

THE TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNTY

— OF —

THE HOLY SEE.

BY

REV. JOHN MING, S. J.



1892.

FR. PUSTET,

Printer to the Holy See and the S. Congregation of Rites.

FR. PUSTET & Co.,

NEW YORK AND CINCINNATI.



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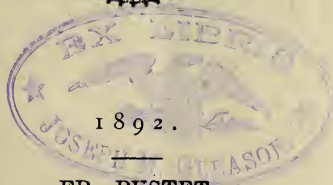
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✠ MICHAEL AUGUSTINE,

Archbishop of New York.

Aug. 3, 1892.

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PREFACE.

The following pages may be looked on by not a few as an untimely publication. It has been said that the Roman question needs no further discussion, that time itself has solved it and that the intelligent portion of the Church has fully acquiesced in the solution.

Liberal sentiments may have suggested this view. Deeper reflection leads others to quite a different conviction. Matters bound up with religion, with public justice and morality, do not allow themselves to be disposed of by main force and state-craft. If any attempt is made to deal with them in this way, the result, according to the nature of things, can be no other than general discontent, social disorders and convulsions. In the face of this truth, evident to reason and amply confirmed by the history of all ages, the question, whether the Roman States ought to be subject or not to the civil rule of the Pope, must be regarded even in our day, yet as little solved as it was twenty-two years ago when the troops of Victor Emmanuel poured into the Eternal City. For the Roman Pontiff claimed sacred and incontestible rights to the sovereignty over his old dominions, and this sovereignty, far from being of merely political importance, is inseparably connected with the spiritual welfare of the Church and the moral health of human society. His opponents, however, have thus far resorted against him to no other means than violence and intrigues.

It is the object of this pamphlet to throw some light on this struggle now carried on during a quarter of a century, to set forth, on the one hand, the sacred interests of justice and religion involved in the cause which the Pope defends, and, on the other hand, the wrongs committed and the evils threatened by his assailants.

THE AUTHOR.

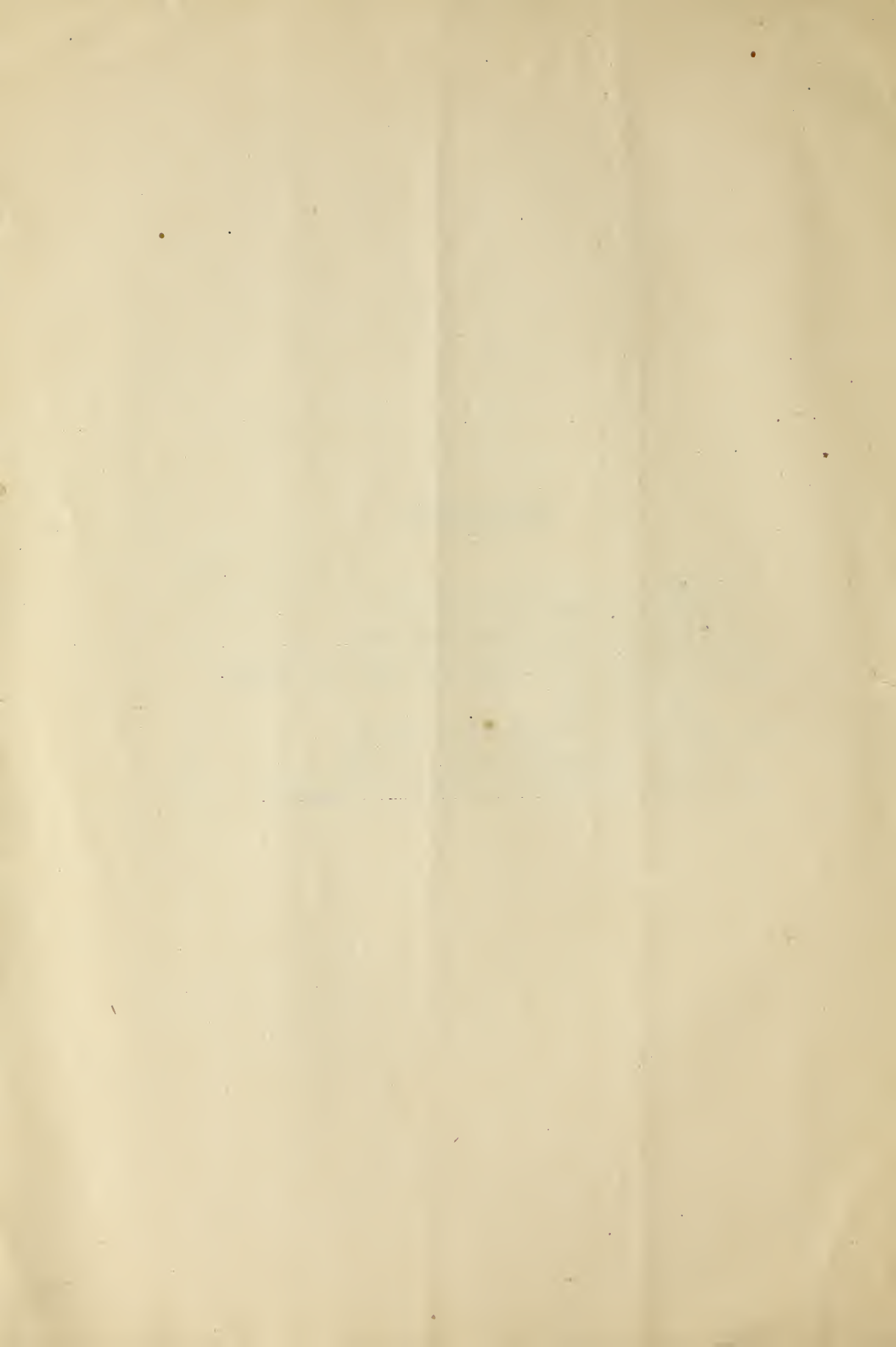
Prairie du Chien, Wis., June 16, 1892.



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The Temporal Sovereignty of the Holy See.

I.

The Historical Rights of the Holy See.

Human society is based on justice. Without this basis, however rich its material resources, however high its intellectual culture may be, it must necessarily collapse and be succeeded by universal confusion. It is, therefore, chiefly by inquiring into right and wrong that we ought to form our judgment on all matters touching the social order. In the light of this axiomatic truth we should study the Roman Question, which recent events have again made the subject of much public discussion. For it is a question which pre-eminently bears on society at large. The temporal sovereignty of the Pope over the Roman States, since it concerns two hundred and fifty millions of Catholics spread all over the earth and is bound up with the dearest interests they have in common, cannot remain suppressed or be restored without far-reaching consequences for the universal peace.

But if we have to judge in this matter from the standpoint of justice, we must first of all search into the right of the Pope to the Roman States. If such a right, certain and undeniable, exists, the late occupation of Rome by the Italian government must be condemned as an enormous wrong, and as a redress the restoration of the ancient royal-pontifical throne is demanded by the strictest of all duties. The American mind being known for its strongly-developed sense of justice, the Roman Question may well be presented to it under this aspect.

But has the Pope a clear and inviolable right to govern Rome as its civil ruler?

To show to evidence the legitimacy of the titles on which his temporal sovereignty is founded, it is necessary to trace them back to

their origin in an early period of the Christian era.¹ I must, therefore, take the reader back to the times consequent on the downfall of the Western Roman Empire. Barbarians had descended from the East and North of Europe and, after conquering the once victorious Roman legions, established new empires in Gaul, Spain, and Italy. In 533 Justinian I., emperor of Constantinople, through his valiant General Narses defeated the Ostrogoths in the Apennine peninsula and overthrew their kingdom. Considering the country he had wrested from them as his own by right both of inheritance and of conquest, he reduced the greater part of Northern and Central Italy into a dependency of the Eastern Empire. In 568 an imperial governor or exarch, vested with absolute power, was sent over by Justin II. and took up his residence in Ravenna.

But the hold which the emperors had laid on Italy was weak. When as early as 568 the Lombards poured down from the Alps, the exarch was unable to resist their inroads. During the long-protracted war which ensued, one portion of the exarchate after the other revolted or fell a prey to the invaders, until in 752 the entire domain was irretrievably lost. No less unsuccessful was the internal administration of Italy. The East was at this time convulsed by political revolutions and ecclesiastical heresies, which were generally supported by the imperial government. The exarchs, powerless against the Lombards, persecuted the Italian Catholics and in particular the Popes who condemned the heretical doctrines. It was during this period that S. Martin I. was sent into exile, that the lives of several Pontiffs were imperilled, and that many ecclesiastical possessions were confiscated. Especially violent was the persecution which was carried on by the Iconoclastic Emperor Leo the Isaurian, during the pontificates of Gregory II. (715-731) and Gregory III. (731-741). A policy of this kind could not but render the emperors, as well as the exarchs odious and ruin their authority.

During this long period of universal distress, incessantly harassed by the Lombards and unjustly persecuted by the imperial officers, the people could find protection nowhere but in Rome at the hands of the Pontiffs. And the arm that protected them was by no means weak.

¹ *On the origin of the Papal States see M. Gosselin, The Power of the Popes during the Middle Ages, translated by Rev. M. Kelly, Vol. I.*

From the time of Constantine the Great, the Catholic bishops were not only exempted in many regards from civil jurisdiction, but even shared, to a considerable extent, the judicial power and the administration of the state. It stands to reason that a prominent share was granted to the Roman Pontiff.

Moreover the see of Rome possessed a very large amount of landed property offered, in the course of time, as patrimony of St. Peter by the piety of the faithful. These estates were situated not only in and around the Eternal City, but also in other parts of Italy, in Sicily, Northern Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, and Dalmatia, and are estimated to have covered eighty-five geographical square miles. The large revenues derived from them were employed by the Popes to assist the poor and afflicted, to support Christian schools for the education of youth and the preservation of the ancient civilization, often also to defray the expenses of the government, and to furnish the necessary means for the defence of the country. By their spiritual authority, the Roman Pontiffs settled doctrinal controversies, restored peace to the Church, and not unfrequently also to the state, reconciled political factions, exhorted the people to obedience and submission, and the rulers to justice. They often negotiated with the emperors on civil matters, and concluded peace with the invaders, thus saving the Eternal City from pillage and destruction. In this way the Popes exercised also in civil affairs a powerful and beneficial influence, which increased in proportion as that of the much-hated ministers of the emperor diminished.

