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The Voice.

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TO OUR READERS.

Before all our readers will have received this February number of THE VOICE, the novena of Masses promised will have been said, as it begins on the 28th January. We rejoice that so many have availed themselves of this advantage, and have not only secured for another year the blessings of good reading, but have shared in the unbounded merits of the holy sacrifice, offered nine times for their spiritual benefit, and more especially to obtain for them the inestimable grace of a happy death. Is it not the sweetest consolation for every member of THE VOICE to know that he has the fairest possible hopes of dying happy, since he has the sacrifice of the Mass offered every month to obtain that blessing, besides the novena in January. We are not surprised that many renewed their subscription in January, though it was only due at the end of the year—thus to make sure of a share in that general and powerful supplication. We offer our warmest thanks to our kind agents, for the extra trouble they have taken on this occasion. All of them, with a very few exceptions, have exerted themselves considerably to make known the advantages of the novena; have obtained the renewal of a large number of subscriptions, and secured long lists of new subscribers. We trust that in 1882 our grand union of prayer and good reading will be, at least, as prosperous as in 1881. We are glad to see that many subscribers have induced others to join, and have become active agents in localities where none existed. With this general good-will and with God's blessing, our good work, cheap as it is, will prosper.

ARCHBISHOP MANNING.

ON

"CÆSARISM AND ULTRAMONTANISM."

In one sense the conflict of the Church and the world is always the same. The enmity of the world is one, and the truth is one; nevertheless, the forms of that enmity are endless and always changing. In one point the warfare of the world against the Church is always the same. It always uses the same weapons, but the motives and aims of those that use them vary. The weapons have been, are, and always will be the civil power. For the first three centuries the Jews and the heretical sects excited the suspicions, fears and hatred of the Roman Empire against the Church. In the Middle Ages the ambition or despotism of Christian princes wielded the civil power against the Church. Now, for the last three hundred years, and especially in this century, it is a world departing from Christianity which used the civil power for the oppression of the Church. In one word, the antagonist of the Church has always been Cæsarism, or the supremacy of the civil over the spiritual.

Cæsarism is to be found in all ages and countries, but the Cæsarism of the nineteenth century has a character of its own. The first manifestation of Cæsarism in history may be seen in the imperial despotisms of Rome after the suppression of the republic, and in the Roman Emperors who have stamped it with their name. In essence it has the absolute dominion of man over man—the power of life and death, including supreme power over liberty and goods, and extending to the whole life of man, political and religious, social and domestic. It may be summed up in a few words: "*Divus Cæsar, Imperator et Summus Pontifex.*" There is nothing in the public or private life of man that escapes from the sweeping jurisdiction of this universal sovereignty. The sovereignty of Cæsarism is absolute and dependent on no conditions; it is also exclusive, because it does not tolerate any jurisdiction above and within its own. It does not recognize any laws except of its own making.

Its essence is the claim to absolute and exclusive sovereignty. It by necessity excludes God, His sovereignty, and His laws. The sole formation of law is the human will, individual or collective. Cæsar finds the law in himself, and creates right and wrong,

the just and the unjust, the sacred and the profane. It has no statute book but human nature, and Cæsar is the sole and supreme interpreter and expositor of that natural law. Therefore law, morals, politics, and religion all come from him, and all depend upon him. The Sovereign Prince or State legislates, judges, executes by its own will and hand. This sovereign power creates everything; it fashions the political constitution; it delegates jurisdiction, revocable at its word; it suspends or measures out personal liberty; it controls domestic life; it claims the children as its own; it educates them at its will, and after models and theories of its own. Now, this exclusion of God is the deification of man. It puts man in the place of God as the supreme legislator, the fountain of authority, law, and right. It gives to him the control of men's actions and men's minds.

The Archbishop, after some learned remarks on the *Lex Regia* of Rome, the Cæsarism of Caligula, and citing passages from Ulpian, Gaume, and Terrasson, proceeded to trace the course of Cæsarism in the Christian world. There can be no Cæsarism, he said, where Christ reigns. Christianity has subjected the outward actions of men indeed to civil government, but it has withdrawn from civil rulers the whole domain of religion. The State may imprison the body and even take its life, but it has no jurisdiction over the soul. All its acts are free. They have no lawgiver or sovereign but God alone. By the coming of Christ into the world the kingdom of God was set up among the kingdoms of men. Cæsar was no longer "Divus" nor "Pontifex Maximus," nor absolute nor exclusive lord of men. No man any longer had unlimited sovereignty over man, and no man could by right hold property in man. The Son of God had redeemed men into the liberty of the sons of God, and He secured that liberty forever by a sovereign act. He divided the two powers, spiritual and civil, and gave them into different hands, so that they could never be again united in one person, except Himself and His Vicar, upon earth.

