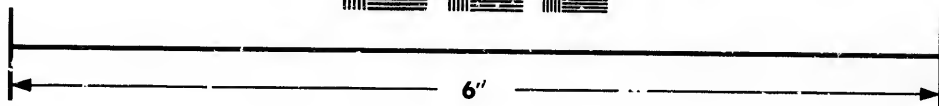
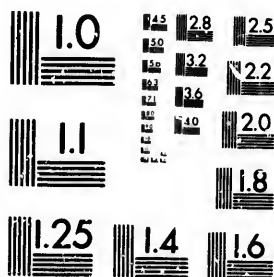


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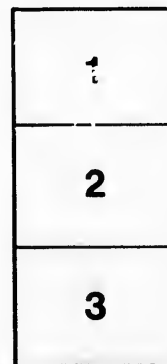
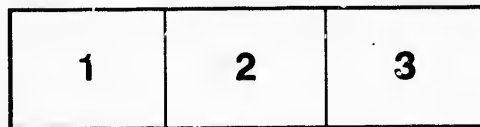
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THE
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REV. M. J. WHELAN.

"You ought to be able to bring out what you feel and what you mean, as well as to feel and mean it; to expose to the comprehension of others the fictions and fallacies of your opponents; and to explain the charges brought against the Church, to the satisfaction, not, indeed, of bigots, but of men of sense, of whatever cast of opinion."

CARDINAL NEWMAN.



PAMPHLET No. 3.

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OF OTTAWA.

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OF OTTAWA.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE public prints of the 7th November, contained reports of a sermon delivered by the Rev. Dr. Campbell in the Erskine Presbyterian Church on the afternoon of Sunday the sixth, the occasion being the annual Gun-Powder-Plot celebration. The preacher discoursed on Civil Allegiance ; and, as a clinching proof that the Catholic Church did not leave men free to yield faithful and true allegiance to the civil power, and that the Catholic religion was, therefore, one which made against the best interests of the State, Dr. Campbell cited what he alleged were the words of the late Cardinal Manning. According to the reports he made the Cardinal say : " I acknowledge no civil power. I acknowledge no temporal prince. I claim to be the chief ruler and dictator to the consciences of men, of the prince who sits upon the throne, the peasant who tills the soil, of the privacy of the domestic household and the member of parliament who legislates."

In a communication to the "*Free Press*" of the 9th November, Father Whelan challenged the accuracy of the quotation and called upon Dr. Campbell to supply references so that it might be verified. Dr. Campbell made no reply.

About the same time a polite note was addressed to Dr. Campbell by Mr. W. L. Scott, the Secretary of THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY, requesting him to kindly state whether he was correctly reported, and if so, to kindly furnish the reference for his quotation. But no answer came from Dr. Campbell ; and Mr. Scott, weary of waiting, concluded that his courtesy in assuming good faith in the

Doctor had been misplaced and published his note in a communication to the "*Evening Journal*" of the 17th November.

By the 21st, Dr. Campbell was so far moved by the appeals addressed to him as to cause an announcement to be made, through the medium of a news item in the "*Citizen*" of that date, to the effect that he would "shortly lecture on Cardinal Manning" and then "deal further with the reference he made to the dead churchman." "The doctor says," went on the item, "that he has neither the time nor the desire to enter into a newspaper controversy."

No doubt Dr. Campbell thought this plea would secure him an indefinite respite, but an admirer of the great Cardinal so importuned him in a series of personal letters, that the reverend gentleman gave to his correspondent the title, the volume and the page of the work in which, he said, his citation could be found. But alas! the printed page convicted him of a gross perversion of the text. On referring to page 97, volume III, of Cardinal Manning's "*Ecclesiastical Sermons*," it was found that the sermon from which Dr. Campbell pretended to quote was on the Syllabus; that no part of that sermon would bear the construction which Dr. Campbell put upon it; and that he had distorted the words which the Cardinal had not used of himself, but had put into the mouth of the Sovereign Pontiff in illustration of the Holy Father's attitude towards the Italian revolutionists, who sought to make him subject to them. The very words as they appear in the page referred to by Dr. Campbell, will be found in Father Whelan's paper on "*The Civil Allegiance of Catholics*," which was read on the 6th inst., at an open meeting of THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY, and which we now offer to the reading public, prefacing it with this short statement so that the circumstances which evoked it may be clearly understood.