At last, during the reign of the Iconoclasts, when the exarchs, utterly defeated by the Lombard kings, persecuted Pope Gregory II. and even sought his life, the duchy of Rome¹ in 726 threw off their rule, as did also other districts, and promised civil obedience to the Roman Pontiffs. The imperial authority was, nominally at least, still recognized, but owing merely to Pope Gregory's intervention; for the people on their part were determined to renounce allegiance to the emperor. And when the cities of the exarchate, one after the other,

¹ *Certain districts into which the exarchate was divided were called duchies, and their governors dukes. The duchy of Rome included a part of Etruria with Sabina and a part of Umbria and Campagna, a territory nearly coextensive with what is now called the patrimony of St. Peter and a part of Umbria and Campagna di Roma, or with the dominion subject to Pius IX. from 1860-1870.*

were conquered by the Lombards, they regarded their new conquerors as oppressors, and mostly submitted to the Roman Pontiff as their protector and political head.

After the destruction of the exarchate, the duchy of Rome, subject to the Pope, represented the old Roman Commonwealth, being then the only remnant of it in the West still independent and unconquered by the immigrating barbarians. But its fall, too, seemed near at hand. Astolf, King of the Lombards, was approaching Rome after having taken several of the neighboring cities. Pope Stephen asked the emperor Constantine V. for assistance, which, however, was not sent. As a last resort, he crossed the Alps in 753, to implore the protection of Pepin, King of the Franks. Twice the latter descended into Italy with an army and defeated the Lombards. The second time, in 755, he wrested from them the exarchate of Ravenna, ¹ restored it together with several cities which had likewise placed themselves under pontifical protection, to the Holy See and the Roman Commonwealth, and forced Astolf to do the same. The keys of the cities and the deed of donation, as the restoration was called, ² were laid on the tomb of St. Peter, to testify that the grant was made to the See of the Apostle and out of love and reverence for it. The territory restored to the Pope comprised twenty-two cities, and was bounded on the North and West respectively by the Po and the Tanaro, on the West by the Apennines, and on the East by the Adriatic Sea. Some years later, Desiderius, King of the Lombards, added the cities of Faënza, Imola, Ferrara, Ancona, Osino, and Umana.

Peace being now restored, the Emperor Constantine demanded from Pepin the exarchate of Ravenna. But the emperor's right to a province which he himself had abandoned, was looked upon as extinct. ³ And the conqueror declared that he would never tolerate that province to be wrested from the Roman Church, protesting under oath that he had not been impelled by any human consideration to make his expeditions into Italy, but solely by the love of St. Peter and the hope of obtaining the remission of his sins.

From that time the Popes reigned over Rome and the above-mentioned cities as sovereigns independent of the Eastern Empire and

¹ *The exarchate of Ravenna in its more restricted sense, or as it was bounded in its last years of existence, corresponds nearly to the modern Romagna.*

² *Gosselin, p. I. § 40.*

³ *Ibid. §§ 42 and 43.*

of Pepin, who as Roman patrician was but their protector.¹ Charlemagne, in 774, solemnly confirmed his father's donation and promised to add some new territories, which promise, however, unforeseen circumstances prevented him from fulfilling. Crowned emperor by Pope Leo III. in 800, he did not obtain more than the protectorship of the Holy See; and of the Church, for the new dignity was created only for the purpose of consolidating the Pope's sovereignty and securing his independence of any political power both in the East and in the West.²

This is, in short, the origin of the Ecclesiastical States, and, at the same time, a clear evidence of the legitimate titles to sovereignty over them by the Roman Pontiffs. For by that very same right by which the Popes first attained possession of them, they ruled over them for eleven hundred years down to our days. They never renounced their claims established in the eighth century, not even when residing in Avignon (1306-1376); nor were they ever divested of them. For, though often forced to leave the Eternal City, they were always led back to it, their absence being considered as an exile into which they were driven by sheer violence. No event has ever extinguished or weakened their titles; neither an empire nor a meeting of Powers has ever looked on them as void or forfeited; even as late as 1814, when the international Congress of Vienna was held, they were regarded as valid. Indeed the right of the Holy See to sovereignty, founded on the historical facts stated above, is altogether certain and undeniable. The civil supremacy over Rome and the exarchate of Ravenna was lost by the Eastern Emperor and in full justice transferred to the Roman Pontiffs. The emperors no longer had a claim to a country which for a considerable length of time they were unable and, of late, even unwilling, to defend and to govern in peace and justice. The Roman people urged the Pope to take the government of the commonwealth into his hands. For more than a century he had been their only protector and the only support of order, and now there was nobody else powerful enough to rule and defend them. Under the circumstances the Pontiff alone could be their sovereign.

A right thus established is as certain and incontestable as any on earth can be. This is the conviction not of Catholics alone. Even

¹ *Gosselin*, p 1, §§ 36 and 66.

² *Ibid.* §§ 45 and 69.

Gibbon defends the temporal dominion of the Popes and considers as their noblest title to it the free choice of a people whom they had redeemed from slavery.¹

This right of the Popes is not only certain and undeniable, but also sacred. The sovereignty over the Roman States was conferred, or rather urged on them by the people out of respect for their spiritual authority, and out of gratitude for the benefits which they also in temporal affairs derived from the same, and it was restored to them, in part at least, by King Pepin out of reverence of St. Peter and his See in Rome. It was thus bestowed to the Holy See and to the Church, and in consequence was consecrated to God.

The right of the Popes was furthermore divine, because their sovereignty was evidently established and preserved by a special dispensation of Divine Providence. It sprang from the spiritual supremacy of the Roman Pontiffs on the one hand, and the migration of the Teutonic nations on the other, both which causes have to be traced back to God. The supremacy of St. Peter was instituted by Christ, and was by the death of the Apostle attached to the See of Rome.² The migration of the Northern nations and their descent into the Roman Empire was intended by God, in order to destroy the degenerate heathens of the West, to people Europe with new races and to engraft Christianity on them. And both these causes necessarily resulted in the Papal sovereignty. From the downfall of the Western Empire things took such a course that the Roman Pontiffs, true to their office, naturally became the sovereigns of Rome and the territory around it. No less evident was God's intervention in the preservation of the temporal power of the Popes. A hundred and seventy-one times³ were they despoiled of their dominions by kings, emperors, or powerful factions. But it could never be done, as Cardinal Manning remarks⁴ without a disturbance of political affairs throughout Europe. And every time were the Popes, by an example unheard of in the history of any dynasty, re-established on their throne. If we see a phenomenon recur regularly, we do not doubt but that it was produced by a force acting according to some fixed law. If we cannot

¹ *The Decline and Fall of the R. Empire, Ch. xlix.*

² *See Mgr. J. Schroeder, American Catholics and the Roman Question, pp. 29-31.*

³ *La Verità nella Soluzione della Questione Romana, C. vi.*

⁴ *Independence of the Holy See, 1877.*

separate things or change their relations without causing disturbances, we understand what order and connection is required by nature itself. Should we, then, not likewise recognize the operation and design of a higher power in the preservation and repeated restoration of the temporal sovereignty of the Popes, in spite of all human efforts to destroy it? Should we not infer that it enters the providential order as a factor necessary for the peace and welfare of the Christian nations?



II.

The Recent Occupation of the Roman States.

If the Papal sovereignty was thus founded on a right certain, sacred, and divine, how could it be suddenly abolished in the second half of the nineteenth century? Have events occurred which annulled its ancient titles? Has a new order of things sprung into existence with the progress of our age and lawfully done away with all former claims, however just, however respectable for their antiquity? Or have, on the contrary, crime and injustice prevailed and succeeded in shattering the very foundations of society? Let us in brief review the causes that led to the dethroning of the Pope. They must be still fresh in the memory of many a reader.

Ever since the beginning of this century, Italy was undermined by secret societies professing anti-Christian principles, and pursuing the ends of the French Revolution, ends which consisted in nothing less than the overthrow of the Church and of any civil government resting on a Christian basis. After many unsuccessful attempts they were at last, in the beginning of the Pontificate of Pius IX., ready to carry out a deep-laid plan. Italy, they gave out, heretofore divided into numerous principalities, some of which were ruled by foreigners, was to be united into one body-politic. The project was undoubtedly patriotic and could not but flatter the hopes of the whole nation and meet with hearty co-operation. But as the new movement towards national union was started by the secret societies, so it was also to be controlled by them and to be directed to such an issue as would establish their universal sway. Victor Emmanuel was to be proclaimed king of the united Italy, yet with the understanding that he should obey their orders and be nothing more than a tool in their hands. Anxious as he was to increase the splendor of his house, he was willing under any condition to further their plans by all means in his power. Louis Napoleon, raised to the throne of France by the Revolution, and in his turn bound to promote the same, was pledged

to drive the Austrians from the peninsula, formally to recognize the new kingdom, and to ward off from it foreign intervention in favor of the deposed dynasties, and particularly of the Holy See.

The war between France and Austria broke out in the spring of 1859. At the same time an insurrection was stirred up in Tuscany and the Papal provinces of the Romagna, and supported by money and weapons from Piedmont. After the war was brought to a close, the integrity of the Pontifical States was guaranteed by the belligerents in the treaties of Villa Franca and Zurich, but notwithstanding this, the revolting provinces were occupied by the Piedmontese troops, and soon after a plebiscit was obtained for their annexation to the subalpine monarchy. The following year, under the pretext of restoring order, the Piedmontese troops occupied the Marches and Ancona, which had likewise been incited to rebellion. The Pontifical army under La Moricière was crushed, at Castel Fidardo and Ancona, by a sudden and treacherous attack contrary to the usages of civilized nations, whilst Louis Napoleon assured the Pope that no invasion of the Roman States would be tolerated. Another plebiscit followed, as also the annexation of these provinces to Piedmont. In 1861, after Naples and Sicily had been conquered in a like manner, the new kingdom of Italy was formed and officially recognized in Paris, Rome being proclaimed its capital. The next object in view was the occupation of the Eternal City.