The presence of the Catholic Church among the civil powers of the world had changed the whole political order of mankind. It has established upon earth a legislature, a tribunal, and an executive independent of all human authority. It has withdrawn from the reach of human laws the whole domain of faith and of conscience. This is the solution of the problem which the world cannot solve. Obedience to the Church is liberty; and it is

liberty because the Church cannot err or mislead either men or nations. If the Church were not infallible obedience to it might be the worst of bondage. This is Ultramontanism, or the liberty of the soul divinely guaranteed by an infallible Church ; the proper check and restraint of Cæsarism, as Cæsarism is the proper antagonist of the sovereignty of God.

Extracts from the letter of Saint Gelasius to the Emperor Anastasius, and that of Saint Bernard to Conrad, King of the Romans, and from the writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas were given to illustrate the doctrine of the separation and partition of the spiritual power and the civil power.

The difference between Pagan Cæsarism and Christianity consists in : 1. The first regards the State as its own creation, the second as the creation of God. 2. The first—*i.e.*, Pontiff and King over body and soul absolute and exclusive ; the second is subject in all that belongs to the soul, to the Divine law and to the Church of Jesus Christ. 3. The first makes religion an instrument or department of the State ; the second makes it the limitation of civil power and the protection of human liberty. 4. The first treats all civil power as subject to God and His law, of which the Church is the guardian and interpreter. 5. The first regards all power, civil, and religious, as derived from the people ; the second regards civil power as formally from God, and the spiritual power as exclusively from God, and therefore dependent on God alone. This is Ultramontanism, the essence of which is that the Church, being a divine institution, and by divine assistance infallible, is, within its own sphere, independent of all civil powers ; and, as the guardian and interpreter of the Divine law, is the proper judge of men and of nations in all things touching that law in faith and morals. D. Manning said that as the term Ultramontane is now cited as a nickname to kindle persecution against the Church by misleading public opinion he would draw out a proof that Ultramontanism and Catholicism are identical and that Catholicism and perfect Christianity are also identical. Christianity, or the faith and law of Jesus Christ, has introduced two principles of Divine authority into human society ; the one the absolute separation of the two powers, spiritual and civil, the other the supremacy of the spiritual over the civil in all matters within its competence or divine jurisdiction. It is enough to say that these two principles are held by all Christians, except Erasmians, who deny the spiritual office of the Church, if not also its

existence. He hoped to show that these two principles are Ultramontanist ; that the Bull "Unum Sanctum" contains no more ; that the Vatican Council could define no less ; that in its definition it enunciated nothing new ; that its two constitutions were, as Parliament would say, not enacting but declaratory acts ; that they have changed nothing and added nothing either to the constitution of the Church, or to the relations of the Church with the civil powers of the world.

Ultramontanism teaches that within the sphere of its competence the civil power is to be obeyed, not only for wealth, but for conscience sake. It is a part of the Christian religion to obey "the powers that are." As to the independence of the Spiritual Power we need waste no words. The existence of the Church and the primacy of its head in these 1,800 years are proof enough. These two distinct and separate powers have distinct and separate spheres, and within these spheres respectively they hold their power from God. Where the limits of these spheres are to be traced it is easy enough to decide in all matters purely civil or in all matters purely spiritual.

The conflict arises over the mixed questions. And yet here there ought to be no real difficulty. Nobody can decide what questions are pure or what questions are mixed, except a judge who can define the limits of the two elements respectively, and therefore of the respective jurisdictions. In any question not within the competence of the two powers, either there must be some judge to decide what does and what does not fall within their respective spheres, or they are delivered over to perpetual doubt and to perpetual conflict. It is clear that the civil power cannot define how far the circumference of faith and morals extends. If it could, it would be invested with one of the endowments of the Church. It must know the whole deposit of explicit and implicit faith ; or, in other words, it must be the guardian of the Christian revelation. But if the Church be certain with a divine certainty as to the limits of its jurisdiction, its voice in such matters is final. But an authority that can alone define the limits of its own office is absolute because it depends on none, and infallible because it knows with a divine certainty the faith which it has received in charge.

