

NAPOLEON'S VIEWS OF RELIGION.

BY H. A. TAINÉ.

THE church is a mighty force, a distinct, permanent social influence of the highest order, and every political calculation in which it is omitted, or in which it is treated as of little consequence, is unsound. Every head of a state, therefore, who would estimate the vastness of this influence must consider its nature.

I.

This is what Napoleon does. As usual with him, in order to see deeper into others, he begins by examining himself. "To say from whence I came, what I am, or where I am going, is above my comprehension. I am the watch that runs, but unconscious of itself." These questions, which we are unable to answer, "drive us onward to religion; we rush forward to welcome her, for that is our natural tendency. But knowledge comes and we stop short. Instruction and history, you see, are the great enemies of religion, disfigured by the imperfections of humanity. . . . I once had faith. But when I came to know something, as soon as I began to reason, which occurred early in life, at the age of thirteen, I found my faith attacked and that it staggered." This double personal conviction is an after-thought, when preparing the concordat. "It is said that I am a Papist. I am nothing. In Egypt I was a Mussulman; here I shall be a Catholic, for the good of the people. I do not believe in religions. The idea of a God!" And then, pointing upward: "Who made all that?" The imagination has decorated this great name with its legends. Let us content ourselves with those already existing; "the disquietude of man is such that he cannot do without them; in default of those already made he would fashion others, haphazard, and still more strange. The positive religions keep man from going astray; it is these which render the supernatural definite and

precise ; he had better take it in there than elsewhere, . . . at Mademoiselle Lenormand's, in the stories got up by every adventurer, every charlatan, that comes along." An established religion "is a kind of vaccination which, in satisfying our love of the marvellous, guarantees us against quacks and sorcerers ; the priests are far better than the Cagliostros, Kants, and the rest of the German mystics." In sum, illuminism and metaphysics, the speculative inventions of the brain and the contagious overexcitement of the nerves, all the illusions of credulity, are unhealthy in their essence, and, in general, anti-social. Nevertheless, as they belong to human nature, let us accept them like so many streams tumbling down a slope, except that they remain in their own beds, and, in many of them, no new beds, and not in one bed alone by itself. "I do not want a dominant religion, nor the establishment of new ones. The Catholic, Reformed, and Lutheran systems, established by the concordat, are sufficient." With these one need not grope one's way in the unknown. Their direction and force are intelligible, and their irruptions can be guarded against. Moreover, the present inclinations and configuration of the human soil favor them ; the child follows the road marked out by the parent, and the man follows the road marked out by the child. For instance :

"Last Sunday, here at Malmaison, while strolling alone in the solitude enjoying the repose of nature, my ear suddenly caught the sound of the church bell at Ruel. It affected me, so strong is the force of early habits and education ! I said to myself, What an impression this must make on simple, credulous souls !" Let us gratify these ; let us give back these bells and the rest to the Catholics. After all, the general effect of Christianity is salutary. "As far as I am concerned, I do not see in it the mystery of the incarnation, but the mystery of social order, the association of religion with paradise, an idea of equality which keeps the rich from being massacred by the poor. . . . Society could not exist without an inequality of fortunes, and an inequality of fortunes without religion. A man dying of starvation alongside of one who is surfeited would not yield to this difference unless he had some authority which assured him that God so orders it, that there must be both poor and rich in the world, but that in the future, and throughout eternity, the portion of each will be changed."

Alongside of the repressive police exercised by the state there is a preventive police exercised by the church. The clergy, in its cassock, is an additional spiritual *gendarmérie*, much more efficient than the temporal *gendarmérie* in its stout boots, while the essential thing is to make both keep step together in concert. Between the two domains, between that which belongs to civil authority and that which belongs to religious authority, is there any boundary line of separation? "I do not see where to place it; *its existence is purely chimerical*. I look in vain; I see only clouds, obscurities, difficulties. The civil government condemns a criminal to death; the priest gives him absolution and offers him paradise." In relation to this act both powers operate publicly in an inverse sense on the same individual, one with the guillotine and the other with a pardon. As these authorities may clash with each other, let us prevent conflicts and leave no undefined frontier; let us trace this out beforehand; let us indicate what our part is and not allow the church to encroach on the state.