But here hostilities suddenly came to a standstill. The French Catholics, by their energetic protests, forced the emperor to desist from open persecution of the Holy See. A convention was in consequence concluded on the 15th of September, 1864, in which Louis Napoleon agreed to withdraw his troops from Rome, and the Piedmontese government guaranteed the integrity of the Papal dominions. Italy, it was said, was henceforward to rely only on moral means to carry into effect her plan of national union. These moral means consisted in inciting the Roman population to insurrection, and the Pontifical army to treason. When such methods would not avail, Garibaldi, in 1867, again took up arms and, with a body of desperadoes attached to his person and some royal soldiers, attacked the Roman troops, whose ranks were then composed chiefly of heroic youths gathered from all parts of the Church. This time, however, he was defeated and shamefully put to flight.

Then came the Franco-Prussian war. After the rest of the French troops had been withdrawn from Rome, Prince Bismarck, in order to prevent Italy from carrying assistance to France, instigated the Italian radicals to demand from their government the occupation of Rome under circumstances so favorable; and Count Arnim, the Prussian minister at the Vatican, displayed extraordinary activity in furthering the scheme. Accordingly Victor Emmanuel, in a letter full of protestations of filial love and zeal for the Holy See, demanded from the Pope the surrender of the remaining Ecclesiastical dominions; but without awaiting an answer and making a formal declaration of war, sent an army of 60,000 men and a train of 150 pieces of artillery, to make an attack on the Eternal City, and, after a bombardment of five hours, gained possession of it on the 20th of September, 1870. Again the suffrages were taken for a plebiscit, and then Rome was made the seat of the Italian government. The Pope was deprived of all his possessions except the Vatican. As a compensation an annual income, the sacredness and inviolability of his person, and the prerogatives of a sovereign were guaranteed to him by an act of Parliament, yet with no security that this enactment would be carried out with more faithfulness than the solemn treaties had hitherto been kept.

By what right was all this done? Had those who dispossessed the Roman Pontiff any superior claims which invalidated his? Had Victor Emmanuel as King of Piedmont, or as head of the house of Savoy, acquired a title to the Papal States? He did not even pretend to have one. Had the secret societies any real claims, because they were the representatives of the Revolution, the negation of Christianity? Who might dare to say so? Could the plebiscit divest the Pope of his royalty? The plebiscit taken was not the voice of the people. The voters were the Revolutionists, strangers drawn into the cities, the rabble bribed and excited. The better classes, the conscientious Catholics, who formed the majority of the citizens, did not vote at all, just as nowadays they refrain from taking any part in the elections and shun any participation in the new government or in legislation. The votes were taken after the cities had been occupied by the Piedmontese troops and thus all freedom was precluded. Voting for the Pope was impossible, as up to this hour every manifestation in his favor is violently suppressed.¹

¹ See the Roman Question by the Bishop of Salford, (1889), *Chap. vi.*

And even had the plebiscit been the genuine expression of the popular will, it could not have abolished the Pope's right to sovereignty. No such power is inherent in the will of the subjects. They are not the ultimate source of civil power. Nor is it true that power is conferred *only* through the will of the people. It may be conferred by God Himself. And the sovereignty over the Roman States has evidently been bestowed upon the Popes by a special dispensation of His Providence. But even when the people may rightfully choose their rulers, they cannot depose them. Their consent to be ruled by a family or a certain succession of persons is irrevocable as long as the dynasty has not evidently become unable to carry on the government either by itself or through competent ministers, and as long as it abides by the fundamental laws agreed upon. For it is by such a consent that the state is constituted and organized, the dynasty being made its head, and the subjects its members. But the state is and must be of itself imperishable; else there would be no peace and tranquillity, no security, no steadiness in our social relations. When, a few years ago, the Southern States wished to secede, was the withdrawal of their consent to form a Union with the North respected? Were they not prevented from permanent secession by a bloody war? and that for the very reason that the Union was by its nature indissoluble? Still a political union does not imply in its idea indissolubility so evidently and so necessarily as the state or commonwealth. ¹

What has been said of the misrule of the Popes, in order thereby to prove their inability for political government, rests on the wilful exaggerations and misrepresentations of the Revolutionists. Enough has been said and written to disprove this accusation against the Papacy. ²

There are complaints in all countries, and a host of them in the new Kingdom of Italy. Those which were heard in the former Papal States have been traced back by the most careful students, not to the Ecclesiastical government, but to the national defects of the Italians, and to the pernicious working of the secret societies. It

¹ *Mgr. J. Schroeder*, *The American Catholics and the Rom. Question*, pp. 47-56.

² See *F. Maguire*, *Rome, its Ruler, and its Institutions, and particularly in the Appendix the report of the Count de Rayneval to the French minister of Foreign Affairs; Card. Hergenröther, Der Kirchenstaat.*

would, indeed, be a most singular phenomenon, if the Popes, called to govern the whole Church and to exercise a world-wide influence, were unable to rule over a state of so small dimensions as the Papal dominions. In fact, on no throne on the face of the earth ever sat so much integrity and justice, and such profound statesmanship as on the See of Rome. Nothing but rank hatred or blind prejudice could suggest the thought that the Roman Pontiffs are an effete or disabled dynasty.

Lastly, has the right to political union, claimed by the whole of Italy, superseded the particular right of the Sovereign of Rome? Italy is not entitled to unite in contravention to rights already existing, or to an order of things lawfully and justly established; nor will a union contrary to justice ever be prosperous in the long run. It is moreover a false supposition that the interests of Italy are by their nature more universal than those of the Holy See. Italy is but a particular country, whereas the Roman See governs the Catholic, that is, the universal Church. Italy's national and political relations regard only the temporal prosperity of one people, whilst the rights and affairs of the Church, ruled by the Bishop of Rome, regard the spiritual welfare of all the nations of the globe. But shall Italy be deprived of the possibility of uniting politically, because the Holy See is within its boundaries? By no means. She can unite without dethroning the Pope. She may unite into a confederacy of states, the Papal territory being one of them, or the Pope being entrusted with the presidency, as in fact the proposal has been made. She will by doing so not risk her national greatness. Italy has no greater benefactors, no greater promoters of knowledge, arts, and civilization than the Popes, no power commanding more respect, no attraction more forcibly drawing other nations to her than the Holy See. Without it Rome would be of no importance, and without Papal Rome Italy will at most be a power of the second rank, whilst with it she may be second to no other nation.

The most careful inquiry, then, shows that the Italian government has no right whatsoever to the Roman States. The occupation of Rome, therefore, was an evident wrong, and open violation of justice. Wrong, too, were the means employed in accomplishing that unjust act; for they consisted in conspiracy, insurrection, treachery, untruthfulness, and the premeditated breach of compacts and of us-

ages established by international laws. And the higher and the more sacred the right of the Pope is, the greater was the wrong in violating them. The usurpation of the Papal territory was the suppression of a sovereignty, the highest of all civil rights. It was the murderous destruction of a commonwealth. It was a robbery committed against the Church of God, and hence a sacrilege, an act which even the ancient heathens would have abhorred. It was the disturbance of the order established in human society and wonderfully upheld through many centuries by Divine Providence. It was a crime which the whole human race ought to detest and to avenge. For if the oldest throne in the civilized world, based on undeniable, sacred, and divine rights, a throne occupied by so many distinguished rulers, a throne resplendent with the sanctity of religion, a throne that had been the source of civilization and the support of peace for all European nations, if such a throne can be overturned with impunity, by open violence and injustice, by treason and conspiracy, by the infraction of the most solemn treaties almost at the moment when they were concluded: what government can still rest on a solid basis? what order of right and justice is still sure and steadfast? what assurance of tranquillity is yet left to human society?

The usurpation of the Pope's temporal sovereignty is a wrong to which the Church can never be reconciled, and which she must resist by all means in her power, even now after more than twenty years have elapsed since its perpetration. The faithful all over the world see the head of the Church despoiled of the lawful means by which he has to carry on the ecclesiastical administration, and thrown either upon the charity of his subjects or the mercy of his enemies in the discharge of his divine office. They see their father, the Vicar of Christ, injured, afflicted, imprisoned, and insulted, and feel themselves injured in him, until the wrong is redressed.

The Pope himself can never acquiesce in his deprivation of sovereignty. This is not a personal right of his which he may renounce at pleasure. It belongs to the Holy See, to which it is given in trust by Divine Providence. He can never resign it, especially since he has promised under oath, when he received the Cardinal's purple and when he ascended the Pontifical throne, to assert and maintain the temporal dominion of the Roman Church. Any Roman Pontiff, if solicited to surrender it, must act like Pius VII. When Radet, a

General of Napoleon I., came to him and said: "Holy Father, by command of the emperor, I must call upon you to abdicate your temporal dominion or go with me to prison," the Pope replied: "We have not the power to renounce that which does not belong to ourselves, neither are we ourselves otherwise than the administrators of the Roman Church and of her temporal dominion. This dominion, the emperor, even though he cut our body in pieces, will never obtain from us."

III.

The Teaching of the Church concerning the Temporal Power of the Pope.