Now, no Christian, nor any man of sound mind, claims this for the civil power ; and if not, then either there is no judge to end the strife or that judge must be the Church, to which alone the

revelation of Christianity in faith and morals was divinely intrusted. If, then, the civil power be not competent to decide the limits of the spiritual power, and if the spiritual power can define with a divine certainty its own limits, it is evidently supreme. I do not see how this can be denied without denying Christianity. And if this be so, this is the doctrine of the bull "*unum sanctum*," and of the syllabus, and of the Vatican Council. It is, in fact, Ultramontanism, for this term means neither less nor more. The church of Jesus Christ, within the sphere of revelation, of faith, and morals, is Christ or Antichrist. If it be Antichrist, every Cæsar from Nero to this day is justified. If it be Christ, it is the supreme power among men; that is to say: it holds its commission and authority from God; it holds in custody the faith and the law of Jesus Christ; it is the sole interpretation of that faith and the sole expositor of that law; it alone can fix the limits of the faith and law intrusted to it, and therefore the sphere of its own jurisdiction; it alone can decide in questions where its power is in contact with the civil power—that is, in mixed questions; for it alone can determine how far its own divine office, or its own divine trust, enters into and is implicated in such questions; and it is precisely that element in any mixed question of disputed jurisdiction which belongs to a higher order and to a higher tribunal.

For instance, a Catholic Professor of Theology in a State University, salaried by the State, refuses the definitions of the Vatican Council. The bishop excommunicates him, the State supports and pays him in spite of the excommunication of the Church as a Professor of Catholic Theology. Here is a mixed question made up of stipend and orthodoxy. Surely orthodoxy is a higher element than stipend; faith is of a higher order than thalers; and to judge of orthodoxy and faith belongs not to the civil but the spiritual tribunal, which is (in that sphere) superior, absolute and final.

The sum, then, of our argument is this: Cæsarism consists in the union of the two powers in one person; in the claim of supremacy over all causes and persons; in the exercise of conscience in spiritual matter; in the isolation of the national religion on the plea that no foreign jurisdiction can enter the State; in the isolation of national churches, and thereby the rejection of the universal authority of the Church.

Ultramontanism consists in the separation of the two

powers, and the vesting them in different persons; in claiming for the church the sole right to define doctrines of faith and morals; and to fix the limits of its own jurisdiction in that sphere; in the indissoluble union with and submission to the universal jurisdiction of the Holy See. Such, then, was the Cæsarism of the heathen world, the dominion of man over man, both in matters of civil obedience and in matter of religious worship; and such was the restraint of this absolute and intolerable sway of man over man by the separation of the two powers, temporal and spiritual, into distinct authorities and spheres of jurisdiction vested in distinct persons. But Cæsarism is in human nature. It is the government of flesh and blood, or of "blood and iron," and though restrained for a time by Christianity, it has never been extinct. Through the whole history of Christendom, from the fourth to the sixteenth century, it has been always striving to reassert itself.

THE POPE AND THE GERMAN EMPEROR.

LETTER TO HIS MAJESTY KING WILLIAM OF PRUSSIA, EMPEROR
OF GERMANY, BY ATHANASIUS CLEMENT.

SIRE:—In the Imperial and *doctrinal* letter, which the journals of the world have reproduced, your Majesty reminds the Sovereign Pontiff that the Catholic Church acknowledges the obligations of obedience to temporal authority, *as an emanation of the Divine will that is revealed to us*. Yes, Sire, the Church acknowledges that all power comes in the beginning from God, according to the words of the Apostle, *all power is from God*; and that we must obey the public authority by virtue of such Divine right. She does not, however, in acknowledging such Divine right, mean that the various forms of political power have been revealed by God, or that the trustees of that power have been personally and supernaturally designated by God; or these forms and these designations are only, under the action of Providence, a matter of positive and historical human right; she means that, as man has been created for social life, society is willed by God; and that therefore God wills also the authority which is its fundamental condition. This is the *natural* Divine right which so many statesmen, so many

lawyers, and above all, so many writers of our day, superstitiously travesty, ridiculing, without examination, that which is the first of social truths.

