EUROPE.

English and German Discussion of the Papal Syllabus and Council.

Archbishop Manning to the Munich Theologians and Catholics of Britain.

Aristocratic Life in England and the Heirship of the Throne.

By mail from Europe we have the following details of our cable telegrams to the 5th of October additional to the special reports published in the HERALD yesterday.

La France of Paris, of the 4th of October, say:—

Father Hyacinthe, who, since the publication of his letter, which he had not previously announced to any one, had not seen the Archbishop of Paris, went to pay him a visit this week. It is stated that the Archbishop received him with great cordiality, and told him that, while blaming the act, he was still anxious to keep up affectionate relations with him, and invited him to repeat his visit. We are also informed that the note of the *Semaine Religieuse*, reproduced by the *Univers*, and containing this phrase, "his best friends are in affliction and the faithful are scandalized," was inserted without the knowledge or authorization of the Archbishop, who was then absent from Paris. The note in question, it is said, was penned by the editors of that journal.

The *Weser-Zeitung* newspaper, of Berlin, of the 3d of October, writing on the subject of the Council in Rome and the general condition of church affairs in Germany, says:—

The fulminating letter of Father Hyacinthe to the Superintendent General of the Carmelites, which has for the moment diverted the attention of our neighbors on the other side of the Rhine from the state of the Emperor's health, is interesting to us as a new proof that the ultramontane tendencies of the Roman Curia meet with opposition, not only among the Catholic laity, but in the very organs of the Church. It is already clear that the plan of passing, by means of a devoted majority, a number of propositions which had been prepared before the meeting of the Council is entirely frustrated. The authorities find themselves placed in the following unpleasant alternative. They will either have to show a proper respect for the opinions of the minority, and to interpret the infallibility of the Pope and the propositions of the Syllabus in such a manner as to render it possible to maintain the *status quo*, between Church and State, or they will be obliged to announce the new dogma in all its integrity, subject to the risk of the governments employing all their power to limit, as far as possible, the influence of ultramontane tendencies, particularly in educational matters.

The next general meeting of German astronomers will be held at Stuttgard in 1871.

The subscriptions received for the wives and families of the miners who were killed in the Burg (Germany) colliery amounted to 330,000 thalers on the 2d of October.

ENGLAND.

The Ecumenical Council—The Munich Theologians and Archbishop Manning—Comfort for Bavaria.

LONDON, Oct. 4, 1869.

Two interesting additions have been made this week to the literature born of the discussion of the objects and eventual effects of the approaching Ecumenical Council, the one being a second reply of the Theological Faculty of Munich to the five questions propounded by the Bavarian government, and the other appearing in the shape of a discourse delivered yesterday in one of the London Catholic churches by the Archbishop of Westminster on the Pope's Syllabus. The five questions addressed to the learned doctors of Munich were as follows:—

First Question.—If the propositions contained in the Syllabus and the infallibility of the Pope are to be declared articles of faith by the coming Council, what changes will be caused in the doctrine of the relations of Church and State as it has hitherto been treated theoretically and practically in Germany?

Second.—In this presupposed case would the public teachers of dogmatic theology and ecclesiastical law consider themselves bound to assume the doctrine of the divinely ordained sovereignty of the Pope over the monarchs and governments (be it as *potestas directa, or indirecta in temporalia*) as binding on the conscience of every Christian?

Third.—Would the teachers of dogmatic theology and ecclesiastical law consider themselves at once bound to adopt in their lectures and writings the doctrine that the personal and real immunities of the clergy are of divine right, and therefore belong to the sphere of the dogma?

Fourth.—Are there any generally recognized criteria whereby it can be ascertained with certainty whether any Papal dictum is *ex cathedrâ*, and, therefore, according to the doctrine eventually to be laid down by the Council, infallible and binding on the mind of every Christian; and if there be such criteria, which are they?

Fifth.—How far would the intended new dogmas and their necessary consequences produce an alteration in popular education in church and school, and in the popular school books (catechisms, &c.) themselves?

