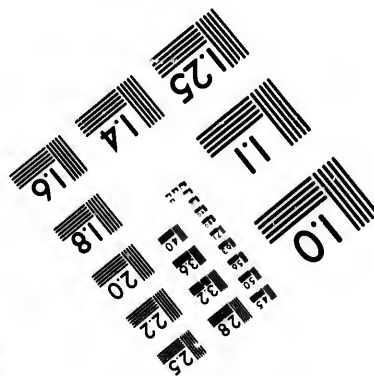
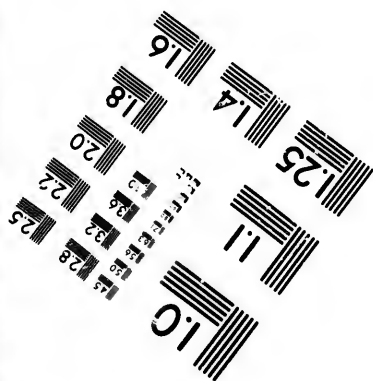


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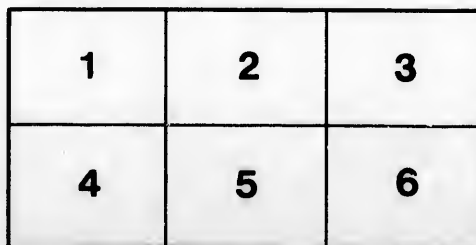
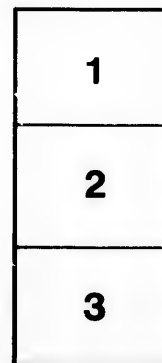
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G. Gladstone, William E.
THE

VATICAN DECREES

IN THEIR BEARING ON CIVIL ALLEGIANCE.

A POLITICAL EXPOSTULATION

BY THE

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

TORONTO:

PUBLISHED BY A. S. IRVING, KING STREET WEST.

1874.

125

BELL & CO., PRINTERS,
CITY STEAM PRESS, 13 ADELAIDE STREET EAST,
TORONTO, ONT.

GLADSTONE'S GAUNTLET.

FULL TEXT OF THE PAMPHLET ON THE VATICAN DECREES.

The occasion of the Tract—Rome's Policy one of Violence and Change of Faith—Allegiance to the Pope a Sacrifice of Moral and Mental Freedom and Civil Loyalty and Duty—Modern Thought and Ancient History equally repudiated in her teachings.

I. THE OCCASION AND SCOPE OF THIS TRACT.

In the prosecution of a purpose not polemical but pacific, I have been led to employ words which belong, more or less, to the region of religious controversy ; and which, though they were themselves few, seem to require, from the various feelings they have aroused, that I should carefully define, elucidate and defend them. The task is not of a kind agreeable to me ; but I proceed to perform it. Among the causes which have tended to disturb and perplex the public mind in the consideration of our own religious difficulties one has been a certain alarm at the aggressive activity and imagined growth of the Roman Church in this country. All are aware of our susceptibility on this side ; and it was not, I think, improper for one who desires to remove everything that can interfere with a calm and judicial temper, and who believes the alarm to be groundless, to state pointedly, though briefly, some reasons for that belief.

Accordingly I did not scruple to use the following language in a paper inserted in the number of the *Contemporary Review* for the month of October. I was speaking of "the question whether a handful of the clergy are or are not engaged in an utterly hopeless and visionary effort to Romanize the Church and the people of England."

"At no time since the bloody reign of Mary has such a scheme been possible. But if it had been possible in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, it would still have become impossible in the nineteenth : when Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change of faith ; when she has reburnished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused ; when no one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another ; and when she has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history."*

Had I been, when I wrote this passage, as I now am, addressing myself in considerable measure to my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen I should

* *Contemporary Review*, October, 1874, p. 674.

have striven to avoid the seeming roughness of some of these expressions ; but as the question is now about their substance, from which I am not in any particular, disposed to recede, any attempt to recast their general form would probably mislead. I proceed, then, to deal with them on their merits.

More than one friend of mine among those who have been led to join the Roman Catholic communion has made this passage the subject, more or less, of expostulation. Now, in my opinion, the assertions which it makes are, as coming from a layman who has spent most and the best years of his life in the observation and practice of politics, not aggressive, but defensive.

It is neither the abettors of the Papal Chair, nor any one who, however far from being an abettor of the Papal Chair, actually writes from a Papal point of view, that has a right to remonstrate with the world at large ; but it is the world at large, on the contrary that has the fullest right to remonstrate, first with his Holiness, secondly with those who share his proceedings, thirdly even with such as passively allow and accept them.

I, therefore, as one of the world at large, propose to expostulate in my turn. I shall strive to show to such of my Roman Catholic fellow-subjects as may kindly give me a hearing that, after the singular steps which the authorities of their Church have in these last years thought fit to take, the people of this country who fully believe in their loyalty, are entitled on purely civil grounds to expect from them some declaration or manifestation of opinion in reply to that ecclesiastical party in their Church who have laid down, in their name, principles adverse to the purity and integrity of civil allegiance.

Undoubtedly my allegations are of great breadth. Such broad allegations require a broad and a deep foundation. The first question which they raise is, Are they, as to the material part of them, true? But even their truth might not suffice to show that their publication was opportune. The second question, then which they raise is, Are they for any practical purpose, material? And there is yet a third, though a minor question, which arises out of the propositions in connection with their authorship, Were they suitable to be set forth by the present writer?

To these three questions I will now set myself to reply. And the matter of my reply will, as I conceive, constitute and convey an appeal to the understandings of my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen which I trust that, at the least, some among them may deem not altogether unworthy of their consideration.

From the language used by some of the organs of Roman Catholic opinion, it is, I am afraid, plain that in some quarters they have given deep offence. Displeasure, indignation, even fury, might be said to mark the language which in the heat of the moment has been expressed here and there. They have been hastily treated as an attack made upon Roman Catholics generally, nay, as an insult offered them. It is obvious to reply that of Roman Catholics generally they state nothing. Together with a reference to "converts," of which I shall say more, they constitute generally a free and strong animadversion on the conduct of the Papal Chair, and of its advisors and abettors. If I am told that he who animadverts upon these, assails thereby, or insults, Roman Catholics at large, who do not choose their ecclesiastical rulers, and are not recognized as having any voice in the government of their Church, I cannot be bound by or accept a proposition which seems to me to be so little in accordance with reason.

Before all things, however, I should desire it to be understood that, in the remarks now offered, I desire to eschew not only religious bigotry, but likewise theological controversy. Indeed, with theology, except in its civil bearing, with theology as such, I have here nothing whatever to do. But it is the peculiarity of Roman theology that, by thrusting itself into the temporal domain it naturally and even necessarily comes to be a frequent theme

of political discussion. To quiet-minded Roman Catholics it must be a subject of infinite annoyance that their religion is, on this ground more than any other, the subject of criticism ;—more than any other, the occasion of conflicts with the State and of civil disquietude. I feel sincerely how much hardship their case entails. But this hardship is brought upon them altogether by the conduct of the authorities of their own Church. Why did theology enter so largely into the debates of Parliament on Roman Catholic Emancipation? Certainly not because our statesmen and debaters of fifty years ago had an abstract love of such controversies, but because it was extensively believed that the Pope of Rome had been and was a trespasser upon ground which belonged to the civil authority, and that he affected to determine by spiritual prerogative questions of the civil sphere. This fact, if fact it be, and not the truth or falsehood, the reasonableness or unreasonableness, of any article of purely religious belief, is the whole and sole cause of the mischief. To this fact, and to this fact alone, my language is referable ; but for this fact it would have been neither my duty nor my desire to use it. All other Christian bodies are content with freedom in their own religious domain. Orientals, Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Nonconformists, one and all, in the present day, contentedly and thankfully accept the benefits of civil order ; never pretend that the State is not its own master ; make no religious claims to temporal possessions or advantages ; and, consequently, never are in perilous collision with the State. Nay more, even so I believe it is with the mass of Roman Catholics individually. But not so with the leaders of their Church, or with those who take pride in following the leaders. Indeed, this has been made matter of boast :

“There is not another Church so called (than the Roman), nor any community professing to be a Church, which does not submit, or obey, or hold its peace, when the civil governors of the world command.”—“The Present Crisis of the Holy See,” by H. E. Manning, D.D., London, 1861, p. 45.”

The Rome of the middle ages claimed universal monarchy. The modern Church of Rome has abandoned nothing, retracted nothing. Is that all? Far from it. By condemning (as will be seen) those who, like Bishop Doyle in 1826, charged* the mediæval Popes with aggression, she unconditionally, even covertly, maintains what the mediæval Popes maintained. But even this is not the worst. The worst by far is that whereas, of the national churches and communities in the middle ages, there was a brisk, vigorous, and constant opposition to these outrageous claims, an opposition which stoutly asserted its own orthodoxy, which always caused itself to be respected, and which even sometimes gained the upper hand ; now, in this nineteenth century of ours, and while it is growing old, this same opposition has been put out of court, and indicially extinguished within the Papal Church, by the recent decrees of the Vatican. And it is impossible for persons accepting those decrees justly to complain, when such documents are subjected in good faith to a strict examination as respects their compatibility with civil right and the obedience of subjects.

In defending my language, I shall carefully mark its limits. But all defence is reassertion, which properly requires a deliberate reconsideration ; and no man who thus reconsiders should scruple, if he find so much as a word that may convey a false impression, to amend it. Exactness in stating truth according to the measure of our intelligence, is an indispensable condition of justice, and of a title to be heard.

My propositions, then, as they stood, are these :

1. That “Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem*, a policy of violence and change of faith.”

* Lords' Committee, March 18, 1826. Report, p. 190.

2. That she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused.

3. That no one can now become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another.

4. That she (Rome) has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history.

II. THE FIRST AND THE FOURTH PROPOSITIONS.

Of the first and fourth of these propositions I shall dispose rather summarily, as they appear to belong to the theological domain. They refer to a fact, and they record an opinion. One fact to which they refer is this : that, in days within my memory, the constant, favorite, and imposing argument of Roman controversialists was the unbroken and absolute identity in belief of the Roman Church from the days of our Saviour until now. No one, who has at all followed the course of this literature during the last forty years, can fail to be sensible of the change in its present tenor. More and more have the assertions of continuous uniformity of doctrine receded into scarcely penetrable shadow. More and more have another series of assertions, of a living authority, ever ready to open, adopt, and shape Christian doctrine according to the times, taken their place. Without discussing the abstract compatibility of these lines of argument, I note two of the immense practical differences between them. In the first, the office claimed by the Church is principally that of a witness to facts ; in the second, principally that of a judge, if not of a revealer, of doctrine. In the first, the processes which the Church undertakes are subject to a constant challenge and appeal to history ; in the second, no amount of historical testimony can avail against the unmeasured power of the theory of development. Most important, most pregnant considerations, these, at least for two classes of persons : for those who think that exaggerated doctrines of Church power are among the real and serious dangers of the age ; and for those who think that against all forms, both of superstition and of unbelief, one main preservative is to be found in maintaining the truth and authority of history, and the inestimable value of the historic spirit.

So much for the fact : as for the opinion, that the recent Papal decrees are at war with modern thought, and that purporting to enlarge the necessary creed of Christendom, they involve a violent breach with history, this is a matter unfit for me to discuss, as it is a question of Divinity, but not unfit for me to have mentioned in my article, since the opinion given there is the opinion of those with whom I was endeavoring to reason—namely the great majority of the British public.