There are evils which, however grievous they may be, it is better to bear with resignation, than to resist with obstinacy, not merely because they cannot be overcome by any human effort, but chiefly because they are in the providential order of God turned into plentiful sources of blessings. Death and destruction are seen everywhere in the universe, and yet nature does not perish, but always rises to new life and always reasserts its wonderful harmony. In the moral world individuals, as well as society, are stimulated to heroic deeds by unavoidable suffering. The Church of God, in particular, has attained to the fulness of her strength by enduring cruel persecutions. Ought not Catholics, then, to moderate their complaints with regard to the material losses which religion suffered by the French Revolution, and especially with regard to the deprivation of the temporal power which the Holy See had to suffer in consequence of the recent union of Italy? Is it not possible for the Pope to reconcile himself with his present condition in Rome and, submitting to the necessity in which he is, to resign his territorial sovereignty? Should he not be all the more inclined to do so, because he has not received from Christ any temporal dominion, and because the Church, spiritual as she is, has by the very despoliation of her earthly possessions, ever been but renewed and invigorated?

To answer these and similar questions which at present are not unfrequently agitated, we must enter into the design of Divine Providence and inquire into the purpose for which the temporal has been joined with the spiritual power in the Roman See. We must determine whether the two powers have been united only provisionally and incidentally, or, on the contrary, have been made inseparable by an intimate and, as it were, natural union, the one being necessary for the operation of the other. This problem is not solved by the

simple remark that the spiritual should not be mixed up with the material and temporal.¹ On this earth the material and the immaterial do not stand apart, but are not unfrequently closely knit together. Thus in man, soul and body are so united that the action of the former, though spiritual, is in a measure dependent on that of the latter. If in a like manner also the spiritual authority of the Vicar of Christ has been blended with temporal power by God's Providence, they cannot be separated again by human policy without disadvantage to religion. "What God has joined together, let no man put asunder."

This is in fact the view taken in this matter, not merely by ultramontane theologians, but by the Church herself. She distinctly and definitely teaches that the temporal sovereignty over the Roman States has been conferred on the Pope by a special dispensation of Divine Providence as a necessary safeguard for the free and unimpeded exercise of his spiritual supremacy. We are, therefore, compelled to regard the same not as a temporary or superabundant, but as an indispensable provision for the freedom of the Holy See and the welfare of the Christian flock.

Ever since their foundation the Church considered the Papal States as highly important for her well-being. This we must conclude from the extreme penalties which she inflicted on those who ventured to usurp or invade them, and from the care which she took to defend and preserve them and render them practically inalienable. Already in the first Ecumenical Council in the West, in that of the Lateran in 1123, the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against those who dare invade or plunder the possessions of the Roman Church. The Council of Trent¹ confirmed this penal law, and Pontifical bulls have, up to this day, kept it in full force.² The Council of Lyons, held in 1245 under Pope Innocent IV., excommunicated Emperor Frederick II. for seizing upon the Ecclesiastical States. The Council of Constance, in 1414, thought it necessary to use all its power to preserve the Papal dominion intact and undiminished during the vacancy of the Holy See. What the Popes undertook in order to guard their states, or to recover them when wrested from their hands, what they preferred to endure rather than to resign their sovereign rights, it is not necessary to mention here; the

¹ *Sess. XXII. De Reformatione, C. ii.*

² *Constitutio Sedis Apostolicæ, Series I. § 12, published by Pius IX. n. 1869.*

sufferings, the exile, and the captivity of Pius VI., Pius VII., and Pius IX. are still fresh in the memory of the present age.

In 1567 the sainted Pope Pius V. published the bull *Admonet Nos*, afterwards confirmed by several of his successors and also by Pius IX.,¹ by which under the penalty of excommunication he inhibited designing, advising or consenting to the alienation of the Pontifical States or any portion of them, even under the pretext of evident expediency. The observation and maintenance respectively of this law is promised under oath by the Cardinals when receiving the purple, or previous to going into Conclave, and by the Pope when acceding to the Pontifical throne.

The end for which the Papal dominions were thought to be of such high importance was marked out already by Pope Nicholas I. (858–867). In one of his letters² he maintains that the Roman Empire had been established as a protection of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See in behalf of the freedom and supremacy of the Roman Church. We find the same idea more fully developed in the renowned bull *Fundamenta Militantis Ecclesie* issued by Pope Nicholas III. in 1278 and embodied in the Canon Law.³ By this constitution it is provided that no king, marquis, duke, count, or baron be elected or named Roman Senator or Ruler. The avowed object of the provision is that the See of St. Peter, established in Rome on its own soil, should enjoy full liberty in all its actions and deliberations, and the election of the Roman Pontiff and the creation of Cardinals should be perfectly free.⁴

With the fullest clearness and with such force and authority as must remove all doubts from the Catholic mind the necessity of the temporal power for the free exercise of the spiritual has been taught in our century, when no longer the ambition of individual rulers, but the anti-Christian Revolution, unsettling the whole civilized world, makes war on the Holy See with the intent to overthrow Christianity. For it always so happens that, when more light is needed on a religious question, either on account of rising heresies or of peculiarly embarrassing circumstances, the Church expounds the deposit of divine truth committed to her more forcibly, definitely, and explicitly.

¹ *Constitutio Sedis Apostolicæ, Series II.*, § 13.

² *Epistola LXXX.*

³ *Sext. Decret. lib. I., tit. VI. De electione et electi potest.*

⁴ See the Roman pamphlet *La verità nella Soluzione della questione Romana, C. III.*

Never since the reign of the Revolution in Italy have Pius IX. and his Holiness Leo XIII. ceased to inculcate in their consistorial addresses and Apostolical Letters the necessity of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See for the freedom and independence of the supreme spiritual authority. There are no less than six Apostolical Letters and thirteen Allocutions, in which they have solemnly spoken of this subject. ¹ Pope Pius IX. in the Encyclical Letter *Qui nuper*, June 18, 1859, says:

“We openly declare that, in order to exercise without any impediment its sacred power for the good of religion, the temporal power is necessary for the Holy See.”

In the Apostolical Letter *Cum catholica Ecclesia* of 26th of the following March he more fully develops his views:

“Since the Catholic Church, founded and instituted by Christ our Lord to take care of the eternal welfare of men, has by virtue of her divine institution the nature of a perfect society, she must enjoy freedom to such an extent as not to be subject to any civil power in the discharge of her ministry. And since for proper freedom of action she needed such safeguards as are conformable to the condition and wants of the times, it came to pass by a special dispensation of God’s Providence that, when the Roman Empire collapsed and was

¹ The following are the Apostolical Letters and Allocutions referred to :

• APOSTOLICAL LETTERS.

A. OF PIUS IX.

<i>Qui nuper</i> , June 18, 1859.	<i>Cum catholica Ecclesia</i> , March 26, 1860.
<i>Nullis certe verbis</i> , Jan. 19, 1860.	<i>Intimo mœrore</i> , Sept. 10, 1860.
	<i>Respicientes</i> , Nov. 1, 1870.

B. OF LEO XIII.

Inscrutabili, April 21, 1878.

ALLOCUTIONS.

A. OF PIUS IX.

<i>Quibus Quantisque</i> , April 20, 1849.	<i>Quibus notum</i> , July 13, 1860.
<i>Si semper antea</i> , May 20, 1850.	<i>Novos et ante hunc diem</i> , Sept. 28, 1860.
<i>Ad gravissimum</i> , June 20, 1859.	<i>Jamdudum</i> , March 18, 1861.
<i>Maximi animi nostri</i> , Sept. 26, 1859.	<i>Maxima quidem</i> , June 9, 1862.
	<i>Luctuosis exagitati</i> , March 12, 1877.

B. OF LEO XIII.

<i>Ubi primum</i> , March 28, 1878.	<i>Post excitatos</i> , March 24, 1884.
<i>Convocare ad nos</i> , Aug. 4, 1881.	<i>Tempestivum quoddam</i> , Dec. 30, 1889.

divided into many states, the Roman Pontiff, whom Christ appointed the head and the centre of the whole Church, obtained a civil principedom. In this way has God Himself with great wisdom provided that in the midst of so many and diverse temporal rulers the Sovereign Pontiff should have that political liberty which is so necessary for him, to exercise his spiritual power, authority, and jurisdiction without any impediment all over the world.”¹

No sooner had his Holiness Pope Leo XIII. acceded to the pontifical throne, than he demanded in his first Encyclical Letter *Inscrutabili*, of April 21, 1878, the restoration of the Roman States to the Holy See, and alleged as a reason for this demand that the civil principality was necessary to preserve and defend the unlimited freedom of his spiritual power.

But did the Sovereign Pontiffs in these utterances make use of their teaching authority, and had they the outspoken intention of binding all the faithful by them? The answer to this question we may infer from two Pontifical documents. In the Encyclical Letter *Quanta cura*, of Dec. 8, 1864, Pope Pius IX. declares that by virtue of his apostolic ministry he has condemned the errors of our times in several of his Apostolical and Encyclical Letters and Allocutions, and among them he expressly mentions the Allocution *Maxima quidem* of June 9, 1862. Accordingly the Encyclical Letter was, by his order, accompanied by the Syllabus, which exhibits the diverse erroneous propositions condemned by the pontifical acts. Now what does the Syllabus show? It first states as condemned the propositions which assert the incompatibility of the temporal with the spiritual power, and maintain that the abolition of the temporal dominion of the Holy See would contribute to the liberty and welfare of

¹ *Cum catholica Ecclesia a Christo Domino fundata et instituta, ad sempiternam hominum salutem curandam, perfectæ societatis formam vi divinæ suæ institutionis obtinuerit, ea proinde libertate pollere debet, ut in sacro suo ministerio obeundo nulli civili potestati subiaceat. Et quoniam ad libere, ut par erat, agendum, iis indigebat præsiidiis, quæ temporum conditioni ac necessitati congruerent, idcirco singulari prorsus divinæ providentiæ consilio factum est, ut cum Romanum corruit imperium et in plura fuit regna divisum, Romanus Pontifex, quem Christus totius Ecclesiæ suæ caput centrumque constituit, civilem assequeretur principatum. Quo sane a Deo ipso sapientissime consultum est, ut in tanta temporalium principum multitudine ac varietate Summus Pontifex illa fruereetur politica libertate, quæ tantopere necessaria est ad spirituales suam potestatem, auctoritatem et jurisdictionem toto orbe absque ullo impedimento exercendam.*

the Church. Then it goes on to remark that besides these errors noted explicitly, there are several others condemned by implication, because at variance with the doctrine laid down concerning the civil principedom of the Roman Pontiff and most firmly to be adhered to by all the faithful.¹ As documents in which this doctrine was clearly set forth, it points out the Apostolical Letter *Cum catholica Ecclesia* and five different Allocutions, all of them asserting the necessity of the Pope's temporal sovereignty. These then, at least, are evidently acts which contain authoritative teaching and lay all Catholics under obligation.