This truth, Sire, you have courageously proclaimed, in spite of the proud but foolish sneers of contemporary pretended science ; and for this the friends of true science congratulate your Majesty.

II.

But why should their congratulations be mingled with a profound sorrow ? This sorrow, Sire, they cannot but feel at seeing how far the religious instincts of your Majesty have been imposed upon by those who have persuaded you that the faithful, the clergy, and even the Catholic Bishops of Germany, *deny the Christian teaching* (as to the obligation of obedience to the temporal authority) *so as openly to oppose the laws of the State.*

Yes, the religious feelings of your Majesty have been taken unawares. With a lawful indignation have the Catholics of your Kingdom defied the Prime Minister of the Empire to point out where, when, and in what way, they have ever claimed to exempt themselves from obedience to the laws ; but this challenge has never been taken up, and never will be.

The laws, Sire, which the Christians of your Empire cannot obey, without *denying the teaching of Christianity*, are not the laws of the State ; they are not the civil laws ; but they are the ecclesiastical laws, which, in spite of the Gospel—in spite of the belief throughout all ages of Christianity, in the distinction of the two powers, and in spite of the very constitution of your Empire, which had guaranteed religious liberty to the Catholics of Germany—the State now claims to impose upon your Christian subjects.

Those, Sire, are not civil laws, which lay down rules for the education of the clergy, and consequently for the religious education of the faithful. They are ecclesiastical laws.

Those laws are not civil laws which lay down rules for the institution of the clergy in the sacred ministry of souls.

Those laws are not civil laws which regulate the canonical discrimination between priests who are worthy and priests who are unworthy to exercise their sacred functions.

Those laws are not civil laws, but ecclesiastical laws, which regulate ecclesiastical judgments, in respect to such members of the Church as may deserve to be deprived of her spiritual com-

munion. It was for refusing to accept laws of this kind from the civil power that St. Anselm was sent into exile, and that St. Thomas of Canterbury laid down his life, as the Archbishop of Westminster lately reminded his hearers, when speaking in the church of St. Edward, in London, of what is passing now in Prussia. And the Archbishop declared at the same time, to Catholics and Protestants alike, that he was himself ready to lay down his life rather than to give up his faith by a sacriligious submission to laws that are destructive of the divine constitution of the Church.

Such laws, happily, are no longer to be feared in England, where the Sovereign and Parliament would be ashamed to go back to the time of Henry VIII. and of Elizabeth. But what England, Sire, ought to be ashamed of, ought it not to cause shame every where ?

How guilty, then, are those who have dared to represent to your Majesty that the profound trouble which has necessarily been felt in the consciences of men comes from *an abuse of ecclesiastical influence !*

III.

And they have dared even, without regard to the august character of your Majesty, so far to deceive you as that you should address to the Head of the Catholic Church these words : “ *The religion of Jesus Christ has not—I swear it to your Holiness before God—anything to do with these intrigues.* ”

Has the religion of Jesus Christ, Sire, nothing to do with the writings of the New Testament? Well, then, *we* swear before God, to your Majesty, that these Divine writings declare that the teaching of the Church, the ministry of the Church, the legislation and judgments of the Church, do not depend upon the powers of this world.

Was it to the Emperors or to the Apostles that Christ said, *Teach all nations ?*

Was it to Cæsar or Peter that Christ said, *feed my lambs, feed my sheep ?* And when St. Paul wrote to Timothy, Bishop of Ephesus, *The things which thou hast heard of me by many witnesses, the same command to faithful men, who shall be fit to teach others also ;* did he require the Bishop of Ephesus to apply to the functionaries of the State for certificates of capacity, in order thereby to make legitimate choice and mission of the ministers of the Gospel ?

And when the Apostles, united in Jerusalem, promulgated the first disciplinary laws of the Church, did they not dream of asking for the *visa* of the Roman Prefect.

And when the Apostle of the Gentiles excommunicated the incestuous man of Corinth, did he wait for the confirmation of his sentence by any magistrate ?