If it is thought that the word "violence" was open to exception, I regret I cannot give it up. The justification of the ancient definitions of the Church, which have endured the storms of 1,500 years, was to be found in this, that they were not arbitrary or wilful, but that they wholly sprang from, and related to theories rampant at the time, and regarded as menacing to Christian belief. Even the Canons of the Council of Trent have in the main this amount, apart from their matter, of presumptive warrant. But the decrees of the present perilous Pontificate have been passed to favor and precipitate prevailing currents of opinion in the ecclesiastical world of Rome. The growth of what is often termed among Protestants, "Mariolatry," and of belief in Papal Infallibility, was notoriously advancing, but it seems not fast enough to satisfy the dominant party. To aim the deadly blows of 1854* and 1870 at the old historic, scientific, and moderate school was surely an act of violence ; and with this censure the proceeding of 1870 has actually been

* Decree of the Immaculate Conception.

visited by the first living theologian now within the Roman Communion, I mean Dr. John Henry Newman, who has used these significant words, among others, "Why should an aggressive and insolent faction be allowed to make the heart of the just sad whom the Lord hath not made sorrowful?"*

III. THE SECOND PROPOSITION.

I take next my second proposition: that Rome has refurbished, and paraded anew, every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused.

Is this then a fact, or is it not?

I must assume that it is denied: and therefore I cannot wholly pass by the work of proof. But I will state in the fewest possible words, and with references, a few propositions, all the holders of which have been condemned by the See of Rome during my own generation, and especially within the last twelve or fifteen years. And, in order that I may do nothing toward importing passion into what is matter of pure argument, I will avoid citing any of the fearfully energetic epithets in which the condemnations are sometimes clothed.

1. Those who maintain the liberty of the Press. Encyclical Letter of Pope Gregory XVI, in 1831; and of Pope Pius IX, in 1864.

2. Or the liberty of conscience and of worship. Encyclical of Pius IX, December 8, 1864.

3. Or the liberty of speech. "Syllabus" of March 18, 1861. Prop. lxxix. Encyclical of Pope Pius IX, December 8, 1864.

4. Or who contend that Papal judgments and decrees may, without sin, be disobeyed, or differed from, unless they treat of the rules (*dogmata*) of faith or morals. Ibid.

5. Or who assign to the State the power of defining the civil rights (*jura*) and province of the Church. "Syllabus" of Pope Pius IX, March 8, 1861. Ibid. Prop. xix.

6. Or who hold that Roman Pontiffs and Œcumenical Councils have transgressed the limits of their power, and usurped the rights of princes. Ibid. Prop. xxiii.

(It must be borne in mind that "Œcumenical Councils" here mean Roman Councils not recognized by the rest of the Church. The Councils of the early Church did not interfere with the jurisdiction of the civil power.)

7. Or that the Church may not employ force. (*Ecclesia vis inferendæ potestatem non habet*). "Syllabus," Prop. xxiv.

8. Or that power, not inherent in the office of the Episcopate, but granted to it by the civil authority, may be withdrawn from it at the discretion of that authority. Ibid. Prop. xxv.

9. Or that the (*immunitas*) civil immunity of the Church and its ministers depends upon civil right. Ibid. Prop. xxx.

10. Or that in the conflict of laws, civil and ecclesiastical, the civil law should prevail. Ibid. Prop. xlii.

11. Or that any method of instruction of youth, solely secular, may be approved. Ibid. Prop. xlviii.

12. Or that knowledge of things philosophical and civil may and should decline to be guided by Divine and ecclesiastical authority. Ibid. Prop. lvii.

13. Or that marriage is not in its essence a sacrament. Ibid. Prop. lxvi.

14. Or that marriage not sacramentally contracted (*si sacramentum excludatur*) has a binding force. Ibid. Prop. lxxiii.

15. Or that the abolition of the Temporal Power of the Popedom would be highly advantageous to the Church. Ibid. Prop. lxxvi. Also lxx.

16. Or that any other religion than the Roman religion may be established by a State. Ibid. Prop. lxxvii.

* See the remarkable letter of Dr. Newman to Bishop Ullathorne, in *The Guardian* of April 6, 1870.

17. Or that in "countries called Catholic" the free exercise of other religions may laudibly be allowed. "Syllabus," Prop. lxxviii.

18. Or that the Roman Pontiff ought to come to terms with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization. Ibid. Prop. lxxx. (For the original passages from the Encyclical and Syllabus of Pius IX, see Appendix A.)

This list is now, perhaps, sufficiently extended, although I have as yet not touched the decrees of 1870. But, before quitting it, I must offer three observations on what it contains.

Firstly : I do not place all the propositions in one and the same category ; for there are a portion of them which, as far as I can judge, might, by the combined aid of favorable construction and vigorous explanation, be brought within bounds. And I hold that favorable construction of the terms used in controversies is the right general rule. But this can only be so when construction is an open question. When the author of certain propositions claims, as in the case before us, a sole and unlimited power to interpret them in such manner and by such rules as he may from time to time think fit, the only defence for all others concerned is at once to judge for themselves, how much of unreason or of mischief the words, naturally understood, may contain.

Secondly : It may appear upon a hasty perusal that neither the infliction of penalty in life, limb, liberty, or goods, on disobedient members of the Christian Church, nor the title to depose sovereigns and release subjects from their allegiance, with all its revolting consequences, has been here re-affirmed. In terms, there is no mention of them ; but in the substance of the propositions, I grieve to say, they are beyond doubt included. For it is notorious that they have been declared and decreed by "Rome"—that is to say, by Popes and Papal Councils ; and the stringent condemnations of the Syllabus include all those who hold that Popes and Papal Councils (declared æcumenical) have transgressed the just limits of their power, or usurped the rights of princes. What have been their opinions and decrees about persecution I need hardly say, and indeed the right to employ physical force is even here undisguisedly claimed (No. 7).

Even while I am writing I am reminded, from an unquestionable source, of the words of Pope Pius IX. himself, on the deposing power. I add only a few Italics ; the words appear as given in a translation, without the original :

The present Pontiff used these words in replying to the address from the Academia of the Catholic Religion (July 21, 1873) :

"There are many errors regarding the Infallibility ; but the most malicious of all is that which includes, in that dogma, the *right* of deposing sovereigns, and declaring the people no longer bound by the obligation of fidelity. This *right* has now and again, in critical circumstances, been exercised by the Pontiffs ; but it has nothing to do with Papal Infallibility. Its origin was not the infallibility, but the authority of the Pope. This authority, in accordance with public right, which was then vigorous, and with the acquiescence of all Christian nations, who revered in the Pope the supreme Judge of the Christian Commonwealth, extended so far as to pass judgment, even in civil affairs, on the acts of princes and of nations."

Lastly, I must observe that these are not mere opinions of the Pope himself, nor even are they opinions which he might paternally recommend to the pious consideration of the faithful. With the promulgation of his opinions is unhappily combined, in the Encyclical Letter, which virtually, though not expressly, includes the whole, a command to all his spiritual children (from which command we, the disobedient children, are in no way excluded) to hold them.

"Itaque omnes et singulas pravæ opinionis et doctrinæ singillatim hisce literis commemoratas auctoritate nostra Apostolica reprobamus, proscribi-

mus, atque, damnamus; easque ab omnibus Catholicæ Ecclesiæ filiis veluti reprobatas, proscriptas, atque damnatas omnino haberi volumus et mandamus. Encycl. Dec. 8, 1864."

And the decrees of 1870 will presently show us, what they established as the binding force of the mandate thus conveyed to the Christian world.

IV.—THE THIRD PROPOSITION.

I now pass to the operation of these extraordinary declarations on personal or private duty.

When the cup of endurance, which had so long been filling, began, with the Council of the Vatican in 1870, to overflow, the most learned living theologian of the Roman communion, Dr. Von Döllinger, long the foremost champion of his Church, refused compliance, and submitted, with his temper undisturbed and his freedom unimpaired, to the extreme and most painful penalty of excommunication. With him, many of the most learned and respected theologians of the Roman communion in Germany underwent the same sentence. The very few, who elsewhere (I do not speak of Switzerland) suffered in like manner, deserve an admiration rising in proportion to their fewness. It seems as though Germany, from which Luther blew the mighty trumpet that even now echoes through the land, still retained her primacy in the domain of conscience, still supplied the *centuria prærogativa* of the great *comitia* of the world.

But let no man wonder or complain. Without imputing to any one the moral murder—for such it is—of stifling conscience and conviction, I for one cannot be surprised that the fermentation, which is working through the mind of the Latin Church, has as yet (elsewhere than in Germany) but in few instances come to the surface. By the mass of mankind, it is morally impossible that questions such as these can be adequately examined; so it ever has been, and so in the main will it continue, until the principles of manufacturing machinery shall have been applied, and with analogous results to intellectual and moral processes. Followers they are and must be, and in a certain sense ought to be. But what as to the leaders of society, the men of education and of leisure? I will try to suggest some answer in few words. A change of religious profession is under all circumstances a great and awful thing. Much more is the question, however, between conflicting, or apparently conflicting, duties, arduous, when the religion of a man has been changed for him, over his head, and without the very least of his participation. Far be it then from me to make any Roman Catholic, except the great hierarchic Power, and those who have egged it on, responsible for the portentous proceedings which we have witnessed. My conviction is that, even of those who may not shake off the yoke, multitudes will vindicate at any rate their loyalty at the expense of the consistency, which perhaps in difficult matters of religion few among us perfectly maintain. But this belongs to the future; for the present nothing could, in my opinion, be more unjust than to hold the members of the Roman Church in general already responsible for the recent innovations. The duty of observers, who think the claims involved in these decrees arrogant and false, and such as not even impotence, real or supposed, ought to shield from criticism, is frankly to state the case, and, by way of friendly challenge, to entreat their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen to replace themselves in the position which, five-and-forty years ago, this nation, by the voice and action of its Parliament, declared its belief that they held.

Upon a strict re-examination of the language as apart from the substance of my fourth proposition, I find it faulty, inasmuch as it seems to imply that a "convert" now joining the Papal Church, not only gives up certain rights and duties of freedom, but surrenders them by a conscious and deliberate act. What I have less accurately said that he renounced, I might have more

accurately said that he forfeited. To speak strictly, the claim now made upon him by the authority, which he solemnly and with the highest responsibility acknowledges, requires him to surrender his mental and moral freedom, and to place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another. There may have been, and may be persons who in their sanguine trust will not shrink from this result, and will console themselves with the notion that their loyalty and civil duty are to be committed to the custody of one much wiser than themselves. But I am sure that there are also "converts" who, when they perceive, will by word and act reject, the consequences which relentless logic draws for them. If, however, my proposition be true, there is no escape from the dilemma. Is it then true, or is it not true, that Rome requires a convert, who now joins her, to forfeit his moral and mental freedom, and to place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another?

In order to place this matter in as clear a light as I can, it will be necessary to go back a little upon our recent history.

A century ago we began to relax that system of penal laws against Roman Catholics, at once pettifogging, base, and cruel, which Mr. Burke has scathed and blasted with his immortal eloquence.

When this process had reached the point at which the question was whether they should be admitted into Parliament, there arose a great and prolonged national controversy; and some men, who at no time of their lives were narrow-minded, such as Sir Robert Peel, the Minister, resisted the concession. The arguments in its favor were obvious and strong, and they ultimately prevailed. But the strength of the opposing party had lain in the allegation that, from the nature and claims of the Papal power, it was not possible for the consistent Roman Catholic to pay to the Crown of this country an entire allegiance, and that the admission of persons thus self-disabled to Parliament was inconsistent with the safety of the State and nation, which had not very long before, it may be observed, emerged from a struggle for existence.