The church really wants all; it is the accessory which she concedes to us, while she appropriates the principal to herself. "Mark the insolence of the priests who, in sharing authority with what they call the temporal power, reserve to themselves all action on the mind, the noblest part of man, and take it on themselves to reduce my part merely to physical action. They retain the soul and fling me the corpse!" In antiquity, things were much better done, and are still better done now in Mussulman countries. "In the Roman republic, the senate was the interpreter of heaven, and this was the mainspring of the force and strength of that government. In Turkey, and throughout the Orient, the Koran serves as both a civil and religious bible. Only in Christianity do we find the pontificate distinct from the civil government." And even this has occurred only in one branch of Christianity. Everywhere, except in Catholic countries, "in England, in Russia, in the northern monarchies, in one part of Germany, the legal union of the two powers, religious control in the hands of the sovereign," is an accomplished fact. "*One cannot govern without it*; otherwise, the repose, dignity, and independence of a nation are disturbed at every moment." It is a pity that "the difficulty cannot be overcome as with Henry VIII. in England. The head of the state would then, by legislative statute, be the supreme chief of the French church."

Unfortunately, France is not so disposed. Napoleon often tries to bring this about, but is satisfied that in this matter "he would never obtain national coöperation"; once "embarked," fully engaged in the enterprise, "the nation would have abandoned him." Unable to take this road, he takes another, which leads to the same result. As he himself afterwards states, this result "was, for a long time and always, the object of his wishes and meditations. . . . It is not his aim to change the faith of his people; he respects spiritual objects and *wants to rule them* without meddling with them; his aim is *to make these square with his views, with his policy*, but only through the influence of temporal concerns." That spiritual authority should remain intact; that it should operate on its own speculative domain, that is to say, on dogmas, and on its practical domain, namely, on the sacraments and on worship; that it should be sovereign on this limited territory, Napoleon admits, for such is the fact, and we have only to open our eyes to see it. Right or wrong, spiritual authority is recognized sovereign through the persistent, verified loyalty of believers, obeyed, effective—in other words, a powerful force. It cannot be done away with by supposing it non-existent; on the contrary, a competent statesman will maintain it in order to make use of it and apply it to civil purposes. Like an engineer who comes across a prolific spring near his manufactory, he does not try to dry it up, nor let the water be dispersed and lost; he has no idea of letting this remain inactive; on the contrary, he collects it, digs channels for it, directs and economizes the flow, and renders the water serviceable in his workshops. In the Catholic Church, the authority to be won and utilized is that of the clergy over believers and that of the sovereign pontiff over the clergy. "You will see," exclaimed Bonaparte, while negotiating the concordat, "how I will turn the priests to account, and, first of all, the Pope!"

"Had no Pope existed," he says again, "it would have been necessary to create him for the occasion, as the Roman consuls created a dictator under difficult circumstances." He alone could effect the *coup d'état* which the First Consul needed, in order that he might constitute the new head of the government a patron of the Catholic Church, to bring independent or refractory priests under subjection, to sever the canonical cord which bound the French clergy to its exiled superiors and to the old order of things, "to break the last thread by which the Bour-

bons still communicated with the country." "Fifty *emigré* bishops in the pay of England now lead the French clergy. Their influence must be got rid of, and to do this the authority of the Pope is essential; he can dismiss or make them resign." Should any of them prove obstinate and unwilling to descend from their thrones, their refusal brings them into discredit, and they are "designated as rebels who prefer the things of this world, their terrestrial interests to the interests of heaven and the cause of God." The great body of the clergy along with their flocks will abandon them; they will soon be forgotten, like old sprouts transplanted whose roots have been cut off; they will die abroad, one by one, while the successor, who is now in office, will find no difficulty in rallying the obedient around him, for, being Catholic, his parishioners are so many sheep, docile, taken with externals, impressionable, and ready to follow the pastoral crook, provided it bears the ancient trademark, consists of the same material, is of the same form, is conferred from on high, and is sent from Rome. The bishops having once been consecrated by the Pope, nobody save a Gregory or some antiquarian canonist will dispute their jurisdiction.