Nor did the Roman Pontiffs alone raise their voices. When on the occasion of the canonization of the Japanese Martyrs, in 1862, Pope Pius IX. had convened the Catholic hierarchy from all parts of the world, and two hundred and sixty-five Cardinals and bishops had assembled around his august throne, he, in the Allocution *Maxima quidem* on the 9th of June, gave expression to the great joy he felt over the unanimity with which the entire episcopacy had both in letters to him and in their charges to their flocks set forth the providential establishing of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See and the necessity of the same for the freedom of the supreme spiritual authority.

"It gives us pleasure," said he, "to mention the wonderful unanimity with which you, together with all the bishops of the entire Catholic world, our venerable brothers, both in letters written to us and in your charges to the faithful, have never ceased. . . . to teach that the civil principedom of the Holy See has been bestowed on the Roman Pontiff by a special dispensation of Divine Providence, and that the same is necessary to the end that he, exempt from subjection to any prince or civil government, may, with the fullest freedom, exercise throughout the whole Church the supreme power and authority of feeding and ruling the Lord's flock conferred on him by Christ, and

¹ *Præter hos errores explicitè notatos, alii complures implicitè reprobantur, proposita et asserta doctrina quam Catholici omnes firmissime tenere debent, de civili Romani Pontificis principatu.* (Ejusmodi doctrina luculenter traditur in *Alloc. Quibus quantisque*, 20 April, 1849; in *Alloc. Si semper antea*, 20 Maji, 1850; in *Litteris apost. Cum catholica Ecclesia*, 26 Mart. 1860; in *Alloc. Novos*, 28 Sept. 1860; in *Alloc. Jamdudum*, 18 Mart., 1861; in *Alloc. Maxima quidem 9 Junii*, 1862.) *Syllabus*, § 9.

provide for the greater good, the welfare, and the needs of the Church and the faithful.”¹

Then again the bishops in an address, read by the Dean of the Sacred College and signed by all present, expressed their belief concerning this point.

“We acknowledge the civil principality of the Holy See as necessary and as evidently founded by God’s providence, and we do not hesitate to declare that in the present order of human society the same principality is by all means required for the good and free government of the Church and of souls. For the Roman Pontiff, the head of the Church, ought not to be subject, nor even the guest, of any ruler, but residing in his own dominion and realm, he should be independent and guard and defend the Catholic faith and govern the whole Christian community with a noble, august and tranquil liberty.”²

In reply to this address the Pontiff said that he regarded the sentiment expressed as a proof of the bond of charity that closely united the bishops not only with one another, but also with the Holy See, the Chair of truth.³

Five hundred and thirty-five prelates prevented from going to Rome sent in by letter their adhesion to the address read in the

¹ *Jurat potius hac de re commemorare miram prorsus consensionem, qua vos ipsi una cum aliis Venerabilibus Fratribus universi catholici orbis sacrarum Antistitibus, nunquam intermisistis et epistolis ad nos datis et pastoralibus litteris ad fideles scriptis hujusmodi fallacias detegere, refutare ac simul docere, hunc civilem Sanctæ Sedis principatum Romano Pontifici fuisse singulari divinæ providentiæ consilio datum, illumque necessarium esse, ut idem Romanus Pontifex, nulli unquam principi aut civili potestati subjectus, supremam universi gregis dominici pascendi regendique potestatem auctoritatemque ab ipso Christo Domino divinitus acceptam per universam Ecclesiam plenissima libertate exercere ac majori ejusdem Ecclesiæ ac fidelium bono, utilitati et indigentia consulere possit. Collectio Lacensis Tom. VI. p. 881.*

² *Civilem Sanctæ Sedis principatum ceu quiddam necessarium ac providente Deo manifeste institutum agnoscimus, nec declarare dubitamus, in præsentis rerum humanarum statu hunc ipsum principatum civilem pro bono ac libero Ecclesiæ animarumve regimine omnino requiri. Oportebat sane totius Ecclesiæ Caput, Romanum Pontificem, nulli principi esse subjectum, imo nullius hospitem, sed in proprio dominio ac regno sedentem sui met juris esse, et in nobili, tranquilla et alma libertate catholicam fidem tueri ac propugnare totamque regere ac gubernare Christianam republicam. Collect. Lacensis, Ibid. p. 884.*

³ *Collectio Lacensis, Tom. VI. p. 890.*

consistory.¹ Eight hundred bishops have thus with one voice solemnly and explicitly asserted the necessity of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See.

The same doctrine was embodied in the decrees of several Provincial Councils, held subsequently both in Europe and in America. The Fathers of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore expound it in the very words of Pius IX. drawn from his official acts.² The Fathers of the Fourth Provincial Council of Quebec enacted the following declaration concerning the Pope's temporal sovereignty:

"In agreement with all the bishops of the Catholic world and all writers truly worthy of the Catholic name, we acknowledge and openly assert that this temporal power is not only legitimate and in full accordance with the institution of Christ and the teaching of the gospel, but also necessary to the Holy See, in order to exercise its apostolic power with greater liberty and safety all over the earth."³

The voice of the episcopacy re-echoed in the hearts of all Catholics, who signed numerous protests against the usurpation of the Papal provinces by the Piedmontese government, and henceforth supported the Holy See in every possible way, by the enthusiastic assurances of their love and obedience, by pecuniary means, nay, by the sacrifice of their lives.

Now a doctrine authoritatively enjoined by the Holy See and, in submission to the same, solemnly professed and officially set forth by the whole body of the Catholic bishops, is not only binding on all the faithful, but also infallibly true. For the entire episcopacy of the Church, succeeding to the body of the Apostles, is in its authoritative teaching rendered infallible by the supernatural assistance of the Holy Ghost. The necessity, therefore, of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See is no more an open question; it has been decided by the highest tribunal on earth and must be regarded as a certain and infallible truth.⁴

¹ See *La Sovranità temporale dei Romani Pontifici propugnata dal suffragio dell' orbe cattolico, Parte VII.*

² *Titul. II. Cap. I., n. 47.*

³ *Omnibus episcopis orbis Catholici, omnibusque scriptoribus Catholico nomine vere dignis assentientes, agnoscimus et palam asserimus, istam potestatem temporalem non tantum legitimam ac institutioni Christi et evangelicæ doctrinæ admodum consentaneam, sed et necessariam esse Sedi Apostolicæ, quo liberior et tutior potestatem Apostolicam toto orbe terrarum exercent. Tit. V.*

⁴ See *Stimmen aus Maria Laach vol. 36, pp. 529-533; D. Palmieri S.J. de Romano*

We must, however, still more exactly determine the nature and the object of this decision. Above all we ought to understand that the teaching of the Church, though infallible, does in our case not settle a question of *divine faith*. The necessity of the Pope's temporal power is not and never has been considered a Catholic dogma, a truth revealed by God Himself. It is neither contained in Scripture or Tradition, nor is it essential to the primacy of the Holy See, which is altogether spiritual. Still it is closely connected with the latter. The supreme spiritual power of the Sovereign Pontiff is by its very nature, and therefore by divine right, endowed with perfect freedom. But this freedom is as to its enjoyment necessarily dependent on certain conditions agreeing with the respective state of human society. To define these without any error lies within the province of the teaching authority of the Church. For she is empowered by Christ not only to preach and expound His teachings, but also to decide any point of doctrine necessarily connected with the revealed truths, or with the belief in them. And the decisions made by her on any such point are binding on all the faithful, and must be adhered to with firm assent.¹ Accordingly the doctrine of the necessity of the Pope's temporal sovereignty, though not one contained in divine revelation or resting *immediately on God's authority*, is nevertheless to be regarded as undoubtedly true, resting on the *infallible teaching authority of the Church* as its basis.

The necessity itself, moreover, is not an *absolute*, but a *relative* one. This is clearly understood from the official acts themselves, in which it is taught. Temporal sovereignty is not absolutely necessary for the Holy See, it is necessary only for the *free exercise* of its essential power, the spiritual supremacy. Nor has it been declared to be absolutely necessary even for this end; for it is not required under all circumstances, and for every, even the least degree of freedom, but only in the *present order of human society*, and for the *full and altogether unimpeded* freedom in the *universal* discharge of the apostolic ministry. Consequently we must infer that it is likewise not necessary for the existence of the Church, but for her well-being, inasmuch as without it she could not discharge the mission entrusted to her in its Pontifice, p. 506; *Mgr. F. Schroeder*, *American Catholics and the Rom. Quest.* p. 35; *La Verità nella Soluzione della Questione Romana*, C. III.

¹ *Encycl. Quanta Cura*, Dec. 8, 1864.

full extent all over the world. Such relative necessity, therefore, of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See is maintained by the teaching authority of the Church and can no longer be called into question by any loyal Catholic.

IV.

Independence a Prerogative of the Holy See.

Does the necessity of the Pope's temporal power rest on authority alone? Are there no reasons founded on the nature of things that support it? Or are we, obliged as we are to submit to the decision of the Church, not allowed to inquire into them? Yes, there are such reasons, and it is lawful to search into them. The Church herself invites us to do so, for she has expounded them in her own official acts with admirable clearness. So strong and plain are they in themselves, apart from any ecclesiastical teaching, that, convinced by them, not only theologians, but also statesmen, not only Catholics, but also Protestants and unbelieving historians and philosophers have asserted and do still assert the necessity of the Pope's territorial sovereignty. The gist of all these reasons is, that independence is a necessary prerogative of the Holy See, and that temporal sovereignty is a necessary safeguard of its independence.