An answer to this argument was indispensable; and it was supplied mainly from two sources. The Josephine laws,* then still subsisting in the Austrian Empire, and the arrangements which had been made after the peace of 1815 by Prussia and the German States with Pius VII. and Gonsalvi, proved that the Papal Court could submit to circumstances, and could allow material restraints even upon the exercise of its ecclesiastical prerogatives. Here, then, was a reply in the sense of the phrase *solvitur ambulando*. Much information of this class was collected for the information of Parliament and the country.† But there were also measures taken to learn, from the highest Roman Catholic authorities of this country, what was the exact situation of the members of that communion with respect to some of the better known exorbitances of Papal assumption. Did the Pope claim any temporal jurisdiction? Did he still pretend to the exercise of a power to depose kings, release subjects from their allegiance, and incite them to revolt? Was faith to be kept with heretics? Did the Church still teach the doctrines of persecution? Now, to no one of these questions could the answer really be of the smallest immediate moment to this powerful and solidly compacted kingdom. They were topics selected by way of sample; and the intention was to elicit declarations showing generally that the fangs of the mediæval Poppedon had been drawn, and its claws torn away; that the Roman system, however strict in its dogma, was perfectly compatible with civil liberty, and with the institutions of a free state, moulded on a different religious basis from its own.

* See the work of Count del Pozzo on the "Austrian Ecclesiastical Law." London: Murray, 1827. The Leopoldine Laws in Tuscany may also be mentioned.

† "Civilization and the See of Rome." By Lord Robert Montagu, Dublin, 1874: A lecture delivered under the auspices of the Catholic Union of Ireland. I have a little misgiving about the version, but not of a nature to affect the substance.

Answers in abundance were obtained, tending to show that the doctrines of deposition and persecution, of keeping no faith with heretics, and of universal dominion, were obsolete beyond revival; that every assurance could be given respecting them, except such as require the shame of a formal retraction; that they were in effect mere burglars, unworthy to be taken into account by a nation, which prided itself on being made up of practical men.*

But it was unquestionably felt that something more than the renunciation of these particular opinions was necessary in order to secure the full concession of civil rights to Roman Catholics. As to their individual loyalty, a State disposed to generous or candid interpretation had no reason to be uneasy. It was only with regard to requisitions, which might be made on them from another quarter, that apprehension could exist. It was reasonable that England should desire to know not only what the Pope† might do for himself, but to what demands, by the constitution of their Church, they were liable; and how far it was possible that such demands could touch their civil duty. The theory which placed every human being, in things spiritual, and things temporal, at the feet of the Roman Pontiff had not been an *idolum specus*, a mere theory of the chamber. Brain-power, never surpassed in the political history of the world, had been devoted for centuries to the single purpose of working it into the practice of Christendom; had in the West achieved for an impossible problem a partial success; and had in the East punished the obstinate independence of the Church by that Latin conquest of Constantinople, which effectually prepared the way for the downfall of the Eastern Empire, and the establishment of the Turks in Europe. What was really material, therefore, was, not whether the Papal Chair laid claim to this or that particular power, but whether it laid claim to some power that included them all, and whether that claim had received such sanction from the authorities of the Latin Church, that there remained within her borders absolutely no tenable standing-ground from which war against it could be maintained. Did the Pope then claim infallibility? Or did he, either without infallibility or with it (and, if with it, so much the worse), claim an universal obedience from his flock? And were these claims, either or both, affirmed in his Church by authority which even the least Papal of the members of that Church must admit to be binding upon conscience?

The first two of these questions were covered by the third; and well it was that they were so covered, for to them no satisfactory answer could even be given. The Popes had kept up, with comparatively little intermission, for well nigh a thousand years their claim to dogmatic infallibility; and had, at periods within the same tract of time, often enough made, and never retracted, that other claim which is theoretically less but particularly larger; their claim to an obedience virtually universal from the baptized members of the Church. To the third question it was fortunately more practicable to prescribe a satisfactory reply. It was well known that, in the days of its glory and intellectual power, the great Gallican Church had not only not admitted, but had denied, Papal infallibility, and had declared that the local laws and usages of the Church could not be set aside by the will of the Pontiff. Nay, further, it was believed that in the main these had been, down to the close of the last century, the prevailing opinions of the Cisalpine

* See "Report from the Select Committee appointed to report the nature and substance of the Laws and Ordinances existing in Foreign States respecting the regulation of their Roman Catholic subjects in Ecclesiastical Matters, and their intercourse with the See of Rome, or any other Foreign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction." Printed for the House of Commons in 1816 and 1817. Reprinted 1851.

† At that period the eminent and able Bishop Doyle did not scruple to write as follows: "We are taunted with the proceedings of Popes. What, my Lord, have we Catholics to do with the proceedings of Popes, or why should we be made accountable for them?"—[Essay on the Catholic Claims. To Lord Liverpool, 1826, p. 111.]

Churches in communion with Rome. The Council of Constance had in act as well as word shown that the Pope's judgments, and the Pope himself were triable by the assembled representatives of the Christian world. And the Council of Trent, notwithstanding the predominance in it of Italian and Roman influences, if it had not denied, yet had not affirmed either proposition.

All that remained was to know what were the sentiments entertained on these vital points by the leaders and guides of Roman Catholic opinion nearest to our own doors. And here testimony was offered, which must not and cannot be forgotten. In part this was the testimony of witnesses before the Committee of the House of Lords in 1825. I need quote two answers only, given by the Prelate, who more than any other represented his Church, and influenced the mind of this country in favour of concession at the time, namely, Bishop Doyle. He was asked : *

"In what and how far does the Roman Catholic profess to obey the Pope?"

He replied :

"The Catholic professes to obey the Pope in matters which regard his religious faith, and in those matters of ecclesiastical discipline which have already been defined by the competent authorities."

And again :

"Does that justify the objection that is made to Catholics, that their allegiance is divided?"

"I do not think it does in any way. We are bound to obey the Pope in those things that I have already mentioned. But our obedience to the law, and the allegiance which we owe the sovereign, are complete, and full, and perfect, and undivided, inasmuch as they extend to all political, legal, and civil rights of the King or of his subjects. I think the allegiance due to the King and the allegiance due to the Pope are as distant and as divided in their nature as any two things can possibly be."

Such is the opinion of the dead prelate. We shall presently hear the opinion of a living one. But the sentiments of the dead man powerfully operated on the open and trustful temper of this people, to induce them to grant, and at the cost of so much popular feeling and national traditions, the great and just concession of 1829. That concession, without such declarations, it would, to say the least, have been far more difficult to obtain.

Now, bodies are usually held to be bound by the evidence of their own selected and typical witnesses. But in this instance the colleagues of those witnesses thought fit also to speak collectively.

First let us quote from the collective "Declaration," in the year 1826, of the Vicars Apostolic, who, with Episcopal authority, governed the Roman Catholics of Great Britain.

"The allegiance which Catholics hold to be due, and are bound to pay, to their Sovereign, and to the civil authority of the State is perfect and undivided.

"They declare that neither the Pope nor any other prelate or ecclesiastical person of the Roman Catholic Church . . . has any right to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the civil government, . . . nor to oppose in any manner the performance of the civil duties which are due to the King."

Not less explicit was the Hierarchy of the Roman Communion in its "Pastoral Address to the Clergy and Laity of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland," dated Jan. 25, 1823. This address contains a declaration, from which I extract the following words :

* Committees of both Lords and Commons sat : the former in 1825, the latter in 1824-5. The References were identical, and ran as follows : "To inquire into the state of Ireland, more particularly with reference to the circumstances which may have led to disturbances in that part of the United Kingdom." Bishop Doyle was examined March 21, 1825, and April 21, 1825, before the Lords.

"It is a duty which they owe to themselves, as well as to their Protestant fellow subjects, whose good opinion they value, to endeavor once more to remove the false imputations that have been frequently cast upon the faith and discipline of that Church which is intrusted to their care, that all may be enabled to know with accuracy their genuine principles."

In Article II. :

"They declare on oath their belief that it is not an article of the Catholic Faith, neither are they thereby required to believe that the Pope is infallible."

And, after various recitals, they set forth :

"After this full, explicit, and sworn declaration, we are utterly at a loss to conceive on what possible ground we could be justly charged with bearing toward our most gracious Sovereign only a divided allegiance."

Thus, besides much else which I will not stop to quote, Papal infallibility was most solemnly declared to be a matter on which each man might think as he pleased ; the Pope's power to claim obedience was strictly and narrowly limited : it was expressly denied that he had any title, direct or indirect, to interfere in civil government. Of the right of the Pope to define the limits which divide the civil from the spiritual by his own authority, not one word is said by the prelates of either country.

Since that time, all these propositions have been reversed ? The Pope's infallibility, when he speaks *ex cathedra* on faith and morals, has been declared, with the assent of the bishops of the Roman Church, to be an article of faith, binding on the conscience of every Christian ; his claim to the obedience of his spiritual subjects has been declared in like manner without any practical limit or reserve ; and his supremacy, without any reserve of civil rights, has been similarly affirmed to include everything which relates to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world. And these doctrines, we now know on the highest authority, it is of necessity for salvation to believe.

Independently, however, of the Vatican Decrees themselves, it is necessary for all who wish to understand what has been the amount of the wonderful change now consummated in the constitution of the Latin Church, and what is the present degradation of its Episcopal order, to observe also the change, amounting to revolution, of form in the present, as compared with other conciliatory decrees. Indeed, that spirit of centralization, the excesses of which are as fatal to vigorous life in the Church as in the State, seems now nearly to have reached the last and furthest point of possible advancement and exaltation.

When, in fact, we speak of the decrees of the Council of the Vatican, we use a phrase which will not bear strict examination. The Canons of the Council of Trent were, at least, the real canons of a real council ; and the strain in which they are promulgated is this : *Hæc sacrosancta, ecumenica, et generalis Tridentina Synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata in ea presidentibus eisdem tribus apostolicis Legatis, hertatur, or docet, or statuit, or decernit*, and the like ; and its canons, as published in Rome, are "*Canones et decreta Sacrosancti ecumenici Concilii Tridentini*" ('Romæ : in Collegio urbano de Propaganda Fide,' 1833), and so forth. But what we have now to do with is the *Constitutio Dogmatica Prima de Ecclesia Christi, edita in Sessione tertia* of the Vatican Council. It is not a constitution made by the Council, but one promulgated in the Council.* And who is it that legislates and decrees ? It is *Pius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei* : and the seductive plural of his *docemus et declaramus* is simply the dignified and ceremonious "We" of Royal declarations. The document is dated *Pontificatus nostri Anno XXV.* : and the humble share of the assembled episcopate

* I am aware that, as some hold, this was the case with the Council of the Lateran in A. D. 1215. But, first, this has not been established ; secondly, the very gist of the evil we are dealing with consists in following (and enforcing precedents from the age of Pope Innocent III.)

in the transaction is represented by *sacro approbante concilio*. And now for the propositions themselves.

First comes the Pope's infallibility :

"Docemus, et divinitus revelatum dogma esse definimus, Romanum Pontificem, cum ex Cathedra loquitur, id est cum, omnium Christianorum Pastoris et Doctoris munere fungens, pro suprema sua Apostolica auctoritate doctrinam de fide vel moribus ab universa Ecclesia tenendam definit, per assistentiam divinam, ipsi in Beato Petro promissam, ea infallibilitate pollere, qua Divinus Redemptor Ecclesiam suam in definienda doctrina de fide vel moribus instructam esse voluit : idenque ejus Romani Pontificis definitiones ex sese non autem ex consensu Ecclesiæ irreformabiles esse" (Constitutio de Ecclesia, c. iv.)

Will it, then, be said that the infallibility of the Pope accrues only when he speaks *ex cathedra*? No doubt this is a very material consideration for those who have been told that the private conscience is to derive comfort and assurance from the emanations of the Papal Chair : for there is no established or accepted definition of the phrase *ex cathedra*, and he has no power to obtain and no guide to direct him in his choice among some twelve theories on the subject, which, it is said, are bandied to and fro among Roman theologians, except the dispised and discarded agency of his private judgment. But while thus sorely tantalized, he is not one whit protected. For there is still one person, and one only, who can unquestionably declare *ex cathedra* what is *ex cathedra* and what is not, and who can declare it when and as he pleases. That person is the Pope himself. The provision is, that no document he issues shall be valid without a seal, but the seal remains under his own sole lock and key.