Father Whelan desires us to repeat (what he said when reading the paper) that he has not designed the argument therein presented, but merely compiled and condensed it, within the limits allotted to him, from standard writings on the subject, chiefly from those of the late Dr. Brownson, to which references are given in the foot notes.

OTTAWA, 20th December, 1892.





THE
CIVIL ALLEGIANCE OF CATHOLICS

"I have claimed no authority for myself; I have claimed it for Christianity."

Cardinal Manning: "Miscellanics," Vol. II; p. 242.

Once upon a time, says a veracious Detroit chronicler, there had been a homicide in a saloon—rather an unusual place for a like tragedy—and one man was telling all about it, even to the minutest detail. He had seen it all, he said, and knew what he was talking about; and although everybody had not implicit confidence in his statements, nobody cared to call him to account and make him show proof. Naturally this man would be a good witness, and at the examining trial he was put on the stand.

"What do you know about this affair?" asked the court.

"Nothin' yer honor," he replied so promptly as to startle those who had heard his story.

"Didn't you," asked the surprised magistrate, "didn't you tell a number of people you had seen it all?"

"Yes, yer honor."

"Then how does it happen that you say here that you don't know anything about it?"

"Well, it's this way, yer honor," he said, with a knowing wink and a redeeming blush, "I was only a talkin' then, and now I'm a swearin'."

This distinction between "talking" and "swearing" was nicely drawn, and greatly to the witness' credit.

Now, as Captain Bunsby would say, "the bearings of this observation lays in the application on it."

On a recent pyrotechnical anniversary, which was duly observed in a west-end Presbyterian Church, the congregation—a lot of as simple-minded and good-natured people as it would be possible to assemble on such a frolicsome occasion—were piously bidden to thank heaven that they were not as other men, Roman Catholics, unworthy of the privileges of citizenship.

"I," said the preacher, with conscious pride, "I belong to a religion which says we must reverence the chief magistrate. When a man states his religion contains nothing prejudicial to the State and asks our privileges, give them to him, but not whilst he belongs to a Church which binds him hand and foot." In support of this point, Dr. Campbell, we are told, quoted Cardinal Manning as follows: "I acknowledge no civil power. I acknowledge no temporal prince. I claim to be chief ruler and dictator to the consciences of men,—of the prince who sits upon the throne, the peasant who tills the soil, of the privacy of the domestic household, and the member of parliament who legislates."

And there, on these pretended pretensions of Cardinal Manning, Dr. Campbell rested his case against us, and was quite satisfied to let it rest. No one, of course, in that congregation, would dream of disputing it, and as for outsiders, be it known to all men that "Dr. Campbell has neither the time nor the desire to enter into a newspaper controversy."

You see what a stubborn and unsatisfactory witness he proves to be after all, when summoned before the high court of public opinion to show references for his alleged extract from Cardinal Manning's works. "Oh, I was only a'talkin' then, you know." That was Guy Fawkes' day, and he had to say something to stir up "the boys."

The worthy doctor, like his Detroit prototype, knows when and where to draw the line between "talking" and "swearing."

It is, however, but due to him to say that he has promised to redeem himself some day, in a lecture on Cardinal Manning.

"That's a valiant flea that dare eat his breakfast on the lip of a lion."

Mr. Scott's letter in the "*Evening Journal*" of Friday last, has happily relieved me of the task of further exposing the unfair tactics of our latest pulpit assailant; and I am here to defend Cardinal Manning's statements, as we find them in his published works, and not as they are travestied for mischief-breeding purposes.

First, let us take up "The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance," his complete and unanswerable reply to Mr. Gladstone's Expostulation on the same subject in 1874. In Chap. I, he says:

