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Daily Appeal.

THE LATEST NAPOLEONIC "IDEA."

What is to be Done with the Pope—Eighth Important Manifesto—Supposed Views of the French Emperor on the Subject.

When the steamer sailed, the newest sensation in London and Paris was the appearance of a pamphlet issued in Paris under the title of "The Congress and the Pope," said to be by M. de la Gueronière, whose pamphlet, "Napoleon III, et l'Italie," preceded the war, and to a great extent foreshadowed the ideas afterward embodied in the treaty of Villafranca.

The pamphlet asserts, in the first place, that it is essential to the spiritual dignity and independence of the Pope that he should be an independent Sovereign. He says:

"If the Pope were not an independent Sovereign he would be either French, Spanish, Austrian or Italian, and the title of his nationality would deprive him of his character as universal Pontiff.

"The spiritual power, the sort of which is at Rome cannot be disclosed without shaking the political usage, not only in the Catholic States, but in all Christian States. It is equally important for England, Russia and Prussia, as it is for France and Austria, that the august representative of Catholic unity should be neither constrained, nor humiliated, nor subordinate.

The writer admits the difficulties of the case:

"How can the Pope be at the same time Pontiff and King? How can the sons of the Gospel, who forgives be the man of the law who punishes? How can the Head of the Church, who excommunicated heretics, be the head of a State, who permits freedom of conscience?

"If we were to seek for the solution of this problem in the existing Forms of the government of people, we should not find it. There does not exist in the world a constitution to conciliate exigencies so diverse. It is neither by monarchy nor by Republic that this end can be obtained. The power of the Pope can only be a paternal power; he must rather resemble a family than a State. Thus, not only is it not necessary that his territory should be of large extent, but we think that it is even essential that it should be limited. The smaller the territory, the greater will be the sovereign."

A great state would not do for him as the politics of the day, but the Pontiff cannot do this. "His laws will be shackled by decrees; his authority will be perverted by traditions." Either the people will submit, and nothing of public life will be left to him, or the aspirations of nationality will break forth, and the Pope will have to rely on Austrian or French military occupation.

"A Council composed of every power that does not exist upon its national strength and public confidence is simply an institution—it has no conclusive force. If the Council, from the throne's condition of independence, would only find a cause of discredit and incapacity. This is not what France can wish. This is not what Europe can wish. This is not what Rome can desire.

"Thus, then, the temporary power of the Pope is recent, very and legitimate; but it is incompatible with a state of any extent. It is only possible if exempt from all the ordinary conditions of power—that is to say, from everything that constitutes its activity, its development, its progress. It must exist without an army, without a parliament, so to say, without a code of laws or a court of justice. It is a Sovereignty which only approaches nearer to family authority than to the government of a people."

The city of Rome is the natural center of such a government.

"In losing her political dominion she has acquired a domination of a more elevated character in the spiritual order; and those who have seen in the Eternal City' Religion, sovereignty, and the arts also form a nationality. Those who live at Rome, under the chaplaincy of the Head of the Church, are dominated by peculiar conditions of moral and civil life; but they are still the citizens of a glorious metropolis, which exercises its influence wherever faith is maintained and spread.

"History, religion, politics, justify, then, completely, a deputation from the regular and normal constitution of the Roman Empire, into more simple, more legitimate, and more essential than the Papal relation at Rome. And nonetheless it is doubtful if, in the present so high an idea, it is fully permitted to withdraw some hundred thousand souls from the life of nations, without, however, sacrificing them, and giving them over to the miseries of welfare and social protection. The government of the Pope must be paternal in its administration, as it is by its nature. He who calls himself the Holy Father ought to be a father to all his subjects. If his institutions are beyond it's principles which guarantee the rights of government and of liberty, he ought to be only the more irreproachable, and when he cannot be imitated by any one he will be the envy of all men. We look, therefore, upon the temporal government of the Pope as the image of the government of the church. It is a pontificate and not a dynasty. Thus, in this development, in the Papal area relieving him from the responsibilities of administrative interests, he can maintain himself in a sphere far above the management of affairs. Under the shelter of Italian Constitution, he is protected by the Federal army. A Pontifical army ought not to be more than an embarrassment. Other armies, moreover, are to be found, either at home or abroad. It is not the Head of the Church to draw the sword. Blood shed in his name seems an insult to Divine mercy, which has recently, when he raises his hand it ought to be to bless, and not to strike.

"Another very important point is that the Catholic religion, which is so frequently made at the charge of the interests of the Pontifical government. The Pope to the spiritual sovereign of all his flock; it is not to be supposed that the necessary expenses to maintain the splendor which appertains to the majesty of the Head of the Church should be supported by the people of Rome. It is for the Catholic powers in provide the means which concern them all by a large tribute paid to the Holy Father. His Holiness will thus not be exclusively Roman, but will be international. His authority, which in a religious point of view is recognized and respected everywhere where the Divine Word is represented in the law of conscience. In this manner a double result, equally precious, will be attained. On the one hand, the Pope will find in the tribute of the Catholic Powers a new proof of the universality and unity of the moral power which he exercises; and on the other, he will not be obliged to press upon the people the taxes which would not fill his treasury except by throwing discredit on his name.

"In short, there will be a people in Europe who will be more free than the Pope, but further, and whose rights will be guaranteed rather by the heart of the sovereign than by the authority of the laws and institutions. This people will have no national representation, no army, no press, no ministers. The whole of its political existence will be limited to its municipal organization. Beyond this narrow circle it will have no other resource than contemplation, the arts, the study of ruins (la culture des ruines) and prayer. He will be forever deprived of the sublime emotion of activity which in every country is the stimulus of patriotism and the legitimate exercise of reaction against foreign occupation, and from a noble subject of nationality to a vassal Franc-, which game to save the independence of the centinels.

"But, if Europe, in her general interest, let her allow Austria to have her way. This is what the partisans of foreign intervention in Italy say. And should we have run the risk of a great war, of a revolution, and have spent 200 millions, and shaken Europe, that Austria might, on the morrow of peace, resume the Venetian Quadrilateral and the Austrian Empire on the eve of her defeat? Magenta and Solferino should be simple trophies of contemporaneous history? Should our soldiers have shed their blood for glory? French heroism be sterile? No, no, French policy does not hardly and contradictory terms. Austria, on the contrary, has the power of Austria—she has exhausted her diplomatic efforts to reconcile the princes with the new ideas, she cannot forget those governments springing into life the day Austria retreated. They arose from a legitimate reaction against foreign occupation, and from a noble subject of nationality toward France, which came to save the independence of the centinels.

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