Again, it may be sought to plead, that the Pope is, after all, only operating by sanctions which unquestionably belong to the religious domain. He does not propose to invade the country, to seize Woolwich, or burn Portsmouth. He will only, at the worst, excommunicate opponents, as he has excommunicated Dr. Von Döllinger and others. Is this a good answer? After all, even in the Middle Ages, it was not by the direct action of fleets and armies of their own that the Popes contended with kings who were refractory ; it was mainly by interdicts, and by the refusal, which they entailed when the bishops were not brave enough to refuse their publication, of religious offices to the people. It was thus that England suffered under John, France under Philip Augustus, Leon under Alphonso the Noble, and every country in its turn. But the inference may be drawn that they who, while using spiritual weapons for such an end do not employ temporal means, only fail to employ them because they have them not. A religious society, which delivers volleys of spiritual censure in order to impede the performance of civil duties, does all the mischief that is in its power to do, and brings into question, in the face of the State, its title to civil protection.

Will it be said, finally, that the Infallibility touches only matter of faith and morals? Only matter of morals! Will any of the Roman casuists kindly acquaint us what are the departments and functions of human life which do not and cannot fall within the domain of morals? If they will not tell us, we must look elsewhere. In his work entitled "Literature and Dogma" (pages 15, 44) Mr. M. Arnold quaintly informs us—as they tell us nowadays how many parts of our poor bodies are solid and how many aqueous—that about 75 per cent. of all we do belongs to the department of "conduct." Conduct and morals, we may suppose, are nearly coextensive. Three-fourths, then, of life are thus handed over. But who will guarantee to us the other fourth? Certainly not St. Paul, who says, "Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." And, "Whatsoever ye do, in word or in deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus." (I. Cor., x., 31; Col., iii., 7.) No! Such a distinction would be the

unworthy device of a shallow policy, vainly used to hide the daring of that wild ambition which at Rome, not from the throne, but from behind the throne, prompts the movements of the Vatican. I care not to ask if there be dregs or tatters of human life, such as can escape from the description and boundary of morals. I submit that duty is a power which rises with us in the morning, and goes to rest with us at night. It is coextensive with the action of our intelligence. It is the shadow which cleaves to us go where we will, and which only leaves us when we leave the light of life. So, then, it is the supreme direction of us in respect to all duty, which the Pontiff declares to belong to him, *sacro approbante concilio*; and this declaration he makes, not as an otiose opinion of the schools, but *cunctis fidelibus credendam et tenendam*.

But we shall now see that even if a loophole had at this point been left unclosed, the void is supplied by another provision of the decrees. While the reach of the Infallibility is as wide as it may please the Pope, or those who may prompt the Pope, to make it, there is something wider still, and that is the claim to an absolute and entire obedience. This obedience is to be rendered to his orders in the cases I shall proceed to point out, without any qualifying condition, such as the *ex cathedra*. The sounding name of Infallibility has so fascinated the public mind, and riveted it on the fourth chapter of the Constitution de Ecclesia, that its near neighbor the third chapter, has, at least in my opinion, received very much less than justice. Let us turn to it:

"Cujuscunque ritus et dignitatis pas oves atque fideles, tam seorsum singuli quam simul omnes, officio hierarchie subordinationis veræque obedientiæ obstringuntur, non solum in rebus quæ ad fidem et mores, sed etiam in iis, quæ ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiæ per tetum orbem diffusæ pertinent. . . . Hæc est Catholicæ veritatis doctrina, a qua deviare, salva fide atque salute, nemo potest. . . . Docemus etiam et declaramus eum esse judicem supremum fidelium, et in omnibus causis ad examen ecclesiasticum spectantibus ad ipsius posse judicium recurri: Sedis vero Apostolicæ, cujus auctoritate major non est, judicium a nemine fore retractandum. Neque cuiquam de ejus licere judicare judicio.*"

Even, therefore, where the judgments of the Pope do not present the credentials of infallibility, they are unappealable and irreversible, no person may pass judgment upon them, and all men, clerical and lay, dispersedly or in the aggregate, are bound truly to obey them; and from this rule of Catholic truth no man can depart, save at the peril of his salvation. Surely, it is allowable to say that this third chapter on universal obedience is a formidable rival to the fourth chapter on Infallibility. Indeed, to an observer from without, it seems to leave the dignity to the other, but to reserve the stringency and efficiency to itself. The third chapter is the Merovingian Monarch; the fourth is the Carlovingian Mayor of the Palace. The third has an overawing splendor; the fourth an iron gripe. Little does it matter to me whether my superior claims infallibility, so long as he is entitled to demand and exact conformity. This, it will be observed, he demands even in cases not covered by his infallibility; cases, therefore, in which he admits it to be possible that he may be wrong, but finds it intolerable to be told so. As he must be obeyed in all his judgments, though not *ex cathedra*, it seems a pity he could not likewise give the comforting assurance that they are all certain to be right.

But why this ostensible reduplication, this apparent surplusage? Why did the astute contrivers of this tangled scheme conclude that they could not afford to rest content with pledging the Council to Infallibility in terms which arise not only wide to a high degree, but elastic beyond all measure.

*Dogmatic Constitutions, &c., c. iii. Dublin, 1870, pp. 30-32.

Though they must have known perfectly well that "faith and morals" carried everything, or everything worth having, in the purely individual sphere, they also knew just as well that, even where the individual was subjugated, they might and would still have to deal with the State.

In mediæval history this distinction is not only clear, but glaring. Outside the borders of some narrow and proscribed sect, now and then emerging, we never, or scarcely ever, hear of private and personal resistance to the Pope. The manful "Protestantism" of mediæval times had its activity almost entirely in the sphere of public, national, and state rights. Too much attention, in my opinion, cannot be fastened on this point. It is the very root and kernel of the matter. Individual servitude, however abject, will not satisfy the party now dominant in the Latin Church—the State must also be a slave.

Our Saviour had recognized as distinct the two provinces of the civil rule and the Church; had nowhere intimated that the spiritual authority was to claim the disposal of physical force, and to control in its own domain the authority which is alone responsible for external peace, order, and safety among civilized communities of men. It has been alike the peculiarity, the pride, and the misfortune of the Roman Church, among Christian communities, to allow to itself an unbounded use, as far as its power would go, of earthly instruments for spiritual ends. We have seen with what ample assurances (see further, Appendix B) this nation and Parliament were fed in 1826; how well and roundly the full and undivided rights of the civil power and the separation of the two jurisdictions were affirmed. All this had at length been undone, as far as Popes could undo it, in the Syllabus and the Encyclical. It remained to complete the undoing, through the subserviency or pliability of the Council.

And the work is now truly complete. Lest it should be said that supremacy in faith and morals, full dominion over personal belief and conduct, did not cover the collective action of men in states, a third province was opened, not indeed to the abstract assertion of infallibility, but to the far more practical and decisive demand of absolute obedience. And this is the proper work of the third chapter, to which I am endeavouring to do a tardy justice. Let us listen again to its few but pregnant words on the point:

"Non solum in rebus, quæ ad fidem et mores, sed etiam in iis, quæ ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiæ per totum orbem diffusæ pertinent."

Absolute obedience, it is boldly declared, is due to the Pope, at the peril of salvation, not alone in faith, in morals, but in all things which concern the discipline and government of the Church. Thus are swept into the Papal net whole multitudes of facts, whole systems of government, prevailing though in different degrees, in every country of the world. Even in the United States, where the severance between Church and State is supposed to be complete, a long catalogue might be drawn of subjects belonging to the domain and competency of the State, but also undeniably affecting the government of the Church; such as, by way of example, marriage; burial, education, prison discipline, blasphemy, poor relief, incorporation, mortmain, religious endowments, vows of celibacy and obedience. In Europe the circle is far wider, the points of contact and of interlacing almost innumerable. But on all matters, respecting which any Pope may think proper to declare that they concern either faith, or morals, or the government, or discipline of the Church, he claims, with the approval of a Council undoubtedly Œcumenical in the Roman sense, the absolute obedience, at the peril of salvation of every member of his communion.

It seems not as yet to have been thought wise to pledge the Council in terms to the Syllabus and the Encyclical. That achievement is probably reserved for some one of its sittings yet to come. In the meantime it is well to remember that this claim, in respect of all things affecting the discipline

and government of the Church, as well as faith and conduct, is lodged in open day by and in the reign of a Pontiff who has condemned free speech, free writing, a free press, toleration of non-conformity, liberty of conscience, the study of civil and philosophical matters in independence of the ecclesiastical authority, marriage unless sacramentally contracted, and the definition by the State of the civil rights (*jura*) of the Church; who has demanded for the Church, therefore, the title to define its own civil rights, together with a divine right to civil immunities, and a right to use physical force; and who has also proudly asserted that the Popes of the Middle Ages with their Councils did not invade the rights of princes; as for example, Gregory VII., of the Emperor Henry IV.; Innocent III., of Raymond of Toulouse; Paul III., in deposing Henry VIII.; or Pius V., in performing the like paternal office for Elizabeth.

I submit, then, that my fourth proposition is true; and that England is entitled to ask, and to know, in what way the obedience required by the Pope and the Council of the Vatican is to be reconciled with the integrity of civil allegiance.

It has been shown that the Head of their Church, so supported as undoubtedly to speak with its highest authority, claims from Roman Catholics a plenary obedience to whatever he may desire in relation, not to faith but to morals, and not only to these, but to all that concerns the government and discipline of the Church; that of this much lies within the domain of the State; that, to obviate all misapprehension, the Pope demands for himself the right to determine the province of his own rights, and has so defined it in formal documents as to warrant any and every invasion of the civil sphere; and that this new version of the principles of the Papal Church inexorably binds its members to the admission of these exorbitant claims, without any refuge or reservation on behalf of their duty to the Crown.

Under circumstances such as these, it seems not too much to ask of them to confirm the opinion which we, as fellow-countrymen, entertain of them, by sweeping away, in such manner and terms as they may think best, the presumptive imputations which their ecclesiastical rulers at Rome, acting autocratically, appear to have brought upon their capacity to pay a solid and undivided allegiance; and to fulfil the engagement which their bishops, as political sponsors, promised and declared for them in 1825.

It would be impertinent, as well as needless, to suggest what should be said. All that is requisite is to indicate in substance that which (if the foregoing argument be sound) is not wanted and that which is. What is not wanted is vague and general assertion, of whatever kind and however sincere. What is wanted, and that in the most specific form and clearest terms, I take to be one of two things—that is to say, either,

I. A demonstration that neither in the name of faith, nor in the name of morals, nor in the name of the government or discipline of the Church, is the Pope of Rome able, by virtue of the powers asserted for him by the Vatican decree, to make any claim upon those who adhere to his communion of such a nature as can impair the integrity of their civil allegiance; or else,

II. That, if and when such claim is made, it will, even although resting on the definitions of the Vatican, be repelled and rejected, just as Bishop Doyle, when he was asked what the Roman Catholic Clergy would do if the Pope intermeddled with their religion, replied frankly, "The consequence would be that we should oppose him by every means in our power, even by the exercise of our spiritual authority."—[Report, March 18, 1836, p. 191.

In the absence of explicit assurances to this effect, we should appear to be led, nay, driven, by just reasoning upon that documentary evidence, to the conclusions:

1. That the Pope, authorized by his Council, claims for himself the domain (a) of faith, (b) of morals, (c) of all that concerns the government and discipline of the Church.