The first decision of the theologians on the points most interesting to temporal rulers was certainly of a somewhat startling character, for it held that if the infallibility of the Pope should be made a dogmatic article of faith, and the Syllabus be solemnly adopted by the Council, the relations of Church and State might be materially changed, and believers might find themselves involved in a sorely perplexing conflict between the allegiance claimed by their temporal sovereign and the obedience due to Christ's Vicar upon earth. If such were to be the effect of acts generally regarded as foreordained it is evident that States could not afford to be simply passive, but must actively interpose their authority to prohibit their subjects from taking part in the Council. The present or supplementary response of the learned Munich professors partakes of a more politic character, and seems designed as well as calculated to notch and blunt the dangerous edges sharpened upon the controversial grindstone of Dr. Dollinger and his associates. It is, if the expression may be allowed, a sort of syllabustic Pickwickianism; an attempt to prove by all the subtleties of dialectic that the *infallibility* dogma and the formal confirmation of the Syllabus would be after all a very milk-and-water affair; would have no practical effect upon the relations of Church and State; would not alter the teaching of theologians, and would leave the doctrine that the personal and real immunities of the clergy are of divine right, what it has hitherto been, a free theological opinion. If the second oracle can be regarded as the true one, a world of trouble and anxiety will be saved to restless freethinkers and to quaking States, for the thunders of the dreaded Council will be unaccompanied by lightning and all fear of danger will be at an end. Bavaria will never be so seriously disturbed by Pio Nono as she was some years ago by Lola Montez, and the troubles of Father Hyacinthe will be at an end. Who will begrudge the good Pope the gratification of the infallibility dogma to be inserted in the catechism and received into the religious teaching of the Church, provided it is unattended by any practical extension of his temporal power? And who will object to the Council's solemn adoption of the Syllabus, with its eighty errors and their condemnation, when it is understood that political society is to continue onward in the career of progress and enlightenment, unchecked by the nominal authority of Rome? There is no doubt that the second batch of Bavarian theologians have found an easy and reassuring solution of a difficulty that has seriously disturbed the smaller Powers of Europe, and even created a certain amount of uneasiness in the minds of the more pretentious States. "From this detailed reply to the five questions," they say at the close of their response, "there follows the dogmatic general result—that an eventual sanctioning on the part of the next Ecumenical Council of the Syllabus in its present state, and a raising into a dogma, on the part of the Council, of the infallibility of the Pope, as speaking *ex cathedrâ*, would not alter, directly as such, the existing *status quo* between State and Church, and would not carry with it the doctrine of a divinely ordained sovereignty of the Pope over the monarchs and governments as one binding in conscience upon every Christian; and as little would the further doctrine of a divine origin of the personal and real immunities of the clergy, not merely in general, but also in detail, and purely as such, produce any alteration in school teaching as far as the relations between Church and State are concerned."

Yet the learned doctors of Munich cast an anchor to windward, as it were, on behalf of the Church, by the insertion of a clause which seems to reserve to the Church at some future day the right, if she should ever have the power, to excommunicate monarchs, to topple over thrones and to put nations under the ban. Although these given acts of the Council, say they, directly as such "would not alter and not displace the relations of Church and State, they might do so possibly in their direct historical consequences, for one thing is dogmatic principles and another their practical modes of execution under some future historical circumstances." This certainly leaves open a wide door for "future historical circumstances," and one can readily imagine, from the history of past ages, that if those circumstances should be favorable to the Church the practical mode of their execution might make the dogmatic principles which are supposed to be on the eve of promulgation far less Pickwickian than the theologians now represent them to be. But the danger is so remote, and recedes so palpably with every passing year, that the wisest thing the government of Bavaria, the Fulda bishops, Father Hyacinthe and all other troubled spirits can do is to suffer the Council to take its own course without let or hindrance, to console themselves with the complex logic of the Munich professors and to remember that they live in an age of steam, electricity and NEW YORK HERALDS, to say nothing of Spiritualism, pneumatic tubes and flying machines.

Of a widely different character to this disquisition of the doctors is the discourse delivered by Archbishop Manning yesterday before a crowded congregation at the Pro-cathedral in Kensington. The head of the Roman Catholic Church in England unites the fearlessness of a soldier of Christ with the fiery zeal of a convert. He is bold and aggressive; unsparing in his attacks upon the heretics, to whose unhappy ranks he once belonged, and unyielding in his demands upon the faith and obedience of the faithful of whom he is now a prominent leader. His appearance in the pulpit is particularly impressive; his style of speaking clear and forcible. His tall, spare form is shaken by infirmity, but there is a nervous vitality within that seems to brace up his sinews and to burn a perpetual fire in his keen, gray eyes. His utterance is low, but very distinct, and his terse sentences live in the memory. He has a fine head, with a few straggling iron gray locks at the sides and bald at the top, giving additional height to a naturally high and broad forehead. His features are prominent and his mouth at once sweet and firm in its expression. He is popular among his people, and wherever he preaches the crowded congregation is certain to embrace hundreds who are not of the Catholic faith. He took for his text yesterday the words from John vi., 60—"Many of His disciples, when they heard this, said, 'This is an hard saying; who can hear it?'" and applied them to the consternation which, he held, had been created among unbelievers by the publication of the Syllabus on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception five years ago. The Syllabus, as its name implies, was simply a collection or gathering together of certain propositions which the Holy Father had previously promulgated during eighteen years of his pontificate, and which pointed out and condemned the intellectual errors of the day. The trouble caused by this compilation, the Archbishop held, was attributable to the fact that some of the errors thus condemned were such as had crept into political society, and he believed that if the Pope had confined himself simply to faith and morality in the ordinary personal acceptation of the world, very little objection would have been heard against the Syllabus. But his duty as pastor of the universal flock had required him to point out and condemn those errors in political philosophy which lay at the root of morals, and hence the world had been set in an uproar. Far from the object of the Archbishop was it, however, to follow the example of the Munich theologians, and attempt to argue that although these errors had been condemned by the Holy Father there existed no obligation on the part of the Church, even before their adoption by the Council, to declare obedience to the teachings of the Syllabus the first duty of the Catholic world. On the contrary he sought to show that the primary duty of Catholics, in obedience to the Holy Father, was to enroll themselves as the opponents of those bold and terrible errors, liberalism, progress and modern civilization. Could it be wondered at, he asked, that when the world, with great courtesy sometimes, with great superciliousness at another time, and great menace always, invites the Roman Pontiff to reconcile himself to liberalism, progress and modern civilization, he should say, "No, I will not and I cannot? Your progress means divorce; I maintain Christian marriage. Your progress means secular education; I maintain that education is intrinsically and necessarily Christian. You maintain that it is a good thing that men should think as they like, talk as they like, preach as they like, and propagate what errors they please. I say that is sowing error broadcast over the world. You say I have no authority over the Christian world, that I am not the vicar of the Good Shepherd, that I am not the supreme interpreter of the Christian faith. I am all these. You ask me to abdicate, to renounce my supreme authority. You tell me I ought to submit to the civil power, that I am the subject of the King of Italy, and from him I am to receive instruction as to the way I should exercise the civil power. I say I am liberated from all civil subjection, that my Lord made me the subject of no one on earth, king or otherwise, that in His right I am sovereign. I acknowledge no civil superior, I am the subject of no prince, and I claim more than this—I claim to be the supreme judge and director of the consciences of men—of the peasant that tills the field and the prince that sits on the throne—of the household that lives in the shade of privacy and the Legislature that makes laws for kingdoms—I am the sole last Supreme Judge of what is right and wrong. Your progress is departure from Christian civilization; in that path you may have many companions, but me you will not find."