"The obedience of Catholic subjects to their Civil Rulers is a positive precept of religion. The rising against legitimate authority is forbidden as the sin of rebellion. . . . The political conscience of Catholics is not left to the individual judgment alone. It is guided by the whole Christian morality, by the greatest system of ethical legislation the world has ever seen, the Canon Law and Moral Theology of the Catholic Church. Not only all capricious and wilful resistances of the Civil Law, but all unreasonable and contentious disobedience is condemned by its authority. It is a doctrine of faith, that legitimate authority exists not only in the unity of the Church, but outside of the same; and not only among Christian nations, but also among the nations that are not Christian. Moreover, that to all such legitimate sovereigns, subjects are bound by the Divine Law, to render obedience in all lawful things. It is certain, therefore, that Catholics are bound to civil allegiance by every bond, natural and supernatural, as absolutely as their non-Catholic fellow-countrymen; and, I must add, more explicitly. And further, that they can hardly be reduced to the necessity of using their private judgment as to the lawfulness of obeying any law. In all matters of ordinary civil and political life, the duty of Catholics is already defined by a whole code which enforces obedience for conscience sake. In the rare case of doubt, which may arise in times of religious persecution, political revolution, civil wars, or wars of succession, Catholic and non-Catholic subjects are alike in this,—they are both compelled to choose their side. But the non-Catholic subject has hardly law or judge to aid his conscience; the Catholic has both. He has the whole traditional moral law of Christendom, which has formed and perpetuated the civil and political order of the modern world, and he has a multitude of principles, maxims and precedents on which to form his own judgment. Finally, if he be unable to do so, he can seek for guidance from an authority which the whole Christian world once believed to be the highest judicial tribunal and the source of its civil order and stability. And is this to place 'his mental and moral freedom at the mercy of another?' As much as and no more than we place ourselves 'at the mercy' of the Christian Church for our salvation. Let us take an example. It is certain by the natural and Divine Law, that every man may defend himself, and that every people has the right of self-defence. On this, all defensive wars are justifiable. But if the Sovereign levy war upon his people, have

they the right of self-defence? Beyond all doubt. But at what point may they take up arms? and what amount of oppression justifies recourse to resistance? For the non-Catholics there can only be these answers. 'He must go by the light of his own conscience, or he must be guided by the judgment of the greater number, or by the wiser heads of his nation.' But the greater number may not be the wiser; and to judge who are the wiser throws the judgment once more upon himself. The Catholic subject would use his own judgment, and the judgment of his countrymen, but he would not hold himself at liberty to take up arms unless the Christian law confirmed the justice of his judgment. But from whom is this judgment to be sought? He would ask it of all those of whom he asks counsel in the salvation of his soul. If this is to be at the mercy of another, we are all at the mercy of those whom we believe to be wiser than ourselves."*

In a sermon on the Syllabus, a collection of intellectual errors condemned by Pius the Ninth during the first eighteen years of his Pontificate, Cardinal Manning clearly defines the correlative positions of the two great orders—the temporal and the spiritual, the civil society and the christian society of the world. This sermon was preached six years prior to the appearance of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, and two years before the Vatican Council, and its publication is invaluable as showing that both the obligations and the conditions of civil allegiance were then held to be exactly the same as they are now, and thus proving the fallacy of Mr. Gladstone's contention, that the Vatican decrees have made a change in the relations of Catholics to the civil power.

Treating of the last of the condemned errors included in the Syllabus, namely, that the Roman Pontiff can, if he will, and ought therefore to reconcile himself, and to conform himself to liberalism, progress and modern civilization, the Cardinal thus defines these three terms :

*PP. 40, 1, 2.

“Liberalism means giving to another that which does not belong to ourselves. The truth of God, and the laws of God, and the rights of parents—these belong to no Government, and to give them away is an impiety.”

“Progress means a departure from that union of the natural order and of the natural laws of states with the supernatural order and law which the providence of God has ordained for the perfection of mankind.”

“Modern civilization means the state of political society which lays down as principles of rational liberty and social perfection, divorce, secular education, contradictions in matters of religion, and the absolute renunciation of the supreme authority of the Christian Church.”

Then he continues :

“Can it be wondered at, that when the world, with great courtesy sometimes, with great superciliousness at other times, and great menace always, invites the Pontiff to reconcile himself to liberalism, progress and modern civilization, he should say: ‘No, I *will* not, and I *cannot*. Your progress means secular education: I maintain that education is intrinsically and necessarily Christian. You maintain that it is a good thing that men should think as they like, talk as they like, preach as they like and propagate what errors they please: I say that is sowing error broadcast over the world. You say I have no authority over the Christian world; that I am not the Vicar of the Good Shepherd; that I am not the supreme interpreter of the Christian faith; I am all these. You ask me to abdicate, to renounce my supreme authority. You tell me I ought to submit to the civil power; that I am the subject of the King of Italy, and from him I am to receive instructions as to the way I should exercise my supreme power. I say I am liberated from all civil subjection: that my Lord made me the subject of no one on earth, king or otherwise; that in His right I am Sovereign. [(It should be remembered that this was in 1868, and Pius IX was then *de facto* as well as *de jure* Pope-King of Rome, and is supposed to be speaking of his civil-princedom). I acknowledge no civil superior; I am the subject of no prince; and I claim more than this; (and it is with this claim that we have specially to deal at present,) I claim to be the supreme judge on earth, and director

