

**THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE HOLY
SEE: WITH AN APPENDIX
CONTAINING THE PAPAL
ALLOCUTION OF MARCH, 1877,
AND AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION**

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The independence of the holy see: with an appendix containing the papal allocution of March, 1877, and an English translation by Henry Edward Manning

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HENRY EDWARD MANNING

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P R E F A C E.



UNTIL the last years of Lord Palmerston's life, English statesmen had a higher and juster judgment of what is now called the Roman Question. They saw its bearing upon the order, civilization, and Christianity of Europe. The European Powers, in 1812 and in 1815, were united in restoring Pius VII. to his independence, not only as an act of justice, but as a condition of international peace.

Such was the conviction of the leaders of what is called the Liberal party in 1849.

They shall speak for themselves.

Lord Ellenborough, on June 12th, 1849, said, in the House of Lords: "It was quite true England was not a Catholic State, and might not, therefore, feel that personal interest in the position of the Pope which was felt by

Catholic Powers : but we had eight millions of Roman Catholic subjects, and it was as much an object of interest to us, as it would be to any one of the Catholic Powers of Europe, that the Pope should be in a position of independence ; that he should not be so situated as to be dependent upon the bounty, or upon the power of any one, or of any combination of the Powers of Europe. That was surely of as deep an interest to us as it would be to either Austria or Naples. The question was, not whether the Pope, as Sovereign of Rome, should or should not reside or rule there : but whether the person who happened to be at the head of the Roman Catholic Religion should maintain a position of independence ; and that appeared to him to be a matter of the deepest importance."

Lord Lansdowne said:—" He did not say that they had no interest of a political character ; on the contrary, he said that in his (the Pope's) political character they had a great interest. In that view he would repeat what he had said before—that the Government

were most anxious that the Pope should be restored to Rome. He had before said, the British Government felt that it was placed in a situation quite distinct from that of the other powers as to the restoration of the Pope. He alluded of course to the religious ties which bound those Powers to the Sovereign Pontiff and which did not bind us. But, nevertheless, the British Government had not seen with indifference the events which had expelled the Pope from his temporal dominions: but they had always been, and still were, ready to offer such suggestions as might be useful for the purpose of restoring by negotiation the power and authority of the Pope in Rome.*

Lord Brougham, on July 20th, 1849, in moving certain Resolutions on Foreign Policy, said: "And here let me say a word which may not be popular in some quarters . . . upon the separation of the temporal and spiritual authority of the Pope. My opinion is, that it will not do to say the Pope is all very well as

* Hansard, Vol. cvi., p. 9.

a spiritual prince, but we ought not to restore his temporal power. That is a short-sighted and, I think, a somewhat superficial view of the case. I do not believe it possible that the Pope could exercise beneficially his spiritual functions if he had no temporal power. For what would be the consequence? He would be stripped of all his authority. We are not now in the 8th century, when the Pope contrived to exist without much secular authority, or when, as Bishop of Rome, he exercised very extensive spiritual authority without corresponding temporal power. The progress of the one, however, went along with that of the other; and just as the Pope had extended his temporal dominions by encroachments and by gifts, like those of Pepin and Charlemagne . . . just in proportion as his temporal authority increased, did he attain so overwhelming influence over the Councils of Europe. His temporal force increased his spiritual authority, because it made him more independent. Stripped of that secular domi-

nion he would then become the slave now of one Power—then of another—one day the slave of Spain, another of Austria, another of France, or, worst of all, as the Pope has recently been, the slave of his own factious and rebellious subjects. His temporal power is an European question, not a local or a religious one, and the Pope's authority should be maintained for the sake of the peace and the interests of Europe. We ourselves have 7,000,000 of Roman Catholic subjects and how is it possible to suppose that, unless the Pope has enough temporal authority to keep him independent of the other European Courts, jealousies and intrigues will not arise which must reduce him to a state of dependency and so enable any one country wielding the enormous influence of his spiritual authority to foster intrigues, factions, and rebellion in the dominion of her rivals."*

Lord Lansdowne answered as follows:—
“ He had no hesitation in stating that he quite

* Hansard, Vol. cvii., p. 627.