When such is the position taken by the chosen mouthpieces of the Holy Father—for the Archbishop of Westminster stands high in the confidence and affection of the Pope—it is probably difficult for the timid to make up their minds to accept the comfortable "dogmatic general result" of the detailed reply of the Munich doctors to the questions of the Bavarian government, or to believe that the Pope has no practical ends in view when he calls together an Ecumenical Council to raise his infallibility into a dogma of the Church and to solemnly adopt the Syllabus, for such, it seems to be conceded, are to be the results of the gathering at Rome. Nevertheless, a common sense consideration of the matter might supply an easy reconciliation of the fiery earnestness of the Archbishop with the reassuring logic of the theologians. The tidal wave of free and independent thought threatens to sweep away many of the old landmarks of the Church of Rome, and it may well be supposed that the Holy Father is unwilling to sit quietly on the shore and witness the destruction without an effort to check the progress of the waters. A tightening of the reins over those who remain faithful may prevent a greater number from kicking out of the traces of the Church. This may be the true interpretation of the policy that has served to set Europe in something of a blaze, and hence both Archbishop Manning and the Munich theologians may be on the right track in regard to the Syllabus. The churchman, with fierce zeal, presses an implicit faith in its doctrines upon his flock; the logician coolly argues to prove that it is designed to have no practical effect upon the outside world. Both may be correct; but whether the step shall prove to have been a wise one or the reverse time alone will show. Meanwhile the world will still move on, and "liberalism, progress and modern civilization," thanks to the electric telegraph, the steam engine and the press, will hold their own despite popes, archbishops, syllabuses and ecumenical councils.

A Prince of Wales Scandal—An Everyday Report of the Alledged Everyday Life of His Royal Highness—His Companions and the Cost—What the Princess of Wales Says—Queen Victoria's Three Sons—Land Reform and Military Movements.

LONDON, Oct. 4, 1869.