of the consciences of men—of the peasant that tills the field, and the prince that sits on the throne—of the household that lives in the shade of privacy, and the legislature that makes laws for kingdoms. I am the sole last supreme judge on earth of what is right and wrong.”*

The power which is here claimed for the Sovereign Pontiff as Vicar of Christ, or by institution of Christ, does not lie in the same order with the civil power. Cardinal Manning does not claim for the Pope civil jurisdiction outside of his own temporal dominions—the City of Rome and the Pontifical States. There the Pope is lawful king and has a right to demand the civil allegiance of his subjects. † The Papal power which is claimed over other princes and States is a spiritual jurisdiction in temporals. Temporals have a twofold relation; the one to a temporal end,—terrestrial happiness; the other to a spiritual end,—celestial and eternal beatitude. The Church has jurisdiction over them only under the latter relation; the State only under the former. Under their relation to the temporal end, the State has independent and supreme jurisdiction, and is therefore independent and supreme in its own order. To make this plain,—suppose the Canadian government holds that it is for the temporal prosperity of the country that a railroad should be constructed from the capital to the Georgian Bay. Now if the Church had temporal jurisdiction, she could say to the State: “No, you shall construct a canal, not a railroad;” or, “You shall construct neither;” but as the construction of either is not in itself contrary to the law of God, if the Church is assumed to have only a spiritual jurisdiction, she has nothing to say on the subject, and the State possessing in its own right the temporal power, may

*Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects,” Vol. III., pp’ 96, 7, 8.

†See Appendix A.

or may not authorize the construction of either a railroad or canal, or both, as it judges best for the public good. If we claimed temporal or civil jurisdiction for the Pope, we should hold that parliament ought to consult him on the question of authorizing or constructing the railroad; but as we claim for him only a spiritual jurisdiction in temporals we do no such thing.

But suppose the government authorizes a company to take the land owned by private individuals for their railroad, without either their consent or making them any compensation. Here the Church would have the right to interfere and say, "Stop there, you cannot do that, for it violates the right of property, and is contrary to justice, to moral or spiritual good." Here is a fair illustration of the distinction of the two powers. The State judges supremely of the railroad as to temporal good, and the Church as to spiritual good. So of any act of the government. The Church has jurisdiction of it in its spiritual relation, because in that relation it is spiritual, and necessarily falls within the jurisdiction of the spiritual power; she has not jurisdiction of it in its temporal relation, because she has only spiritual jurisdiction.* This doctrine though it necessarily subordinates the State to the Church in all those things which are of conscience, as we say, does not destroy the autonomy of the State, or absorb it in the Church as some pretend. Man is subordinate to God, and owes Him submission in all things. Has man therefore no autonomy? Is he absorbed in God, or is God by this fact declared to be man? Of course not. Where there is identity there is and can be no subordination, for nothing can

*Brownson's Works, Vol. XI. "Uncle Jack and His Nephew."

be subordinated to itself. The assertion of the subordination of the temporal to the spiritual, necessarily implies that the two powers are distinct.

It happens, however, that often the two powers, though distinct, are concerned with the same matters, but under diverse relations.* The spiritual and temporal orders are in nature interlaced, run the one into the other, and are in reciprocal commerce with each other, as the soul and body of man, and nothing affects the one without in some measure affecting the other. God has therefore established for Christian society two governments and ordained their mutual harmony and co-operation. For the complete and normal government of society, you must have the *concurrency* of Church and State, that is, their harmonious co-operation, the Church governing all things in the respect that they are spiritual and the State, temporal things in the respect that they are only temporal.

But if the two governments are equally necessary to society, according to the Divine ordination, why do we assert that the State is subordinate to the Church ?