To start with correct and well-defined ideas, we must distinguish a twofold independence of the Sovereign Pontiff, the one official, and the other personal. The former is his independence of any earthly power in the exercise of his spiritual supremacy over the universal Church; the latter, his independence of any king or magistrate, also in things temporal and political. The necessity of the Pope's official independence cannot be questioned. His authority is not derived from the state. He has received it from the Son of God Himself, who said to St. Peter: "*Feed my lambs, feed my sheep,*"¹ and, "*I say to thee: thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed in heaven.*"² Thus entrusted by God Himself to St. Peter and his successors, the supreme power over the Church is beyond

¹ *St. John, xxi., 15-18.*

² *St. Matthew, xvi., 18-20.*

the domain of state jurisdiction. It is more universal than the latter, not restricted to any particular country, having the whole world subject to itself. It does not need resources procured by the civil society; for being absolute and unlimited, it involves all the means necessary to achieve its end. It has for its object not the temporal prosperity of one nation, but the eternal salvation of mankind. Being spiritual, the authority of the Holy See is not only distinct from any civil jurisdiction, but also superior to it by so much as the immaterial transcends the material, and the eternal the temporal.

The papal authority, therefore, descending from God, is *by right and by its own nature* free and independent. It must, moreover, under all circumstances, be free also *in fact*. Indeed, were it, while actually exercised, subject to any earthly influence, it would be degraded and would fail to work out the salvation of mankind. For it would then no longer be directed by the will and the law of God, but by merely human views, and would not aim at truth and holiness, but at worldly interests. Hence it is of peremptory necessity that in the actual discharge of his high office the Sovereign Pontiff be exempt from any control by the civil power, and be beyond the reach of any temporal sway. Were he to submit to the secular rule, he would betray his own dignity, as well as the eternal welfare of men.

From the nature of the primacy of St. Peter and the freedom necessary for its exercise there follows with necessity also the personal independence of the Pope. He being the Vicar of Christ, entrusted with His mission upon earth, and the spiritual ruler and father of all the faithful, teaching them God's truth, sanctifying their souls and performing for them the highest mysteries, can ever a Christian with decency be competent to keep him subject in earthly affairs, or to exact obedience from him, and if this be refused, to constrain and punish him? And if for Christians such a right is not befitting, could it with less impropriety be conceded to those who are outside the kingdom of God? Certain it is, no civil magistrate could force the Sovereign Pontiff to obedience without shocking the feelings of every Christian heart, and without disturbing the peace and tranquillity of the entire Church. Undoubtedly a right so unbecoming has not been established by divine wisdom.

Then, to advance a still more convincing proof, a dignity or power confers on the person in whom it is vested all its rights and pre-

rogatives, being, as it were, embodied in him. The majesty of the civil rulers is an illustration of this axiom. Consequently the person of the Pope must be endowed with all the prerogatives inherent in his supreme authority over the Church. But this authority is, as was said above, not only distinct from the civil power, but also superior to the same. It is the continuation of the mission which Christ had upon earth, and therefore partakes of the sublimity and majesty peculiar to the King of kings. Because it is spiritual, it refers immediately to eternal salvation and hence is instituted to order also the things of the state, not directly by interfering with them as far as they regard merely temporal prosperity, but indirectly, by rendering them subservient to man's ultimate end. This is no exaggeration. Christ commissioned the Church and her supreme head to preach the gospel also to kings and rulers, and to introduce the moral law revealed by Him not only into private, but also into public life. For He said to His Apostles: "*Teach ye all nations . . . Go ye into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature.*"

This we must infer also from the object to which the apostolic authority of the Pope refers. He has, as the head of the Church, received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, that is, he has to lead men to their ultimate and supreme end. Now to this end everything must be subordinate; all human actions must tend to it, all human relations must be in harmony with it; every power must move and operate in its direction. Is the Pope, then, not the judge also of the morality of civil and political actions? Is he, as the bearer of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, not the ruler of rulers, because he is bound to forbid them what is contrary, and to enjoin on them what is necessary, to man's salvation? Is he, as the head of the Church and the father of the faithful, not empowered to warn and to guide the civil magistrates that are within his fold (for he does not judge those without, according to the teaching of the Apostle (I. Cor., v, 12) and to oblige them to abstain from whatsoever is detrimental to their own souls or injurious to the flock of Christ? Led by such considerations we must conclude that the person of the Pope is in no respect, not even in civil matters, subject to the state, that, on the contrary, he stands above it, and by a higher power raises it to a sublimer order and directs it to a nobler end.

Should temporal rulers ever attempt to exact obedience from him,

though only in civil affairs, he could in the fulness of his authority and with a view to the welfare of the Church, annul their injunctions and ordain his own civil independence. And, if he did so, nobody could appeal to a higher tribunal against him, on the score that he had overstepped the limits of his power. For whatever he binds on earth, is bound also in heaven, and whatever he looses upon earth is loosed also in heaven.

There is no doubt whatever among Catholic canonists and jurists about the civil independence of the Pope. They all agree that it is due to him by divine right, because it grows out of the spiritual supremacy conferred on him by Christ.¹ Catholic princes, too, during the ages of faith, never regarded the Roman Pontiff otherwise than as their father, and tendered him by solemn acts their submission and reverence. He had precedence before them all; he was their arbitrator in their differences, and their censor when they did wrong; he admonished them conscientiously to administer justice, in the same way as he exhorted their subjects to obedience. Nor have kings and emperors on this account lowered their majesty. Their crowns only shone with a brighter lustre, reflected on them from above, and their dominions were united in more perfect peace and harmony. Those times have passed away. Still, even in our days, when Christianity is, as it were, banished from political life, the states which guarantee religious liberty cannot ignore the Pope's civil independence. For if liberty is guaranteed to the Catholic Church, everything that is necessarily implied in her nature and her constitution must be granted to her and be left intact. Protestant denominations cannot complain as if thus a privileged position were demanded by us. We must demand the independence of the Pope consistently with our religious convictions, but they cannot claim independence for their prelates, because they acknowledge no supreme jurisdiction in them.

It might seem, however, that all the conclusions thus far reached might be granted, and yet the Pope's sovereignty be safely denied. Let his civil independence be a prerogative ever so undoubted, is it necessary for him always to assert and to enjoy it? The question is, indeed, not an idle one. A right or a prerogative is one thing, and its actual enjoyment another. The Church has in her concordats

¹ See Aug. Lehmkuhl, *S. J. Theologia Moralis, Vol. I. n. 139.*

with Catholic governments, for weighty reasons, resigned many a right undoubtedly inherent in her. Bishops and priests nowadays in most countries enjoy no personal immunity, though in former days they did, and, as the Council of Trent says, by divine and ecclesiastical law.¹ Christ Himself, whilst on earth, did not make use of all His rights. Though the King of kings, He condescended to obey the civil government and to pay tribute to Cæsar. May the Pope not likewise resign his civil independence?

The answer must be given decidedly in the negative. The reason is that the loss of his personal independence must, to a great extent entail the loss also of his official independence. Civil dependence and spiritual supremacy to be exercised with full freedom are, in the present state of affairs, irreconcilable in one and the self-same human person. It is true, they were not so in Christ. But He visibly governed the Church when she as yet consisted of few persons, whereas His Vicar rules her when spread all over the world. He is God, His Godhead shining forth by numberless miracles. His Vicar is but man. And in a merely human being any dignity, though supernatural and divine in its origin, exists and operates after the manner of human nature, whose faculties it employs, and therefore also partakes, to a certain extent, of human weakness. Hence it is, that if its bearer be punished or corrected, it will lose its prestige, and will no more be duly respected, and that if the person in whom it is vested be brought into subjection, its exercise, too, will become more or less dependent. As a man obnoxious to human passions, the spiritual head of the Church will, if civilly subject, at times lack sufficient strength to resist the influence exercised on him by those in higher power; he will be open to the fear of losses or the hope of temporal advantages; he cannot without danger and great difficulty censure his own ruler when he does wrong or oppresses the Church; he can scarcely reject offers made, in order to induce him to enact laws or to make appointments which rather serve political purposes, than promote the spiritual welfare of Christendom.

If fear and hope cannot cloud his intellect or bias his will, he may at any time be prevented by force from exercising his jurisdiction both within and without the state of which he is a citizen. He must in any case be a Pontiff displeasing any other Power than that to

¹ *Sess. xxv. de Reform. c. 20.*

which he owes allegiance, because he will always be suspected of having been elected to his office by the influence of his monarch, or of being swayed by the same in the government of the Church. His laws and decrees will, therefore, be mistrusted by foreign nations and often be refused, particularly at the time of international animosities. These are not mere imaginations, but tangible realities. For whilst the Popes are not free from human infirmities, the temporal rulers, whether monarchic or republican, are, on the whole, extremely jealous of power and most eager to extend their sway. Consulting history, we observe nearly in every one of its periods and in every country, in England, in Germany, in France, in Italy, in the East, a tendency in the secular power to gain the ascendant over the spiritual and to rise on its subserviency to unlimited absolutism. And such attempts were mostly but too successful, as long as the struggle was carried on with dependent prelates. Does not this fact prove that the Pope at least must be civilly independent? Does it not show to evidence that, whilst the evils resulting from the dependence of the bishops may be remedied by him, the consequences of his lack of freedom are irretrievable?

On the strength of such considerations not only canonists, but also the statesmen of nearly every civilized nation aver that the Pope's actual independence is necessary. Nor is this astonishing. In whatever state the Catholic religion is professed, there the government is highly interested in the perfect freedom of the Roman Pontiff, who, by his teaching and his laws, exercises an unbounded intellectual and moral influence on the Catholic subjects. For this reason the Italian government guaranteed to the Pope all the prerogatives of a sovereign by an act of Parliament, and through its ministers at all the European courts acknowledged its duty, and professed its intention, to uphold the perfect independence of the Holy See. The sincerity of these declarations must, for very good reasons, be doubted, but they show at least how the Italian politicians felt themselves compelled to deal with the Roman Question in the face of Europe. In reality, in their diplomatic answers the Powers all insisted on the Pope's personal independence.¹

In the light, then, of both faith and reason, the Sovereign Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ, is in every respect officially and personally in-

¹ See *The Roman Question by the Bishop of Salford*, p. 12.

dependent of any earthly power, he is so not by any human law, but by the nature of his spiritual supremacy, and therefore by the will of Christ, and must be so during all the ages in which he governs the Church of God on earth.