The Apostles, Sire, rendered unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, but to God alone did they render that which belongs to God. Their successors have done the same in every age ; for He gave to them successors, as he promised he would be with them, *even to the consummation of the world.*

Your Majesty, therefore must see clearly that *the religion of Jesus Christ has not any thing to do with* the legists of your Empire. And it is these legists that are to be accused of *denying the Christian teaching*, when they undertake to legislate upon the teachings of the Church, upon the choice and institution of her ministers, and upon the validity of her laws and of her judgments.

IV.

And would that these men deny the gospel only for themselves ! But, taking advantage of the position in which your Majesty, surrounded by the cares of the Imperial Government, is hindered from going deeply into sacred subjects, they have not feared to place upon the lips of your Majesty words which formally condemn what you have done. They make you, Sire, say to the Pope that the Evangelical Faith forbids you, and forbids the majority of your subjects to admit into the relations of man with God *any other mediator than our Lord Jesus Christ* ; and, at the very moment when you are made to speak thus, they lead you to usurp the office of supreme mediator between your Catholic subjects and our Lord Jesus Christ Himself. At the very moment when your Majesty rejects the Pope, in the name of what you call the Evangelical Faith, these men would make of you a Pope over your Empire.

V.

So true it is that a Pope is needed, and that men who will no longer have the Pope of the Gospel seek immediately for another. It is because all theories are useless, when contrary to the nature of things. There is no society without authority ; no religious society on earth without religious authority on earth. Hence it happens that the sects, when they reject the authority

which Christ has divinely established—that spiritual authority which knows not the divisions of peoples, but which confesses one God, one faith, one baptism, one fold, and one shepherd—are constrained, lest they should perish, to take refuge under the wings of the temporal authority ; and this is what Protestantism has done from the beginning, and still continues to do, substituting national churches for the Church that is universal, *and denying the Christian teaching* with respect to the distinct character of Christianity, namely, its Catholicity—*Teach all nations.*

The Kingdom of Jesus Christ, Sire, is not of *this world* ; it is not of human institution. It is of Divine institution, and it has for its object the salvation of souls ; but it was to establish it *in this world* that the Word was made (*the Kingdom of God has come unto you*), and that he founded His Church—as the Gospel clearly witnesses.

VI.

Truly, *there is but one mediator between God and men* ; and this one mediator is the Man-God, Our Lord Jesus Christ. He alone has been able to redeem us, by the shedding of His blood ; He alone is thus the mediator of justice or of redemption ; He alone is of Himself the source of grace and of truth ; but it is He Himself who wishes to spread both the one and the other by means of His Church. There is nothing in this, Sire, to astonish us. Divine wisdom is everywhere in harmony with itself : and in the order of nature, it works by secondary causes. When souls are to be saved, it is by man that it wishes to save man ; and, when it wishes to come to the aid of a spiritual and sensible nature like ours, it is by spiritual and sensible means that it wills to do it.

Open the Scriptures, Sire, and you will see—

Jesus Christ is the sole Master, the sole Teacher of our souls : *One is your Master.* But He who alone possesses in Himself the Divine power of teaching, communicates it to the perpetual Apostolate : *Teach*, He says ; *I am with you till the consummation of the world.*

Jesus Christ is by Himself the only Priest : He alone has consummated, once, the great sacrifice of redemption. But as this great victim, once sacrificed on Calvary, does not cease to offer Himself *for us* in Heaven, *always living to make intercession for us*, so He does not cease to offer Himself *by us* upon the

earth, in the perpetual and unbloody sacrifice of the New Covenant—*This is my blood : do this in commemoration of me.* This, Sire, is the word of the Master. And here is the word of the disciple, the doctor of the Gentile : *We have an altar, of the victim of which those cannot partake who remain attached to the sacrifices of the ancient tabernacle.*

Jesus Christ alone, because he is God, has by Himself the power of forgiving sins ; but this power He communicates to men, and He wills it to be exercised by the priesthood of the New Testament : *Whosoever sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them ; and whosoever sins you shall retain, they are retained.*

Jesus Christ alone is by Himself the foundation of His Church ; for *no one can lay any other foundation than that which has been laid, and this foundation is Jesus Christ.* But if the invisible hand of Christ can alone sustain His work, it is this Divine hand itself that places and sustains the visible foundation which He gives to the visible edifice of His Church : *Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church.*

Jesus Christ alone is infallible by Himself, and it belongs only to His Divine word never to be deceived ; but fidelity to this word, fidelity divinely promised in guarding the deposit of revelation—that is, the infallibility of *the faith*—this He has promised to the supreme authority on which the Church is founded : *I have prayed for thee, said Christ to Peter, that thy faith fail not.* It will be for thee to *confirm thy brethern.* *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church ; and the gates of hell (and falsehood, therefore), shall not prevail against it.* Your Majesty hears : the Church cannot be shaken in her faith, because the foundation which Christ gives to Her is to be forever unshaken.

