and inordinate desires. These things, therefore, Venerable Brethren, concerning the Christian situation of States and the duties of individual citizens, We have dwelt. We shall transmit them to the most Holy Father, the Pope.

But to implore the most earnest prayers of the Almighty, these things which We desire and after for His glory and the salvation of the human race, Whose alone illumine the minds and to quicken the wills of men and Himself to lead the wish of the Catholic man, Divine favours, and in witness of paternal benevolence to you, Venerable Brethren, to the Clergy, and to people committed to your faithful vigilance, We lovingly bestow the Lord's Apostolic Benediction.

Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, on the first day of November, in the year of Our Lord MDCCLXXXV., of the Pontificate the Eighteenth.

LEO, P. P. X.

REVIEW OF RIEL'S CASE. An Official Memorandum Prepared by Sir Alexander Campbell.

ALL THE POINTS CONSIDERED. From our own Correspondent. Ottawa, Dec. 2.—The following full copy of a memorandum respecting the case of the Queen v. Riel, prepared by request of the Committee of the Council by Sir Alexander Campbell, Minister of Justice in charge of the case.

The case of Louis Riel, convicted and executed for high treason, has attracted unusual attention and interest beyond its limits. Here it has been the subject of party, religious and national feeling and discussion; and it has been regarded by some as a precedent for the first time in this history, what is assumed to have been a real crime only has been punished with death. The opponents of the Government have asserted that the rebellion was provoked, if not justified, by their administration of the affairs of the West Territories, and that attention just claims of the half-breeds of the question, which has been made a party politics, it is not thought to deal here. Upon such a charge made in a constitutional manner, the Government will be responsible to the representatives of the people, and before they will be prepared to meet and approve it. Appeals to the animosity of the race have been made in one of the most successful ways. These prevail, the future of the must suffer. Parliament will not for some time, and in the interval some action is taken to remove animosities, they will gain ground. It will become more difficult to dispense in the grounds which are used to them. It is thought right, therefore, the true facts of the case, and the conditions which have influenced the Government, should be known, so that the desire to judge of their conduct intelligently, may have the information essential for that purpose.

It has been asserted that the trial was an unfair one, and before a tribunal legally constituted; that the motives of rebellion and inspired by motives, the sentence, according to custom and sentiment, should not be carried out, and that the present state of mind was such as to reflect the most anxious consideration of one of these grounds the Government have felt it impossible to give credence to them, and have deemed duty to let the law take its course.