V.

The Pope not Independent unless a Sovereign.

One point still remains to be discussed. The Pope's independence, official and personal, granted, is there but one way of realizing it? Is a civil principedom necessary to establish it, or are other means sufficient? The Italian government, in 1870 at least, pretended to render the Pope independent, though deprived of his states, and many Catholics, misled by the liberal views, entertained hopes that the project was feasible. But the hopes of the latter prove just as vain as the pretensions of the former are deceitful.

Whatever the abstract possibilities may be, practically this independence is in the present order of things not secured, unless the Holy See has a temporal dominion of a moderate size. Of this a few reflections will convince us. We have to demand full freedom and independence not only for the Pope himself, but also for his court and his functionaries and ministers, who form one official person with him. He cannot by himself govern the Church, spread all over the surface of the earth, he needs organs, and indeed a great many, tribunals and offices, through which he acts and speaks, gathers information, administers justice, and renders decisions. Were these subject to a government distinct from that of the Sovereign Pontiff, the exercise of the papal authority would, in effect, be dependent on the civil power, since it could at any moment be interfered with, impeded, and biased by political considerations. Would the government of the United States be free and unobstructed, if freedom were granted to the president alone, but his secretaries and their assistants and clerks were subject to the laws of a particular state and could be swayed by its policy?

Moreover the Pope is in need of a regular income, to keep up his dignity in a befitting manner, to defray the expenses of his administration, and to promote the interests of the Church. If he draws revenues from a civil power, he becomes by this very fact depend-

ent on it; if he receives contributions from the faithful, he is in a kind of dependence on them, which does not become his exalted position, and imperils the integrity of his officials. A regular and safe income sufficient for his needs can, without any disadvantage to his freedom, be derived only from a temporal dominion; and a vast multitude of functionaries, exempt from any danger of being politically influenced in their actions, can subsist only in a territory over which the Pope is the sovereign.

Then, if the Roman Pontiff has no territorial sovereignty, he is unprotected from the covetousness of the potentates and the oppression of unchristian governments. Whenever their longing for absolute power is no longer refrained by conscience, or their hatred of Christianity is no longer checked by external restraints, the civil rulers may and will rob the Pope living within their territory, insult and attack him, put him in prison or intercept his communication with the universal Church; they may by threats and promises exercise any pressure they like, if not on the Pope personally, on account of his sublime virtues, at least on his officials; and lastly they may without difficulty meddle with the election of a successor after his death. It would be childish to think that in our age of unbelief, events of this kind are impossible; they are now more than ever to be dreaded. We hear it said that acts of violence might be prevented by an international treaty. But would not the Pope thus become dependent, not on one Power alone, but on several? And how could the working of such an agreement be ensured? Does not the fulfilment of compacts between the supreme rulers depend altogether on the good will of those who conclude them, just as the value of guarantees depends on those who give them? Besides, since in our days nearly all states have constitutional governments with elective representation and full freedom for political parties, princes cannot for a considerable length of time be surety for their own acts. Much less could they hinder the waves of political agitation from reaching that city of their empire which is the seat of the Pope, and from disturbing and perplexing the ecclesiastical administration.

Hence there is practically no difference between the Pope who is the subject of a ruler and the Pope who has no territory over which he reigns. The state to which he is subject is no greater danger for his freedom, than the state which nominally grants him exemption,

but is free to exert its influence on his administration by force as well as policy. We know from history how often the Roman Pontiff was exiled or imprisoned by temporal rulers; we have heard complaints that his ministers in their official acts, and the Cardinals, when in the Conclave, have not been free from undue influence and selfish views. What would happen, if the Pope were not a reigning sovereign, and if the government of the Church were carried on within the reach of a civil power? After an experience of seven years after the occupation of Rome, Pius IX., though by law declared independent, was obliged to say to the Cardinals in a Consistory:

“In Rome he (the Pope) must be either a sovereign or a captive; and never will there be peace, security, and tranquillity throughout the Catholic Church as long as the exercise of the supreme apostolic ministry is left exposed to the agitation of parties, to the arbitrary power of rulers, to the vicissitudes of political elections, to the designs and actions of men, who prefer their own interest to what is just.”¹

It is in the nature of things that every Pope who is not a prince will be compelled to make the same experience and to repeat the same complaint.

The conclusion, therefore, stands that the Pope's freedom and independence will never rest on a solid basis, and will never be permanently established, unless he is at the same time a spiritual and a temporal sovereign. Of course, God may direct the rulers and animate them with love for justice and religion, for their hearts are in His hands, or He may frustrate their iniquitous onslaughts, and inspire the Pope and his ministers with such lofty sentiments as will always raise them above temporal or merely human views. But a divine interference of this kind is altogether preternatural and does not lie within the usual providential order. According to His wisdom which we know from His works, God always employs proportionate means for the attainment of His purposes, and founds permanent institutions for ends permanently to be achieved, without obstructing the operation or diminishing the freedom of His creatures. Accordingly, we must expect the independence of the Holy See to be secured by a permanent arrangement of society, and such an arrangement, we maintain, must, in the present order of things, consist in providing a civil principedom for the spiritual head of the Church.

¹ *Allocution Luctuosis exagitati of March 12th, 1877.*

Many statesmen, and many authors, who differ from us in religion, fully agree with the Catholic view on this point. Some of them show a friendly or at least fair disposition towards the Church, and therefore demand for the Holy See the possession of the Roman States not only as a matter of justice, but also as a condition necessary for its free and unimpeded action. Thus acted, for instance, the Lords Liverpool, Eldon, Castlereagh, Sidmouth, Melville, Brougham, Lansdowne, Ellensborough, Normandy,¹ the English historian Alison,² Thiers,³ and Guizot.⁴ Others assume a hostile attitude towards the Papacy, but are compelled by the evidence of truth to plead for its temporal dominion, as were, for instance, Gregorovius⁵ and La Guerronière;⁶ or they see in the downfall of the civil power the imminent ruin of the Church herself, as did King Frederick II.⁷ and Count Cavour.⁸

A few reflections on ecclesiastical history are yet needed, because this has been alleged as disproving the necessity of the temporal sovereignty. The Pope, it is said, was repeatedly and even for a considerable length of time without a principedom, and nevertheless wielded his full spiritual authority. During the first centuries of the Christian era the Roman Pontiffs were not only not princes, but were persecuted by the Roman emperors, or were at least subject to them: and yet did not the Church at that very time develop a marvellous strength, and spread over the whole earth? This is undoubtedly a historical truth. But is persecution the state in which the Church is intended by God to remain? Could she, if it were so, fulfil the task imposed on her by Christ Himself, which consists in teaching all nations, in fermenting, as it were, the whole rational creation with her moral principles, and in ordering human life, both private and public, to a supernatural ultimate end? Destined as she is to be the mountain of the house of the Lord to which all nations flow (Is. xxii.), she

¹ See *The Roman Question by the Bishop of Salford*, page 10.—*Card. Manning, The Independence of the Holy See, Preface.*

² *History of Europe, 1789-1815, vol. III. ch. 57.*

³ *In a speech delivered in the Legislative Assembly in Paris, April 13, 1865.*

⁴ *L'église et la société*, page 77.

⁵ *History of the City of Rome, vol. III., page 5., and vol. IV., page 386.*

⁶ *The Pope and the Congress*, page 7, 1859.

⁷ *In a letter to Voltaire, Corresp. II., 99.*

⁸ *Diplomatic Documents presented to the Chambers*, page 95. Turin. 1859.

cannot always remain concealed in the catacombs, but must, freed from all shackles, hold a position commanding reverence and submission. Then, who will deny that in the condition in which she was during those centuries, she was in many ways greatly injured, that the supreme pastor was prevented from exercising his universal office and the bishops from preaching the gospel and governing their flocks? God permitted those persecutions in order to manifest the supernatural origin of the Church, and in the absence of ordinary means, supported her by preternatural intervention which tended to corroborate the Christian faith. But miracles cannot always take the place of the ordinary means of subsistence. During the following four centuries, from Constantine the Great to King Pepin, the Holy See was in part subject to the Roman emperors, in part free. Its freedom was continually growing, until it finally developed into perfect independence, not by ambitious intrigues, but by the natural course of events. Its subjection was in one respect less harmful than it would be now, inasmuch as the Roman Empire then comprised all civilized nations, a circumstance which rendered an international position of the Papacy less necessary. Still the civil dependence in which the Popes then were, was attended with many disadvantages for their freedom, as will easily be understood from the cruel death to which some of them were put, from the exile into which others were driven, and from the pressure exercised on them by heretical emperors.

From the time of King Pepin down to our days the Popes were sovereigns of the Roman States, though not unfrequently political factions in Rome and tyrannical kings and emperors interfered with their rule and forced them to leave their principedom. Yet all such attacks on them greatly disturbed the peace and tranquillity of Europe. It was at this period of history that the Papacy reached together with the fulness of its freedom, also the fulness of its might and authority, and it was then that it bestowed the greatest benefits on human society by civilizing, pacifying and uniting all nations. In the fourteenth century the Popes took up their residence in the city of Avignon, remaining sovereigns, yet being exposed to the influence of the French court. It is known how strained the relations between the Holy See and Germany became in consequence, and how utterly impossible it was to bring about a reconciliation. Concerning England at this time the historian Green writes: "The English

scorned a French Pope and threatened his legates with stoning when they landed.”¹ The abode of the Roman Pontiffs resulted in the great Western schism, in which first two and later three Popes were elected. In the nineteenth century Napoleon I. devised a scheme to remove the head of the Church from Rome to Paris. And what was the object he had in view? To rule the religious as well as the political world, after he had brought the Pope into subjection by depriving him of his temporal power.² When the project failed, the emperor made him a prisoner and precluded him from communication with the Church.