The ecclesiastical ground is thus cleared through the interposition of the Pope. The three groups of authorities thereon which contend with each other for the possession of consciences—the refugee bishops in England, the apostolic vicars, and the constitutional clergy—disappear, and now the cleared ground can be built on. "The Catholic religion being declared that of the majority of the French people, its services must now be regulated. The First Consul nominates fifty bishops whom the Pope consecrates. These appoint the curés, and the state pays their salaries. The latter may take the oath, while *the priests who do not submit are sent out of the country*. Those who preach against the government are handed over to their superiors for punishment. The Pope confirms the sale of clerical possessions; he consecrates the Republic." The faithful no longer regard it askance. They feel that they are not only tolerated, but protected by it, and they are grateful. The people revere their churches, their curés, the forms of worship to which they are almost instinctively accustomed, the ceremonial which, to their imagination, belongs to every important act of their lives, the solemn rites of marriage, baptism, burial, and other sacramental offices.

Henceforth mass is said every Sunday in each village, and the peasants enjoy their processions on Corpus-Christi day, when their crops are blessed. A great public want is satisfied. Discontent subsides, ill-will dies out, the government has fewer enemies; its enemies, again, lose their best weapon, and, at the same time, it acquires an admirable one, the right of appointing bishops and of sanctioning the curés. By virtue of the concordat and by order of the Pope, not only, in 1801, do all former spiritual authorities cease to exist, but again, after 1801, all new titularies, with the Pope's assent, chosen, accepted, managed, disciplined, and paid by the First Consul, are, in fact, his creatures, and become his functionaries.

Over and above this positive and real service obtained from the sovereign pontiff, he awaits others yet more important and undefined, and principally his future coronation in Notre Dame. Already, during the negotiations for the concordat, La Fayette had observed to him with a smile: "You want the holy oil dropped on your head"; to which he made no contradictory answer. On the contrary, he replied, and probably too with a smile: "We shall see! We shall see!" Thus does he think ahead, and his ideas extend beyond that which a man belonging to the ancient *régime* could imagine or divine, even to the reconstruction of the empire of the west as this existed in the year 800. "I am not the successor of Louis XIV.," he soon declares, "but of Charlemagne. . . . I am Charlemagne, because, like Charlemagne, I unite the French crown with that of the Lombards, and my empire borders on the Orient." "Had I returned victorious from Moscow, I intended to exalt the Pope beyond measure, to surround him with pomp and deference. I would have brought him to no longer regretting his temporality; I would have made him an idol. He would have lived alongside of me. Paris would have become the capital of Christendom, and I would have governed the religious world the same as the political world. . . . I would have had my religious as well as legislative sessions; my councils would have represented Christianity; *the Popes would have been merely their presidents*. I would have opened and closed these assemblies, sanctified and published their decrees, as was done by Constantine and Charlemagne." The Pope, as with the marshals and the new dukes, must have a landed income settled on him, consisting

of "property *in different parts of the empire*, two millions of rural revenue free of all taxation." Necessarily the Pope must have two palaces, one at Paris and the other at Rome. He is already nearly fully installed in Paris, his person being all that was lacking. On arriving from Fontainebleau, two hours off, he would find everything belonging to his office; "the papers of the missions and the archives of Rome were already there." "The Hôtel Dieu was entirely given up to the departments of the court of Rome. The district around Notre Dame and the Ile St. Louis was to be the headquarters of Christendom." Rome, the second centre of Christendom, and the second residence of the Pope, is declared "an imperial and free city, the second city of the empire"; a prince of the empire, or other grand dignitary, is to reside there and "hold the court of the emperor." "After their coronation in the cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris, the emperors" will go to Italy before the tenth year of their reign, and be "crowned in the church of St. Peter at Rome." The heir to the imperial throne "will bear the title and receive the honors of the King of Rome." Observe the substantial features of this chimerical construction. Napoleon, far more Italian than French, Italian by race, by instinct, imagination, and souvenir, considers in his plan the future of Italy, and, on casting up the final accounts of his reign, we find that the net profit is for Italy and the net loss is for France. Since Theodoric and the Lombard kings, the Pope, in preserving his temporal sovereignty and spiritual omnipotence, has maintained the sub-divisions of Italy; let this obstacle be removed and Italy will once more become a nation. Napoleon prepares the way, and constitutes it beforehand by restoring the Pope to his primitive condition, by withdrawing from him his temporal sovereignty and limiting his spiritual omnipotence, by reducing him to the position of managing director of Catholic consciences and head minister of the principal cult authorized in the empire.