As you are no doubt aware from report, the heir to the British throne is, as alleged, neither given to observe the seventh commandment nor does he attempt to hide his shortcomings in that respect. His companions and intimate friends are all young, unmarried noblemen, who are notorious for the immoral lives they lead, and who openly boast of the conquests they achieve and the female companions they patronize. The Prince, although married to one of the most charming women in Europe, has, it is reported everywhere, almost broken his wife's heart by his infidelities, and very much of her long continued illness may be attributed to this source of annoyance. Curious to say, his Royal Highness, although by no means better than most young men of his years, never became openly immoral until after he married. Among the ladies first attached to the household of the Princess of Wales when she came to England was one of the handsomest women, on a very large scale, that was ever seen at this English Court. This lady had already been "talked about," and her name was more or less mixed up with that of three or four well known personages, but there was nothing that could be actually proved and nothing positively known against her. However, soon after she joined the Princess' household she was evidently on far better terms with the husband than with the wife, and the flirtation—I give it the mildest possible name—between her and the newly married Prince was the talk of all London. The Queen, of course, heard of the scandal, and, ascertaining that it was but too true, she had an interview with her son, which was not a pleasant one for either party. To make a long story short, the Duchess had to leave the following of the Princess, but the intimacy with the Prince continued, as is generally believed, as before, and was the source of much unhappiness to the wife of the future King of England. But "friendships"—again the mildest possible word—of this kind seldom remain long in the same groove. Her Grace—for she is a duchess—began to show a great liking for a marquis, son of a mighty duke, and himself one of the Ministers of England. The Prince of Wales did not like this. He remonstrated; the lady would not give in, and so a regular quarrel took place between them, which has never yet been made up, the smiles of the Duchess being still lavished upon the Marquis. But the Prince was not a bit a better child after he had severed from her Grace; on the contrary, he was very much worse, for he took to visiting actresses and to spending money upon them, and where he had formerly one he had now three or four lady acquaintances. About the time I write of—some two years ago—a famous French actress (the lady who puts or ought to put all modest women to the blush by her acting and the lascivious gestures and looks she introduces) came to London, and was, of course, surrounded by half a dozen wealthy lovers, all of whom spent fortunes upon her, and all of whom were upon the same footing of intimacy. Lord C——, the same person who had the row with Mr. Granville Murray, used to drive her about openly in the park, she sitting on the box of his four-in-hand drag, and he meeting in the crowd of fashionables that filled the ride his mother, sisters, relatives and other ladies. Would you tolerate such a state of things in New York? I think not. Let a man sin if he likes, but let him not parade that sin on the most public part of the fashionable drive of London, with a woman of that kind on the seat by his side. But what if I tell you that among the men that crowded after this foreign actress was his Royal Highness Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, eldest son of the Queen of England and heir to the crown of these realms? Of course the triumph of the lady was great. It is true she is nearly, if not quite, thirty years older than the Prince, but this seems to make his infatuation all the greater. In due time Mademoiselle left London, but this did not break off the intimacy, for whenever the Prince could visit Paris or the actress came to London, it was renewed. There was only one drawback to the whole affair. For a man in his position the Prince of Wales is not only far from rich, but he is very much in debt. To do him justice he is not parsimonious, nor, although the Queen has made him, as it were, clue the honors of London for some years past, she has never increased his allowance by a five pound note. Now Mademoiselle, like all women of her peculiar tastes, is extravagant in the extreme, and would eat up the national revenue of the United States in jewels alone, if any one could be found fool enough to give her the same. As it is she has diamonds to the value of £80,000 ($400,000), that have been given her by various and wealthy lovers, the Emperor of Russia alone having given her in one case a necklace, earrings and bracelets worth $100,000. But to return to my tale.

The other day the Prince of Wales, by desire of the doctors, took his wife to the springs at Wildbad, in Germany, for the sake of her health, which is still very indifferent. He remained a short time with her and then returned to London, leaving her with her suite at Wildbad. Of course he passed through Paris; of course he remained some days in that very wicked but very pleasant city, and of course he went to see Mademoiselle. Somehow or other it happened that this interesting actress was greatly in want of money—as actresses generally are, at least actresses of her stamp—and requested his Royal Highness to "lend" her a trifle of 250,000f. (£10,000 or $50,000).

The Prince had not the money, but was induced to sign a note or bill for the amount, payable a couple of weeks after date. In London his Royal Highness' "paper" would have been found very difficult indeed, if not impossible, to discount, but in Paris there are still financial agents who put faith in princes. At any rate the *bill* was discounted, and did find its way in due time to London, where it was presented for payment at Coutts' Bank. The document not being signed by the Comptroller of the Prince's Household, had an aspect of irregularity about it that the bankers did not like, and they hesitated before paying it. The Prince was abroad again, and could not be referred to, and the story somehow got to the ears of his royal mother. And then was there not what is vulgarly called a "row." The money was paid, in order to avoid scandal, but her Majesty—who, although in retirement, knows as well as anybody in England what is going on—gave her eldest son what old women call "a bit of her mind" upon the whole transaction, and told him pretty plainly what she thought about married men with families of their own, and very much in debt, making presents of $50,000 to women of whom the less said the better.

"Let dogs delight to bark and bite, for it is their nature to," says Doctor Watts' fine old hymn; and I really believe that the same excuse must be made for any one born of the house of Hanover. The men at any rate of that family have *l'amour du beau sex* to such a degree, that we can only say of them that "it is their nature to." Not one, but fifty are the scandals in this respect that crop up respecting the Prince of Wales, on account of his course of life in London.

His brother, the Duke of Edinburgh, is, it is generally believed, quite as bad, if not worse; but being an unmarried man, the sin is not so great. And the same is said of Prince Arthur, the young Prince now in Canada, though in a very much less degree. The Prince, it is true, is not the brutal, coarse sensualist that George I. and George II. were, nor is he the "betrayer of women" that George IV. was, but that he is much and even shamelessly given to the following of light women there can be no doubt; and that all his companions are unmarried noblemen, leading the most openly shameless lives, is patent to every one living in London, or even in England.