2. That he in like manner claims the power of determining the limits of those domains.

3. That he does not sever them, by any acknowledged or intelligible line, from the domains of civil duty and allegiance.

4. That he therefore claims, and claims from the month of July, 1870, onward with plenary authority, from every convert and member of his church, that he shall "place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another;" that other being himself.

V. BEING TRUE, ARE THE PROPOSITIONS MATERIAL?

But next, if these propositions be true, are they also material? The claims cannot, as I much fear, be denied to have been made. It cannot be denied that the Bishops, who govern in things spiritual more than five millions (or nearly one-sixth) of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom have in some cases promoted, in all cases accepted, these claims. It has been a favorite purpose of my life not to conjure up, but to conjure down, public alarms. I am not now going to pretend that either foreign foe or domestic treason can, at the bidding of the Court of Rome, disturb these peaceful shores. But though such fears may be visionary, it is more visionary still to suppose for one moment that the claims of Gregory VII., of Innocent III., and of Boniface VIII., have been disinterred, in the nineteenth century, like hideous mummies picked out of Egyptian sarcophagi, in the interest of archæology, or without a definite and practical aim. As rational beings, we must rest assured that only with a very clearly conceived and foregone purpose have these astonishing reassertions been paraded before the world. What is that purpose?

I can well believe that it is in part theological. There have always been, and there still are, no small proportion of our race, and those by no means in all respects, the worst, who are sorely open to the temptation, especially in times of religious disturbance, to discharge their spiritual responsibilities by power of attorney. As advertising houses find custom in proportion, not so much to the solidity of their resources as to the magniloquence of their premises and assurances, so theological boldness in the extension of such claims is sure to pay, by widening certain circles of devoted adherents, however it may repel the mass of mankind. There were two special encouragements to this enterprise at the present day: one of them the perhaps unconscious but manifest leaning of some, outside the Roman precinct, to undue exaltation of Church power; the other the reaction which is and must be brought about in favor of superstition by the levity of the destructive speculations so widely current, and the notable hardihood of the anti-Christian writing of the day.

But it is impossible to account sufficiently in this manner for the particular course which has been actually pursued by the Roman Court. All morbid spiritual appetites would have been amply satisfied by claims to infallibility in creed, to the prerogative of miracle, to dominion over the unseen world. In truth there was occasion, in this view, for nothing except a liberal supply of Salmonean thunder—

Dum flammas Jovis, et sonitus imitatur Olympi.

(Æn. vi, 586.) All this could have been managed by a few Tetzels judiciously distributed over Europe. Therefore the question still remains, why did that court, with policy for ever in its eye, lodge such formidable demands for power of the vulgar kind in that sphere which is visible, and where hard knocks can undoubtedly be given as well as received?

It must be for some political object of a very tangible kind that the risks of so daring a raid upon the civil sphere have been deliberately run.

A daring raid it is. For it is most evident that the very assertion of principles which establish an exemption from allegiance, or which impair its completeness, goes, in many other countries of Europe, far more directly than with us, to the creation of political strife, and to dangers of the most material and tangible kind. The struggle now proceeding in Germany at once occurs to the mind as a palmary instance. I am not competent to give any opinion upon the particulars of that struggle. The institutions of Germany and the relative estimate of State power and individual freedom are materially different from ours. But I must say as much as this : Firstly, it is not Prussia alone that is touched ; elsewhere, too, the bone lies ready, though the contention may be delayed. In other States, in Austria particularly, there are recent laws in force raising much the same issues as the Falck laws have raised. But the Roman Court possesses in perfection one art, the art of waiting ; and it is her wise maxim to fight but one enemy at a time. Secondly, if I have truly represented the claims promulgated from the Vatican, it is difficult to deny that those claims, and the power which has made them, are primarily responsible for the pains and perils, whatever they may be, of the present conflict between German and Roman enactments. And that which was once truly said of France may now also be said with not less truth of Germany : when Germany is disquieted Europe cannot be at rest.

I should feel less anxiety on this subject had the Supreme Pontiff frankly recognised his altered position since the events of 1870 ; and, in language as clear, if not as emphatic, as that in which he has proscribed modern civilization, given to Europe the assurance that he would be no party to the reëstablishment by blood and violence of the Temporal Power of the Church. It is easy to conceive that his personal benevolence, no less than his feelings as an Italian, must have inclined him individually toward a course so humane ; and I should add, if I might do it without presumption, so prudent. With what appears to an English eye a lavish prodigality, successive Italian Governments have made over the ecclesiastical powers and privileges of the monarchy, not to the Church of the country for the revival of the ancient, popular, and self-governing elements of its constitution, but to the Papal Chair, for the establishment of ecclesiastical despotism and the suppression of the last vestiges of independence. This course, so difficult for a foreigner to appreciate or even to justify, has been met, not by reciprocal conciliation, but by a constant fire of denunciations and complaints. When the tone of these denunciations and complaints is compared with the language of the authorized and favored Papal organs in the press, and of the Ultramontane party (now the sole legitimate party of the Latin Church) throughout Europe, it leads many to the painful and revolting conclusion that there is a fixed purpose among the secret inspirers of Roman policy to pursue, by the road of force, upon the arrival of any favorable opportunity, the favorite project of reërecting the terrestrial throne of the Popedom, even if it can only be reërected on the ashes of the city and amid the whitening bones of the people. (Appendix C.)

It is difficult to conceive or contemplate the effects of such an endeavor. But the existence at this day of the policy, even in bare idea, is itself a portentous evil. I do not hesitate to say that it is an incentive to general disturbance—a premium upon European wars. It is, in my opinion, not sanguine only, but almost ridiculous to imagine that such a project could eventually succeed ; but it is difficult to over-estimate the effect which it might produce in generating and exasperating strife. It might even to some extent disturb and paralyze the action of such Governments as might interpose for no separate purpose of their own, but only with a view to the main-

tenance or restoration of the general peace. If the baleful power which is expressed by the phrase *Curia Romana*, and not at all adequately rendered in its historic force by the usual English equivalent, "Court of Rome," really entertains the scheme, it doubtless counts on the support in every country of an organized and devoted party, which, when it can command the scales of political power, will promote interference, and when it is in a minority, will work for securing neutrality. As the peace of Europe may be in jeopardy, and as the duties of England, as one (so to speak) of its constabulary authorities, might come to be in question, it would be most interesting to know the mental attitude of our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen in England and Ireland with reference to the subject, and it seems to be one on which we are entitled to solicit information.

For there cannot be the smallest doubt that the temporal power of the Popedom comes within the true meaning of the words used at the Vatican to describe the subjects on which the Pope is authorized to claim, under awful sanctions, the obedience of the "faithful." It is even possible that we have here the key to the enlargement of the province of Obedience beyond the limits of Infallibility, and to the introduction of the remarkable phrase *ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesie*. No impartial person can deny that the question of the temporal power very evidently concerns the discipline and government of the Church—concerns it, and most mischievously as I should venture to think; but in the opinion, up to a late date, of many Roman Catholics, not only most beneficially, but even essentially. Let it be remembered that such a man as the late Count Montalembert, who in his general politics was of the Liberal party, did not scruple to hold that the millions of Roman Catholics throughout the world were copartners with the inhabitants of the States of the Church in regard to their civil government; and as constituting the vast majority, were, of course entitled to override them. It was also rather commonly held, a quarter of a century ago, that the question of the States of the Church was one with which none but Roman Catholic powers could have anything to do. This doctrine, I must own, was to me at all times unintelligible. It is now, to say the least, hopelessly and irrecoverably obsolete.

Archbishop Manning, who is at the head of the Papal Church in England, and whose ecclesiastical tone is supposed to be in the closest accordance with that of his headquarters, has not thought it too much to say that the civil order of all Christendom is the offspring of the Temporal Power, and has the Temporal Power for its keystone; that on the destruction of the Temporal Power "the laws of nations would at once fall in ruins;" that (our old friend) the deposing power "taught subjects obedience and princes clemency."—"Three Lectures on the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes," 1860, pp. 34, 46, 47, 58-9, 63.] Nay, this high authority has proceeded further; and has elevated the Temporal Power to the rank of necessary doctrine.

"The Catholic Church cannot be silent, it cannot hold its peace; it cannot cease to preach the doctrines of Revelation, not only of the Trinity and of the Incarnation, but likewise of the Seven Sacraments, and of the Infallibility of the Church of God, and of the necessity of Unity, and of the Sovereignty, both spiritual and temporal, of the Holy See."*

I never, for my own part, heard that the work containing this remarkable passage was placed in the "Index Prohibitorum Librorum." On the contrary, its distinguished author was elevated, on the first opportunity, to the headship of the Roman Episcopacy in England, and to the guidance of the million or thereabouts of souls in its communion. And the more recent utterances of the oracle have not descended from the high level of those

* The present crisis of the Holy See.—[By R. E. Manning, D.D., London, 1861, 9, 73.]

already cited. They have, indeed the recommendation of a comment, not without fair claims to authority, on the recent declarations of the Pope and the Council, and of one which goes to prove how far I am from having exaggerated or strained in the foregoing pages the meaning of those declarations. Especially does this hold good on the one point, the most vital of the whole—the title to define the border line of the two provinces, which the Archbishop not unfairly takes to be the true criterion of supremacy, as between rival powers like the Church and the State.

"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. Or, in other words, the spiritual power, knows, therefore, the limits and the competence of the civil power. It is, thereby, in matters of religion and conscience, 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 *Unam Sanctam*,* and of the Syllabus, and of the Vatican Council. It is, in fact, Ultramontanism, for this term means neither less nor more. The Church, therefore, is separate and supreme.

Let us then ascertain, somewhat further, what is the meaning of supreme. Any power which is independent, and can alone fix the limits of its own jurisdiction, and can therefore fix the limits of all other jurisdictions, is, *ipso facto*, supreme.† But the Church of Jesus Christ, within the sphere of revelation, of faith, and morals, is all this or is nothing, or worse than nothing, an imposture and a usurpation.—that is, it is Christ or Antichrist."‡

But the whole pamphlet should be read by those who desire to know the true sense of the Papal declaration and Vatican decrees, as they are understood by the most favored ecclesiastics; understood, I am bound to own, so far as I can see, in their natural, legitimate, and inevitable sense. Such readers will be assisted by the treatise in seeing clearly and in admitting frankly that, whatever demands may hereafter, and in whatever circumstances, be made upon us, we shall be unable to advance with any fairness the plea that it has been done without due notice.

There are millions upon millions of the Protestants of this country who would agree with Archbishop Manning, if he were simply telling us that Divine truth is not to be sought from the lips of the State, nor to be sacrificed at its command. But those millions would tell him in return that the State, as the power which is alone responsible for the external order of the world, alone conclusively and finally be competent to determine what is to take place in the sphere of that external order.

I have shown, then, that the propositions, especially that which has been felt to be the chief one among them, being true, are also material—material to be generally known, and clearly understood, and well considered, on civil grounds, inasmuch as they invade at a multitude of points the civil sphere, and seem even to have no very remote or shadowy connection with the future peace and security of Christendom.

VI. WERE THE PROPOSITIONS PROPER TO BE SET FORTH BY THE PRESENT WRITER?

There remains yet before us only the shortest and least significant portion of the inquiry, namely, whether those things, being true, and being material to be said, were also proper to be said by me. I must ask pardon if a tone of egotism be detected in this necessarily subordinate portion of my remarks.

For 30 years, and in a great variety of circumstances, in office and as an independent member of Parliament, in majorities and in small minorities,

* On the Bull *Unam Sanctam* "of the most odious kind." See Bishop Doyle's Essay, already quoted. He thus describes it.

† The italics are not in the original.