In carrying out this plan, he will use the French clergy in mastering the Pope, as the Pope has been made use of in mastering the French clergy. To this end, before completing the concordat and decreeing the organic articles, he orders for himself a small library, consisting of books on ecclesiastical law. The Latin works of Bossuet are translated for him, and he has drawn up an exposition of the Gallican parliamentary doctrine. The

first thing is to go down to the roots of the subject, which he does with extraordinary facility, and then, recasting and shaping the theories to suit himself, he arrives at an original, individual conception, at once coherent, precise, and practical; one which covers the ground and which he applies alike to all churches, Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and even Jewish, to every religious community now existing and in time to come. So long as belief remains silent and solitary, confined within the limits of individual conscience, it is free, and the state has nothing to do with it. But let it act outside these limits, address the public, bring people together in crowds for a common purpose, manifest itself visibly, it is subject to control; forms of worship, ceremonies, preaching, instruction, and propagandism, the donations it provokes, the assemblies it convenes, the organization and maintenance of the bodies it engenders, all the positive applications of the inward rosary, are temporal works. In this sense, they form a province of the public domain, and come within the competency of the government of the administration, and of the courts. The state has a right to interdict, to tolerate, or to authorize them, and to direct their activity at all times. Sole and universal proprietor of the outward realm in which single consciences may communicate with each other, it intervenes, step by step, either to trace or to bar the way; the road they follow passes over its ground and belongs to it; its watch, accordingly, over their proceedings is, and should be, daily; and it maintains this watch for its own advantage, for the advantage of civil and political interests, in such a way that concern for the other world may be serviceable and not prejudicial to matters which belong to this one. In short, and as a summary, the First Consul says, in a private conversation: "The people want a religion, and this religion should be in the hands of the government!"

II.

A few months after the publication of the concordat, Mademoiselle Chaméron, an opera-dancer, dies, and her friends bear her remains to the Church of St. Roch for interment. The curé, very rigid, "in a fit of ill-humor," refuses to officiate, and he shuts the doors of the church; a crowd gathers, which shouts and launches threats at the curé; an actor makes a speech to appease

the tumult, and finally the coffin is borne off to the Church of Les Filles St. Thomas, where the curé, "familiar with the words of the gospel," performs the funeral service. Incidents of this kind disturb the tranquillity of the streets and denote a relaxation of administrative discipline. Consequently the government, doctor in theology and canon law, intervenes and calls the ecclesiastical superior to account. The First Consul, in an article in the *Moniteur*, haughtily gives the clergy their countersign and explains the course that will be pursued against them by their prelates. "The Archbishop of Paris orders the curé of St. Roch into a retreat of three months, in order that he may bear in mind the injunction of Jesus Christ to pray for one's enemies, and, made sensible of his duties by meditation, may become aware that these superstitious customs, which degrade religion by their absurdities, have been done away with by the concordat and the law of Germinal 18." Henceforth all priests and curés must be prudent, circumspect, obedient, and reserved, for their spiritual superiors are so, and could not be otherwise. Each prelate, posted in his diocese, is maintained there in isolation; a watch is kept on his correspondence; he can communicate with the Pope only through the Minister of Worship; he has no right to act in concert with his colleagues; all the general assemblies of the clergy, all metropolitan councils, all annual synods, are suppressed.

The church of France has ceased to exist as one corps, while its members, carefully detached from each other and from their Roman head, are no longer united, but juxtaposed, confined to a circumscription like the prefect; the bishop himself is simply an ecclesiastical prefect, a little less uncertain of his tenure of office; undoubtedly his removal will not be effected by order, but he can be forced to send in his resignation. Thus, in his case, as well as for the prefect, his first care will be not to excite displeasure, and the next one, to please. To stand well at court, with the minister and with the sovereign, is a positive command, not only on personal grounds, but for the sake of Catholic interests. To obtain scholarship for the pupils of his seminary, to appoint the teachers and the director that sent him, to insure the acceptance of his canons, cantonal curés, and his candidates for the priesthood, to exempt his sub-deacons from the conscription, to establish and to defray the expenses of the

chapels of his diocese, to provide parishes with the indispensable priest, with regular services, and with the sacraments, requires favors, which favors cannot be enjoyed without manifestations of obedience and zeal, and, more important still, without devotedness.