The effect of his Royal Highness' example is gradually but very surely telling upon the morals of the higher and the middle classes of the land. Half a dozen years ago sins against the seventh commandment, even if the sinner was an unmarried man, were forbidden topics in all decent society, and utterly tabooed wherever ladies were present. But it is, I am sorry to say, far otherwise now. We are fast getting as bad, nay, even worse, than in France. In that country young and unmarried women, at any rate, are supposed to be ignorant of much of the sin that is going on around them, at least sins of a certain kind; but in England you hear girls of eighteen or twenty talking as coolly about the amours of the Earl of this or Lord George That as they might respecting a perfectly lawful flirtation; and, what is worse still, the crime of adultery is now so very common, and talked so openly about, that people begin to lose their horror of the offence. In short, as I heard an American gentleman say not long ago (he had formerly resided several years in England, but had been absent from the country for the last eight or nine years), the morals of England in 1869 and in 1869 are about as different as it is possible to imagine.

In my next letter I hope to give you an outline of the Irish Land bill that will be brought forward next session. It has been settled upon by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Lowe and Mr. Chichester Fortescue. It will, no doubt, be satisfactory to the Irish tenants, but not at all to the Irish landlords, and it will cause a split in the Ministry, which will be abandoned by the Marquis of Hartington, Lord Granville, Lord Clarendon and all the old whig party, and thus become more radical and more liberal than before, and consequently firmer than even it has been hitherto.

More weakening of our colonies. The Cape of Good Hope Mounted Rifles and the Royal Canadian Rifles are both to be disbanded at the end of the present financial year. This news will only be in the papers of next Monday, but I have it from undoubted authority. These are both fine old colonial corps, and have done a great deal of good service in their day. The army is getting very discontented, indeed, at these reductions, and the navy is still more so. Our almost avowed policy now is to let the British colonies go whenever it may suit them to do so. As I said before, the news about disbanding the Canadian Rifles is from the very best authority.

Mr. Cardwell on the Ballot, Land Reform and Free Trade.

Mr. Cardwell, M. P., addressed a meeting of his constituents in a speech of some length. Referring to the election commissions he stated that they might suggest the expediency *of introducing the ballot*. He admitted that the Irish land question was one of the greatest difficulty, but it is the duty of Parliament to endeavor to solve the difficulty, not by doing justice to one party to the injury of another, but to make equity and justice the pole star of the course we shall pursue and endeavor to reconcile security of property with the measures we shall have to propose for the evils we think require to be remedied in Ireland. He spoke hopefully of the prospects of trade in Lancashire, and referring to the appearance of "the ghost of our old friend protection," said it was like a shadow, and like a shadow it would depart.

BOHEMIA.

The Catholic Movement Towards Church Independence—Object and Aim of the People—An Outdoor Demonstration.

PRAGUE, Oct. 1, 1869.

A meeting has just been held in the interior of Bohemia, which, considering the condition of the religious question in Europe at the present time, is full of significance. At Malin, a small village near Kutna Hora, or Kuttenberg, as the Germans call it, 25,000 people assembled and held one of those great outdoor meetings for which Bohemia is so famous.

This meeting was held ostensibly under the auspices of laymen, but some of the prime movers in it were priests, as I have been informed by one of the authors of the resolutions, a translation of which from the Bohemian language I append to this letter. After the circular of the Fulda bishops and the letter of the Parisian Monk Hyacinthe, this meeting, which is, as I am informed, but the beginning of an important movement, cannot but be considered as of the first importance. The declaration of the Fulda bishops, though couched in the most cautious language, is nothing more nor less than a vigorous protest of the "barons" of the Church against the usurpations of a centralized despotism. In form it is an assurance to the world that nothing will be done at Rome contrary to the fundamental principles both of Christianity and modern civilization. In substance it is an attempt to warn Rome of the perils of going too far.

The Fulda bishops, however, say nothing positive in regard to the real condition and wants of the Church. Moreover, though they are opposed to the usurpations of one man, they do not hint at providing means for preventing these usurpations, and, what is still more important, and is, in fact, the main principle, they leave out of consideration both the lower clergy and the entire body of laymen. The opposition of bishops has hitherto been powerless against the compact organization of power at Rome. With the present government of the Church, bishops have no power to fall back upon, simply because they do not depend in any degree upon the laity. The consequence is that, as Rome gives them power and significance, they will not be likely to put themselves in opposition to her. Even if they did the opposition would be that of an oligarchy against centralization, and sure to be barren in its results. That a check to ultramontanism is the great necessity of the day in the Catholic Church few thinking men can doubt. One power, however, can only be checked by another. And if there is any possibility of remedying the evils of beurocracy and centralization in the government of the Church it is only to be attained by giving the lower clergy and the laity the means of exerting their due influence, and thereby restoring the more popular form of government which was prevalent everywhere in the Christian world before the feudal ages, and which is still preserved in the churches of the East to a greater or a lesser degree; and the Bohemian people as represented in this meeting, demand that they have a proper share in the government of the Church, and that the language of the people be used in all ceremonies of religion. They hope that when religion becomes every man's affair the indifferentism of the present day will disappear. The following translation gives the substance of the deliberations of the meeting:—

What are the causes of the prevailing apathy in matters of religion? "Does this evil demand the attention of our people? What is to be done for its removal? Indifference in religion exists.