‡ "Cæsarism and Ultramontanism." By Archbishop Manning, 1874, pp. 35-6.

and during the larger portion of the time* as the representative of a great constituency, mainly clerical, I have, with others, labored to maintain and extend the civil rights of my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. The Liberal party of this country, with which I have been commonly associated, has suffered, and sometimes suffered heavily, in public favor and in influence, from the belief that it was too ardent in the pursuit of that policy; while at the same time it has always been in the worst odor with the Court of Rome in consequence of its (I hope) unalterable attachment to Italian liberty and independence. I have sometimes been the spokesman of that party in recommendations which have tended to foster in fact the imputation I have mentioned, though not to warrant it as a matter of reason. But it has existed in fact. So that while (as I think) general justice to society required that these things which I have now set forth should be written, special justice, as toward the party to which I am loyally attached, and which I may have had a share in thus placing at a disadvantage before our countrymen, made it to say the least, becoming that I should not shrink from writing them.

In discharging that office, I have sought to perform the part not of a theological partisan, but simply of a good citizen; of one hopeful that many of his Roman Catholic friends and fellow-countrymen, who are, to say the least of it, as good citizens as himself, may perceive that the case is not a frivolous case, but one that merits their attention.

I will next proceed to give the reason why, up to a recent date, I have thought it right in the main to leave to any others who might feel it the duty of dealing in detail with this question.

The great change which seems to me to have been brought about in the position of Roman Catholic Christians as citizens reached its consummation and came into full operation in July, 1870, by the proceedings or so-called decrees of the Vatican Council.

Up to that time, opinion in the Roman Church on all matters involving civil liberty, though partially and sometimes widely intimidated, was free wherever it was resolute. During the Middle Ages, heresy was often extinguished in blood, but in every Cisalpine country a principle of liberty, to a great extent, held its own, and national life refused to be put down. Nay more, these precious and inestimable gifts had not unfrequently for their champions, a local prelatry and clergy. The Constitutions of Clarendon, cursed from the Papal throne, were the work of the English Bishops. Stephen Langton, appointed directly through an extraordinary stretch of power, by Innocent III., to the See of Canterbury, headed the Barons of England in extorting from the Papal minion, John, the worst and basest of all our sovereigns, that Magna Charta, which the Pope at once visited with his anathemas. In the reign of Henry VIII., it was Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, who first wrote against the Papal domination. Tunstal was followed by Gardiner; and even the recognition of the Royal Headship was voted by the clergy, not under Cranmer, but under his unsuspected predecessor, Warham. Strong and domineering as was the high Papal party in those centuries, the resistance was manful. Thrice in history it seemed as if what we may call the Constitutional party in the Church was about to triumph; first, at the epoch of the Council of Constance; secondly, when the French Episcopate was in conflict with Pope Innocent XI.; thirdly, when Clement XIV. levelled with the dust the deadliest foes that mental and moral liberty have ever known. But from July, 1870, this state of things has passed away, and the death-warrant of that Constitutional party has been signed and sealed, and promulgated in form.

Before that time arrived, although I had used expressions sufficiently indicative as to the tendency of things in the great Latin Communion, yet I

* From 1847 to 1865 I sat for the University of Oxford.

had for very many years felt it to be the first and paramount duty of the British Legislature, whatever Rome might say or do, to give to Ireland all that justice could demand in regard to matters of conscience and of civil equality, and thus to set herself right in the opinion of the civilized world. So far from seeing, what some believed they saw, a spirit of unworthy compliance in such a course, it appeared to me the only one which suited either the dignity or the duty of my country. While this debt remained unpaid, both before and after 1870, I did not think it my province to open formally a line of argument on a question of prospective rather than immediate moment, which might have prejudiced the matter of duty lying nearest our hand, and morally injured Great Britain not less than Ireland, Churchmen and Non-conformists not less than adherents of the Papal Communion, by slackening the disposition to pay the debt of justice. When Parliament had passed the Church Act of 1869, and the Land Act of 1870, there remained only, under the great head of Imperial equity, one serious question to be dealt with—that of the higher education. I consider that the Liberal majority in the House of Commons and the Government to which I had the honor and satisfaction to belong, formally tendered payment in full of this portion of the debt by the Irish University bill of February, 1873. Some, indeed, think that it was overpaid—a question into which this is manifestly not the place to enter. But the Roman Catholic prelacy of Ireland thought fit to procure the rejection of that measure, by the direct influence which they exercised over a certain number of Irish members of Parliament, and by the temptation which they thus offered—the bid, in effect, which (to use a homely phrase) they made to attract the support of the Tory Opposition. Their efforts were crowned with a complete success. From that time forward I have felt that the situation was changed, and that important matters would have to be cleared by suitable explanations. The debt to Ireland has been paid: a debt to the country at large had still to be disposed of, and this has come to be the duty of the hour. So long, indeed, as I continued to be Prime Minister I should not have considered a broad political discussion on a general question suitable to proceed from me; while neither I nor (I am certain) my colleagues would have been disposed to run the risk of stirring popular passions in a vulgar and unexplained appeal. But every difficulty arising from the necessary limitations of an official position has now been removed.

VII.—ON THE HOME POLICY OF THE FUTURE.

I could not, however, conclude these observations without anticipating and answering an inquiry they suggest. "Are they, then," it will be asked, "a recantation and a regret; and what are they meant to recommend as the policy of the future?" My reply shall be succinct and plain. Of what the Liberal party has accomplished by word or deed, in establishing the full civil equality of Roman Catholics, I regret nothing and I recant nothing.

It is certainly a political misfortune that, during the last thirty years, a Church so tainted in its views of civil obedience, and so unduly capable of changing its front and language after Emancipation from what it had been before, like an actor who has to perform several characters in one piece, should have acquired an extension of its hold upon the highest classes of this country. The conquests have been chiefly, as might have been expected, among women; but the number of male converts, or captives (as I might prefer to call them), has not been inconsiderable. There is no doubt that every one of these secessions is in the nature of a considerable moral and social severance. The breadth of this gap varies according to varieties of individual character. But it is too commonly a wide one. Too commonly the spirit of the neophyte is expressed by the words, which have become notorious: "A Catholic first, an Englishman afterwards." Words which properly convey no more than a truism; for every Christian must seek to

place his religion even before his country in his inner heart. But very far from a truism in the sense in which we have been led to construe them. We take them to mean that the "convert" intends, in case of any conflict between the Queen and the Pope, to follow the Pope, and let the Queen shift for herself, which, happily, she can well do.

Usually in this country a movement in the highest class would raise a presumption of a similar movement in the mass. It is not so here. Rumors have gone about that the proportion of members of the Papal Church to the population has increased, especially in England. But these rumors would seem to be confuted by authentic figures. The Roman Catholic marriages, which supply a competent test, and which were 4.89 per cent. of the whole in 1854, and 4.62 per cent. in 1859, were 4.09 per cent. in 1869, and 4.02 per cent. in 1871.

There is something at the least abnormal in such a partial growth, taking effect as it does among the wealthy and noble, while the people cannot be charmed, by any incantation, into the Roman camp. The original Gospel was supposed to be meant especially for the poor; but the Gospel of the nineteenth century from Rome courts another and less modest destination. If the Pope does not control more souls among us he certainly controls more acres.

The severance, however, of a certain number of lords of the soil from those who till it, can be borne. And so I trust will in like manner be endured the new and very real "aggression" of the principles promulgated by Papal authority, whether they are or are not loyally disclaimed. In this matter each man is his own judge and his own guide: I can speak for myself. I am no longer able to say, as I would have said before 1870, "There is nothing in the necessary belief of the Roman Catholic which can appear to impeach his full civil title; for, whatsoever be the follies of ecclesiastical power in his Church, his Church itself has not required of him, with binding authority, as consent to any principles inconsistent with his civil duty." That ground is now, for the present at least, cut from under my feet. What then is to be our course of policy hereafter? First, let me say that, as regards the great Imperial settlement, achieved by slow degrees, which has admitted men of all creeds subsisting among us, to Parliament, that I conceive to be so determined beyond all doubt or question as to have become one of the deep foundation-stones of the existing Constitution. But inasmuch as, short of this great charter of public liberty, and independently of all that has been done, there are pending matters of comparatively minor moment which have been, or may be, subjects of discussion, not without interest attaching to them, I can suppose a question to arise in the minds of some. My own views and intentions in the future are of the smallest significance. But if the arguments I have here offered make it my duty to declare them, I say at once, the future will be exactly as the past: in the little that depends on me I shall be guided hereafter, as heretofore, by the rule of maintaining equal civil rights, irrespective of religious differences, and shall resist all attempts to exclude the members of the Roman Church from the benefit of that rule. Indeed, I may say that I have already given conclusive indications of this view by supporting in Parliament as a Minister, since 1870, the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles act, for what I think ample reasons. Not only because the time has not yet come when we can assume the consequences of the revolutionary measures of 1870 to have been thoroughly weighed and digested by all capable men in the Roman communion. Not only because so great a numerical proportion are, as I have before observed, necessarily incapable of mastering and forming their personal judgment upon the ease. Quite irrespectively even of these considerations, I hold that our onward even course should not be changed by follies, the consequences of which, if the worst come to the worst, this country will have

alike the power and, in case of need, the will to control. The State will, I trust, be ever careful to leave the domain of religious conscience free, and yet to keep it to its own domain; and to allow neither private caprice nor, above all, foreign arrogance to dictate to it in the discharge of its proper office. "England expects every man to do his duty;" and none can be so well prepared under all circumstances to exact its performance as that Liberal party which has done the work of justice alike for Nonconformists and for Papal dissidents, and whose members have so often, for the sake of that work, hazarded their credit with the markedly Protestant constituencies of the country. Strong, the State of the United Kingdom has always been in material strength, and its moral panoply is now, we may hope, pretty complete.

It is not then, for the dignity of the Crown and people of the United Kingdom to be diverted from a path which they have deliberately chosen, and which it does not rest with all the myrmidons of the Apostolic Chamber, either openly to obstruct or secretly to undermine. It is rightfully to be expected, it is greatly to be desired, that the Roman Catholics of this country should do in the nineteenth century what their forefathers of England, except a handful of emissaries, did in the sixteenth, when they were marshaled in resistance to the Armada, and in the seventeenth, when in despite of the Papal Chair, they sat in the House of Lords, under the oath of allegiance. That which we are entitled to desire, we are entitled also to expect. Indeed, to say we did not expect it would, in my judgment, be the true way of conveying an "insult" to those concerned. In this expectation we may be partially disappointed. Should those to whom I appeal thus unhappily come to bear witness in their own persons to the decay of sound, manly, true life in their Church, it will be their loss, more than ours. The inhabitants of these islands, as a whole, are stable, though sometimes credulous and excitable; resolute, though sometimes boastful; and a strong-headed and sound-hearted race will not be hindered either by latent or by avowed dissents, due to the foreign influence of a caste, from the accomplishment of its mission in the world.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

The numbers here given correspond with those of the Eighteen Propositions given in the text, where it would have been less convenient to cite the originals.

1. 2. 3. "Ex quo omnino falsa sociatis regiminis idea haud timent erroneum illam fovere opinionem, Catholicæ Ecclesiæ, animarumque saluti maxime exitiæ, a rec. mem. Gregorio XIV. prædecessore Nostro *deliramentum* appellatam (eadem Encycl. mirari), nimirum liberatam conscientiæ et cuitum esse proprium cujuscunque hominis jus, quod lege proclamari, et asseri debet in omni recte constitua societate, et jus civibus inesse ad omnimodam libertatem nulla vel ecclesiastica, vel civili auctoritate coarctandum, quo suos conceptus quoscunque sive voce sive typis, sive alia ratione palam publice manifestare ac declarare valeant.—*Encyclical Letter*.