Besides all this, he is himself a man. If Napoleon has selected him, it is on account of his intelligence, knowing what he is about, open to human motives, not too rigid and of too easy conscience; in the eyes of the master, the first of all titles has ever been a supposable, docile character, associated with attachment to his person and system. Moreover, with his candidates, he has always taken into consideration the hold they give him through their weaknesses, vanity, and necessities, their ostentatious ways and expenditure, their love of money, titles, and precedence, their ambition, desire for promotion, enjoyment of credit, right of petitioning, of prestige, and the establishment of social relationships. He avails himself of all these advantages and finds that they answer his purpose. With the exception of three or four saints like Monseigneur d'Avran or Monseigneur Dessolles, whom he has inadvertently put with the episcopate, the bishops are content to be barons and the archbishops counts. They are glad to rank higher and higher in the Legion of Honor; they loudly assert, in praise of the new order of things, the honors and dignities it confers on these or those prelates who have become members of the legislative corps or been made senators. Many of them receive secret pay for secret services, pecuniary incentives in the shape of this or that sum in ready money. In total, Napoleon has judged accurately; with hesitation and remorse, nearly the whole of his episcopal staff, Italian and French, sixty-six prelates out of eighty, are open to "temporal influences." They yield to his seductions and threats; they accept or submit, even in spiritual matters, to his final determination.

Moreover, among these dignitaries, nearly all of whom are blameless, or, at least, who behave well and are generally honorable, Napoleon finds a few whose servility is perfect, unscrupulous individuals ready for anything, whatever an absolute prince could desire, like Bishops Bernier and De Pancemont, one accepting a reward of 30,000 francs and the other the sum of 50,000 francs for the vile part they played in the negotiations for the concordat; or miserly, brutal, cynic-like Maury, archbishop of Paris; or an intriguing, mercenary sceptic like De Pradt, arch-

bishop of Malines; or an old imbecile, falling on his knees before the civil power, like Rousseau, bishop of Orleans, who indites a pastoral letter declaring that the Pope is as free in his Savona prison as on his throne at Rome. After 1806, Napoleon, that he may control men of greater suppleness, prefers to take his prelates from old noble families—the frequenters of Versailles, who regard the episcopate as a gift bestowed by the prince and not by the Pope, a lay favor reserved for younger sons, a present made by the sovereign to those around his person, on the understood condition that the partisan courtier who is promoted shall remain a courtier of the master. Henceforth nearly all his episcopal recruits are derived from “members of the old race.” “Only these,” says Napoleon, “know how to serve well.”

From the first year the effect arrived at is better than could be expected. “Look at the clergy,” said the First Consul to Roederer; “every day shows that in spite of themselves their devotion to the government is increasing, and much beyond their anticipation. Have you seen the pastoral declaration of Boisgelin, archbishop of Tours? He says that the actual government is the legitimate government, that God disposes of thrones and kings as he pleases; that he adopts the chiefs whom the people prefer. You yourself could not have said that better.” But, notwithstanding that this is said in the pastoral letter, it is again said in the catechism. No ecclesiastical publication is more important; all Catholic children have to learn this by heart, for the phrases they recite will be firmly fixed in their memories. Bossuet’s catechism is good enough, but it may be improved,—there is nothing that time, reflection, emulation, and administrative zeal cannot render perfect! Bossuet teaches children “to respect all superiors, pastors, kings, magistrates, and the rest.” “These generalities,” says Portalis, “no longer suffice. They do not give the proper tendency to the subject’s submission. The object is to centre the popular conscience on the person of Your Majesty.” Accordingly, let us be precise, make appointments, and secure support. The imperial catechism, a great deal more explicit than the royal catechism, adds significant developments to the old one, along with extra motives: “We specially owe to our Emperor, Napoleon the First, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, and tributes ordained for the preservation of the empire and his throne. . . . For God has raised him up

for us in times of peril that he might restore public worship and the holy religion of our fathers and be its protector." Every boy and girl in each parish recite this to the vicar or curé after vespers in their tiny voices as a commandment of God and of the church, as a supplementary article of the creed. Meanwhile the officiating priest gravely comments on this article, already clear enough, at every morning or evening service; by order, he preaches in behalf of the conscription and declares that it is a sin to try to escape from it, to be refractory; by order, again, he reads the army bulletins giving accounts of the latest victories; always by order, he reads the last pastoral letter of his bishop, a document authorized, inspired, and corrected by the police. Not only are the bishops obliged to submit their pastoral letters and public instructions to the censorship; not only, by way of precaution, are they forbidden to print anything except on the prefective presses, but again, for still greater security, the bureau of public worship is constantly advising them what they must say. First of all, they must laud the Emperor; and how this must be done, in what terms, and with what epithets, so that without indiscretion or mistake they may not meddle with politics, may not seem like a party managed from above, may not pass for mouthpieces, is not indicated, and it is a difficult matter. "You must praise the Emperor more in your pastoral letters," said Réal, prefect of police, to a young bishop. "Tell me in what measure." "I do not know," was the reply. Since the measure cannot be prescribed, it must be ample enough. There is no difficulty as regards other articles.