First—Because the people understand neither the language used in the Church service nor the significance of religious ceremonies.

Second—Because religious instruction is too mechanical, occupying mainly the memory, and not sufficiently understanding and the heart.

Third—Because the laity are excluded from participation in the government of the Church, which, from its original democratic form in the early ages of Christianity, has become oligarchical and absolutistic, and because by the workings of a beaurocracy the management of Church property has been taken from the people.

In answer to the second question it is said, since Christianity is a religion of love, equality and fraternity, and is the firmest support and the most faithful teacher of morality, without which society can have no lasting or healthy existence, it is absolutely necessary for the development and progress of our people to participate in the government of the Church. This participation is equally removed from slavish superstition and fruitless unbelief. It is in accordance as well with the spirit of the Church in the early ages of her existence as with those principles of self-government which form the leading idea in our history and in the life of the nations of our time. Our people, therefore, should be fully conscious of the necessity of taking a direct and lively interest in the affairs of religion. The means to arouse and strengthen this consciousness are the use of the national language in all religious ceremonies performed by the clergy, thus returning to the ancient usage introduced among the Slavonic people by our apostles Cyril and Methodius. All theological seminaries and all preachers and teachers of religion are to endeavor to abolish superstition wherever it exists, that religion may consist in a knowledge of the majesty of God and a faithful observance of the laws of morality and not merely in the adherence to lifeless forms. Let the Church find new life within herself by being freed from the bonds of feudalism and absolutism, and return to the parliamentary and liberal forms of the early centuries of her existence, which are so much in accordance with the spirit of our time. It is our most earnest desire that such steps be taken as may be necessary to establish a national and district synods, in the meetings of which laymen may take part and have a voice in the decision of all affairs not strictly dogmatical. Questions of administration and religious hierarchy, church property, erection of new bishoprics, establishment of religious schools, control over church property, are all questions in the decision of which laymen should take part. Our old Bohemian usage of choral singing in the churches to be introduced. Church livings to be transferred to the community. Church property, especially the fund for benevolent and religious purposes, is the property of the nation and cannot be used for the benefit of another nation or for other purposes than those for which it is designed. The church fund is therefore to be under the control of both laymen and clergymen. * * * May God grant success to the renewed participation of all the people in affairs of religion, in the name of faith, justice, culture and freedom.

I have omitted a few details which relate to local peculiarities. Enough has been given, however, to show the bearing of the movement.

The priests, and not the young generation only, are anxious to break through the close barriers which surround them. These tendencies in Bohemia are not new. The Hussite spirit has never died out in the country. The main idea in the Huss movement was to have a free national church in communion with Rome, local freedom and unity of faith.

SWITZERLAND.

International Peace and Liberty League—Presence of Eminent Delegates—Work for the Congress—Abolition of War—United States of Europe—Women's Suffrage—Bold Strike for a Republic—Universal Liberty and Improved Social Condition.

BERLIN, Sept. 29, 1869.

The Congress of the International Peace and Liberty League assembled on the 15th inst. at Lausanne, Switzerland. At two o'clock P. M.—the opening of the session—upwards of 400 members were present; among them Victor Hugo, the President d'honneur Gambetta, Ferrier and Laurier, from France; Louis Simon, Venedey and Sonnemann, from Germany. Dr. Johann Jacoby has written in explanation of his absence. Dr. Gustav Voigt, President of the Central Committee, is expected to come. The outward appearance of Victor Hugo was excellent. Though the hair of his head and whiskers has become gray, he looks less old than he really is. At his right sat M. Eytel, leader of the radicals in Waadt Canton; on his left M. Barni, of Geneva, Vice President of the Central Committee.

Mr. Eytel, after greeting the assembled delegates in the name of the citizens of Lausanne, stated as the object of the Congress, which first met three years ago, the establishment of social order, together with social liberty. To attain this they had found it absolutely necessary to abolish war, the main impediment to a social organization based upon liberty and equality. This humane idea was not new; it had been fostered in the previous century, but in our time only the nations had been brought sufficiently close to one another to allow of co-operation; now only it is possible to remove the obstructions to the establishment of a confederation of European States. This Congress, he hoped, would prove, by discipline and moderation in its proceedings, its worthiness to head so vast a movement, which could be successful only if governed by strict principles of liberty and personal right.