4. "Atque silentia præterire non possumus eorum audaciam, qui sanam non sustinentes doctrinam 'illis Apostolicæ Sedis judiciis, et decretis, quorum objectum ad bonum generale Ecclesiæ, ejusdemque jura, hac disciplinam spectare declaratur, dummodo fidei morumque dogmata non attingat, posse assensim et obedientiam detrectam absque peccato, et absque ulla Catholicæ professionis jactura.'"—*Ibid*.

5. "Ecclesia non est vera perfectaue societas plane libera nec pollet suis propriis et constantibus iuribus sibi a divino suo Fundatore collatis sed civilis potestatis est definire quæ sint Ecclesiæ jura, ac limites, intra quos eadem juro exercere quest.—*Syllabus* v.

6. "Romani Pontifices et Concina œcumenica a limiti bus suæ potestatis recesserunt jura Principum usurparant, atque etiam in rebus fidei et morum deficiendis errarunt."—*Ibid.* xxiii.

7. "Ecclesia vis inferendæ potestatem non habet, neque potestatem ullem temporalem directam vel indirectam."—*Ibid.* xxiv.

8. Præter potestatem episcopatus in hærentem, alia est attributa temporalis potestas a civili imperio vel expresse vel tacite concessa; revocanda propterea, cum libuerit, a civili imperio."—*Ibid.* xxv.

9. "Ecclesiæ et personarum ecclesiasticarum immunitas a jure civili ortum habuit."—*Ibid.* xxx.

10. "In conflictu legum utriusque potestatis, jus civile prævalet."—*Ibid.* xlii.

11. "Catholicis viris probari notest ea juventutis institutiendæ ratio, qua sit a Catholica fide et ab Ecclesiæ potestate sejuncta, quæque rerum dumtaxat naturalium scientiam ac terrenæ socialis vitæ fines tantummodo saltem primarium spectet."—*Ibid.* xlviii.

12. "Philosophicarum rerum morumque scientia, itemque civiles leges possunt et debent a divina et ecclesiastica auctoritate declinare."—*Ibid.* lvii.

13. "Matrimonii sacramentum non est nisi contractui accessorium ab eoque separabile, ipsumque sacramentum in una tantum nuptiali benedictione situm et."—*Ibid.* lxvi.

"Vi contractus mere civilis potest inter Christianos constare veri nominis matrimonium: falsumque est, aut contractum matrimonii inter Christianos semper esse sacramentum, aut nullum esse contractum, sacramentum excludatur."—*Ibid.* lxxii.

14. "De temporalis regni cum spirituali compatibilitate disputant inter se Christianæ et Catholicæ Ecclesiæ filii."—*Syllabus* lxxv.

15. "Abrogatio civilis imperii, quo Apostolica Sedes potitur, ad Ecclesiæ liberatam felicitatemque vel maxime conducere."—*Ibid.* lxxvi.

16. "Ætate hac nostra non amplius expedit religionem Catholicam haberi tanquam unicuique status religionem, cæteris quibuscumque cultibus exclusis."—*Ibid.* lxxvii.

17. "Hinc laudabiliter in quibusdam Catholici nominis regionibus lege cantum est, ut hominibus illuc immigrantibus liceat publicum proprii cujusque cultus exercitium habere."—*Ibid.* lxxviii.

18 "Romanus Pontifex potest ac debet cum progressa, cum liberalismo et cum recenti civilitate sese reconciliare et componere."—*Ibid.* lxxx.

APPENDIX B.

I have contented myself with a minimum of citation from the documents of the period before Emancipation. Their full effect can only be gathered by such as are acquainted with, or will take the trouble to refer largely to, the originals. It is worth while, however, to cite the following passage from Bishop Doyle, as it may convey, through the indignation it expresses, an idea of the amplitude of the assurances which had been (as I believe, most honestly and sincerely) given:

"There is no justice, my Lord, in thus condemning us. Such conduct on the part of our opponents creates in our bosoms a sense of wrong being done to us; it exhausts our patience, it provokes our indignation, and prevents us from reiterating our efforts to obtain a more impartial hearing. We are tempted, in such cases as these, to attribute unfair motives to those who differ from us, as we cannot conceive how men gifted with intelligence can fail to discover truths so plainly demonstrated as,

"That our faith or our allegiance is not regulated by any such doctrines as those imputed to us;

"That our duties to the Government of our country are not influenced nor affected by any Bulls or practices of Popes;

"That these duties are to be learned by us, as by every other class of His Majesty's subjects, from the Gospel, from the reason given to us by God, from that love of country which nature has implanted in our hearts, and from those constitutional maxims which are as well understood and as highly appreciated by Catholics of the present day as by their ancestors, who founded them with Alfred, or secured them at Runnymede."—(Doyle's "Essay on Catholic Claims," London, 1826, p. 38.)

The same general tone, as in 1826, was maintained in the answers of the witnesses from Maynooth College before the Commission of 1855. See, for example, pp. 132, 161-4, 272-3, 275, 361, 370-5, 381-2, 394-6, 405. The Commission reported (p. 64), "We see no reason to believe that there has been any disloyalty in the teaching of the College, or any disposition to impair the obligations of an unreserved allegiance to your Majesty."

APPENDIX C.

Compare the recent and ominous forecasting of the future European policy of the British Crown, in an article from a Romish periodical for the current month, which has direct relation to these matters, and which has every appearance of proceeding from authority:

"Surely in an European complication, such as may any day arise, nay, such as must ere long arise, from the natural gravitation of the forces which are for the moment kept in check and truce by the necessity of preparation for their inevitable collision, it may very well be that the future prosperity of England may be staked in the struggle, and that the side which she may take may be determined, not either by justice or interest, but by a passionate resolve to keep up the Italian kingdom at any hazard."—(*The Month* for November, 1864: "Mr. Gladstone's Durham Letter," p. 265.)

This is a remarkable disclosure. With whom could England be brought into conflict by any disposition she might feel to keep up the Italian kingdom? Considered as States, both Austria and France are in complete harmony with Italy. But it is plain that Italy has some enemy; and the writers of *The Month* appear to know who it is.

APPENDIX D.

Notice has been taken, both in this country and abroad, of the apparent inertness of public men, and of at least one British Administration, with respect to the subject of these pages. See Friedberg, "Gränzen zwischen Staat und Kirche," Abtheilung iii., pp. 755-6: and the preface to the fifth volume of Mr. Greenwood's elaborate, able, and judicial work, entitled "Cathedra Petri," p. 4.

If there be any chance of such a revival, it would become our political leaders to look more closely into the peculiarities of a system, which denies the right of the subject to freedom of thought and action upon matters most material to his civil and religious welfare. There is no mode of ascertaining the spirit and tendency of great institutions but in a careful study of their history. The writer is profoundly impressed with the conviction that our political instructors have wholly neglected this important duty: or, which is perhaps worse, left it in the hands of a class of persons whose zeal has out-run their discretion, and who have sought rather to engage the prejudices than the judgment of their hearers in the cause they have, no doubt, sincerely at heart.

PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.

ARCHBISHOP MANNING IN REPLY TO MR. GLADSTONE.

The conditions of Civil Allegiance not charged by the Vatican Decrees—The Catholics' Allegiance as true and as Loyal as that of any subject of the British Empire.

"THE LONDON DAILY NEWS" publishes the following letter to the editor from Archbishop Manning.

SIR: The gravity of the subject on which I address you, affecting, as it must, every Catholic in the British Empire, will, I hope, obtain from your courtesy the publication of this letter.

This morning I received a copy of a pamphlet entitled "The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance." I find in it a direct appeal to myself, both for the office I hold, and for the writings I have published. I gladly acknowledge the duty that lies upon me for both those reasons. I am bound by the office I bear, not to suffer a day to pass without repelling from the Catholics of this country the lightest imputation upon their loyalty; and, for my teaching, I am ready to show that the principles I have ever taught are beyond impeachment upon that score.

It is true, indeed, that in page 57 of the pamphlet, Mr. Gladstone expresses his belief "that many of his Roman Catholic friends and fellow-countrymen" are, "to say the least of it, as good citizens as himself." But, as the whole pamphlet is an elaborate argument to prove that the teaching of the Vatican Council renders it impossible for them to be so, I cannot accept this graceful acknowledgment, which implies that they are good citizens because they are at variance with the Catholic Church.

I should be wanting in duty to the Catholics of this country and to myself, if I did not give a prompt contradiction to this statement, and if I did not with equal promptness affirm that the loyalty of our civil allegiance is not in spite of the teaching of the Catholic Church, but because of it.

The sum of the argument in the pamphlet just published to the world is this: That, by the Vatican decrees, such a change has been made in the relations of Catholics to the civil power of States, that it is no longer possible for them to render the same undivided civil allegiance as it was possible for Catholics to render before the promulgation of those decrees.

In answer to this, it is for the present sufficient to affirm:

1. That the Vatican decrees have in no jot or tittle changed either the obligations or the conditions of civil allegiance.
2. That the civil allegiance of Catholics is as undivided as that of all Christians, and of all men who recognize a divine or natural moral law.
3. That the civil allegiance of no man is unlimited; and therefore the civil allegiance of all men who believe in God, or are governed by conscience, is in that sense divided.

In this sense, and in no other, can it be said with truth that the civil allegiance of Catholics is divided. The civil allegiance of every Christian

man in England is limited by conscience and the law of God; and the civil allegiance of Catholics is limited neither less nor more.

The public peace of the British Empire has been consolidated in the last half century by the elimination of religious conflicts and inequalities from our laws. The Empire of Germany might have been equally peaceful and stable if its statesmen had not been tempted in an evil hour to rake up the old fires of religious disunion. The hand of one man, more than any other, threw this torch of discord into the German Empire. The history of Germany will record the name of Dr. Ignatius Von Döllinger as the author of this national evil. I lament not only to read the name, but to trace the arguments, of Dr. Von Dollenger in the pamphlet before me. May God preserve these kingdoms from the public and private calamities which are visibly impending over Germany! The author of the pamphlet, in his first line, assures us that his "purpose is not polemical, but pacific." I am sorry that so good an intention should have so widely erred in the selection of the means.

But my purpose is neither to criticise nor to controvert. My desire and my duty as an Englishman, as a Catholic, and as a pastor, is to claim for my flock and for myself, a civil allegiance as pure, as true, and as loyal as is rendered by the distinguished author of the pamphlet, or by any subject of the British Empire.

I remain, Sir, your faithful servant,

+HENRY EDWARD, Archbishop of Westminster.

November 7.

ARCHBISHOP MANNING ON THE CATHOLIC POLICY OF THE FUTURE.

The Spiritual Power of the Pope increasing with the decline in his temporal authority—The Pope as an Arbitrator—One of the greatest controversies the world has ever seen about to open.

(From THE LONDON TIMES, Nov. 9.)