On every occasion the Paris bureaux take care to furnish each bishop with a ready-made draft of his forthcoming pastoral letter—the canvas on which the customary flowers of ecclesiastical amplification are to be embroidered. It differs according to time and place. In La Vendée and in the west, the prelates are to stigmatize "the odious machinations of perfidious Albion," and explain to the faithful the persecutions to which the English subject the Irish Catholics. When Russia is the enemy, the pastoral letter must dwell on her being schismatic; also on the Russian non-recognition of the supremacy of the Pope. Inasmuch as bishops are functionaries of the empire, their utterances and their acts belong to the Emperor. Consequently he makes use of them against all enemies, against each rival, rebel, or adversary,

against the Bourbons, against the English and the Russians, and finally against the Pope.

Similar to the Russian expedition, this is the great and last throw of the dice, the decisive and most important of his ecclesiastical undertakings, as the others are in political and in military affairs. Just as, under his leadership, he forces coalition of the political and military powers of his Europe against the Czar,—Austria, Prussia, the Confederation of the Rhine, Holland, Switzerland, the kingdom of Italy, Naples, and even Spain,—so does he force, under his lead, a coalition of all the spiritual authorities of his empire against the Pope. He summons a council, consisting of eighty-four bishops that are available in Italy and in France. He takes it upon himself to drill them and make them march. Toward the end the council is suddenly dissolved because scruples arise, because it does not yield at once to the pressure brought to bear on it, because its mass constitutes its firmness, because its members, standing close together, side by side, stand all the longer. “Our life is not good in the cask,” said Cardinal Maury; “you will find it better in bottles.” Accordingly, to make it ready for bottling, it must be filtered and clarified, so as to get rid of the bad elements which disturb it and cause fermentation. Some of the opposition are in prison, many have retired from their dioceses, while the rest are brought to Paris and cunningly worked upon, each member in turn, cautioned in a mess-room, *tête à-tête* with the the Minister of Worship, until all severally sign the formula of adhesion. On the strength of this, the council, purged and prepared, is summoned afresh to give its vote sitting or standing, in one unique session; through a remnant of virtue it inserts a suspensive clause in the decree, apparently a reservation, but the decree is still passed as ordered. Like the foreign regiment in an army corps which, enlisted, forced into line, and goaded on with a sharp sword, serves, in spite of itself, against its legitimate prince, unwilling to march forward to the attack, meaning at the last moment to fire in the air, so does it march and fire its volley notwithstanding.

Napoleon, on the other hand, treats the Pope in the same fashion, and with like skill and brutality. As with the Russian campaign, he has prepared himself for it long beforehand. At the outset there is an alliance, and he concedes great advantages to

the Pope as to the Czar, which will remain to them after his fall ; but these concessions are made only with a mental reservation, with the instinctive feeling and predetermination to profit by the alliance, even to making an independent sovereign, whom he recognizes as his equal, his subordinate and his tool. Hence this time, also, quarrels and war. His strategy against the Pope is admirable,—the entire ecclesiastical territory studied beforehand, the objective point selected, all disposable forces employed and directed by fixed marches to where the victory is to be decisive, the conquest extended and the seat of the final dominion established ; the successive and simultaneous use of every kind of means—cunning, violence, seduction, and terror ; calculation of the weariness, anxiety, and despair of the adversary ; at first menaces and constant disputes, and then flashes of lightning and multiplied claps of thunder, every species of brutality that force can command ; the states of the church invaded in times of peace, Rome surprised and occupied by soldiers, the Pope besieged in the Quirinal, in a year the Quirinal taken by a nocturnal assault, the Pope seized and carried off by post to Savona and there confined as a prisoner of state almost in cellular seclusion, subject to the entreaties and manœuvres of an adroit prefect who works upon him, of the physician who is a paid spy, of the servile bishops who are sent thither, alone with his conscience, contending with inquisitors relieving each other, subject to moral tortures as subtile and as keen as old-time physical tortures, to tortures so steady and persistent that he sinks, loses his head, “ no longer sleeps and scarcely speaks,” falling into a senile condition, and even more than senile condition—“ a state of mental alienation.” Then, on issuing from this, the poor old man is again beset ; finally, after waiting patiently for three years, he is once more brusquely conducted at night, secretly and incognito over the entire road, with no repose or pity, though ill, except stopping once in a snowstorm at the hospice on Mont Cenis, where he comes near dying, put back after twenty-four hours in his carriage, bent double by suffering and in constant pain, jolting over the pavement of the grand highway until almost dead, he is landed at Fontainebleau, where Napoleon wishes to have him ready at hand to work upon. “ Indeed,” he himself says, “ he is a lamb, an excellent, worthy man whom I esteem and am very fond of.” A *tête-à-tête* not ex-