This, Sire, is enough. The Church and the Gospel are but one ; the Gospel is the plan, the Church is the edifice ; and it is evident that without the Church the Gospel would be only a book of false promises. But it is a Divine book, and it is by the Church, above all things, that its divinity is proved ; for it is only in the Church that we see in living reality the great future which the Gospel foretold. Where else should we find the *Thou art Peter*—that is the Church founded upon Peter ? Where else should we find the *I am with you all days*—that is, the Episcopate uninterrupted, from Jesus Christ to our own time ? Where

else should we find the *Whosever sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven them*—that is, the ministry of the forgiveness of sins? Where else should we find the sacrifice of which the Apostle speaks—the realization of those words of St. Paul, *We have an Altar*—that is, the universal and perpetual sacrifice announced by the prophets the sacrifice according to the rite of the high priest of Salem, the sacrifice under the appearances of bread and wine, the *Priest forever according to the order of Melchisedich*? Oh, would that your Majesty had the true evangelical faith, the faith of the Hohenzollerns from the twelfth to the sixteenth century; and with it the consolation which is felt by all who do not separate what God has united—the Gospel and the Church, truth and life.

And do you desire a striking and actual proof that the true Christian faith is not in those who separate these two great things? It is this. In your letter to the Pope you proclaim the Divine right of power, and you confess the divinity of Jesus Christ. Anti-Christian Liberalism as you well know, would be irritated at such *official* language in the mouth of a Catholic King. Why then does it applaud such language in the mouth of your Majesty? It is because the Christian faith shines forth in its Divine and formidable splendor in the Catholic Church alone. The vain image of the faith elsewhere excites no fear.

VII.

Your Majesty at least wishes, you say, to *live in peace* with the children of the Mother Church.

In peace, Sire! In this your Imperial Majesty is most lamentably deceived.

This religious peace existed. Your illustrious brother, whom you succeeded on the throne of Prussia, had established it; and, amidst the benedictions of his people, he thus prepared the national unity. Who have broken and destroyed this religious peace? Not, assuredly, those German Bishops and German Clergy, who were inflamed with a sincere patriotism, and who, before the war, prayed, and spoke, and wrote in behalf of German unity. Not those religious men and women, whom you decorated for their admirable devotedness on the fields of battle, in your ambulances, and in your hospitals—but whom now your Government is driving out like criminals. Not those Catholic regiments of the Rhenish Provinces, and of Bavaria, Silesia, and Westphalia,

whom you sent to the front and wherever danger threatened, and whose courage contributed so much to the foundation of that German Empire in which these brave and faithful people to-day find nothing but persecution. Who, then, are ruining religious peace, the first condition of the unity of the Empire? Who are casting into the midst of the German population these sad divisions, which seem likely to dissolve the unity which the war had made? Who are they that seek to make impossible the fusion of Alsace and Lorraine with Germany, by adding to the political difficulties of the fusion religious difficulties that are a hundred times more formidable? Who have transformed the King of Prussia, once the supporter of conservative ideas in Europe, and made him, now that he is Emperor of Germany, the supporter and the propagator of the revolutionary movement which is threatening all Governments, without excepting even that of your Majesty? Who are they? Must I name them? They are your own councillors and your own statesmen.

Instead of religious peace, is is religious war that the Gov- of your Majesty is blindly seeking. To the bishops, to the priests, and to the faithful laity, it leaves no other alternative than this—to deny their faith, or else to become victims of the most hateful persecution that the Church has experienced since Julian the Apostate.