Because the temporal by the law of God is subordinated to the spiritual, and because the State, which represents the former, cannot but be *de jure* subordinated to the Church, in case she represents the latter. We do it also, because otherwise, we must practically subject the Church to the State. As all human acts have both temporal and spiritual relations, the absolute independence of the State in regard to the spiritual power would give it authority, under pretext of governing the temporality of temporals, to extend its power over the whole spiritual order, which in principle would be the subordination of the soul to the body, eternity to time, God to man.

†Appendix B.

The difficulty men feel on this point, arises from their confounding the Church on the one hand with the spiritual order, and on the other, the State with the temporal order. They forget to recognize the spiritual order as back of the Church, and the temporal order as back of the State. The Church is not the spiritual order, does not make that order, but simply represents it, The Pope is not God, he is only His Vicar. The State neither is nor makes the temporal order, it simply represents it. Both orders exist prior to their representatives and independent of them. The mutual relations, then, of the respective representatives must be precisely the mutual relations of the two orders themselves, or those which naturally subsist between the spiritual and the temporal. Naturally the spiritual is independent and supreme, so then must be its representative; naturally the temporal is dependent and subordinate, and then so must be its representative, the State.*

To deny the supremacy of the spiritual order is the denial of both civil and religious liberty. What is tyranny but a denial of this supremacy, the denial of right, and the violation of justice between man and man, or between sovereign and subject? There is no tyranny where there is no violation of liberty, and no violation of liberty where there is no violation of justice. Justice, we need not say, pertains to the moral order, or rather, is that order itself. The essence of tyranny, therefore, consists in that it is an encroachment of the political upon the moral order, that is to say, upon the spiritual order, which includes as the one law of God for the Christian both the natural law and the revealed. If we understand by liberty true liberty, not licence, its necessary condition is in the maintenance of the independence and supremacy of the moral order, the supre-

*Brownson's Works, Vol. II. "The Temporal Power of the Pope."

macy of right over might, the spiritual over the material, the divine over the human. The very end of government is the maintenance of justice in all political, social and domestic relations, and all its powers are given it for this end, and no other. It is the reason and end of the State ; and therefore the very idea of the State presupposes the supremacy of the moral, that is to say, the spiritual order.

Dr. Campbell is a Protestant clergyman, a "minister of the gospel," and as such, when he does not lose his head, his whole labour is to impress upon those who come within the sphere of his influence, the superiority of the spiritual and the subordination of the temporal. All religious instruction, all moral culture, has for its object to introduce and sustain in individuals and nations, the supremacy of the moral order, of reason over passion, of right over brute force.

Is it necessary then that we should tell Dr. Campbell, that every Protestant sect in this country asserts the very doctrine, in principle, that Cardinal Manning maintains? Every man who has any religion at all, whether Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile, holds his religion to be for him the law of his conscience, therefore the highest of all laws, *lex suprema*—in fact, the law of laws. No man claims the right to worship God contrary to religion, but every man does claim before the State the right, the inherent and inalienable right, to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, or the prescriptions of what he holds to be the religious authority ; and when the State comes in contact with the solemn obligations of his religion, he answers with the apostles of our Lord, "it is necessary to obey God rather than man." Whenever the civil law comes in conflict with the religious law, the civil, not the religious, must give way. Should the State ordain something

against this religious freedom in any sect; should it command Methodists to become Presbyterians, Presbyterians to become Episcopalians, Episcopalians to become Catholics; should it forbid Baptists to baptize by immersion, or prohibit any sect from governing in all ecclesiastical and religious matters its own members, according to its own discipline, would the sect feel itself bound to obey? Would it not tell the State, you transcend your province, and meddle with that which is above your power, and independent of it? Most assuredly. Then every Protestant sect asserts the spiritual order as above the temporal, religion as superior to politics, and therefore a law higher than the civil law. Here, in principle, is the whole doctrine which is described as dangerous to the State and subversive of the civil allegiance of Catholics. What do honest Protestants think about it? Are they prepared to declare the State omnipotent, supreme in both spirituals and temporals, and submit their consciences to its keeping? We do not believe it, and we are sure that Dr. Campbell, and his pulpit abettors and accessaries, do them a foul wrong, and also wholly misrepresent themselves. They may wish to use the State as an instrument of propagating their religion, or of suppressing others opposed to it; but surely they would not suffer it to change or modify it.