pected may probably prove effective with this gentle, candid, and tender spirit. Pius VII., who had never known ill-will, might be won by kindly treatment, by an air of filial respect, by caresses; he may feel the personal ascendancy of Napoleon, the prestige of his presence and conversation, the invasion of his genius, inexhaustible in argument, matchless in the adaptation of ideas to circumstances, the most amiable and most imperious of interlocutors, stentorian and mild, tragic and comic by turns, the most eloquent of sophists, and the most irresistible of fascinator, who, on meeting a man face to face, wins him, conquers him, and obtains the mastery. In effect, after seeing the Pope for six days, Napoleon obtains by persuasion what he could not obtain afar by constraint. Pius VII. signs the new concordat in good faith, himself unaware that, on regaining his freedom and surrounded by his cardinals, who inform him on the political situation, he will emerge from bewilderment, be attacked by his conscience, and, through his office, publicly accuse himself, humbly repent, and in two months withdraw his signature.

Such, after 1812 and 1813, is the duration of Napoleon's triumphs and the ephemeral result of his greatest military and ecclesiastical achievements—Moskova, Lutzen, Bautzen, and Dresden, the council of 1811, and the concordat of 1813. Whatever the vastness of his genius may be, however strong his will, however successful his attacks, his success against sections and churches never is, and never can be, other than temporary. Great historical and moral forces elude his grasp. In vain does he strike, for their downfall gives them new life, and they rise beneath the blow. With Catholic institutions, as with other powers, not only do his efforts remain sterile, but what he accomplishes remains inverse to the end he has in view. He aims to subjugate the Pope, and he led the Pope on to omnipotence. He aims at the maintenance and strength of the Gallican spirit among the French clergy, and he caused the dominion of the ultramontane spirit. With extraordinary energy and tenacity, with all his power, which was enormous, through the systematic and constant application of most diverse and extreme measures, he labored for fifteen years to sunder the ties of the Catholic hierarchy, tear this to pieces, and, in sum, the final result of all is to bind them together faster and hasten their completion.

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COMMON-SENSE ON THE EXCISE QUESTION.

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INTEMPERANCE in the use of intoxicants is among the chief promoters of poverty and crime, and constitutes one of the greatest evils of civilization. Society not only has the right—it is its duty—to protect itself, collectively and individually, against that evil. Such protection is not possible without a just and practicable system of excise regulation. In determining what that system should be, it must not be considered as a question of morals or sentiment, but purely as a matter of police—that is, what is necessary and best to protect the community from disorder and to prevent any encroachment by one person upon the rights of another. The intervention of law must be restricted to those things which concern the relations of men to other men. In those things which concern themselves only, human beings who have reached years of discretion and are of sound mind must govern themselves. It is only when the acts of the individual affect others that the State has any right to interfere; and then only so far as may be necessary to guarantee or protect the equal rights of all. Every attempt at excise regulation or restriction that does not recognize and obey this fundamental law of governmental science must fail.

If these essential principles be conceded, but two things are necessary for the successful operation of a just and practicable excise law. First, the law must be adapted to the requirements, habits, and customs of the people who are to live under it. Secondly, it must be strictly and impartially enforced.

The mere act of selling intoxicants does no harm. Evil or injury results from their use—or, more strictly, their misuse. It is necessary, therefore, to reach and control those who misuse them to the injury or detriment of others. As to the seller, it is sufficient that he shall neither induce nor permit the drinkers to