The work laid out for this third Congress was then touched upon by M. Barni. The first Congress had, he said, agreed upon certain principles; the second formed a programme, and it was now for the third to execute it. War is a barbarity to be removed by civilization. Right must take the place of might. Self-government of the people must be established, for servile people cannot join in a league of liberty. The old maxim, "In time of peace prepare for war," must be changed into "If you want peace obtain first liberty." We of the league have been often called dreamers (*rêveurs*) who give the reins to imagination. Why not call M. Thiers a Utopian for recently saying "*L'Europe marche à la république?*" He added, however, that the epoch of transition would be bloody. To counteract, to frustrate this bloody strife shall be our object. Even an imperial French Senator, whom no one would call a *rêveur*, M. Michel Chevalier, had recently said:—"Europe must be constituted analogous to the United States of America. The pattern was given to a certain extent by Switzerland. On her soil different nationalities were meeting under the banner of liberty. Switzerland may become for Europe what the three original cantons had been for her—the cradle of her liberty. One of the objects also of this Congress is the destruction of pauperism. We have proposed no system in this respect and will adopt any solution compatible with liberty. Let us be just to others, give ample scope to discussion and apply to our social questions the words of Montesquieu:—'*Sans les vertus politiques pas de liberte.*'"

Having concluded his remarks with a graceful compliment to Victor Hugo, the "*grand proscrit auteur des châtiments*," which called forth great plaudits, he was succeeded by Herr Amand Gögg, who in German held a general survey of the objects of the Congress. The masses of the people, he said, are not satisfied with liberty only. They demand a material improvement of their condition; without it liberty would be to them an empty term. But the standing armies deprive the European States of the means to improve the laborer's condition. An abolition of these armies cannot be thought of without supplanting the present governments by people's governments, forming among themselves a great European confederation.

Victor Hugo then rose, and, hailed by vehement cheers, said:—"I feel deeply moved by this reception. This beautiful Alpine country, with its grand natural loveliness, is the fit place for the solemn declaration, No more wars. You have pronounced it and I congratulate you for it. Peace be between man and man, race and race and brother and brother. But we will have no unconditional peace. We will not be humbled and debased by despotism; we do not want held over us the sceptre or corporal's cane. The first condition of peace is deliverance. One last revolution, one last war, and we will have eternal peace and indissoluble unity of nations. The world will need no more inventions of revolving cannon; liberty is the aim of our league, its result peace. (Great enthusiasm.)

Mrs. Gogg, having obtained the floor, delivered a discourse on the emancipation of her sex. She quoted frequently the great champion Mill and his axiom that women, if participating in public affairs, would better appreciate the activity of their husbands than if confined to the household. She summed up by a statement of the progress of the movement in England, France and Germany.

Vice President M. Eytel now called upon M. Charles Lemonnier, who communicated the following resolutions:—

Whereas the material and permanent cause of the warlike condition in Europe is the entire want of judicial international institutions;

Whereas it is the first condition that an international tribunal to decide upon questions, to solve which war and diplomacy try in vain by force and deceit, should be chosen and appointed directly by the will of the nations and governed in its decisions by international laws voted by these same nations;

Whereas the moral weight of such tribunal requires that to effectuate its decisions it should be secured by an executive vested with sufficient power;

Whereas such executive power can legally exist only if regulated and countenanced by the direct will of the peoples; and

Whereas the three institutions together, namely, an international statute, a tribunal to apply it and a power to execute its decisions, constitute a government,

The assembled Congress declares that:—

First—The only means to secure peace in Europe is to establish a confederation of the peoples, by the name of a United States of Europe.

Second—The government of this union must be republican and federal—that is, it must be based upon the principle of the sovereignty of the people, with a proper regard to the autonomy and independence of each member of the confederation.

Third—The forms of government must be open to improvement.

Fourth—The European Confederation has to guarantee to all nations belonging to it

(*a*) Sovereignty and autonomy.
(*b*) Individual freedom.
(*c*) Liberty of the ballot.
(*d*) Liberty of the press.
(*e*) Liberty of assembling and forming associations.
(*f*) Liberty of conscience.
(*g*) Liberty to labor without taking undue advantage of operatives.
(*h*) Actual personal responsibility of all executive officers.

Fifth—No peoples can be admitted to join the European Confederation if not in the full possession of

(*a*) The general franchise.
(*b*) The right of voting or refusing taxes.
(*c*) The right of making peace and declaring war.
(*d*) The right of entering into and ratifying political and commercial treaties.
(*e*) The right to amend its constitution.