Finally in our own days the Pope lost Rome and its provinces by the usurpation of the Piedmontese government, and the secret working of the Revolution. But it is claimed that complete independence with ample revenues are guaranteed to him, and that, though he did not accept the guarantees, his spiritual authority is as great and as highly respected as ever. I shall presently show that with regard to Italy the Pope has not so much freedom as is due to him in his capacity of the bishop of Rome, nor as much as is granted to the bishop of any diocese in a free country. With regard to the rest of the world, he maintains his authority in no other way than by not submitting to the Italian government, by refusing its offers, and by constantly protesting against its usurpation. But a struggle between him and the country in which he lives cannot last forever; it must sooner or later end, either in the bloody triumph of the Revolution, or the restoration of the Roman States to the Holy See.

History, studied without prejudice, on the one hand convinces us of the necessity of the temporal power of the Pope for the freedom of his apostolic ministry, on the other, reveals to us a special dispensation of Divine Providence in connecting with the Roman See a civil principality at an early period of the Christian era, in preserving the same in the course of time in spite of so many obstacles, and in thus providing the spiritual head of the Church with all the means required for the free exercise of his authority.³

The necessity of the Pope's temporal power for his unimpeded

¹ *A Short History of the English People*, p. 229.

² *Alison, History of Europe, 1789-1815, vol. III, Ch. lvii.*

³ *See F. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, The Papal Sovereignty, Ch. vii.*

freedom being thus placed beyond any reasonable doubt, the usurpation of his dominions must be considered as an attack on his spiritual authority, and consequently as detrimental to the welfare of the whole Church. What is of greater importance for any society than an efficient government? Wherever this is obstructed, the life of the social organism must be impaired, if not altogether extinguished. How can particularly the Church prosper, if the Sovereign Pontiff is mistrusted and disobeyed, if he is no longer free to teach, to condemn the prevalent errors, to remove the dangers for the purity of morals, to settle controversies and reconcile opponents, to appoint bishops, to superintend the education of youth, and especially the training of the clergy, and to promote the propagation of the faith in heathen countries? Must not her vitality be lowered, her strength and efficacy be weakened, the faith of many be imperilled, and the bonds of union be loosed? And what shall become of religion, if the Church, in which it is embodied, is thus enfeebled in her head and her members? True, the Church will not perish, though the despoliation of the Roman Pontiff should last for a longer period. For Christ has foretold her existence to the end of time. Yet it is evident that but for a special protection of God she is bound to lack that degree of unity, holiness and efficacy, with which the divine Founder wished her to be endowed.

VI.

Reconciliation with the Italian Government Impossible.

If disastrous consequences must at any time attend the suppression of the Papal sovereignty, they will of necessity most plentifully result from the persecution now raging against the Holy See. The Revolution, which united Italy and now governs it, takes no care to avoid or to mitigate the evils connected with the changes it brought about. On the contrary, it purposes them; it endeavors to intensify them; for its avowed object is the overthrow of the Holy See and the extermination of Christianity. The leaders of the Revolutionary movement have not concealed their intentions. Victor Emmanuel in the letter in which, in 1870, he demanded from Pius IX. the surrender of the yet remaining Papal dominions, says:

“A tempest of peril is threatening Europe. Under the cover of the war which is desolating the centre of the continent, the party of the Cosmopolitan Revolution is increasing its hardihood and audacity, and is preparing especially in the provinces governed by your Holiness, to give the last blows to the Monarchy and the Papacy.”

To this statement of the king let me add the sayings of some Italian premiers. Count Cavour at the Congress at Paris in 1856 presented a formal document to the plenipotentiaries of France and England, which was described as “a manifesto of war against the temporal and spiritual power of the Papacy,” and in preparing this war he said on one occasion that “the temporal power was so closely connected with the spiritual that the one could not be separated from the other without the prospect of the destruction of both.” De Pretis said in an address to his constituents: “Italy of to-day, if it has not written an immortal book, has written an immortal decree, that is, the suppression of political clericalism, the liberation of civil Christianity, the emancipation of religious thought and the free worship of humanity.” Cairoli said: “The catechism is an immoral book, which should be banished from our homes.” Signor Crispi,

once an intimate friend and companion of Mazzini and Garibaldi, a freemason of the thirty-third degree, and an avowed atheist, believes that the Italian people is called to destroy Catholicism, and that between the revolutionists and the Pope there can be no truce. Some years ago he declared that the Catholic Church must be overthrown, and not long ago he expressed his intention of reducing the Pope to the condition of a simple bishop of Rome. Guiseppe Ferrari, one of the most prominent revolutionary leaders, said: "The Italian Revolution represents Italy risen against Christian Europe—against the system of Christianity."¹

What these men have proclaimed as their programme they have carried out to the best of their power. No sooner had the Piedmontese government in 1859 and 1860 taken possession of the Papal provinces under pretext of restoring order, than it promoted the diffusion and cultivation of every false doctrine, relaxed the restraints of lust and impiety, inflicted undeserved penalties on Catholic bishops and ecclesiastics of every grade, threw them into prison and allowed them to be harassed with public insults whilst it granted impunity to their persecutors and to the assailants of the dignity of the Roman Pontiff.²

The Italian Parliament once opened, the enactment of laws most hostile to the Church commenced. Schools and Colleges, and of late also the beneficent institutions, were wrested from her and delivered up to her most embittered enemies. Civil marriage was forced on the people. All the clergy without exception, bishops included, were declared subject to military conscription; wherefore many a priest was since compelled to serve in the Italian army. The religious orders were suppressed and banished. Numberless sacred buildings, which for centuries had been held in veneration by the entire Catholic world, were torn down or profaned. The property of the Church, not excepting that of the Propaganda, notwithstanding her sacred and inviolable rights, was mostly confiscated. At last a penal code was sanctioned and put in force, which makes it absolutely impossible for priests and bishops, and even the highest ecclesiastical authorities, to condemn or oppose any order, disposition, or decree of the govern-

¹ See *Card. Manning*, *Independence of the Holy See, Preface*; *The Bishop of Salford*, *the Roman Question*; *La Verità nella Soluzione della Questione Romana*.

² *Encycl. letter*, *Respicientes of Pius IX.*, *Nov. 1, 1870.*

ment, however injurious to the Church, to enforce any ecclesiastical law colliding with those of the state, to publish or commend any letter of the Roman Pontiff containing a censure of a governmental act, or to raise their voice in any way for the restoration of the Pope's temporal sovereignty. The new code completely enslaves the Church to the state.

The most outspoken hostility against Christian religion was manifested, when on the feast of Pentecost, 1889, the statue of Giordano Bruno was unveiled with great pomp in presence of a numerous assembly, in which were seen a hundred and eighteen deputies and seventeen senators of the Italian Parliament. The extraordinary honors which were rendered to a man disgraced by shameful immorality, cowardice, inconstancy, and hypocrisy, fallen away from a religious order, from the priesthood, and from the Christian religion, plunged into the ignominious errors of pantheism and atheism, condemned at last by the Church and publicly executèd in Rome in 1600 for his heinous crimes and his obstinacy in heresy and infidelity, could mean nothing else than an insult to the Holy See and a solemn and public profession of unbelief and hatred against the Christian religion. That this was the real purpose was but too manifest from the banners of Satan which were displayed in the procession, and from the discourses held and the writings published on this occasion, in which the holiest things were turned into ridicule, and absolute freedom of thought was exalted.¹

In this state of affairs the question can no more be seriously put whether or not the Pope should reconcile himself with united Italy by resigning his temporal power and accepting instead of it the guarantees offered for his independence. There is on the part of the Italian statesmen no desire of reconciliation, no intention of protecting his freedom. They have but one object in view which they pursue with ingrained hatred—the overthrow of the Papacy. Before they have reached this end, their hostility will not abate. And even were this not their avowed purpose, and were their promises sincere, they could never by laws or by treaties establish the independence of the Holy See on a solid basis; they could only subvert it and thus damage the supreme spiritual authority of the Church.

¹ *Allocution* Quod nuper of *Leo XIII.*, June 30, 1889.

The Holy Father, therefore, must again and again protest against the usurpation of his states; he must on all occasions claim his rights and his restoration to them, in order not to create a prejudice against them by his silence; he must set forth his legitimate titles and dwell on the injustice committed by the usurpers; he must condemn those who have perpetrated so enormous a wrong against the See of St. Peter, and deter others from participation in their crime; he must assert and defend the possessions entrusted to him by God's special providence as means altogether necessary for the free exercise of his apostolic ministry and for the welfare of the Church.

Placed on the apostolic rock he cannot give way, but is bound to resist the tempest which now rages against Christian religion. Seated on the Chair of St. Peter, he is obliged to lift up his voice like a prophet and unceasingly to recall to the minds of men the true knowledge of right and justice, to bear witness before the whole world to the truth of God, to point out to human society the impending dangers, and to counteract by word and deed the machinations openly and secretly directed against the foundations of the Church.

Not the Pope alone, however, the great Leo XIII., must fight the good fight. We are his children. How could we leave him alone in his struggle and affliction and not raise our voice with his against the enormous wrong done to the Holy See and the still greater evils that threaten it? We form the Church militant, whose divinely-appointed and courageous leader he is. We are obliged to follow him into the brunt of the battle which is fought for the kingdom of God. At stake there is the freedom of the See of St. Peter, the freedom of the spouse of Christ who has given life to us, the freedom of the mystical body of which we are members. In the very age in which we live the love of political freedom has seized the nations, and in particular the people of our beloved country, and has given them a marvellous strength to perform heroic deeds. What enthusiasm then should Catholics not show, and what sacrifices should they not be willing to make for the much sublimer freedom of the Church purchased by the blood of Christ?