Here as elsewhere, some Protestant clergymen, in their eagerness to raise objections to Catholicity, forget to examine whether the principles on which they must rest them, are not principles which they, no more than we, can consistently maintain. It is neither fair nor honourable, neither logical nor just, to assume principles of reasoning against us, which they reject the moment they are put upon their defence. Notwithstanding those periodic fulminations against "the Church of Rome," it is a settled conviction with all religious bodies that the spiritual is supreme, and

the temporal subordinate. Let us take for example the old Puritans of New England, who founded the Massachusetts colony. They belonged, up to the time of their leaving England, to the English establishment. After they came to New England, they set up an ecclesiastical establishment for themselves. And what was their principle? What was their objection to remaining in England and members of the Anglican Church? It was, that the Church of England gave to the State, or temporal authority, jurisdiction in spiritual matters. The principle of their separation was precisely the independence and supremacy of the spiritual order. This they asserted; and that they might maintain it, they submitted to exile, and braved all the hardships of a new settlement, amidst merciless savages on a bleak and inhospitable coast.

And of the Church from which they separated, Cardinal Manning has this good word to say, in his essay on "Ultramontaniam and Christianity":—

"The Established Church of England affirms to this day, in its whole ecclesiastical law and by the teaching of its highest authorities, that the Church of Jesus Christ is a society separate in its spiritual constitution from all civil powers, and within its own sphere of doctrine and discipline supreme. In making this assertion, I shall not be misunderstood to mean that the Established Church has preserved its spiritual supremacy in doctrine and discipline."*

The old Scottish Covenanters separated from their brethren on the very principle we uphold, and the Free Kirk asserts with all its energy the incompetency of the State in spirituals, and the obligation of the State to conform to the teachings and precepts of the Church.

"It can hardly be necessary," says Cardinal Manning, "to trace the history of what are called the Free Churches of England. They came into existence by a refusal of the Royal Supremacy in reli-

* "Miscellanies," Vol. II., p. 176.

gious and ecclesiastical matters. This one principle of spiritual independence and liberty of conscience within the sphere of religion has created the Brownists, the Puritans, the Presbyterians, the Independents, the Baptists, and all Nonconformists of every name. For this one principle for two hundred and fifty years, they suffered civil disfranchisement, penalties, imprisonment, capital punishment, exile, contempt, and every form of contumely and privation galling to upright and honourable men. In all these sufferings they had companions who, though differing from them in the most sacred truths, nevertheless agreed with them in this, that the faith and the Church of Jesus Christ are 'neither of men nor by men, but by the Holy Ghost,' and that the authority of revealed truth is supreme over all civil powers. Nonconformists and Catholics lay bound in the same prisons and suffered on the same scaffold, and, notwithstanding their wide divergence of faith, in this point at least they suffered for the same cause.*

All religious bodies, we say, concede without a dissenting voice the independence and supremacy of the spiritual order, and therefore necessarily of its divinely authorized representative, if such representative there be. The controversy does not lie there but elsewhere. The real question is, has Almighty God instituted a representative on earth of the spiritual order? If so, who or what is it? Suppose such representative to have been instituted, suppose it to be the Pope as supreme visible head of the Church, and no intelligent man, Catholic or non-Catholic, will deny him all the power we affirm for him.

Every man who believes in the independence and supremacy of the spiritual order, believes that it has even on earth a representative of some sort. Every Protestant sect is for its members a representative of the spiritual order. Even those who reject all ecclesiastical organizations, all creeds and confessions, and plant themselves on pure individualism, still recognize private conscience, and

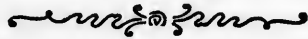
* "Miscellanies," Vol. II., p. 196.