Dwelling upon the motives of these resolutions Mr. Lemonnier said that though the people were constantly and loudly protesting against war they still allowed five millions of their sons to serve in standing armies, and paid fifty thousand million francs to support them. This is only possible inasmuch as the governments are not bound by any obligations towards the people, while the nations consider themselves bound under obligations to these governments. The action of Greece at the recent Paris Conference, when it declared that if it had the power it would act against its resolutions, was thus perfectly correct. While, during the last century, civil right had made great progress the public right remained in bad condition. Ten years ago none could move without a passport; a hundred years ago no one could step from one territory into another without being armed. No passport is now requisite, and the similarly organized tribunals of all civilized countries protect the traveller better than arms. The public right, however, has remained the same as a hundred years ago. One nation suspects the other. The Germans believe Napoleon anxious to annex the Rhine and Belgium; in France it is said that Bismarck wants Alsace and Lorraine. We demand the same guarantees for public as for private rights, and therefore must have an international tribunal, to be established not by the governments, but by the peoples of Europe. Only federal-republican States can appoint such a tribunal, and only those who share in establishing it can be expected to submit to its decisions. All privileges, all institutions allowing one being to take advantage of another, in whatever shape they may exist, must be abolished. In a federation humanity and conscience only govern; individuals and nations in it enjoy freedom and independence. Let, then, the governments withdraw, in order that the independent peoples may become masters of their destinies. The social question cannot be solved without a free political organization. The international laborers' league cannot but acknowledge this, and is sure to join us. In France 20,000,000 agriculturists will rise to be heard and demand their rights. First of all are political freedom and equality. At present Switzerland only complied with the conditions requisite to enter the confederation of the United States of Europe. It is the only State the people of which have the right to declare peace and war. In but four or five States the people have the privilege of voting upon treaties and conventions. It may thus be perceived that the establishment of the European Confederation is a good way off. But the league must not despair. Progress, nowadays, assumes a geometrical ratio; only a year ago Señor Castelar dwelt among us. Who would have then thought of so near an overthrow of the Bourbons? Since then France is wide awake, Italy in fermentation. Each day may bring a change. It is our duty to stand on guard with the banner of the republic of the United States of Europe.

The next speaker was Ludwig Simon, who reviewed at length existing governments in Europe. When speaking of Germany, the country of his birth, he said that Prussia, by force of arms, had succeeded in annexing some provinces but not in Prussianizing them. It had even formed a confederation with some States whose representatives would never have consented, if they had not been compelled by a peculiar force of events which allowed them no freedom of choice. As a consequence the North German Confederation has no State representatives, but only a Reichstag, resulting from general elections throughout the Bund. Only in the Bund Council do we find the variety represented, but being composed of the sovereign's delegates it is the variety not of States but of the dynasties only. Even these poor confederates seem rather threatened, protected by the wings of the Prussian eagle, while its claws grasp them tightly. The true friends of Northern Germany should demand for it a State representation, not only of the confederate members, but of the annexed and even of the old provinces of Prussia. This is the only way to a possible reconciliation between Prussia, South Germany and Austria. Now would be the proper time, as France was being regenerated and the liberals were against annexations. This they have shown at the recent elections and by their correct and admirable conduct in the Belgian question. Really the French liberals have much better protected the small neighboring country against any annexation appetite of France than the Prussian Fortschritt party did their own brethren in Schleswig-Holstein, Frankfort, Nassau, Hesse and Hanover against the rapacious deeds of Bismarck.

GERMANY.

The New Press Law—Sudden Confiscation of a Venerable Journal—Political Aspect—Rumor About Bismarck—Interview of Crowned Heads—Important Step of Baden—The Burlingame Mission and Punch.

BERLIN, Sept. 28, 1869.

The lethargy of political circles here was suddenly interrupted last week by the confiscation of one of the oldest and best established daily papers. The *Voss Gazette*, of which we speak, bearing the title of "Royal Privileged Journal," and enjoying a wide circulation of upwards of a hundred years, was pounced upon early in the morning by the myrmidons of the police, attacking the women carriers in the streets, emptying their baskets and entering restaurants and public places, there to seize the objectionable sheets. Such an event—very common to other papers, but quite unusual to this, being only the third seizure during a century—very naturally caused considerable sensation, and copies of the confiscated number were highly prized by those who had fortunately avoided seizure. The reason for this extraordinary step on the part of the official was a somewhat bitter leader, stating in plain terms that universal dissatisfaction pervaded the annexed provinces, and likewise the whole Confederation. The article went on to say that the Eulenburg-Mühler administration had, for the last few years, achieved such monstrosities that even the old inhabitants of the monarchy—those grown up in Prussian traditions and suckled with the Simon Pure milk of Hohenzollern ideas—were not only alarmed but also ashamed; and, farther, that the acts of the present government had aroused universal disapprobation; to give one instance only—the arbitrary decision against the Protestant Unions—unworthy of the Prussian name, and fit only to produce unmitigated disgust towards its perpetrators. This candor on the part of the *Vossische Zeitung* will be visited by the usual fine or imprisonment and make its editor somewhat reticent in future. With the other liberal journals press trials are an everyday occurrence; indeed, several of them, to our knowledge, have constantly writs of indictment (sometimes more than a dozen) pending against them at a time; and one of their editorial staff, generally called the "jailbird," holds himself always in readiness to serve out the terms of imprisonment allotted.

The King, having finished his reviews of the troops in the provinces, is expected to preside in a few days at a Cabinet council to be held for the purpose of determining the time of convening the Diet. The King will probably open the proceedings in person, and it is generally understood that Count Bismarck declines making his appearance till about the middle of December, unless his presence should be indispensable. A general opinion is prevalent that the Count remains passive with a view of getting rid of the unpopular members of the administration by popular pressure, though there is no evidence of this; indeed, his conversation with the writer and his remarks intended to be printed in the HERALD would indicate nothing like it, as he attributes no blame whatever to his colleagues, but