A large meeting of Roman Catholics assembled at Archbishop Manning's house at Westminster on Thursday night, to hear his inaugural address to the Roman Catholic Academia in reference to the future policy of the Catholic world. In the course of his observations he said they were all aware that the Catholic Academia was formed at the close of the last century to unite Catholics throughout the world in opposing the Atheistical teaching of the so-called Free-thinkers of France and Germany, whose thoughts were disseminated by the free press of England. Thirteen years ago it was found necessary to extend the work of the Association to England, and he was glad to say, though he did not like to use exulting words, that they had done much to correct and educate the press of this country. In the present crisis, and looking to the coming great future struggle, they had a vast work before them. Looking at the hostility manifested on the Continent to the Sovereign Pontiff, he invited their special attention to the best means of asserting his infallibility and his right to spiritual and temporal power. One thing he would call their attention to—namely, that since his temporal power on the Continent had been denied him, his spiritual power and influence over his subjects had greatly increased. In the conflict of nations which they had seen around them since their depar-

ture from their allegiance to the temporal power of the Holy Father, a vast amount of blood had been shed, and nations in their perplexity had lately been seeking some means to avert the terrible calamities of war. At the International Arbitration Conference, recently held at Geneva, one of the influential speakers had proposed that cases of national dispute should be submitted to arbitrators appointed from the principal nations of the world, and their decision the conflicting nations should be called upon to obey. If, however, the nations in question refused to submit, then the whole of the other nations were to be called upon to join in a war against the contending party. Instead of this proposed system putting an end to war, could they, he would ask, imagine anything more likely to prolong European wars than such a plan? There could be but one authorized arbitrator between the nations of the earth, and that one, he need scarcely tell them, was the one who was not interested in the temporal affairs of one nation more than another, but was impartial to all, and that one was the Sovereign Pontiff himself. Then there was another meeting to which he would call their attention, and that was one which had been held at Bonn for the purpose of endeavoring to unite persons of various religious beliefs upon spiritual matters, according to the teachings of what they called the Old Catholics, to be settled by the history of the Catholic Church. Well, the question which would naturally arise in the mind of a true Catholic would be as to who would have to select the historians to be appealed to. The answer of the Catholic Church would be that just as a man only knows his own spirit and his own history, so it is with the Church. The Catholic Church knows her own history, and none other knows it so well. To her historians and to her teachings alone, then, such parties must return. The next question, then, to which he would invite their attention, was the modern scepticism, free thought, and so-called scientific teachings of the day in relation to Catholic teaching, and for an illustration of this style of thought he would refer them to Professor Tyndall's address the other day at the Belfast meeting of the British Association. Upon this subject they would do well to read a very excellent article in *The Times* of Saturday last. Whoever wrote that article he was a good man, and knew what he was writing about. It was the old story of Galileo, and they would do well to study these articles for the purpose of answering them according to the teachings of the Catholic Church. Other subjects to which he would like them to give their attention were the various phases of thought in the Protestant Church, and especially those among the Dissenters. The other questions which he invited their most serious consideration to were the infallibility of the Holy Father, his right to temporal as well as spiritual authority, and, amid all the conflicting opinions of the world, the ultimate necessity of acknowledging civil allegiance to him as their only safety. Within the last twenty-four hours it had been intimated to him that the Catholic world was threatened with a controversy on the whole of the decrees of the Vatican Council. From this and other matters which had come to his knowledge he could see that they were on the very eve of one of the mightiest controversies the religious world had ever seen. Certainly nothing like the controversy on which they were about to enter had occurred during the last 300 years, and they must be prepared. If they would only prepare themselves he did not fear for the decrees of Vatican Council or for the Vatican itself. But they must have no half-hearted measures. They must have no half-fearful, half-hearted assertions of the Sovereign Pontiff's claim; they must not fear to declare to England, and to the world through the free press of England, the Sovereign Pontiff's claim to infallibility, his right to temporal power, and the duty of the nations of the earth to return to their allegiance to him. If they did this—if they proclaimed this with no uncertain sound, Protestants in England and Protestants throughout the world would hear

them and be convinced. If they did this, the Protestant world would give them credit for their courage, and believe in them for their own honesty's sake. If, on the other hand, they minced matters and spoke in half-fearful measures, Protestants would only turn away from them for their want of honesty. Protestants knew well what they meant, and what the claims of the Catholic Church are, and therefore it would be best for the Church now to speak out, and he had no fear for the result.

THE VATICAN DOCTRINES NOT OF RECENT GROWTH.

A reply by Lord Acton to Mr. Gladstone—The doctrines which he is combatting older than the Vatican Council—His indictment not complete enough to be just.

THE LONDON TIMES publishes the following preliminary reply to Mr Gladstone's public expostulation, by Lord Acton :

ATHENÆUM, Nov. 8.

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE :—I will not anticipate by a single word the course which those who are immediately concerned may adopt in answer to your challenge. But there are points which I think you have overlooked, and which may be raised most fitly by those who are least responsible. The question of policy and opportuneness I leave for others to discuss with you. Speaking in the open daylight, from my own point of view, as a Roman Catholic, born in the nineteenth century, I cannot object that facts which are of a nature to influence the belief of men should be brought completely to their knowledge. Concealment is unworthy of those things which are divine and holy in religion, and in those things which are human and profane publicity has value as a check.

I understand your argument to be substantially as follows : The Catholics obtained emancipation by declaring that they were in every sense of the term loyal and faithful subjects of the realm, and that Papal Infallibility was not a dogma of their Church. Later events having falsified one declaration, have disturbed the stability of the other ; and the problem therefore arises whether the authority which has annulled the profession of faith made by the Catholics would not be competent to change their conceptions of political duty.

This is a question that may be fairly asked, and it was long since made familiar to the Catholics by the language of their own Bishops. One of them has put it in the following terms : " How shall we persuade the Protestants that we are not acting in defiance of honor and good faith if, having declared that infallibility was not an article of our faith while we were contending for our rights, we should, now that we have got what we wanted, withdraw from our public declaration and affirm the contrary ? " The case is, *prima facie*, a strong one, and it would be still more serious if the whole structure of our liberties and our toleration was founded on the declarations given by the English and Irish Bishops some years before the Relief Act. Those documents, interesting and significant as they are, are unknown to the Constitution. What is known, and what was for a generation, part of the law of the country, is something more solemn and substantial than a series of unproved assertions—namely, the oath in which the political essence of those declarations was concentrated. That was the security which Parliament required; that was the pledge by which we were bound; and it binds

us no more. The Legislature, judging that what was sufficient for Republicans was sufficient for Catholics, abolished the oath, for the best reasons, some time before the disestablishment of the Irish Church. If there is no longer a special bond for the loyalty of Catholics, the fact is due to the deliberate judgment of the House of Commons. After having surrendered the only real Constitutional security their seems scarcely reason to lament the depreciation of a less substantial guarantee, which was very indirectly connected with the action of Parliament, and was virtually superseded by the oath.

The doctrines against which you are contending did not begin with the Vatican Council. At the time when the Catholic oath was repealed, the Pope had the same right and power to excommunicate those who denied his authority to depose princes that he possesses now. The writers most esteemed at Rome held that doctrine as an article of faith; a modern Pontiff had affirmed that it cannot be abandoned without taint of heresy, and that those who questioned and restricted his authority in temporal matters were worse than those who rejected it in spirituals, and accordingly men suffered death for this cause as others did for blasphemy and atheism. The recent decrees have neither increased the penalty nor made it more easy to inflict.

That is the true answer to your appeal. Your indictment would be more just if it was more complete. If you pursue the inquiry further you will find graver matter than all you have enumerated, established by higher and more ancient authority than a meeting of Bishops half-a-century ago. And then I think you will admit that your Catholic countrymen cannot fairly be called on to account for every particle of a system which has never come before them in its integrity, or for opinions whose existence among divines they would be exceedingly reluctant to believe.

I will explain my meaning by an example: A Pope who lived in Catholic times, and who is famous in history as the author of the first Crusade, decided that it is no murder to kill excommunicated persons. This rule was incorporated in the Canon law. In the revision of the Code, which took place in the sixteenth century, and produced a whole volume of corrections, the passage was allowed to stand. It appears in every reprint of the "*Corpus Juris*." It has been for 700 years and continues to be part of the Ecclesiastical law. Far from having been a dead letter, it obtained a new application in the days of the Inquisition, and one of the later Popes has declared that the murder of a Protestant is so good a deed that it atones, and more than atones, for the murder of a Catholic. Again, the greatest legislator of the Mediæval Church laid down this proposition, that allegiance must not be kept with heretical Princes—*cum ei qui Deo fidem non servat fides servanda non sit*. This principle was adopted by a celebrated Council, and is confirmed by St. Thomas Aquinas, the oracle of the schools. The Syllabus which you cite has assuredly not acquired greater authority in the Church than the Canon Law and the Lateran Decrees, than innocent the Third and St. Thomas. Yet these things were as well known when the oath was repealed as they are now. But it was felt that, whatever might be the letter of Canons and the spirit of the Ecclesiastical laws, the Catholic people of this country might be honorably trusted.

But I will pass from the letter to the spirit which is moving men at the present day. It belongs peculiarly to the character of a genuine Ultramontane not only to guide his life by the example of canonized saints, but to receive with reverence and submission the words of Popes. Now Pius V., the only Pope who has been proclaimed a saint for many centuries, having deprived Elizabeth, commissioned an assassin to take her life; and his next successor, on learning that the Protestants were being massacred in France, pronounced the action glorious and holy, but comparatively barren of results; and implored the king during two months, by his Nuncio and his Legate, to

carry the work on to the bitter end, until every Huguenot had recanted or perished. It is hard to believe that these things can excite in the bosom of the most fervent Ultramontane that sort of admiration or assent that displays itself in action. If they do not, then it cannot be truly said that Catholics forfeit their moral freedom or place their duty at the mercy of another.

There is waste of power by friction even in well-constructed machines, and no machinery can enforce that degree of unity and harmony which you apprehend. Little fellowship or confidence is possible between a man who recognizes the common principles of morality as we find them in the overwhelming mass of the writers of our Church and one who, on learning that the murder of a Protestant Sovereign has been inculcated by a saint, or the slaughter of Protestant subjects approved by a Pope, sets himself to find a new interpretation for the Decalogue. There is little to apprehend from combinations between men divided by such a gulf as this, or from the unity of a body composed of such antagonistic materials. But where there is not union of an active or aggressive kind, there may be unity in defence; and it is possible, in making provision against the one, to promote and to confirm the other.

There has been, and I believe there is still, some exaggeration in the ideal form of the agreement in thought and deed which authority can accomplish. As far as decrees, censures, and persecution could commit the Court of Rome, it was committed to the denial of the Copernican system. Nevertheless, the history of astronomy shows a whole catena of distinguished Jesuits; and, a century ago, a Spaniard who thought himself bound to adopt the Ptolemaic theory was laughed at by the Roman divines. The submission of Fénelon, which Protestants and Catholics have so often celebrated, is another instance to my point. When his book was condemned Fénelon publicly accepted the judgment as the voice of God. He declared that he adhered to the decree absolutely and without a shadow of reserve, and there were no bounds to his submission. In private he wrote that his opinions were perfectly orthodox and remained unchanged, that his opponents were in the wrong, and that Rome was getting religion into peril.

It is not the unpropitious times only, but very nature of things, that protect Catholicism from the consequences of some theories that have grown up within it. The Irish did not shrink from resisting the arms of Henry II., though two Popes had given him dominion over them. They fought against William III., although the Pope had given him efficient support in his expedition. Even James II., when he could not get a mitre for Petre, reminded Innocent that people could be very good Catholics, and yet do without Rome. Philip II. was excommunicated and deprived, but he dispatched his army against Rome with the full concurrence of the Spanish divines.

That opinions likely to injure our position as loyal subjects of a Protestant sovereign, as citizens of a free State, as members of a community divided in religion, have flourished at various times, and in various degrees; that they can claim high sanction; that they are often uttered in the exasperation of controversy, and are most strongly urged at a time when there is no possibility of putting them into practice—this all men must concede. But I affirm that, in the fiercest conflict of the Reformation, when the rulers of the Church had almost lost heart in the struggle for existence, and exhausted every resource of their authority, both political and spiritual, the bulk of the English Catholics retained the spirit of a better time. You do not, I am glad to say, deny that this continues to be true. But you think that we ought to be compelled to demonstrate one of two things—that the Pope cannot, by virtue of powers asserted by the late Council, make a claim which he was perfectly able to make by virtue of powers asserted for him before; or, that he would be resisted if he did. The first is superfluous. The second is not capable of receiving a written demonstration. Therefore, neither

of the alternatives you propose to the Catholics of this country opens to us a way of escape from the reproach we have incurred. Whether there is more truth in your misgivings or in my confidence the event will show, I hope, at no distant time.

I remain sincerely yours,

ACTON.