The laws newly promulgated in Prussia against the Church would enforce apostasy; and it is because the bishops will not apostatize that your Government, Sire, despoils them of their goods, condemns them to prison, and will perhaps send them into exile. The priests necessarily will be treated like their bishops; and the faithful people, deprived of its pastors, of the Word of God, and of the Sacraments, will be violently driven into heresy by the sword of an armed schism.

And those who thus enforce their State religion are men who speak of liberty of conscience.

When the Church teaches that the two authorities should be in agreement, because God desires the harmony of the two powers, the Church has no armies wherewith to subject peoples and kings to her word: they obey the Church only if they so will. It is undoubtedly their duty to obey; but they are free to fulfil that duty, or to refuse, and to answer for their refusal to the justice of God. It is not so with the syllabus of liberalism and of Caesarism: its sanction is an armed police.

Far, then, from wishing peace to the Church, Sire, your Government implacably make war against it ; and not content with doing so in your own Empire, it brings about the same war elsewhere ; and, above all, at Rome—notwithstanding your former declarations in favor of the independence of the Head of a Church which numbers fourteen millions of believers in your Empire.

The world knows, and with absolute certainty, that if the Italian Revolution has thrown off all restraint, and persecution is increasing in Rome and preparing for any venture, it is because that revolution is encouraged, urged on, and sustained by, the Government of your Majesty. Yes, it is in reliance upon the German Empire that the enemies of the Church are working for its downfall, and uniting in their efforts to enslave the Papacy.

The Gospel, Sire, warns you that they will not prevail. But it warns you also that the *Son of man will come at the hour when you will least expect Him* ; He cannot be long, Sir ; you know it by the weight of years. Do you, then, who judged the earth, think of your own judgement, for it is nigh.

In speaking thus to your Majesty, I am more truly devoted to you, as I declare before God, than are the courtiers whom flatter you, and who, without doubt, will treat me as an enemy of the Empire. The enemies of the Empire are those, Sire, who blindly urge you to sanction a persecution which is bewailed by many millions of Catholics, whose sons and brothers have died for your glory. The enemies of the Empire are those who excite you to acts which gain for you the applause of the revolutionists of the whole world ; and this applause, as your Majesty must know, is of sinister omen.

I have spoken the truth to the King, and he truth shall not be overthrown : *I will speak of Thy testimonies in the sight of Kings, and shall not be confounded.* No, Sire ; for against the truth might is no avail. Great armies may darken the air by the smoke of battles, but the smoke is soon scattered, and reaches not the Heavens in which the light remains resplendent. Yield, Sire, to the truth, if you wish to be in reality a conqueror: *He that governs his own spirit is better than a taker of cities.*

ATHANASIUS CLEMENS.

PRAYERS REQUESTED.

We ask the prayers of our pious subscribers for the triumph of the Holy Catholic Church, for the conversion of all who are out of the Church, and more especially for the following intentions:—

True faith, 4; conversions, 6; spiritual favors, 11; temporal favors, 9; happy death, 41; special intentions, 5; departed 11.

Also for the following subscribers departed:—James Cleary, Pembroke, Ont.; Mrs. Hannon, a former agent for THE VOICE, Hamilton, Ont.; James Harney, Toronto, Ont.; Patrick Whelan, and Mrs. James Whelan, Melbourne; Michael Power, Thomas Cullen, Anastasia McCarthy, and Ellen Dunphy, N.F.L.D.; Jacob Nearney, Bridgeport, Ont.; Mrs. Hourigan, John Kelly and John O'Brien, Oswego, N.Y.

—————:o:—————

We do earnestly request of our readers to say daily the following prayers for intentions recommended in THE VOICE, and to obtain a happy death. With these prayers and the Mass that is offered monthly for the same purpose, we may confidently trust to die happy. God grant it!

PRAYERS.

Sacred heart of Jesus. Have mercy on us.
Our Lady of the Sacred Heart. Pray for us.
Our Father and Hail Mary.

PRAYER.

O God, who hast doomed all men to die, but hast concealed from all the hour of their death, grant that I may pass my days in holiness and justice, and that I may deserve to quit this world in the peace of a good conscience, and in the embraces of thy love, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Holy patriarch, St. Joseph, who hadst the happiness of dying in the arms of Jesus and Mary. Pray for me now and at the hour of my death.

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† EDWARDUS CAR.,
Epis. Marianopolitanensis.