hold it to be the representative of the spiritual order, the voice of God in the soul. All in principle recognize and insist on the fact that the spiritual has an organ of some sort, and a representative on earth through which it may clearly make itself heard. We Catholics say no more than every Protestant claims in principle, when we declare that this representative is independent and supreme in relation to the secular authority. We know no Protestants who do not, unless in a moment of mental confusion or forgetfulness, deny the competency of the State in spirituals. They may wish to use the State as an instrument for suppressing a religion they do not believe, or for promoting their own, but no one recognizes the authority of the State to determine what shall or shall not be his religion, or to interfere with its free expression and exercise. They who go furthest in denying all spiritual organizations, and in asserting private conscience as the only representative of the spiritual, are most strenuous in asserting the independence and sovereignty of conscience, at least for themselves. Not one of them but will say to the State, "My conscience bounds in my regard your power, and where that begins your authority ends. Before you my conscience is independent and supreme." So says every sect, however small or insignificant. It is for its members the representative of conscience. It holds itself for them free, independent, sovereign, for it represents for them the spiritual authority in its plenitude, of which conscience is the interior expression.* Wherein then do we, in holding with Cardinal Manning, the independence and supremacy of the Pope, as Vicar of Christ, in face of secular authority, assert anything that is not asserted in principle by Protestants of every denomination? And how foolish it is and unworthy

*Brownson's Works, Vol. XI., "The Temporal Power of the Pope." Consult also "The Spiritual Order Supreme,"—Same Vol.

a Christian minister, even in his irresponsible "Gun-Powder Plot talk," to brand in Catholics, as something subversive of loyalty and civil allegiance and as a disability for the enjoyment of the equal rights and privileges of citizenship, the very principle which has called his own sect into existence, and which he himself is bound by the obligations of his office to uphold and defend against the world!

In conclusion, let me say, without boast or menace, to him and to all who may share such unchristian feelings towards us, that we Catholics *are here to stay*, and, in the words, brave and true, spoken by the present Archbishop of Toronto, when taking possession of his see, "The Catholic Church was the first religion in this country, except paganism, which deserves not that holy name. The Catholic Church, in the blood of her priests, consecrated the country to God; and please God, we shall hold it and work in this country no matter what opposition we may meet with; and we shall, with the grace of God and the blessing of our Divine Saviour, work together in union and harmony, for the honour and glory of God and the triumph of our holy religion."



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APPENDIX A.

“The Temporal Power of the Popes (*i. e.* the civil jurisdiction which has been exercised by the Roman Pontiffs over a portion of Italy) is as manifestly and as fully ordained of God as the power of Queen Victoria. Neither the one nor the other came by *plebiscite*, or universal suffrage, or votes of inorganic masses; but by the gradual and watchful providence of the Divine Author of human and political society. The British empire succeeds to the Roman empire in Britain by a direct law of Divine Providence. When the last Roman legion left the shores of Britain, it began to gravitate to a centre within itself. The British empire of to-day is formed around that centre, and rests upon it. So, when the Emperor of Constantinople ceased to be able to protect Rome, the Vicar of Jesus Christ became its centre. The Emperor had ceased to rule, and the throne was vacant by the visitation of God. The Pontiffs reigned as pastors and as rulers, and unconsciously and by force of necessity filled the vacant throne. They have reigned in Rome, first with an informal and pastoral sovereignty, and afterwards with a full and explicit sovereignty from that time to this. On what ground, then, can obedience to the sovereignty of Great Britain be claimed, if obedience to the Sovereignty of the Pontiff be denied? Every sanction of Divine Providence, and of Christian morals, and of political justice, confirms the Temporal Sovereignty of the Pope.”

Cardinal Manning: “Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects.”
—Vol III p. 7.

APPENDIX B.

In his reply to Mr. Gladstone's "Expostulation," Cardinal Manning affirms the following propositions :—

"1. The authority of Princes, and the allegiance of subjects in the Civil State of nature is of divine ordinance ; and, therefore, so long as Princes and their laws are in conformity to the law of God, the Church has no power or jurisdiction against them, nor over them.

2. If Princes and their laws deviate from the law of God, the Church has authority from God to judge of that deviation, and to oblige to its correction.

3. The authority which the Church has from God for this end is not *temporal*, but *spiritual*.

4. This spiritual authority is not direct in its incidence on temporal things, but only indirect : that is to say, it *directly* promotes its own *spiritual* end ; it *indirectly* condemns and declares not binding on the conscience such *temporal* laws as deviate from the law of God, and therefore impede or render impossible the attainment of the eternal happiness of man.

5. This spiritual authority is inherent in the Divine constitution and commission of the Church ; but its exercise in the world depends on certain moral and material conditions, by which alone its exercise is rendered either possible or just."

"The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance."—p. 56.

